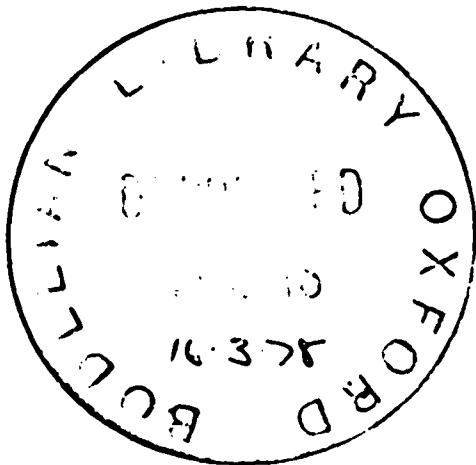


EUNAPIUS OF SARDIS

by

David F. Buck

Christ Church



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## PREFACE

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## Abbreviations

Citations from Eunapius' Histories are according to C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, IV, and will be noted in the text thus: (fr. 00).

Citations from Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists are according to the pagination of Boissonade's Didot edition and will be noted in the text thus: (000).

Citations from Philostratus' Lives of the Sophists will be noted in the text thus: (Ph. 000).

An Arabic numeral following a proper name indicates a reference to The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. I (edd. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris).

Abbreviations in the notes are according to the conventions of the Prosopography and l'Année Philologique.

## INTRODUCTION

Eunapius of Sardis was a pagan Greek sophist and historian who lived from A.D. 345/6 until at least A.D. 414. Two of his works survive: the Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists is complete; the Histories are fragmentary. The Lives is a series of short biographies of philosophers and sophists, most of whom were members of the Neoplatonic school at Pergamon which descended from Iamblichus, or the school of Julian the sophist at Athens. Eunapius himself belonged to both. The Histories covered the period from A.D. 270 to A.D. 404 in fourteen books and were dominated by the figure of Julian the Apostate. They were the principal pagan Greek history of the fourth century and are still, though mainly through Zosimus, an important source for the Hellenic interpretation of that era.

This thesis falls into four parts. Part I deals with Eunapius' family, education, and role as a sophist. Part II discusses the place of the Lives as the final extant pagan development of the form of biography known as the Succession. The Lives is also examined as pagan hagiography in relation to Christian examples of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Part III is concerned with the reconstruction and formal characteristics of the Histories and Part IV demonstrates Eunapius' practice as an historian, principally by examining his treatment of Constantine, Julian, and Theodosius.

PART I

THE SOPHIST

## I 1 Sardis

Eunapius was a citizen of a city which had been famous and fabulous at least since the founding of the Lydian kingdom by Gyges in c. 680 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians in 499 B.C. need not be retold here; nor is it necessary to rehearse the often important part played by Sardis during the Hellenistic period. Under the Romans, Sardis led a much less eventful existence. The most important occurrence was the nocturnal earthquake of A.D. 17 which struck twelve major cities of Asia. The heaviest damage was inflicted upon Sardis, but the city quickly recovered, helped by Tiberius' grant of a hundred thousand sesterces and a remission of taxes for five years,<sup>2</sup> and attained its greatest area and largest population (possibly over a hundred thousand) between the years A.D. 20 to 200. There is literary and epigraphic evidence to suggest that Sardis was favoured with a visit from the Emperor Lucius Verus in A.D. 166.<sup>3</sup> Under the Roman administration, the conventus of Sardis was very extensive although it appears not to have been thickly populated, for only some twenty-seven communities are known to have been included in it.<sup>4</sup> Sardis was still the metropolis of Lydia in the last decade of the fourth century (Zosimus, V,18,4) and its civil status is reflected in the contemporary organization of the Church. The bishop of Sardis was metropolitan and archbishop of Lydia and ranked sixth of the bishops both European and Asiatic who were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> The history of Early Byzantine Sardis may be said to end with the destruction of the lower city by the Persian king, Chosroes II, in c. 616.

Sardis is an inland site at the confluence of the Pactolus and Hermus rivers.<sup>6</sup> The ancient city was roughly L-shaped, for remains have been found stretching for some eighteen hundred metres between the Hermus and

the foot of the Tmolus Range and extending some fifteen hundred metres up the valley of the Pactolus. The city appears to have occupied at least two square miles, exclusive of the Necropolis Hill and Bin Tepe where the tombs of the Lydian kings are located.<sup>7</sup> The most striking change since antiquity is the condition of the Acropolis. It once supported a great fortress and its sheer sides and two hundred metres height made the difficulty of its capture proverbial.<sup>8</sup> Because the hill is formed of clay, the flat top has been eroded away to a peak and only a short stretch of the Byzantine wall remains.<sup>9</sup>

The circuit of the Byzantine city walls was first traced by the Princeton expedition which estimated them to be about two miles in extent. They enclosed a considerable area on the north side of the Acropolis, connecting with the Acropolis at the northeast angle and from there running northwards down into the plain and along to the southeast angle of the city at the Pactolus crossing. Thence the wall angled back to the Acropolis.<sup>10</sup> No attempt appears to have been made to enclose the Pactolus valley or the Temple of Artemis, but the Temple would have been abandoned by that time (below, p. 6).

The current excavations have added to the information about the circuit walls and have shown that H.C. Butler was over-hasty in condemning their quality.<sup>11</sup> Investigation has centred on the area near the Pactolus on the western side of the city. As early as 1959, the excavators found that the wall in this section was of homogeneous construction and considered that it might be part of a unified design of the Early Byzantine period. This stretch of the fortifications was thought to have been built as an emergency measure to link the lower city and especially the bridge across the Pactolus with the citadel.<sup>12</sup> By 1966, it was apparent that the Early

Byzantine rebuilding of c. 400 generally followed the Roman plan of renewal after the earthquake of A.D. 17, except for the strictures imposed by the new city wall which enforced some contraction.<sup>13</sup> The Southwest Gate, through which the street from the Pactolus entered the city, is thought to be contemporary with the construction of the wall; the reused entablature is not earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.<sup>14</sup>

In 1967, attention shifted to the bridge which crossed the Pactolus. Coins were found dating from Constantius II to Arcadius and Honorius and on this evidence it is conjectured that the bridge was built c. 400. There was a flanking bastion on the north, part of a 'unified and sophisticated defensive system' running for nearly one hundred and twenty metres southwards along the eastern bank of the Pactolus.<sup>15</sup> The wall near the Southwest Gate had a foundation about three metres high and two metres wide and rose at least seven metres above it. It was constructed of four layers of concrete-like masonry with levelling courses of flat stones. The wall stands on an artificial platform containing debris from the earthquake of A.D. 17, but nothing was discovered in the foundation trench by which it could be securely dated. The two most likely times are said to be the mid-third or mid-fourth centuries A.D.<sup>16</sup>

On the above evidence, it seems plausible that the 'Early Byzantine' fortifications were conceived in response to the unsettled conditions of the mid-third century and underwent rebuilding and improvement during the fourth century. According to Zosimus (V,18,4 ff.), only the flooding of the rivers saved Sardis from being sacked by Gainas and Tribigild in 399, for the city was defenceless: *πάσης ἐρήμῳ οὕτως ἐπικουρίας* (V,18,5). Much of the renovation may have been prompted by this threat.

However, not all the public construction during this period was

military. The main east-west street was paved with marble and some twelve and a half metres wide. Stone drains covered with large stone slabs were found on the north and south edges of the road; the northern drain had four terracotta water pipes underneath it. Two colonnades flanked the road and a sidewalk two metres wide ran along the southern one. The style was Ionic and capitals of at least two different types occur. There is no firm evidence for when the road itself was laid out, but the colonnades and the marble paving of the street are probably contemporary with the commercial area known as the 'Byzantine Shops' along the north side of the Palaestra complex. Again the excavators opt for c. 400.<sup>17</sup>

Another colonnaded street has been found running southwest to northeast from the Pactolus sector towards the Temple of Artemis. Less impressive than the main east-west street, this one is about seven metres wide. Since fragments of grave monuments from the second to the third century A.D. are found in the stylobate, it is probable that this road is also part of the renewal programme of c. 400.<sup>18</sup> These porticoes were a common feature of cities in Asia Minor during the Roman period, gracing Antioch, Ephesus, Nicaea, Perge, Side, Apamea, Damascus, Gerasa, and Petra.<sup>19</sup> Philostratus tells how the munificent sophist Damianus built a portico a stade in length to connect the city of Ephesus with its Temple of Artemis so that rain need not prevent worshippers from going there (Ph. 605).<sup>20</sup> The best contemporary description of such porticoes - and one which shows how much they increased the prestige of a city - is by Libanius in the Antiochicus (Or. XI, 196 ff.). Libanius also stresses how great a contribution colonnades made to the social life of a community by allowing the citizens to visit each other and mingle freely, whatever the weather (Or. XI, 213-217).<sup>21</sup>

Sardis was furnished with the other usual amenities. Built into the

slope of the Acropolis hill is a large theatre and, immediately below it, there is a stadium which had a seating capacity of twenty thousand. The stadium was erected in the third century B.C. and rebuilt in Roman times.<sup>22</sup> There was a large Roman-Byzantine bath complex ('CG') on the eastern side of the city beyond the Byzantine wall. It is difficult to determine when this was used as a bath; 'technical criteria' tend to a date between the second and fourth centuries A.D. and a lamp of a type in use from the third to the fifth centuries A.D. has been discovered. The walls were covered with marble slabs so that the building was up to the usual standard of quality.<sup>23</sup> 'At some time in late antiquity' (perhaps after Chosroes' attack?), flood deposits were allowed to accumulate and when the Byzantines reclaimed the structure in the tenth century, it had been buried to approximately its upper storey.<sup>24</sup> The water supply of Sardis was increased by an aqueduct built in the Roman period - and repaired in the Byzantine - which drew upon the Dabbagh Tchai from a point several miles up into the mountains.<sup>25</sup>

One of the most important monuments in Sardis was the Temple of Artemis. An altar to Artemis existed here from the late fifth century B.C. and the original temple was built c. 300 B.C. following Alexander's conquest. It was rebuilt in 175-150 B.C. and again about A.D. 150 when the cella was divided into two. The discovery of a colossal head of Faustina in the cella of the eastern prostyle has prompted the conjecture that half the temple was dedicated to the empress upon her deification.<sup>26</sup> A fragment of a colossal head of Zeus which was found in the east cella has led to another conjecture: that the Temple was intended from the beginning to be the shrine of both Zeus and Artemis. Zeus would have faced the Acropolis and Artemis the cemetery which was under her protection. This could explain the failure of the Princeton expedition to find the separate Temple of Zeus

which they expected.<sup>27</sup> In its final form, it was the fourth largest Ionic temple, measuring a little less than fifty metres by a little less than one hundred metres; it was octastyle pseudodipteral with twenty columns on the sides.<sup>28</sup>

The Temple must have been abandoned in the fourth century since a small brick church was built very near to it. The church cannot be precisely dated, but the coin evidence indicates that it was in use in the middle of the fourth century.<sup>29</sup> Eunapius, in speaking of the pagan revival initiated at Sardis by Justus 2, the vicar of Asia, and his helpmate Hilarius 10, the governor (consularis) of Lydia, sometime before the death of Chrysanthius in 396/7, says: 'he built altars offhand at Sardis where there were none, and wherever a vestige was to be found he set his hand to the remains of the temples with the ambition of rebuilding them' (503). However, the Temple of Artemis cannot have suffered too badly in the fourth century since the excavators have not found signs of serious demolition before the last years of the sixth century.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the importance of Sardis as an ecclesiastical centre, remains of a large Christian church have only recently been found there.<sup>31</sup> It was a regular basilica in form and measured approximately sixty-three by twenty-one metres. The building of the church continued over several decades and was contemporary with Eunapius. The earliest surviving part is the apse where coins of Constantius II (346-50) have been recovered. A coin of the period 383-92 has been discovered in the nave and the western part may be even later since coins of Arcadius (395-408) have been taken from the wall between the Atrium and the 'North Chapel'.

One major edifice remains: the gymnasium complex with the synagogue. This is a large rectangle which measured approximately one hundred and eighty-five metres by one hundred and forty-five metres overall and

comprised the colonnaded palaestra, two large halls with apsidal ends, the Marble Court, the synagogue, and various smaller rooms.<sup>32</sup> The decoration was splendid: the Marble Court had marble revetments and its patterned mosaics were made of seventeen different kinds of coloured marble or similar stone.

The most important discovery in the complex was the synagogue which takes up the whole of one side of the palaestra. It is the largest (approximately eighty-five metres by twenty metres) yet discovered anywhere in the ancient world and is testimony to the wealth and power of the Jewish community in Sardis during the Middle and Later Empire.<sup>33</sup> The conjectural history of the synagogue is as follows.<sup>34</sup> In the first stage sometime soon after A.D. 17 when presumably the complex was begun, the building was part of the gymnasium. It was divided into three sections which may have been dressing rooms open towards the palaestra. In the second stage sometime before the late second century, the partitions were removed and it was made into a long columnar hall which A.N. Detweiler thought may have been a civic basilica. During the late second and early third centuries, the third stage, the hall became a synagogue. It was renovated again in the fourth century when a forecourt was created. When the basilica was given over to the Jews, the aleipterion may have become the meeting hall; this is suggested by the roof fragments and by inscriptions scratched into the floor.<sup>35</sup>

Like the Marble Court, the synagogue was lavishly decorated with mosaics on both the walls and the floor. The history of the floor mosaics has been determined by coins found in the bedding cement. Those in the porch of the synagogue are fifth century with perhaps a sixth century repair in front of the main entrance. The mosaics of the forecourt are late fourth century with perhaps fifth century replacements. In the main

hall, they are mid-fourth century with the possible exception of Bay 3 which may have been laid in the late third century since the two coins found beneath it are of Claudius Gothicus (268-270).<sup>36</sup>

Sardis in the time of Eunapius had long since ceased to be the capital of a fabled kingdom, but it retained a position of pre-eminence in both the civil and ecclesiastical administration and enjoyed a high standard of prosperity which was to continue - to judge by the synagogue - into the sixth century. The public buildings and the streets with their colonnades bear comparison with those of other eastern cities of that period or earlier, and it would be wrong to think of Sardis as a city in decline. Two things, however, show the new circumstances in which Eunapius lived: the refurbished city walls and the little Christian church in the precinct of the abandoned Temple of Artemis.

## I 2 Family

Little is known about the life of Eunapius and this is matched by the scarcity of the sources. Most of the material is found in the Lives and some additional facts can be gleaned from the Histories. Indeed, Eunapius has done what he says Plutarch did and the process of recovery and utilization is the same:

But his own life and that of his teacher he scattered piece-meal throughout every one of his books; so that if one should keep a sharp look-out for these references and track them as they occur and appear, and read them intelligently one after another, one would know most of the events of their lives (454).

The Bibliotheca<sup>37</sup> of Photius adds nothing to the knowledge of Eunapius' life, although it is the most important source of information on the Histories. The medical handbook which Oribasius wrote for Eunapius is more useful, for it amplifies as well as confirms what can be learned from Eunapius' own works about his interest in medicine and his financial status.<sup>38</sup>

Eunapius was born in Sardis in the year 345/6. The date is established by the fact that when he came to Athens in 361, he was about sixteen years of age (493).<sup>39</sup> Eunapius says little about his parents and nothing about whether he himself had a family. He only mentions relatives in passing. His cousin, Melite, was married to his teacher in Sardis, Chrysanthius (477). His parents were still alive five years later when he left Athens, for it was at their urging that Eunapius returned home instead of going to Egypt (493). However, the medical handbook which Oribasius presented to Eunapius does furnish some slight indications that Eunapius was married and a father, or at least that his household included women. It is not known to what extent the Euporista was tailored to

Eunapius' own particular requirements, but the proem says that it was written at his request. The first chapter of Book I deals with the care and diet of infants: the advice on how to procure a suitable wet-nurse shows that Eunapius was not concerned only with the children of his slaves. The section on the oral diseases of children leaves the same impression (IV,68). The latter part of Book IV discusses the diseases of women at some length (109-114) as well as contraception (114), abortion (110), and conception and the choice of the sex of the child (112); all of which tends to argue against Eunapius' leading a celibate life.

There is little reason to assume that Eunapius was unmarried, for he says so little about himself that the argumentum ex silentio should not be used. He never pronounces in favour of celibacy as such, and Neoplatonic philosophers in the school of Porphyry and Iamblichus did marry and have children. Porphyry himself married Marcella in order that her children might be educated, for her first husband had been a friend of his (457). The philosophers Eustathius and Sosipatra had three children (469 and 470/71); after she was left alone, Sosipatra returned to Pergamon where Aedesius, who was a relative of Eustathius (465), cared for her and her sons (469). Chrysanthius and Melite named their son after Aedesius; he died when he was about twenty years of age (504). The wife of Maximus of Ephesus outshone him in philosophy and enjoyed equal popularity at the court of Julian the Apostate (477); she perished in a suicide pact which she kept, but which Maximus did not (479). Maximus was himself the kinsman as well as the pupil of Aedesius (469).

Many other philosophers and sophists of the fourth century are known to have had a family. Although Prohaeresius maintained his ascetic way of life even during the Gallic winter (492), he married a woman named Amphiclea

who came from Tralles in Asia. She bore him two daughters who died when they were still young children (493). Epiphanius and his wife left no children (494). Diophantus had two sons who pursued money and luxury (494), but Sopolis' son followed his father's profession (494). Himerius' wife claimed descent from the philosophers and orators Minucianus, Nicagoras 1, Plutarchus, Musonius, and Sextus. His son Rufinus showed great rhetorical promise, but died as a young man (Or. VIII).<sup>40</sup> Himerius' daughter survived him (494). Oribasius married into an illustrious family and his four children were still alive when Eunapius wrote (499). Another iatrosophist, Ionicus, left two worthy sons (499). Themistius was already married by 355 and it is known from a letter of Libanius that his son and namesake died in 357 (ep. 575 where Libanius says that he taught Isocrates to the young Themistius). In 360, Libanius congratulates Themistius upon his second marriage, to a Phrygian, and expresses his hopes that Themistius' future children will be as clever as their father, inheriting not only his power, but also his wisdom (ep. 241).<sup>41</sup>

Eunapius notes that Libanius avoided marriage, but lived with a woman of low class (496). Even before Libanius had left Antioch for Athens, such was the fine report of his character that several fathers offered him their daughters and even tried to outbid each other with the size of the dowry. Libanius says that he was too enamoured of his first love, rhetoric, and that like Odysseus he would have 'spurned even marriage with a goddess for a glimpse of the smoke of Athens' (Or. I,12 [Norman's translation]). When Libanius was teaching at Nicomedeia, his friend Crispinus invited him to dinner to meet his only daughter, but Libanius declared that he was wedded to his art (Or. I,54). This idealism did not last forever. He intended to marry a cousin, the daughter of Phasganius, but she died just before he

returned to Antioch (Or. I,95) and he took a concubine whom he kept for the rest of her life (Or. I,278). Libanius spent much of the energies of his declining years in trying to get for their son Cimon the right of inheritance and then of immunity from curial obligations (Or. I,283).

Philosophical families were a marked feature of the later Neoplatonic school in Athens.<sup>42</sup> Proclus showed so much promise as a young man that the philosopher Olympiodorus offered him his well educated daughter, but he refused her. This was not due to any lack of sociability on Proclus' part, for although he passed over several opportunities to marry rich and well-born women, he was fatherly towards everyone.<sup>43</sup> At one time, Syrianus wanted to give his daughter Aedesia to Proclus, but Proclus felt that some god had forbidden him to marry. Aedesia bears some resemblance to Sosipatra. She was the wife of the philosopher Hermias and when he predeceased her, she moved from Alexandria to Athens and raised her sons in the philosophical way of life.<sup>44</sup> The philosopher Theosebius married in order to have children, and when this proved impossible he gave his wife the choice of another husband or a life of chastity with him. She took the latter.<sup>45</sup>

\* \* \*

There is no explicit evidence for the social rank of Eunapius' family, but they were probably of the curial class and at least moderately wealthy. W. Schmid would have him come from a poor family (aus ärmlichen Verhältnissen),<sup>46</sup> but he has allowed himself to be misled. At least one branch of Eunapius' family must have been well-to-do because his teacher in Sardis, Chrysanthius, was married to his cousin, Melite (477). Although a teaching sophist, Chrysanthius was of curial rank and considered one of the most nobly born in Sardis. His grandfather, Innocentius, had gained considerable wealth and

had compiled legal statutes for the emperors of the day (500). It is unlikely that such a local notable would have married beneath himself.

Eunapius' education as a sophist is a major argument for his having been born into a family of means. Until the age of sixteen, Eunapius was educated in his native city (485) and this should have been possible even if he had been poor, for it might be assumed that his relative Chrysanthius would overlook the matter of fees. The fact that Eunapius studied in Athens is strong evidence of wealth. An indication of the cost of such study abroad is given by Libanius whose widowed mother was forced to sell some of the family property in order for him to stay at Athens.<sup>47</sup> His family had fallen upon evil days, but they still had their country estates and the money for schoolmasters' fees; his maternal uncle presented public shows (Or. I,4-5). Eunapius spent five years in Athens, about the usual period of training for a sophistic career,<sup>48</sup> and his financial resources were still adequate for him to consider going to Egypt (493).

It is true that in describing his arrival at Athens, Eunapius contrasts himself unfairly with the other freshmen in regard to physical strength and wealth. If Eunapius was poor, it would only have been in comparison with the jeunesse dorée, and part of the reason for his saying that he was 'in a pitiable state' (485) is that he was very ill upon arrival at the Piraeus. He will not have been as poverty-stricken as Prohaeresius and Hephaestion when they were students at Athens: because they had to share one cloak and one mantle and three or four rugs, one of them stayed in bed while the other went out (487).

Eunapius' concept of poverty must be seen in its true context. He

describes the house of Julian the Sophist at Athens as 'poor and humble'. However, Julian could afford to decorate it with statues of his favourite pupils and because of the dangerous feuds of the time, he had a theatre of polished marble built inside it so that he could teach in safety (483).<sup>49</sup> The case of Aedesius is also instructive. Since he came from a family which was better favoured with blood than with wealth, his father sent him from Cappadocia to Athens so that Aedesius could learn a lucrative profession. At first, Aedesius' father disapproved of his studying philosophy, which was less profitable than rhetoric, but Aedesius convinced him of the value of it and returned to full time study (461). It is no surprise to learn that Aedesius owned at least one slave (464) and that he had property in Cappadocia which he entrusted to Eustathius when he settled in Pergamon (465).

In general, the evidence from the period supports the conclusion that higher education was possible only for the upper and middle classes, with the lower limit being the decurions.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, it would be very difficult for a poor boy to progress as far as the tertiary rhetorical stage, for, unlike the rhetorical, the primary and secondary stages were never subsidized by the state. The fees at the secondary level were four or five times as high as at the elementary.<sup>51</sup>

Exceptional ability and ambition could overcome penury, but even Prohaeresius is said to have been well born (487). Libanius would occasionally give a remission of fees or even help to subsidize a needy pupil<sup>52</sup> and he was not unique in this.<sup>53</sup> Themistius, for instance, disclaimed any financial interest in his students (Or. XXIII, 288-91). Unlike Libanius who had a substantial private income,<sup>54</sup> Prohaeresius seems to have depended upon his salary and his fees. When he was driven out of Athens by his rivals, he was in severe financial straits (488) and he may never have been able to

afford to be as generous as Libanius. St. Augustine's father was a minor decurion and had to save for some time in order to send his son to the rhetor at Madaura. After his father's death, Augustine had to rely on the help of a family friend, Patricius, to be able to study in Carthage.<sup>55</sup> Wealth was no less the norm in the first and second centuries A.D. Of those sophists whose lives Philostratus writes, only three are known to have come from a lower or middle class family: Secundus of Athens (Ph. 544), Quirinus (Ph. 620), and Apollonius of Naucratis (Ph. 599-600).<sup>56</sup>

There is another source which sheds some light on Eunapius' economic status, although strictly speaking, it pertains to the later part of his life after his student days. In the dedication to the medical handbook which he gave Eunapius, Oribasius says that Eunapius wanted it for use when travelling and *κατ' ἄγρους*. From this it is possible to infer that Eunapius did a considerable amount of travelling and hence that he was not too impecunious. The mention of the countryside is most naturally interpreted as a reference to landed estates. Similarly, Oribasius once says that he is including a particular remedy because it is easy to apply when one is in the country and no doctors are at hand (III,38). Indeed, everything which is known of Eunapius' actions, education, and style of life leads to the supposition that he was, in terms of the curial class, a man of means.

## II Education

Despite the little which Eunapius says about himself personally, enough is known about his education to show that it was typical for the period and for his profession. Moreover, the Lives of the Sophists is one of the more important sources for the academic life of late antiquity.

Eunapius would first have been taught the basics of reading and writing in a primary school or, if his parents were well-to-do, by a private tutor who would usually be a slave.<sup>57</sup> Normally, he would then have been taught by a grammarian, but in speaking of Chrysanthius Eunapius says: 'he educated the author of this work from boyhood,....' (500). It would be remarkable if a rhetor and philosopher of Chrysanthius' abilities (e.g. 504) had performed the duties of a humble grammarian, although this might be explained by the family connection between Chrysanthius and Eunapius. However, it is possible that the phrase ἐκ παιδείας which Wright translates 'from boyhood' has the sense 'from the end of boyhood' rather than 'from the beginning of boyhood'.<sup>58</sup> On this reading, Chrysanthius could have taught Eunapius rhetoric for a year or two before he went to Athens. It would not be unusual if Eunapius had begun his rhetorical studies in his early teens,<sup>59</sup> and his claim to have memorized 'most of the works of the ancient writers' (485) by the time he went to Athens at the age of sixteen gives some added support to this view.

Eunapius' claims about his mastery of classical literature must be treated with caution and placed in the context of the canon of authors which were read in the fourth century. He displays a knowledge of the following authors: Xenophon, Plutarch, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Lucian, Aristophanes, Eupolis, Hesiod, and Pindar. Quotations from Plato and from

the Iliad and Odyssey are very frequent. (For precise citations, see Appendix I.) This list is not impressive, but it would be rash to assume ignorance on the basis of silence;<sup>60</sup> Eunapius can scarcely have failed to read Herodotus. History and biography offer somewhat less opportunity for displaying familiarity with the classics than does epideictic oratory, and moreover, Eunapius had an aversion to using quotations, at least at times. He criticizes the sophists who contested with Prohaeresius because they never said anything original; in this case they relied upon Aristeides (488). Nor is it surprising that an atticist like Eunapius should have avoided citing Herodotus (cf. below pp. 249 ff.).

Eunapius was of course familiar with later Greek literature. Aristeides has been mentioned above and two of the most important stylistic influences upon Eunapius were Philostratus and Herodian.<sup>61</sup> The Histories were a continuation of Dexippus' Chronica (frr. 1 and 8, and chpt. XIII). He knew the writings both of the Neoplatonists Longinus, Porphyry, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Sopater and of recent and contemporary sophists like Libanius, Diophantus, and Himerius.

In all this, there is no mention of any Latin author: Eunapius is no exception to the rule of exclusive Hellenism. Indeed, Claudian and Ammianus Marcellinus are the only two Greeks from the fourth century who are known to have read widely in both literatures and to have written major works in their second language.<sup>62</sup> Eunapius doubtless knew some Latin, but there is no reason to think he was fluent. He was aware of the legal texts which Innocentius, Chrysanthius' grandfather, had written in the Roman tongue (500). The sarcastic tone of his comment that they are fine for those who are interested in such things suggests that he did not read them himself. Eunapius was generally hostile towards lawyers as his condemnation of the

money-making parasites of Sosipatra's school clearly shows (471), and he would have had little cause and less desire to learn legal Latin. His etymological digressions on Roman institutions like the pontiffs (Zosimus IV, 36 and Chpt. X) and the snippets of Republican history probably derive from Greek sources like Dexippus (cf. fr. 1).

On this point, Eunapius bears comparison with Libanius who was also ignorant of Latin.<sup>63</sup> Libanius is even careful to correct the mistaken idea held by some people that his great-grandfather was Italian because he had composed a speech in Latin (Or. I,3). In the course of congratulating Themistius on his entering the senate of Constantinople, Libanius tells him that he had to have the letter translated which announced the adlection (ep. 434). Since Eunapius, like Libanius, never served in the army or the Imperial bureaucracy, he had probably never even acquired much, if any, spoken Latin.

Libanius is also a convenient standard by which to measure the breadth and depth of Eunapius' learning as a sophist.<sup>64</sup> Libanius knew the principal authors thoroughly and had a full command of the traditional material of poetry, oratory, history, the dramatists, and Plato, but his range is limited. Pindar appears to be the only classical lyric poet of whom he has direct knowledge, and this is probably confined to the Olympians; Alexandrian poetry is ignored. Classical drama is well represented, but there is little Menander and his mastery of the vocabulary of comedy, upon which Eunapius remarks (496), seems to have been acquired from the lexicon. History means Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon; philosophy is Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates although Libanius is not unaware of Neoplatonism. His knowledge of oratory is encyclopaedic, especially of Demosthenes, and he was thoroughly familiar with the Second Sophistic, particularly Aristeides

and Philostratus as well as Lucian and Dio Chrysostom. Libanius also did his best to keep up with the writings of his contemporaries like Julian and Themistius.<sup>65</sup>

Libanius may be taken as the standard of sophistic erudition, once allowance is made for differences arising from the peculiar tastes of individuals. Eunapius was probably better acquainted with Neoplatonism, Plutarch (cf. 454), and biography, especially the Succession (below, chpt. IV). Because Himerius chose to affect a poetic style, he is unusually proficient in lyric. Claudian, too, is an example of this same general kind of erudition.<sup>66</sup>

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The Athens to which Eunapius came in 361/2 may have presented a rather desolate appearance. In 267 A.D., the Heruli captured Athens and destroyed much of the lower city including the Agora with its public buildings. The original walls were abandoned and the defended area of the city shrank to a small space to the north of the Acropolis. Stratigraphy shows that this wall was begun soon after the sack by the Heruli and some work was still being done on it in the last quarter of the third century. The extent of the devastation is revealed by the fragments of buildings from the Agora which have been discovered in the new fortification: the Temple of Ares, the Metroon, the Middle Stoa, the Odeion of Agrippa, the Stoa of Attalus, and the Library of Pantainos. Other unidentifiable pieces probably came from areas outside the Agora, although the Temple of Hephaistos survived to become a Christian church. The ruined district remained unoccupied until a rebuilding programme began c. 400 - the same time as at Sardis (above, p. 4) - for it was not until the beginning of the fifth century that the old outer circuit was made defensible again.<sup>67</sup>

Set against this is the evidence from Eunapius, Libanius, Himerius, and the Cappadocian Fathers for the lively 'university' life of the middle fourth century. Nor had all the glories of pagan art and architecture passed from Athens. The Temple of Asclepius was probably not even deconsecrated until shortly before the death in 485 of Proclus, the Head of the Academy; he went there to pray for the recovery of Asclepigeneia (Vita Procli, 29).<sup>68</sup> Similarly, Proclus' dream that Athena was coming to live with him places the removal of the statue of Athena Parthenos from the Parthenon at about the same time (Vita Procli, 30).<sup>69</sup> Synesius who visited Athens sometime between 395 and 400<sup>70</sup> speaks of the proconsul's removal of the pictures from the Stoa Poikile as if it were a recent event (ep. 54 and 136); they would have been there for Eunapius to enjoy.

Synesius' disparaging comments about Athens - it was now noteworthy only for its honey (ep. 136) - should not be taken quite at face value. Things may have changed in the thirty years since Eunapius studied with Prohaeresius, and, moreover, Synesius had the misfortune to be in Athens after Alaric's invasion of Greece. Although Athens itself was spared (Zosimus, V,5,8 and V,6), the Academy was outside the walls on the way to Megara and it was not rebuilt until the early years of the fifth century.<sup>71</sup> Synesius' adverse judgements on Athens may not be unaffected by the rivalry between that city and Alexandria where Synesius had been a pupil of Hypatia; the letters cited above show how much he resented Athenian academic snobbery.<sup>72</sup>

Eunapius' comment that Libanius 'resolved not to bury himself in a small town [Athens] and sink in the esteem of the world to that city's level' (495) does not necessarily support Synesius' point of view. It more likely expresses Eunapius' reading of Libanius' motives than Eunapius' own feelings. In any case, it does not so much reflect badly on the quality of

Athenian letters as emphasize the great drawing power of the new eastern capital, Constantinople. Libanius himself says of this time that the high point of an academic career was to be thought worthy of a professorial chair at Athens and he was clearly proud of his short-lived tenure of the post (Or. I,24-25). Libanius had other reasons, too, for wishing to leave Athens since his rapid success had made serious enemies of his rivals (Or. I,25).

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Eunapius' account of his years in Athens, sketchy though it is, includes some vivid anecdotes about academic life there in the mid-fourth century. He begins with a lively description of his arrival at Athens in the middle of the night. The captain of Eunapius' ship avoided the rival press gangs of students who lay in wait for newcomers at the docks, and took all the freshmen whom he had on board to Prohaeresius - who just happened to be an old friend of his. This great influx of new pupils occasioned much rejoicing in Prohaeresius' household since at this time battles were fought to win even one or two recruits. Eunapius, however, was too ill to participate; his companions had had to carry him to the city (485).

At this point, it is necessary to correct two errors made by the translator of the Loeb edition of the Lives. Eunapius was not accompanied to Athens by members of his family - somewhat unlikely in any event - but by other freshmen from Lydia. Wright renders the phrase πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι κατὰ γένος γε αὐτῷ προσήκοντες as 'several other persons, his relatives' (485). This is a possible meaning, although κατὰ γένος is suspiciously redundant. That it is the wrong meaning is proved soon after when Eunapius refers to the same persons as οἱ δὲ ὁμοεθνεῖς καὶ

ἐκ Λυδίας (486). Wright wrongly translates ὁμοθυμάδην as 'relatives'; this meaning is not given in Liddell-Scott-Jones.

Secondly, Wright explains the part played by the master of the ship thus: 'Here the captain kidnaps them all [the freshmen] for Prohaeresius'.<sup>73</sup> It is much more probable that these young men had arranged to study with Prohaeresius before leaving home and that the captain was carrying out the last part of his responsibility to see them safely to their journey's end. The students came, like Eunapius, from Lydia which was one of Prohaeresius' recruiting grounds (487/8)<sup>74</sup> and it is not impossible that the ship had been specially chartered. Athens was the home port, the captain was a close friend of Prohaeresius, and there is no hint in Eunapius' account of any coercion or trickery.

In Eunapius' own case it is virtually certain that he came to Athens intending to study with Prohaeresius and expected by him. When Eunapius was near death, Prohaeresius grieved for him although they had not yet seen each other. For his part, Eunapius feared that he would perish without having seen either Athens or Prohaeresius (486). This interpretation is corroborated by Libanius who had arranged beforehand to enrol with Epiphanius, as befitted a Syrian. However, Libanius lacked the protection which Prohaeresius provided for Eunapius and his friends and he was captured by Diophantus' students. He was kept under lock and key until he swore the oath to Diophantus, despite his own efforts and those of his would-be teacher. The words in which Libanius describes this state of affairs, ὁ σοφιστὴς μὲν ἐμοῦ, κείνου δὲ ἐγὼ στερόμενος, show that there must have been a prior arrangement with Epiphanius (Or. I, 16):<sup>75</sup> (Libanius' own methods of recruitment were more subtle, but no less earnest; his vast network of correspondence was put to good use soliciting pupils.)<sup>76</sup>

After enrolment came initiation. Because of the poor state of Eunapius' health, Prohaeresius entrusted Eunapius to his strongest and most distinguished students. They administered the ritual scrubbing at the baths, but spared him the usual horseplay and teasing. In fragment 28, Olympiodorus provides a fuller description of the ceremony as it was in the fifth century, probably little changed from the fourth. The freshman was taken to the baths by a group of his seniors; another group on the inside denied them entry until they had proved themselves by dint of much pushing and shouting. This will explain Prohaeresius' choice of muscular pupils to protect Eunapius. Once they gained entry, the candidate was bathed and then allowed to wear the student gown. Eunapius may still have been too ill to partake of the banquet which habitually followed the ceremony at the baths - and for which the freshman appears to have paid.<sup>77</sup> He makes no mention of it.

Prohaeresius' solicitude for the ailing Eunapius exemplifies an important feature of the educational life of antiquity and one which is significant for understanding the feeling with which many of Eunapius' lives were written. This is the reciprocal affection and duty which was supposed to exist, and often did, between the teacher and his pupils. The care which Prohaeresius showed for Eunapius finds a parallel, perhaps deliberately drawn, at the end of the Lives. Eunapius looked after Chrysanthius in his old age and once, when he was present at his teacher's request, saved him from being bled too much. When the doctors eluded Eunapius the following year, Chrysanthius died as a result of excessive blood loss despite the best efforts of Oribasius to revive him (505).<sup>78</sup>

Two other examples of this paternal concern are worth noting. Eunapius tells how when Porphyry was overcome with disgust at being human,

he went into retreat at Lilybaeum in Sicily. He would have died of starvation if Plotinus had not kept an eye on his whereabouts. Plotinus hastened to Sicily and restored Porphyry in body and soul when he was on the point of death (456). Eunapius' story differs significantly in detail from what Porphyry says in his Life of Plotinus (XI,113),<sup>79</sup> but both versions are equally illustrative of this relationship. Finally, in the Life of Isidore (Epit. Phot. 152), Proclus is said to have feared for Marinus because of the weakness of his body.<sup>80</sup>

The health of his pupils was not the only extra-curricular interest which the teacher had in them, although in Eunapius' Lives it is the most obvious. One example in the Lives of the opportunities which an important teacher had to exert patronage is the case of Eusebius 12. Prohaeresius so impressed the Romans that they later asked him to send them one of his own pupils. He chose Eusebius 12 because his character seemed suitable to Roman society: he knew how to be obsequious and flattering to great men (493).

However, to get a view of the full range of a sophist's activities in behalf of his students, it is necessary to turn to the correspondence of Libanius. His profession figures in some seven hundred letters of which about five hundred, a third of the surviving total, are written to his pupils, their parents, or to obtain favours or advancement for them.<sup>81</sup> Libanius had heavy 'parental' responsibilities because many of his charges came from outside Antioch, a surprisingly high percentage being orphans,<sup>82</sup> and some were only eleven or twelve years of age.<sup>83</sup> Libanius' easy attitude towards fees has been noted above (p.14) and invariably he took the part of his pupils and tried to minimize their misdemeanours in the eyes of their parents.<sup>84</sup> He advised on the choice of a career, not always persuading them to do as he thought they should. Affection was not the only reason for

attempting to promote their professional success; the lustre of the protégés reflected upon the master.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the most important are the letters of recommendation and intercession: whenever possible he sends recent pupils to 'old boys' who have done well and draws heavily upon this common bond between them.<sup>86</sup> To take but one correspondent, sixty percent of Libanius' letters to his contemporary Themistius (twenty-four of forty) contain a request for a third party, although not all of them were former students.

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Even if Eunapius says little about his own activities at Athens, he tells three important anecdotes about Prohaeresius. Prohaeresius was the city's greatest rhetorician and, despite being eighty-seven years old when Eunapius first met him, he was still so vigorous in mind and body that Eunapius regarded him as a divine being, both ageless and immortal (485). Although Prohaeresius' intellectual pedigree is much shorter than that of Chrysanthius (below, p. 30), Eunapius furnishes evidence of his ability. Originally from Armenia, he studied first under Ulpian, the foremost teacher of rhetoric at Antioch (487), and then came to Athens where he was taught by Julian, a contemporary of Aedesius and the greatest Athenian sophist of the day (482).

Eunapius narrates two parallel incidents which are intended to give credence to his claims about the rhetorical prowess of Prohaeresius and, of course, Eunapius enjoys the reflected glory. These are also good illustrations of the eristic aspect of late rhetoric as manifested in the factional feuds of students and their teachers,<sup>87</sup> as well as of the control which the proconsul of Achaëa exercised over education at Athens.<sup>88</sup>

The pupils of Apsines, the rival of Julian, defeated Prohaeresius and his comrades in a fight and then charged them before the proconsul. At the climax of a trial during which the proconsul rigorously prevented any breach of Roman legal procedure, Prohaeresius made a magnificent speech and won their acquittal (483-4). Years later on the death of Julian, there was a contest to select his successor.<sup>89</sup> Prohaeresius' opponents combined against him, bribed the proconsul, and drove him out of Athens. However, a younger and more favourable proconsul was appointed and, with the emperor's permission, Prohaeresius returned to Athens and routed his rivals by a brilliant display of invention and memory. The proconsul himself acted as the moderator (489).

Prohaeresius also received the signal honour of being summoned to Gaul by the emperor Constans who fêted him there and then sent him on to Rome. The Romans were so impressed that they set up a life size bronze statue in his honour and inscribed it: Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΓΩΝ (492). He is, in fact, the only fourth century Athenian sophist who is known to have had a statue erected to him - as against three from the fifth century: Plutarch, Lachares, and Philtatius.<sup>90</sup>

Eunapius says that in the time of Julian the Sophist the antagonism between Town and Gown was so great that it was not safe for the teachers to lecture in public and so they taught in their own houses, even constructing small theatres for the purpose (483) (above p. 14). However, Eunapius sets this conflict firmly in the past and the situation had doubtless improved by his own time. He does tell how the defeated rivals of Prohaeresius tried once more to overthrow him by bribing certain of the more powerful citizens, but without success (490). Eunapius probably has

in mind the prominent members of the city council, for the council was often entrusted with choosing the salaried sophists and had powers of dismissal as well,<sup>91</sup> although in the fourth century the proconsul frequently took the initiative.<sup>92</sup> Here it may be the influence of the local magnates with the proconsul which is important.

There are many examples to be found outside Eunapius' Lives of contention and violence in fourth century sophistry of which only a few need be given here.<sup>93</sup> Himerius was knifed (Or. LXIX) and once addressed a reproving speech to those students who were more given to skirmishing than to studying (Or. LXV). The attitude of the participants is exemplified by Libanius who at one time looked forward with great glee to distinguishing himself in fighting and kidnapping. As it happened, Libanius was so angered by being kidnapped himself that he refused to support Diophantus' faction and was thus saved from ruining his educational future (Or. I, 19-22). Nevertheless, Libanius' teaching career was marked by a series of confrontations with rival sophists. Eunapius records that the Palestinian sophist, Acacius 6, overthrew the supremacy of Libanius by demonstrating that he was the better speaker (497). Acacius taught in Antioch until the summer of 360 when he went back to Palestine for a festival and stayed on; presumably the quarrel occurred not long before then (ep. 274). Yet Libanius and Acacius seem to have become reconciled and to have remained on fairly good terms, to judge by the letters which they exchanged (e.g. ep. 1284). Libanius, for instance, recommends Paeanius to Acacius when he goes to Palestine in 364 to begin practice as an advocate (ep. 1306).

His quarrels were not always so amicable. Libanius' conflict with one of the official sophists in Constantinople, Bearchius, reveals the sort of dangers which Prohaeresius may have faced when he was forced into exile.

Bemarchius enlisted the aid of other discomfited sophists and took advantage of the riots of A.D. 342 (between the Arian Macedonius and the orthodox Paulus over the succession to the patriarchate of Constantinople) to have Libanius imprisoned on a charge of magic.<sup>94</sup> The proconsul Alexander who had been wounded in the disturbances was replaced by Limenius, a partisan of Bemarchius' faction. Although Libanius was protected by his rank, his copyist was tortured. Libanius considered himself fortunate to escape with his life to an official appointment at Nicaea, and shortly thereafter to Nicomedeia. Limenius even attempted to thwart Libanius in this (Or. I,37-50).

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Eunapius gives a few more details about his own activities in Athens. He did not confine himself to the teaching of Prohaeresius, for he knew Prohaeresius' rival, Diophantus, and often heard him give public declamations. Eunapius thought him vastly inferior to Prohaeresius and considered that his speeches were not worthy of being quoted. Equally, Eunapius frequently listened to lectures by Sopolis who strove valiantly to reproduce the style of the ancients and seldom succeeded (494). Indeed, Eunapius would have been forced to attend other sophists than Prohaeresius since he was in Athens during the period when Julian's edict against Christian teachers (C.Th. XIII,3,5) was in force and Prohaeresius refused the special exemption which Julian was prepared to grant him.<sup>95</sup> In any case it was normal practice, as Libanius says (Or. I,16), to attend the public lectures of the other official sophists and not just those of the one to whom the student owed his allegiance.<sup>96</sup>

It was probably during his stay in Athens that Eunapius became

acquainted with the sophist Tuscianus, a contemporary of Prohaeresius and the source of several anecdotes (484), and with the sophist and painter Hilarius whom he compares to Euphranor (482). His initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries likely took place when he was a student. The ceremony was performed by the same hierophant who had initiated Julian the Apostate and whom Eunapius heard prophesy the end of his priestly office and the destruction of the temples of Greece (475-6). It was during his youth ( $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\iota$ ) that Eunapius met Maximus of Ephesus (473) who was the most notorious theurgist of his day and a dominating influence on Julian. Maximus, however, is not known to have been in Athens at this time and the meeting could have taken place either before or after. The term  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  is applied to young men up to the age of at least thirty<sup>97</sup> and Maximus and Chrysanthius were close associates (cf. 474, 476/7, and 500/501).

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At the end of five years in Athens, Eunapius wanted to go to Egypt (below, p. 34), but his parents insisted that he return to Lydia and he complied. He became a sophist as everyone was urging him to do (493) and spent the mornings teaching rhetoric to his own pupils (503). It was normal for the school day to begin early and to end at noon unless the sophist was over-burdened with pupils and individual tuition.<sup>98</sup> In the afternoon, Eunapius went to Chrysanthius for instruction in religion and philosophy (503). This would have been Neoplatonic philosophy and probably Eunapius' first real study of it, for he says that although he was taught by Chrysanthius from boyhood, even in his twentieth year<sup>99</sup> he was scarcely thought worthy of initiation into the truer doctrines of the philosophy of Iamblichus (461). Serious philosophy, like medicine and law, was a subject studied at the 'graduate' level<sup>100</sup> and Eunapius is following accepted

practice. In addition to religion and philosophy, Chrysanthius may have taught Eunapius theurgy and divination, for he had assisted Maximus of Ephesus in teaching theurgy to Julian the Apostate (475). Eunapius' reticence about himself in this regard is understandable in view of the frequent persecutions for magic.<sup>101</sup>

Whatever Eunapius' own merits as a student, his intellectual pedigree was of the highest quality. Chrysanthius had studied at Pergamon under Aedesius who had himself been taught by Iamblichus (458). Iamblichus was the pupil first of Anatolius who ranked next to Porphyry, then of Porphyry himself. H.-I. Marrou has a warning about the lack of biographical information on Iamblichus, and says that Eunapius' statement *Πορφύριον προσθεὶς ἑαυτὸν* (458) need not mean a personal attendance upon Porphyry, but only a study of his books.<sup>102</sup> He is surely being over-cautious. Porphyry first studied with Longinus and then went to Rome where he became the disciple of Plotinus (456). Granted that it does not reveal how competent a philosopher Eunapius actually was, the fact of his being in the direct line of succession from Plotinus cannot be dismissed as irrelevant.

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Here it will be convenient to treat briefly the relationship between philosophers and sophists in the fourth century. The conflict between rhetoric and philosophy in the classical period is familiar in the persons of the two great protagonists, Isocrates and Plato. The subsequent course of this conflict has been deftly traced by H.-I. Marrou.<sup>103</sup> From the time of Aristotle, philosophers accepted rhetoric as a useful technique and a propaedeutic study: the Stoics even made it an integral part of their logic. But rhetoric triumphed in an insidious fashion as Hellenistic philosophers adopted the techniques and forms of the rival profession and themselves

became rhetors as well. Philostratus, for instance, begins his Lives with accounts of those men who were really philosophers, but seemed to be sophists (Ph. 484).

This state of affairs continued. During the Second Sophistic, there still remained some elements of the rivalry.<sup>104</sup> Philostratus was a sophist and his Lives, with the exception of the introductory section, deals purely with sophists. Aelius Aristeides took up the cudgels again with Plato in his oration, To Plato: In Defence of Oratory.<sup>105</sup> By the time of Eunapius and Libanius, the distinction between philosophers and sophists was still to be found, but faced with the challenge from Latin, law, and Christianity, philosophers and sophists had become allies in the cause of Hellenism.<sup>106</sup>

Libanius himself maintained this distinction, although he was far from ignorant of philosophy.<sup>107</sup> His methods of thinking and expression are different from those of a philosopher like Synesius: the latter, for example, wrote a political allegory, the Aegyptii, while Libanius seldom used this technique.<sup>108</sup> At times in Libanius, the term philosopher takes on a meaning akin to that given it by contemporary Christian writers: 'a highly moral and self-controlled person'.<sup>109</sup> Yet the word still retains its academic meaning and in one letter to Themistius, Libanius even seems to admit the superiority of philosophy over rhetoric. He writes to Themistius to tell him that he is pleased that Julianus 15 is leaving him to study with Themistius, for Themistius, being a philosopher, has more to offer educationally (ep. 667). Themistius had himself been well-trained in grammar and rhetoric<sup>110</sup> and Libanius several times praises his eloquence. In a letter to Andronicus 3, Libanius says that Themistius could tame the Scyths by speaking, although this may also be an ironic jibe at Themistius' policy of appeasing the barbarians (ep. 515).<sup>111</sup> In letter 368, Libanius congratulates Themistius

on his embassy to Rome and says that Telemachus was not more like his father than Themistius' speeches are like Demosthenes'; high praise indeed, given that Demosthenes was Libanius' chief model and object of study.<sup>112</sup>

A similar picture of the rhetorical training of philosophers emerges from Eunapius' Lives. Eunapius, it will be remembered, studied both rhetoric and philosophy and taught the former (503). Chrysanthius was an adept sophist as well as a philosopher and theurgist (502). When Chrysanthius was still a youth - but doubtless after the grammatical stage - he went to study with Aedesius, reading first Plato and Aristotle and then turning to every other school of philosophy. Apparently he learned rhetoric at the same time and this may have been in part a survival of an earlier practice whereby certain branches of philosophy were propaedeutic to rhetoric.<sup>113</sup> Finally, Chrysanthius devoted himself to comprehending the nature of the gods and the wisdom of Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana, and became an adept in every branch of divination (500).

By contrast, Eunapius finds it remarkable that Chrysanthius' son possessed great oracular powers despite never having learned either verse composition or grammar; Eunapius attributes this untaught ability to his 'kinship and affinity with the gods' (504). After his first imprisonment, Maximus tried to re-establish himself by giving public declamations, but he lacked the natural gifts and enjoyed little success until he returned to lecturing on philosophical subjects (480). Epiphanius, Diophantus, and Sopolis (493-4) all appear to have been sophists without philosophic pretensions; Prohaeresius may have been different.

Prohaeresius was certainly a sophist and there is no indication that he taught philosophy. However, Eunapius stresses his ascetic way of life, the most notable example being his feats of endurance during the Gallic

winter (492). Prohaeresius may have been continuing the tradition of his predecessor, Julian, whose house Eunapius thought to be 'poor and humble' (483) - although this is a relative rather than an absolute definition of poverty (above, p. 14). In general, he possessed the self-control required of a philosopher although the nearly simultaneous death of his two daughters shook him so badly that he needed the help of his friend Milesius to recall him to reason (τὸν λογισμὸν) (493).

The combination of the two professions continued in the fifth century. Proclus began his education with the grammarian Orion and then took up his father's profession of law. He was also studying rhetoric with Leonas and only became interested in philosophy in the course of a trip to Constantinople. He had accompanied Leonas there so as not to interrupt his rhetorical studies (Vita Procli, 8 and 9). Syrianus, Proclus' predecessor, has left rhetorical writings and Damascius, the last Head of the Academy, taught as a sophist at Athens. In these cases, the cause may well be economic since there were at that time only three chairs of philosophy: at Athens, Alexandria, and Constantinople.<sup>114</sup> Equally in the time of Eunapius, philosophy was not the most financially rewarding of professions. Aedesius' father was very displeased when he learned that his son had passed up the chance for a more lucrative career (461). Many of Sosipatra's pupils failed to observe the philosopher's disdain for gold and practised in the law courts, thus earning Eunapius' utter contempt (471).

### III 1 Iatrosophistry

It has been mentioned above that Eunapius was planning to go to Egypt after his five years of rhetorical studies in Athens (493). Eunapius does not say why he desired to do this, but three reasons besides tourism are worth considering. The first, that he wished to further his rhetorical education, is not very likely since he had completed the usual length of time and Athens was the pre-eminent centre for this field.

The second is that Eunapius wanted to study philosophy and religion and this could well have supplied part of the motivation. Eunapius does say that Alexandria was an important religious centre because of the Serapeum; the philosophical reason is more doubtful since Neoplatonism does not appear to have been taught much at Alexandria in the fourth century.<sup>115</sup> He might have desired to meet Antonius, the priest-philosopher son of Sosipatra, who dwelt at Canopus and was frequently visited by those who came to worship at the Serapeum. Yet Eunapius could not have learned from him what Chrysanthius taught, for Antoninus, as Eunapius says, respected the imperial laws against magic. He eschewed theurgy and wonder-working and refused to answer questions about things divine, although he would propound Plato at length (471-2).

The third possibility remains: that Eunapius intended to study medicine at Alexandria. Eunapius was a iatrosophist and his interest in and knowledge of medicine is undisputed (below, pp. 40 ff.). Hence it is quite possible that he wanted to become a proper doctor. The fact that everyone was urging him to become a sophist suggests that he had another career in mind, perhaps medicine. From the Hellenistic period through late antiquity, Alexandria was noted for its medical school.<sup>116</sup> Ammienus says that it is

sufficient testimony of a doctor's ability for him to say that he was trained at Alexandria (XXII,16,18). It is even possible to speculate upon the person with whom Eunapius might have studied. This is the iatrosophist Magnus 7 who is known to have taught in Egypt at least from 364 to 388<sup>117</sup> and of whom Eunapius writes a short life (497 f. and below, pp. 37 ff.).

Because of the neglect of the subject of iatrosophistry and the bad fame often attached to it,<sup>118</sup> it is necessary to deal with Eunapius' predecessors and contemporaries in order to place him and iatrosophistry in their proper perspective. There were also iatrophilosophers, but given the way in which the subjects of Eunapius' biographies combined rhetoric and philosophy, iatrosophistry and iatrophilosophy may be regarded as the same phenomenon.

The connection with medicine can be traced back to the beginnings of Greek philosophy: it need not be done here. In general, it may be said that from Hippocrates to Galen and beyond, doctors were not content to be mere technicians, but wished to be regarded as partaking of the common humanistic culture: to be cultivated men educated in the classics, able to speak like a rhetor and dispute like a philosopher.<sup>119</sup> As a prelude, it will be useful to outline the ideas of two men: Plutarch and Galen.

Philosopher and biographer, Plutarch wrote a dialogue, De Tuenda Sanitate Praecepta,<sup>120</sup> in which he gives rules for healthful living. The preface consists of a conversation between two philosophers, Zeuxippus and Moschion, who oppose the idea of Glaucus, a physician, who said that philosophers ought not to study medicine because the two subjects are utterly remote (122C). The philosophers maintain that medicine, besides being useful for keeping healthy, is as important a member of the liberal arts as geometry, dialectic, or music. Philosophers should study all honourable subjects

together, and in their discussions aim at the pleasant and the essential (122D f.).

Galen is perhaps the best example of the polymathic learning of the Second Sophistic. He not only knew about but also wrote on the three subjects of medicine, philosophy, and rhetoric.<sup>121</sup> His rhetorical works were philosophical, but he did give public anatomical displays and it would not be straining the terminology too far to call him a iatrosophist. Indeed, his first teacher in medicine, Saturos, was a iatrosophist, for he can be identified with the Saturos who treated Aelius Aristides in Pergamon and was depicted by him as a worthy sophist.<sup>122</sup>

Galen's ideas on the connection between philosophy and medicine are expressed in his essay: 'The Best Doctor is also a Philosopher.'<sup>123</sup> His point of view, not unexpectedly, is the reverse image of Plutarch's: that is he discusses the value of philosophy to medicine and doctors, rather than the value of medicine to philosophy and philosophers. In brief, doctors need to be philosophers in order to learn their art and to practise it (p. 61). Logical training and knowledge of science are necessary if they are to understand anatomy and the aetiology, diagnosis, and treatment of disease. They must have the moral strength of the philosopher to be able to resist lust, avarice, and luxurious living, and hence have the strength and time both to practise medicine and to increase medical knowledge through research. Only by being such a physician can one live up to the example of Hippocrates.

Other examples of this combination of professions have been collected by M.N. Tod.<sup>124</sup> Ortesinus of Rome was a philosopher and doctor (I.G. XIV, 1900), as was Asclepiades of Prusa in Bithynia (ibid., 1142) who came to Rome in the first century B.C.<sup>125</sup> Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lydia, Rhodiapolite, Rhodian, and priest of Asclepius, was honoured by the council, people, and

gerusia of his city during the Imperial period. In the inscription (I.G.R. III,733), he is said to have excelled as doctor, poet, historian, and philosopher. Another important example from this period is an Athenian by the name of Serapion. A member of the old and notable family, the Statii of Chollidae, he was a poet and philosopher with at least some interest in medicine: his poem, carmen de officiis medici moralibus, is engraved upon his monument. He was a contemporary of Plutarch and it was to him that Plutarch dedicated his dialogue on the epsilon at Delphi.<sup>126</sup> There is also Sextus Empiricus who combined sceptical philosophy and medicine; his date is uncertain, but he probably lived some time between Galen and Diogenes Laertius, about A.D. 200.<sup>127</sup>

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Having dealt with the antecedents, it is now time to turn to the evidence given by Eunapius in the Lives. He has biographies of one teacher, Zeno of Cyprus, and three of his pupils. These three are well selected, for each of them specialized in a different area and thus it is possible to gain an idea of the range of activity pursued within fourth century medicine. Ionicus specialized in clinical medicine, Magnus in rhetoric and teaching, and Oribasius in philosophy and academics.

Eunapius devotes only a paragraph to Zeno (497), and there is no other mention of him in ancient sources. He lived only until the time of Julian the Sophist (c. 340?) and thus is not identical with the Zeno of Alexandria to whom Julian the Apostate wrote<sup>128</sup> and whom he reinstated there.<sup>129</sup> Eunapius' Zeno had trained himself in both oratory and medicine and he established a celebrated school. Some pupils took up one profession, some both, but in any case they prospered.

Eunapius has more to say about his well known pupil, Magnus (497-8).<sup>130</sup>

He was a native of that Antioch which lay beyond the Euphrates and was called Nisibis in Eunapius' time. He gave added force to his rhetoric by quoting Aristotle, but he was said to be less able as a healer than as an orator. Possessed of great powers of persuasion, he used to convince those who had been cured by other doctors that they were still sick. Yet he was a serious and successful teacher, for he was specially assigned a public school at Alexandria where he taught both medicine and rhetoric; his pupils never failed to acquire either the power of fluent speech or the ability to do something practical.

Nor is one totally dependent upon the testimony of Eunapius.

Philostorgius approved of him and mentions his teaching in Alexandria during a brief discussion of physicians (H.E. VIII,10). Libanius wrote to him in 388 and this letter (843) confirms his paganism. Libanius mentions him in an interesting letter (1208) written to Marius, the governor of Phoenice<sup>131</sup> whom he begs to employ his former pupil, Chrysogonus.<sup>132</sup> After studying rhetoric with Libanius at Antioch, he had gone to Alexandria in the hope of studying medicine with Magnus, but he was not accepted. (One of Libanius' pupils who was successful in his medical career was Olympius 4; he practised at the Imperial court.) This letter shows that rhetoric was thought to be propaedeutic not only for such subjects as law, but also for medicine. It also confirms Eunapius' statement that Magnus ran a serious medical school and one which cannot have been too short of pupils.

Certainly he did not need to take one of Libanius' hard-to-place products.

Theophilus (de urin. proem. 5) says that Magnus was the author of a medical work, the *Περὶ οὐρῶν*, and his epigram on Galen survives.<sup>133</sup> Palladas wrote an epigram on his death in which he says that now Magnus has come to the Underworld, Hades fears that he will revive the dead.<sup>134</sup> Given the rest of

the evidence about Magnus, this is probably said with at least a grain of sincerity.

Ionicus is known only from Eunapius (499). A native of Sardis and the son of a distinguished doctor, Ionicus excelled in both the theory and practice of medicine and even carried out researches. In addition, he was well-versed in philosophy, oratory, rhetoric, and poetry. He throws an interesting sidelight on the topic of divination, for Eunapius says that he was competent in both kinds of it. The one is the ability to diagnose disease; the other is the mystical type. That Ionicus was adept at the second type should not impugn his medical science since he seems not to have used it for healing purposes. Even if he did one should remember that Galen sometimes prescribed on the authority of dreams.<sup>135</sup>

Oribasius is the most noteworthy of Zeno's students. Born of good family in Pergamon, he was coeval with Magnus whom he even outstripped at rhetoric (498 f.).<sup>136</sup> He had also mastered philosophy, for Eunapius says that genuine philosophers could converse with and learn from him. Nor did he neglect clinical medicine in which he attained the first rank. When exiled, he owed much of his success among the barbarians to his medical skill, and he was the personal physician of Julian the Apostate. Although one must allow for the bias of a friend and admirer in Eunapius' account, the list of his works, some of which survive, is impressive and he would have been at least learned. Among others, he compiled a synopsis of the works of Galen, the multi-volumed Collectiones Medicae, and the handbooks for Eunapius and his own son, Eustathius. Non-medical books included a treatise Περί βουλητικής and the memoirs which Eunapius used as a source for his Histories.<sup>137</sup> The account of Zeno's pupils ends with Theon 2. Eunapius says only that he gained a great reputation in Gaul (499).

Eunapius himself was a iatrosophist, although his medical competence was not of such a high degree as that of Zeno's pupils. He does not say when or from whom he learned medicine and he may have been largely self-taught; there is no evidence that either Chrysanthius or Prohaeresius knew any. Although Eunapius had a smattering of mathematics and physics,<sup>138</sup> this was probably, as in the case of Magnus, for use in speech-making. The two bleedings of Chrysanthius are the only direct evidence in Eunapius' own works for his medical ability (505). On the first occasion, Eunapius was present at Chrysanthius' request, and when he saw that too much blood was being taken, he ordered a halt since οὐδὲ ... ἀπείροσ ἦν ἰατρικῆς ὁ ταῦτα γράψων. On the second occasion when Eunapius was not present, too much blood was drawn off and Chrysanthius died. Eunapius did not do the bleeding himself and he deferred to Oribasius in the attempt to restore Chrysanthius, which suggests that his abilities were not quite up to professional standards.

Eunapius' kind of iatrosophistry is clarified somewhat by the dedication which Oribasius wrote for the handbook which he gave him.<sup>139</sup> Eunapius had requested Oribasius to give him the instructions for some simple remedies for use when travelling or in the country. Oribasius, however, says that he has given him more than that since Eunapius is much better than the average amateur doctor, having acquired not only some techniques, but some medical theory as well. Hence he includes information on bleeding, cupping, cathartics, and compound prescriptions. He adds that one of the more important uses of Eunapius' medical knowledge will be his ability to choose a good doctor, scarce in these degenerate times. There are many 'barber-surgeons' about who pretend to be real doctors, but know only such crude techniques as blood-letting. If this passage was written after the death of Chrysanthius, the implication is plain; if before, it is ironically

prophetic.

The Euporista is written in four books. The first deals with diet and regime from infancy through old age; the second covers materia medica. Book III is concerned with various diseases and the application of the drugs discussed in Book II. The last book outlines the diagnosis and treatment of diseases, proceeding in an orderly fashion from the head downwards. Oribasius concludes with an appendix which gives the formulae for the simple drugs which he has mentioned above.

Several times in the Euporista, Oribasius addresses Eunapius and these apostrophes are valuable indications of the extent of Eunapius' medical competence. In the proem, Oribasius says that he is only prescribing those treatments which can be effected without medical instruments, although in IV,36, he recommends syringing the ear with oil as a way to extract water. At I,9, Oribasius states that Eunapius will now know as much as most doctors about evacuations, admittedly not one of the more difficult areas of medical practice. The proem to Book III says that its purpose is to deal with acute cases which cannot safely await the arrival of a doctor and with diseases which it is easy to cure without the help of a doctor. In the chapter on quotidian fevers (III,5), Oribasius tells Eunapius that a skilled physician would track the progress of the disease by examining the urine and especially by taking the pulse, but that it is enough for Eunapius to recognize the crisis by observing that the paroxysms have the same duration and symptoms. Obviously Eunapius possessed little technical expertise.

The chapter on theriac bears out this impression (III,73). Theriac was used as an antidote for venomous bites and poisons. Oribasius, after stressing how difficult it is to prepare - even physicians themselves do not easily attain the requisite degree of experience - says that he does not

think it necessary to give Eunapius the formula. However, Eunapius is said to be very familiar with the use of theriac and to know good theriac from bad; he obtains his from Oribasius and those who prepare it in a similar fashion. This recalls Oribasius' statement in the dedication about Eunapius being able to choose a good doctor. Oribasius is always careful to point out to Eunapius the limits of his abilities, for example with regard to diseases of the eye (IV,14), and he concludes Book IV with an emphatic chapter on the importance of getting a doctor during the early stages of an illness.

The Euporista is in the main remarkably free from superstitious practices, although at least three remedies would fall into this category. Oribasius recommends hanging a strangled viper around the neck to relieve a sore throat (IV,71) and placing a jasper amulet on the thigh in cases of difficult childbirth (IV,113). The only extreme example is a remedy for colic. Wolf dung should be put in a deer skin tied up with a cord made from the wool of a sheep killed by a wolf. The prescription is then applied to the loins (IV,86).

Eunapius' general interest in the subject is shown by his attention to medical detail and his frequent use of medical imagery in the Lives and Histories. A few examples will suffice. There are the descriptions of his own illness at Athens (485-6), and, of course, the death of Chrysanthius (505). Although Eunapius has few details about Epiphanius, who died long before his stay in Athens, he takes the care to relate that both he and his wife died of blood-poisoning (494). His account of Himerius is very brief but notes that he died of epilepsy which attacked him in his old age (494). In the Histories, there is the description of the cause and course of a plague which wiped out a barbarian town (fr. 54), and a mention of the danger

to Julian's troops at Ctesiphon from a surfeit of provisions (fr. 22,3). The death of Julian was felt less keenly than it might have been because the army was afraid of what would happen next in the war: as doctors say, a greater pain drives out a lesser (fr. 23). Eunapius also had a remarkable interest in drunkenness and alcoholism: Subarmachius was always drunk, but because of his youth he was able to stay on his feet (fr. 77 and cf. frr. 60, 70, 76, 78, and 84).

Iatrosophistry was by no means the preserve of superstitious pagans. The mid-fourth century funerary inscription of the Christian C. Calpurnius Collego Macedo describes him as an able orator, philosopher, and archiaterus. The inscription to his son reveals that he followed the example of his father. W.M. Ramsay conjectures that they were the [adaptable] descendants of a local priestly family maintaining traditions of medical knowledge and the liberal arts. They were decurions of Antioch in Pisidia.<sup>140</sup> A good knowledge of medicine was one of St. Basil's intellectual accomplishments.<sup>141</sup>

From this survey, it should be clear that there is little reason to doubt that Eunapius and the iatrosophists whom he portrays were serious and honest in their knowledge and practice of medicine. They were following in the tradition of Galen and certainly cannot be dismissed as 'absurd charlatans'.<sup>142</sup>

Medical terminology and imagery were common literary devices of the period. Claudian compares Eutropius to an ulcer requiring treatment by the knife and cautery (Eutr. ii,14 f.); Alaric is likened to an ulcer which needs delicate handling (Get. 120 f.).<sup>143</sup> Similarly, Prudentius, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola use medical vocabulary,<sup>144</sup> as does Libanius.<sup>145</sup> Other people had actually mastered something of the science. Marcellus 7, who was magister officiorum (East) in 394-5, wrote a book de medicamentis

sometime after 401. It is known from the preface of this book that Eutropius 2, historian, praetorian prefect (380-1), and consul (387), was interested in medicine, and that Siburius 1, praetorian prefect (Galliarum) in 379, wrote on the subject. Gamalielus, patriarch of the Jews from 388 to 415, is said to have proved by experiment the efficacy of a remedy for the spleen (xxiii,77).

The connection of medicine with philosophy and rhetoric continued in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries - during the latter two particularly in Alexandria. Proclus had some reputation for healing, although he used faith rather than physic. His prayers in the Temple of Asclepius cured Asclepigeneia after the doctors had failed to do so (Vita Procli, 29). Proclus was also credited with rain making and the preventing of earthquakes (Vita Procli, 28). Asclepiodotus, Proclus' disciple, studied medicine with Jacob Psychrestus (Vita Isidori, Epit. Phot. 128-9, and fr. 201).<sup>146</sup>

In Alexandria the process can be traced whereby medicine which began as the side interest to philosophy gradually became dominant. This is thought to have its origins in the fact that medicine, like rhetoric, earned the philosopher his livelihood, there being only the three chairs of philosophy at Athens, Alexandria, and Constantinople; the latter two were perhaps not very well paid.<sup>147</sup> Ammonius who succeeded to the chair of philosophy at Alexandria c. 470 had only a passing interest in medicine, but his pupil Olympiodorus, who taught philosophy there until after 565, made a serious study of Hippocrates; his disciple, Elias, may even have lectured on Galen. The later representatives are vexed with uncertainty. David, who lived not earlier than the beginning of the seventh century, is the first to whom a medical work is expressly attributed, a commentary on Hippocrates' Prognostic. The last professor before the Persian conquest in

617 was Stephanus of Alexandria who may be identical with Stephanus of Athens; in any case, the latter was both philosopher and physician.

### III 2 Later Life

Few details are known of Eunapius' life after his student years in Athens and these must be gleaned from scattered hints and statements in the Lives and Histories. In all likelihood, Eunapius lived the rest of his life in Sardis as a gentleman sophist who, in his mature years, turned to history and biography. The tenor of his existence may be found in his statement that he taught rhetoric to those who wished instruction (τοὺς δεομένους) (503); it is unlikely that he sought pupils with the vigour of Libanius or the Athenian sophists. Much of his time may have been spent in visiting his estates and travelling.

Yet there are indications that Eunapius took part in public life and that he mingled with the upper echelons of the provincial government. Ammianus records that Isaurian brigands were raiding Pamphylia and Cilicia in 368 and that the soldiers were too corrupted by luxury to offer any resistance. Therefore the vicar of Asia, Musonius 2, assembled some poorly armed light troops and took the offensive. The Isaurians ambushed the force in a defile and Musonius perished along with his men (XXVII,9,6). When Musonius rode out of Sardis against the brigands, Theodorus 12 sent for Eunapius to commiserate with him on the departure of their common friend and later wrote an epitaph on his death which Eunapius quotes (fr. 45). Musonius, of whom Eunapius speaks in glowing terms, had been a rhetorician in Athens, but since he was already vicar of Macedonia in 362, their acquaintance probably does not date from Eunapius' stay in Athens, but from Musonius' term of office in Asia. He could have been a family friend although his birthplace was in Pamphylia, not Lydia.

Eunapius may have been personally acquainted with Festus 3, the historian and proconsul of Asia (481 and fr. 39). In a tantalizingly brief

remark, Eunapius says that he learned of Festus' fall from office as an eyewitness (481); this would have occurred in 378.<sup>148</sup> Eunapius gives no details of time or place or why he was there. The death of Festus from the effects of a fall in the Temple of Nemesis following a vision he had of Maximus dragging him down to Hades is told in enough detail for it to be possible that Eunapius was present on this occasion, too, although he does not say so. Eunapius dates the event precisely to January 3 (380 is the most likely year<sup>149</sup>), but he does not say in what city the Temple of Nemesis was located.<sup>150</sup> Festus had executed Maximus and other intellectuals on charges of treason and magic; Ammianus condemns him in terms similar to those of Eunapius (XXIX,2,22).

When the vicar of Asia, Justus 2, helped by the governor (consularis) of Lydia, Hilarius 10, was reviving the worship of the pagan gods (which included the building of altars at Sardis) during the reign of Theodosius sometime before 396/7, he summoned all those who had a reputation for learning to a public sacrifice. Eunapius and Chrysanthius were present (503). Justus arranged a contest at divination which attracted many who wished to gain honour and wealth by impressing the vicar with their abilities. However, Chrysanthius made fools of them all by showing that the question was not properly posed and immediately became a great favourite of Justus (503-4).

As often happens in Eunapius' Lives, this incident has a parallel. Anatolius 3, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum in 357-360, also a zealous pagan, came to Athens, offered sacrifices, and visited the temples. He held a rhetorical contest and the problem which he set was every bit as ridiculous as the question which Justus asked. The other sophists wasted their time trying to decide what the 'constitution' of the problem should be, but Prohaeresius' tactics were different. Despite the unworthiness of the topic

which Anatolius had set, Prohaeresius found out what Anatolius wanted from one of the prefect's entourage and delivered the winning speech. Thereafter, he enjoyed the favour of Anatolius. Eunapius was not himself present, but he did his best to ensure that his account was accurate (490-1).

In fragment 83, Eunapius relates that upon a public occasion he taught that arch-Alexandrian, Hierax, to hold his tongue and even made him blush - to the amazement of the onlookers. This was the same Hierax through whose agency the magister militum, Flavius Fravitta, was executed. Fravitta was a barbarian general who won Eunapius' thorough approval for leading the pro-Roman party among the Goths (Zosimus, IV, 56, 1-3; and fr. 60), for his paganism (frr. 60, 80, and 82), and for adopting Roman ways (e.g. fr. 60 for his Roman wife). Hierax also plundered Pamphylia so badly, probably when he was governor, that the inhabitants of the province looked back upon the Isaurian raids as a golden period (fr. 86). All of which argues well for Eunapius' courage in using the sophist's right of free speech. Not until the reign of Pulcheria did Hierax finally pay for his crimes (fr. 87).

Finally, one of Eunapius' criticisms of Iamblichus is that he was not fitted by nature to write political history as one would be who was versed in politics (461). Given that Eunapius was writing political history of a type, he probably assumed that he had the necessary practical experience. Insofar as local and provincial politics are concerned, it is possible to agree with him.

The public role of the sophist in the fourth century, particularly as a mediator between the governors and the governed, is well known from the career of Libanius. A brief sketch will suffice here.<sup>151</sup> A famous sophist was still an important figure in his city and beyond, and his speeches still performed a useful public service, although now they were written to persuade

individuals, not to sway gatherings of citizens. Similarly, it matters little from the point of view of political dynamics whether or not Libanius pleaded in person as long as the speeches were sent. Liebeschuetz argues cogently for the likelihood of Libanius' speeches of social criticism being sent to Theodosius.<sup>152</sup> Theodosius did, after all, make Libanius an honorary praetorian prefect (probably in 383) and allowed his illegitimate son Cimon to inherit his property. Other powerful contacts at court were Themistius, Eusebius 26, perhaps magister officiorum in 388, Mardonius 2, perhaps praepositus sacri cubiculi in 388, the general Flavius Richomeres, consul in 384, and Ellebichus, magister militum from 383 to 388. The great pagan prefect, Tatian, consul in 391, and his son, Proculus 6, were others, although Libanius' relations with the latter during his time as comes Orientis from 383 to 384 were not always cordial.<sup>153</sup>

Libanius sent speeches to Julian for the sake of Aristophanes<sup>154</sup> who needed something more than curial immunity to restore his family's fortunes (Or. XIV), and in behalf of the city of Antioch after it had become estranged from the emperor (Or. XV). One of Libanius' greater services was to intercede with Theodosius' envoy, Caesarius, and the military governor, Ellebichus, after the Riot of the Statues in February 387. Libanius felt that he was responsible for the salvation of the city (Or. I, 252-3), although the Christians also claimed the credit.<sup>155</sup> He wrote to Themistius asking him to further the cause of an embassy from Antioch and at the same time to soothe the anger of Datianus 1, consul in 358, whose house had been burnt down by the Antiochene mob (ep. 1186). Once Libanius forced Philagrius 2, the comes Orientis, to stop a public flogging of some bakers during a corn shortage; this was done at considerable risk to himself, especially from the angry crowd which was ready to stone anyone who took the bakers' part (Or. I, 205-210).

Yet Libanius was not too proud to temper courage with prudence. He did not attack Julian's enemies until a year or two after the emperor's death, nor did he publish his speech against a law of Tatian until after the legislation had been rescinded. It is very doubtful that the Pro Templis was sent to Theodosius while Cynegius was praetorian prefect.<sup>156</sup>

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So much for Eunapius' actual participation in public life; more can be said about his ideas on the subject of participation. There are two main ones. The first is that philosophers should be withdrawn from the world; sophists, however, may take part in public life. In the strictness of its formulation this rule may be more or less specific to Eunapius' particular group of philosophers, the Neoplatonic school of Iamblichus and of Aedesius. The second idea is that sophists should restrict their activities to the traditional sphere of city politics: they should not become imperial officials or courtiers. The second was still a commonly held - if less commonly observed - ideal in the fourth century.

The dream oracle which Aedesius received clearly expounds what Eunapius and the Pergamene School thought to be the ideal life for a philosopher:

On the warp of the two Fates' spinning lie the threads of thy life's web. If thy choice is the cities and towns of men, thy renown shall be deathless, shepherding the god-given impulse of youth. But if thou shalt be a shepherd of sheep and bulls, then hope that thou thyself shalt one day be the associate of the blessed immortals. Thus has thy thread been woven (464/5).

Aedesius obediently bought a small farm, but already his fame as a teacher was so great that he was tracked down and forced to apply 'his talents to the inferior of the two ways' (465). Despite his original desire for solitude, Aedesius was sociable and democratic in his manner and tried, not always with success, to train his pupils to be the same. When he saw that they

were intolerant and overbearing, he attempted to instil in them a feeling of harmony and of responsibility towards their fellow man (481). Often when out walking, Aedesius would stop and talk shop with a vegetable seller, a smith, or the like (482).

Aedesius is contrasted with the tragic figure of Sopater, the most brilliant of Iamblichus' disciples. He became too proud to associate with ordinary men and went to Constantinople in the hope of dominating Constantine and moderating his policies. So great was Sopater's success that he aroused the jealousy of the courtiers, in particular the praetorian prefect, Ablabius. The prefect took advantage of a corn shortage at Constantinople and persuaded Constantine that Sopater had fattered the winds to prevent the grain ships from reaching the capital. Sopater was decapitated (462-3).

The theme of the jealous courtier undoing the work of the philosopher is found in the life of another of Iamblichus' pupils, Eustathius. In 358, this philosopher went on an embassy from Constantius to Sapor, the Persian king, and so persuasive was Eustathius that Sapor almost abdicated and took up the ascetic philosophical way of life. However, the magi became envious, destroyed Eustathius' influence over Sapor, and, as a result, the embassy failed (465-6); so Eunapius would have it.<sup>157</sup>

The other main contrast is between the two disciples of Aedesius, Chrysanthius and Maximus. Like Aedesius, Chrysanthius is taken as the model of philosophic deportment. Eunapius twice emphasizes the affable, simple, and kindly charm which marked Chrysanthius' character, nor was he ever insolent or proud (482 and 501/2). He did not concern himself with the affairs of the world, except for his own household, agriculture, and such money as he could honestly obtain (502). Julian did his best to persuade Chrysanthius to come to his court, sending an escort of soldiers and writing

to his wife, Melite, but Chrysanthius paid heed to the omens and refused. He allowed himself to be made high priest of Lydia, but his restoration of the temples was merely a token effort and he did not suffer under Julian's Christian successors. Eunapius commends his prudence and foresight (501 and cf. 476-8).

In contrast to Chrysanthius, pride is the dominant feature of Eunapius' characterization of Maximus. Eusebius 13, another of Aedesius' pupils, once commented to the future emperor Julian that Maximus scorned logical proof as being beneath his genius (475). Although he received the same ill omens as Chrysanthius did, Maximus kept sacrificing until he got signs which told him that he ought to obey Julian's summons to court (477). Eunapius thought that this journey was the beginning of all Maximus' troubles (501). Julian was so devoted to Maximus that he interrupted a meeting of the senate to welcome him when he arrived, much to Ammianus' disapproval (XXII,7,3). Eunapius' description of Maximus' influence at court (477) is corroborated by a flattering letter which Libanius wrote to him in 362, commending his power for good in the world and assuring him that the pagan restoration was proceeding apace at Antioch (ep. 694). Sadly, Maximus allowed his fame to spoil him, for he became insolent, more unapproachable, and wore clothes which were too luxurious for a philosopher (477). After Julian's death, Maximus was arrested and fined heavily for embezzlement; Priscus who had behaved at court as a philosopher should suffered no harassment (478-9). Although Maximus was pardoned through the efforts of Clearchus 1, then pro-consul of Asia, he later became implicated in the conspiracy of Theodorus and was executed by Festus (479-80; cf. frr. 38 and 39 and Zosimus, IV,13,4).

Eunapius' different attitude towards sophists is revealed in what he says about Libanius and Prohaeresius. He notes that Libanius had abilities

in public administration, but praises him for contemning any sort of fame other than that which a sophist could win. Eunapius even goes so far as to credit Libanius with refusing the honorary title of praetorian prefect which he did accept. Eunapius must be confusing the prefecture with the quaestorship which Julian offered Libanius, for this is the title he refused (496).<sup>158</sup> Yet it is clear from Eunapius' telescoped account of Libanius' early career that he did not approve of Libanius' search for fame and fortune in the important centres of the east. Libanius is said to have gone to Constantinople because he thought Athens was too small a stage for his talents, but he, like Sopater and Maximus, enjoyed only temporary success. A scandalous rumour drove him first from Constantinople and then from Nicomedeia until eventually he returned ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν (495).

Prohaeresius is a model of how a sophist should conduct himself with an emperor. When Prohaeresius was summoned to Gaul by Constans, he impressed the emperor so much that he was given a seat at his table. Imperial favour did not corrupt this ascetic sophist who still went barefoot during the Gallic winter and drank the near-freezing water of the Rhine. Prohaeresius was mindful of his duty to his city, for when Constans permitted him to ask for a present before he returned to Greece, Prohaeresius requested that several large islands should be assigned to pay a corn tribute to Athens. Eunapius expresses his approval by saying that this was in keeping with Prohaeresius' character. In addition, Constans honoured Prohaeresius with the title of stratopedarch, a civic not an imperial dignity (492).

Prohaeresius' civic patriotism is easily paralleled. The third century sophist and historian Dexippus is a good example. He held several important magistracies at Athens, including the eponymous archonship, and performed

liturgies. In his capacity as panegyriarchus, he would have fed the visitors to the Eleusinian festival. His family could easily have sought Roman office and a place in the Roman aristocracy, but it chose not to do so.<sup>159</sup> In the latter half of the fourth century, the philosopher and rhetor Iamblichus<sup>2</sup> was honoured by an inscription at Athens both for his wisdom and for helping to rebuild the walls.<sup>160</sup> In the fifth century, Proclus, the Head of the Academy at Athens, played a dominant role in the local council and was noted for his benefactions to the city (Vita Procli, 14 and 15). In his case, he may have been at least partly motivated by a desire to protect the Academy.<sup>161</sup>

Libanius would not have disagreed with Eunapius' assessment of his political outlook. No one felt the antipathy between Constantinople and the old, established cities like Antioch more keenly than Libanius. Eunapius himself had no love for the new capital - he says that Constantine transported to it the populations of other cities because he liked to be applauded in the theatres by a drunken mob (462) - but Sardis, because of its secondary importance, suffered no insult in not being chosen the capital. Libanius, like Eunapius, was basically opposed to Greeks pursuing careers in the imperial civil service or politics.<sup>162</sup> The only branch of the government to which Libanius felt any attachment was the civic; in his eyes, the imperial administration was Roman and somewhat foreign and should confine its activities to protecting the cities so that they could govern themselves.<sup>163</sup>

There is no need to accuse Libanius of hypocrisy in this attitude. Like so many of his generation, he did seek his fortune at Constantinople, but this would have given him a better appreciation of the deficiencies of such a career - nor did he ever want to abandon sophistry for the civil service. He does envy Themistius the power which this grand vizier figure

adopt an active anti-barbarian policy: to strengthen the frontiers and to purge the army.<sup>166</sup> Once when he was disheartened by the slaughter of the war against the desert nomads, he wrote to Hypatia that only his local patriotism kept him in Cyrenaica (ep. 124).

It is in his letters to Pylaemenes that Synesius reconciles activity with philosophical retreat. Synesius urges Pylaemenes to give up the practice of law and to become a philosopher (epp. 101 and 71). He tells him that he does his city no good by pleading in court, for it is philosophy which more than anything else makes those who possess it useful to individuals, families, and cities. Philosophy itself, admits Synesius, will not make cities prosperous since that requires the favour of Tyche. Synesius concludes that in general it is best for the philosopher to eschew public life, but that the same man can be both philosopher and patriot: if Tyche and circumstances require, then the philosopher will govern best (ep. 103). Hence Synesius became a bishop, although he doubted his abilities and regretted the loss of his philosophical otium (ep. 105).

It is Themistius who stands outside the common ethical framework of fourth century Hellenes, although he was not able to ignore it. Despite his paganism, he is in almost complete contrast to Libanius and Eunapius, nor does he share many of Synesius' views. Philosophically, he was not a Neoplatonist, but produced, in the tradition of his father, popular paraphrases of Aristotle.<sup>167</sup> This was anathema to Eunapius for whom philosophy had the character of a religion whose mysteries should be confined to initiates (461 and 475); Synesius agreed (e.g. epp. 143 and 137). Themistius maintained his position of prominence at the court of Constantinople for some thirty years, being adlected to the Senate in 355 and serving as prefect of the city in 384.<sup>168</sup> During this time he went on ten embassies for the Senate,

supervised the education of Arcadius, and wrote a multitude of speeches seeking, among other things, to direct the foreign and barbarian policy of the emperors.

Throughout this long career, Themistius had to defend himself according to the tenets of contemporary Hellenic political ideals.<sup>169</sup> The main objection which he faced was the belief that a philosopher should serve his native city - which is what Themistius always claimed to be doing - not be a mercenary expatriot serving in the militia. Even his adlection to the Senate aroused opposition and this hostility can explain why he refused the appointment as proconsul of Constantinople in 358-9 - if G. Dagron is right in thinking that he did refuse it.<sup>170</sup> In 384, Themistius attempted, without complete success, to justify his prefecture on the grounds that it was the natural outcome of a career devoted to Constantinople. Palladas' epigram about Themistius' choosing the inferior of the two chariots - the prefect's rather than the philosopher's - repeats in a vivid and concrete image the message of the dream oracle to Aedesius (above, p. 50).<sup>171</sup>

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So much for Eunapius the sophist: from birth to death. He lived at least until 414 since he mentions the empress Pulcheria who became Augusta on July 4 of that year. In 414, Eunapius would have been some sixty-eight years of age, perhaps several years older when he wrote the passage (fr. 87). Longevity was not uncommon among members of his profession in the fourth century.<sup>172</sup>

PART II

THE BIOGRAPHER

#### IV The Classical Succession

The putative second edition of Eunapius' Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists will be assessed in Appendix VIII; the whole of Chapter VIII will be devoted to the Lives as pagan hagiography, and some other aspects of the writing of the Lives will be treated along with the Histories. This part is concerned with the Lives of the Sophists as the last extant pagan representative of that genre of biographical writing known as the *διαδοχή* and which, for convenience, will be called the Succession. Sotion of Alexandria was the first to use this precise form - a series of short biographies of teachers and their disciples - to trace the history of the various schools of classical Greek philosophy. Chapters IV through VI attempt to trace the evolution of the Succession in order to determine Eunapius' place in the history of biography.

Eunapius wrote his Lives not long after A.D. 395, for he mentions Alaric's attack upon Greece (476) and the death of the sophist and painter, Hilarius, during that invasion (482). The work was probably composed about the years 399/400 since Eunapius speaks of how the pro-consul of Asia lost his independence because of recent unrest (*εἰς τὸν νεώτερον τούτου ἰσθμίου θόρυβον* [479]). These troubles are probably the rebellion of Gainas in 399.<sup>173</sup> C. Müller suggests 405 as a date for the Lives and F. Paschoud prefers 413 or later.<sup>174</sup> The latter depends upon accepting a heterodox theory about the Histories and even 405 is later than it need be. The Lives would not have required much research and could have been written quickly.

Eunapius is conscious of the weight of literary tradition behind him; he cites three authors whose work he aims, in part at least, to imitate and to continue. These are Porphyry, Sotion, and Philostratus (454). He says that Porphyry and Sotion each compiled a history of philosophy and of the lives of philosophers. Porphyry ended his account with Plato, and Sotion, although he lived earlier than Porphyry, dealt with successors of Plato. However, no one had treated the philosophers and sophists who came between Sotion and Porphyry, and thus Philostratus wrote his Lives of the most distinguished sophists. Except for Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana, no one had yet recorded accurately the lives of the philosophers of this period.

This last statement provoked a note from D. Wytttenbach in which he gives a long list of those who wrote lives of philosophers and severely castigates Eunapius' ignorance of them.<sup>175</sup> Eunapius' ignorance may be more apparent than real, for Wytttenbach's criticism is based upon a less than sound argumentum ex silentio.

First of all, Eunapius nowhere says that these three, Sotion, Porphyry, and Philostratus, were the only writers to compose such lives. It is more probable that Eunapius meant these to be representative only, and as such he has chosen the three who are most important for him. Sotion was the first to write a Succession of lives of philosophers and all later works of this type are to some extent modelled upon his (below p. 67 ff.). It is only to be expected that a Neoplatonist like Eunapius would have been familiar with Porphyry, the chief disciple and literary executor of Plotinus. Philostratus is no surprise, for he dealt with the sophists of the second and third centuries A.D., and hence, as far as style and content are concerned, is Eunapius' closest predecessor (below p.32 ).

The omissions cited by Wyttenbach also seem less serious if Eumapius' exact language is examined since what he says is not that no one wrote lives, but that no one did it sufficiently well: φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψεν ... and τούτων δὲ σαφέως μὲν καὶ ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἦν ἀνευρεῖν τοὺς βίους ... (454). Eumapius' statement in the preface: 'And inasmuch as there were few, or to say the truth, hardly any writers on this subject, ...' applies to the fourth century and not to the earlier centuries to which the two previous quotations are directed.

In this attempt to exonerate Eumapius, it is worthwhile to discuss briefly those writers who Wyttenbach feels could have composed acceptable histories of philosophers and sophists. Satyrus who flourished c. 200 B.C. did write lives of philosophers and poets, including the three great tragedians, but he included such other famous men as Philip, Alcibiades, and Dionysius the Younger.<sup>176</sup> It is clear that he did not draw up a Succession in the style desired by Eumapius.

Panaetius, who was born 185-180 and died c. 110 B.C., wrote the *Περὶ Σωκράτους* to give a true picture of Socrates and to make Socratic writings fruchtbar for the Stoa.<sup>177</sup> His work cannot be called a history of either philosophy or philosophers, dealing as it does with one philosopher and one body of writings.

Clitomachus succeeded his teacher Carneades in 129 B.C. as Head of the Academy.<sup>178</sup> He is not called a biographer by Diogenes Laertius although there would have been room for biography among his four hundred works. Laertius does cite the first book of his *Περὶ αἱρέσεων* (On the Sects), but for doxographical and not biographical details (II,92).

Apollodorus, born c. 180 B.C., wrote a *Χρονικά* of four books in iambic trimeter about the period from the fall of Troy until 144 B.C., or at least

until the overthrow of Macedon and Achaëa when Polybius also stopped. An appendix continued the account until 120, or perhaps as late as 110 B.C.<sup>179</sup> A fuller description of the contents is given by F. Jacoby in his monograph on Apollodorus.<sup>180</sup> Although most of the book was devoted to philosophers and sophists, poets, the seven sages, the lawgivers, historians, doctors, and rhetors were also included. The individual lives apparently had the usual form and elements: full name, home, dates of birth and death, sources, writings, discoveries, prizes, etc. Apollodorus gave school lists of philosophers containing not only the heads and important members, but names now known from no other source. However, given the scope of the work, the individuals cannot have been handled in much depth, and this, coupled with the variety of people included and the writing in verse, makes it unlikely that Eumapius would have considered this a suitable treatment.

Amphicrates is perhaps the same as the rhetor from Athens in the time of Lucullus, but little is known of him.<sup>181</sup> He wrote a book *Περὶ ἐνδοξῶν ἀνδρῶν* which is cited by Athenæus on the mother of Themistocles (XII,576c), and by Diogenes Laertius regarding the death of the philosopher Theodorus (II,101).<sup>182</sup> Both the title and the diversity of the citations show that this was not a conventional Succession.

Demetrius Magnes, an older contemporary of Cicero and a friend of Atticus, is very important for literary history because of the study which he compiled *Περὶ ὁμιλιῶν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων*. Much used in antiquity by such people as Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Athenæus,<sup>183</sup> this was a more serious work of biography than it may appear at first glance. Working from the fragments preserved in the Life of Thucydides by Marcellinus, the Life of Dinarchus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the Life of Aratus, A.M. Frenkian gives the following picture of the content.<sup>184</sup> Demetrius

began with a brief mention of the authors who bore the same name, giving their homeland, profession, and a short characterization. Then he returned to each author and discussed his life and works in detail (cf. chapter I of the Life of Dinarchus). Diogenes Laertius reproduces the abbreviated part of Demetrius' work, but it is impossible to know if Demetrius' lists included the painters, sculptors, and athletes now found in Laertius.

Philodemus (c. 110-28 B.C.) had the distinction of teaching Vergil and spent much of his time engaged in philosophical controversy.<sup>185</sup> The most pertinent of his biographical works is the τῶν φιλοσόφων σύνταξις to which Diogenes Laertius refers at X,3. Judging from fragments found among the Herculaneum papyri, this appears to have been a work similar to that of Sotion (below, p. 68) and to have covered the philosophical schools from the Pythagoreans to the Epicureans. It was a Succession of teachers and pupils and occasionally added doxographical material. Philodemus also wrote a polemical study, the Περὶ τῶν Στωικῶν, which contained important information on the history of the Stoa and its philosophical-historical literature. His biography of Epicurus, Περὶ Ἐπικούρου was rich in the history of the Epicurean school and is known to have cited his letters.<sup>186</sup>

Jason of Nysa who was born c. 90/80 B.C.<sup>187</sup> and followed Poseidonius as scholar at Rhodes wrote both biographies and philosophical histories. Βίαι ἐνδοξῶν and a φιλοσόφων διαδοχί as well as a βίος Ἑλλάδος and something on Rhodes are attributed to him.<sup>188</sup> Nothing much appears to be known of the contents.

Seleucus (Seleukos Homeriker) lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Harpocration (Dindorf, p. 222,12) cites a Περὶ βίων, but even if this was by this Seleucus, it appears to have been entirely concerned with

Homer.<sup>189</sup>

Plutarch was known to Eunapius as the author of biographies, in fact the Parallel Lives, but not of sophistic or philosophical biography (454). This is to Eunapius' credit since the two works of this type which have been attributed to Plutarch in the past are not genuinely his. These are the five books of the τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφας φυσικῶν δογμάτων and the βίαι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων.<sup>190</sup>

Favorinus of Arelate who was born c. A.D. 85 and died between 143 and 176 is said to have been the gelehrteste und angesehenste Sophist und Philosoph of the Hadrianic period.<sup>191</sup> He wrote a collection of anecdotes about philosophers of the classical period called the Ἀπομνημονεύματα and the twenty-four books of the παντοδαπή ἱστορία. The latter was used by Sopater and hence may have been familiar to Eunapius (below, p. 64); neither can be described as a Succession of lives.

Phlegon lived in the time of Hadrian and wrote among other things a history, but there is no record of anything resembling a Succession.<sup>192</sup> Similarly Nicagoras of Athens is only known to have composed βίαι ἐλλογίμων über Kleopatra in Troas.<sup>193</sup>

Because Diogenes Laertius is the only one of Wyttenbach's biographers whose work has survived intact, Eunapius' omission of him may seem more startling than it should. It could be simply because of Laertius' poor treatment of his subject; R. Hope has assembled an interesting collection of opinions about Laertius' merits.<sup>194</sup> Moreover, Laertius was never a popular author in antiquity. He was known to Sopater, Photius, the Suda (from Hesychius), Stephanus of Byzantium, Eustathius, and Tzetzes,<sup>195</sup> but he is not cited by any of his contemporaries. However, it is possible that

Eunapius was aware of him, for Photius says that Sopater used Laertius as one of the sources for his ἐκλογαὶ διαφόραι (cod. 161,104e). Although Eunapius does not give the titles of any of Sopater's writings, it is likely that he had read his works given that he describes him as 'a man who was most eloquent both in his speeches and writings' (458). Photius even praises the literary charm of the ἐκλογαί (cod. 161,105a) so that Eunapius would not have been discouraged by dullness of style.

There are two more important considerations. None of those biographers who can be shown to have compiled Successions, Apollodorus, Demetrius Magnes, Philodemus, and Diogenes Laertius, really supersedes Sotion's work. By the same token, none of them treated the period between Sotion and Porphyry - despite Wytttenbach's confident assertions to the contrary. The conclusions of this survey of Wytttenbach's biographers are confirmed by a search through the handbooks for those which he omits. Hermippus of Smyrna wrote in the style of Satyrus and is, like Aristoxenus<sup>196</sup> and Dicaearchus,<sup>197</sup> prior to Sotion, although he has some examples of organization into schools.<sup>198</sup> Antisthenes of Rhodes was a contemporary of Sotion.<sup>199</sup> Nicias of Nicaea followed Sotion<sup>200</sup> and Sosicrates of Rhodes imitated Hermippus and Satyrus.<sup>201</sup> Diocles of Magnesia,<sup>202</sup> Damon of Cyrene,<sup>203</sup> and Hippobotus<sup>204</sup> are shadowy figures who are not known to have added anything significant.

Eunapius was aware of the work of biographers other than Sotion, Porphyry, and Philostratus although he does not cite them as stylistic precedents. His acquaintance with Plutarch has been noted above (p. 63). Xenophon is referred to as a philosopher, important for his exposition of the moral virtues 'both in discourses and historical commentaries', but not as a biographer. The quotation from Xenophon that 'we ought to record even the casual doings of distinguished men' (453) is taken from the

beginning of his Symposium. Momigliano considers the Cyropaedia to be the most accomplished biography in classical Greek literature, but it is, as he says, a paedagogical novel,<sup>205</sup> and Cyrus was no sophist.

In Diogenes Laertius' biography of Xenophon (II,48), he remarks that Xenophon not only composed the Memorabilia, but was also the first to write a history of philosophy. No other traces of this work appear to exist, and even if Laertius is correct, it may not have been available to Eunapius. His omission of this history does not prove his ignorance of it; it may only indicate that Eunapius was more concerned with the significant representatives of his genre than with its ultimate origins. Eunapius was familiar with three more biographies: Lucian's Life of Demonax (454), Porphyry's Life of Plotinus (455), and Iamblichus' Life of Alypius (460).

Philostratus is much less interested in his predecessors than is Eunapius. He is well aware of the history of sophistry, indeed, he sketches it in his preface to Book I (Ph. 480-4), but he does not give the names of his sources, only the conventional αἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ ... φασί (Ph. 482). The one possible source or predecessor whom he names is the sophist and tyrant Critias (Ph. 480). Philostratus cites Critias as a precedent in defence of his practice of only giving the name of the father of a sophist when the father was himself illustrious. Critias only mentioned Homer's father because he was a river. It is not surprising that Philostratus should want to cover himself on this point, for it was usual in sophistic biography to give the name of the father and often other information about him as well.

This passage of Philostratus has prompted the speculation that Critias wrote lives similar to those of Philostratus. Indeed, lines of an hexameter life of Anacreon are preserved in Athenaeus (XII,600D),<sup>206</sup> and

the hypothesis was maintained by N. Bach in the early nineteenth century.<sup>207</sup>

This suggestion was flatly denied by Wilamowitz who termed it die naive vorstellung and pronounced his own solution: natürlich geht das auf eine stelle der Ὀμηλίας, in der auch Archilochus getadelt wird, weil er seine unedle mutter selbst genannt hatte.<sup>208</sup>

A fuller treatment of the problem is given by Wilhelm Schmid in 1940 who says that this fragment about Anacreon belonged to a Lehrgedicht.<sup>209</sup> The poet concerned always had his birthplace named, but no other conventional biographical details were given, only eine warme und lebendige Charakteristik. Schmid thinks that the work was geographically arranged according to the city, e.g. Smyrna for Homer, and along with Damastes' περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν and Alkidamas' Μουσείων, he places it among the earliest Schulbücher zum Literaturunterricht.

Although Wilamowitz is not unjustified in denying that Critias wrote lives in the way in which Philostratus did, the fact that the known fragments of the Ὀμηλίας are in prose makes Schmid's solution the more attractive.<sup>210</sup>

It is very doubtful whether Critias' work had much influence upon Philostratus, given the great differences in form.

Diogenes Laertius cites an impressive array of sources in his proem, but his interest in them is only incidental to his polemic and doxography. Unlike Eunapius, he says nothing about the extent or quality of their treatment, and although he later (II,48) credits Xenophon with being the first to publish the conversation of Socrates in the Memorabilia and the first to write a history of philosophy, this remark is made en passant and no details are given of either work. The relevant passages, if any, of the other biographers of this genre do not survive, and hence it cannot be determined if any showed Eunapius' general interest in the tradition.

Sotion of Alexandria is of primary importance for the history and form of this type of biographical writing. Panzerbieter showed by internal evidence that his work was composed between the years 200 and 150 B.C.<sup>211</sup> The Succession contained a life of Chrysippus who died after Apollodorus during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, that is about the year 206. The other date is fixed by Heracleides Lembus who lived under Ptolemy Philometor (181-145) and epitomized Sotion. This dating is still accepted, for Momigliano gives his floruit as c. 180.<sup>212</sup>

Sotion was long thought to be a Peripatetic philosopher and he was still described as such by Stenzel in 1927.<sup>213</sup> A. Hecker laid great emphasis upon this supposed fact in explaining Sotion's motivation for attacking the Epicurean Diocles.<sup>214</sup> Yet as early as 1891, F. Susemihl realized that there was no proof that he was a Peripatetic,<sup>215</sup> and F. Leo agrees that too little of the contents are recoverable to be certain.<sup>216</sup> Despite the importance which Leo attaches to the Peripatos in the development of biography, he judges Sotion's work to partake of the learned Alexandrian character rather than the popular Peripatetic. The latest authority to comment upon this question echoes Leo.<sup>217</sup>

Three works can be attributed to Sotion: the *Διαδοχή τῶν φιλοσόφων*, or Succession (DL proem), a commentary on Timon's *Σίλλοι* (Athenaeus, VIII, 336, d-f), and the *ἑλέγχοι Διοκλείου* (DL, X, 4). Of these, only the first is of concern here although the other two had a biographical flavour as well. The basic work on the overall content of the Succession and its individual books was done by Panzerbieter<sup>218</sup> with a parallel, but less significant, contribution from G. Roeper.<sup>219</sup> Their results are summarized in a table drawn up by H. Diels<sup>220</sup> and which is reproduced here.

- I Thales, vii sapientes, physici
- II Socrates, Aristippus
- III Socratici
- IV Plato
- V Academici
- VI Aristoteles et discipuli
- VII Cynici
- VIII Stoici
- IX Pythagoras
- X Eleatici, Democritus
- XI Pyrrhonii
- XII Epicurus
- XIII Barbari

There is a crux with regard to the number of books in the Succession, for the manuscripts read twenty-three books at Diogenes Laertius I,1 and I,7. Prompted by the Ambrosian translation, Panzerbieter proposed the plausible emendation of  $\psi$  for  $\kappa\psi$ , thus giving the Succession thirteen books. This conjecture is supported by the other citations in Laertius, for nowhere else does he refer to a book with a number higher than eleven.<sup>221</sup> Roeper arrived at the same conclusion.<sup>222</sup> This number of books is accepted by all modern authorities although it did not meet with universal favour at first.

In 1850, A. Hecker maintained that the Succession comprised twenty-four books.<sup>223</sup> This suggestion was curtly dismissed by Roeper in 1870;<sup>224</sup> it continues to languish in well deserved obscurity. A somewhat more attractive solution was proposed by Friedrich Nietzsche in 1870.<sup>225</sup> He would emend Laertius to read  $\epsilon\eta\tau\omega\iota \epsilon\iota\iota\kappa\alpha\pi\omega\sigma\iota\kappa\omega\iota$  with the result that the barbarians would be discussed in the proem and the Succession would contain twelve books. Roeper denies this on paleographical grounds and observes that even if Nietzsche is correct, this will not indicate whether the passage in question was a separate introductory work, or synonymous

with the proem, or just the first part of the first book.<sup>226</sup> Although this conjecture gives a possible result, on the grounds of analogy with Laertius, it has not been revived since its rejection by Roeper. Moreover, additional support for Panzerbieter-Roeper is furnished by Diels who notes that Hippolytus handled the Druids and Brahmins in an appendix.<sup>227</sup>

Sotion has a threefold importance: he was the first to write biographies of this type, his form remained the model, and his successors were conscious of his importance. Leo is a spokesman for the consensus when he says that so far as is known Sotion was the first to write such a history of philosophy, that is a Succession which sought to assemble all the Greek philosophers in a series of teachers and pupils. It is true that before Sotion this 'school' type of treatment had been used for other professions such as poets and kings, but after Sotion, the only Succession is the Succession of philosophers - or sophists. He is also responsible for the division of Greek philosophers into two great streams: the Ionic and the Italian.<sup>228</sup>

There is one caution. Felix Jacoby suggests that the first to write a Succession may not have been Sotion, but rather the Peripatetic Ariston to whom, along with nine others, Lykon gave the direction of the School in 228/5 B.C. He composed the lives of the four oldest heads of the Peripatos as well as of Heraclitus, Epicurus, and perhaps others so that it is conceivable that he was at least used by Sotion.<sup>229</sup> It may still be argued that the distinctive form is Sotion's contribution and certainly it is he and not Ariston who is cited as the representative biographer by Eunapius (454).

The influence which Sotion exercised on the form of the Succession is clearly seen in the work of Diogenes Laertius. Both he and Sotion distribute the philosophical schools in a similar fashion; this is illustrated

by the comparative table in Appendix II. It makes little difference whether Sotion was used directly by Laertius, as A.M. Frenkian is prepared to allow,<sup>230</sup> or only through the medium of his epitomator, Heracleides Lembus. Both cases demonstrate the long duration of his influence. Sotion was also cited by Athenaeus and a list of these citations in both Athenaeus and Laertius will be found in Appendix III. It is likely that Eunapius took the idea of treating his sophists and philosophers in the two parallel schools of Aedesius and Julian from Sotion or one of his imitators. Later biographers may owe something to Sotion with regard to the parts of the individual lives and their arrangement, although it is probably more true that any biography has some natural elements, and a natural form. Certainly the latter obtains once a chronological framework is adopted.

Leo considers it possible to reconstruct lives der bekannten Art and gives a useful collection of data.<sup>231</sup> Most of the citations are concerned with the relationships of pupil and teacher (cf. DL, IX, 21), and Sotion also took note of discoveries and innovations made by the philosophers (cf. Athenaeus XI, 505b which reveals an interest in literary history). Apophthegms were popular (cf. DL, VI, 26), and he included a critical list of the philosopher's writings (cf. DL, III, 85 and especially VI, 80 and VIII, 7).

There are other features worthy of note. Sotion does not shrink from such sordid details as Aristippus' liaison with the courtesan, Lais (DL, II, 74). He appears to have made liberal use of direct quotations (cf. DL, V, 79 and Athenaeus VIII, 336, def); the latter also serves as an example of Sotion's practice of citing his sources (cf. DL, IX, 5), one which Diogenes Laertius wholeheartedly adopted. Sotion carefully distinguished between homonyms such as the two Perianders (DL, II, 12), an aspect which found its culmination in Demetrius Magnes (cf. p. 4). His evident interest

in disease and other causes of death (cf. DL, IX, 5) was obviously shared by Laertius himself and later by Eunapius (e.g. Epiphanius and his wife, 494). There is no doubt that the individual lives had a natural or chronological framework and this is borne out by details of birthplace (e.g. for Epicurus, DL, X, 1) and age at the time of death (e.g. for Timon, DL, IX, 112). Philosophical doctrines and controversies found an important place, for this was a history, not only of philosophers, but also of philosophy (cf. DL, IX, 20). For all this, Leo thinks that Sotion did not have the space to treat each philosopher as fully as had Hermippus.<sup>232</sup>

\* \* \*

The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers by Diogenes Laertius is chiefly important because it is the only wholly surviving example of the conventional philosophical Succession. As such it is the principal source for the literary history of the Succession and its importance is enhanced because of the many earlier writers who are named and quoted. In addition, Laertius remains the main literary source for the history of classical Greek philosophy.

The date of composition of the Lives and the floruit of Laertius himself still defy certainty. There are only two fixed termini. Laertius mentions Sextus Empiricus who therefore lived either before or at the same time. Stephanus of Byzantium cites Laertius in the sixth century and therefore Laertius lived either before or at the same time as Stephanus. The usual solution is to date Sextus to the second half of the second century and Laertius to the early third century.<sup>233</sup> A different answer to the question has recently been proposed by Fridolf Kudlien who links together 'ancestors' of Sextus who can be dated and is able to locate him about

A.D. 100. He then conjectures from the favourable remarks which Laertius makes about Favorinus that he was a slightly older contemporary of this sophist. Favorinus was born c. A.D. 80 and this conforms with the evidence from Sextus to place Laertius' activity c. A.D. 100.<sup>234</sup> None of these arguments is more than suggestive, but all the evidence does point to Laertius' being a relatively late representative of the genre.

Diogenes Laertius' purpose in writing the Lives is nowhere clearly defined in his own words. The beginning of the prologue is devoted to contradicting those who claim that philosophy owes its beginnings to the barbarians; the middle outlines the tenets of the main barbarian philosophies. The last part sketches the development of Greek philosophy and divides the philosophers into their schools and sects. As such, it is an introductory summary for the Lives proper. The last sentence of the prologue indicates that Laertius' primary interest is not the history of philosophy, but rather the individual philosophers: *Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ...* (I,21). Richard Hope stresses the biographical bent of the work when he says that its chief purpose is to praise<sup>235</sup> - although this is much less the case than with later biographers.

The whole work is arranged according to two principles: school and chronology. This is clearly demonstrated by the table of contents in Appendix II. The major divisions are two parallel successions, each arranged in chronological order so far as is possible: the Ionian in Books I to VI and the Italian from Book VII. These two are again subdivided. Books IV, V, VI, and VII each trace the development of a different school of philosophy, but cover the same time span. Within the individual schools, the lives are arranged according to the succession of the heads, with other important figures also being admitted. The amount of space allotted is

determined by the importance of the philosopher and the material available: Plato and Epicurus are each given a whole book. Archelaus is dealt with so briefly that he may only have been included in order to maintain continuity, for he was a pupil of Anaxagoras and taught Socrates (II,16-17). As well as by these thematic links, unity and continuity are achieved by the mechanical use of connecting phrases. Leo has collected a number of references to these, e.g. IV,67: 'Having thus reviewed the Academics who derived from Plato, we will now pass onto the Peripatetics, who also derived from Plato. They begin with Aristotle.'<sup>236</sup>

In turn, the individual lives are constructed of certain topics which are arranged in a roughly chronological order. This scheme is not invariable either in content or disposition, but deviations arise only from special circumstances such as the lack of material. Frenkian provides a useful generalized picture which is reproduced here.<sup>237</sup>

1 γένος	la famille
2 πρόγονοι	les ancêtres
3 πατρίς	la patrie
4 διαδοχή	la succession
5 ἦθος	le caractère du personnage
6 εὐρήματα	les premières découvertes
7 ἀνέκδοτα περὶ βίου	anecdotes sur la vie
8 ἀποφθέγματα	les maximes
9 τὰ δοκούντα	les opinions philosophiques
10 τὰ βιβλία	listes avec les titres des ouvrages
11 διαθήκη	testament
12 τελευτή	la mort
13 ἐπιγράμματα	épitaphes
14 χρονικά	chronologie
15 ἐπιστολαί	les lettres
16 ὁμώνυμοι	les auteurs homonymes

By far the most valuable study of Laertius' compositional technique

is that done by Paul Moraux in his analysis of the life of Aristotle. This life, and by implication all the other lives, is the product of the inter-action of three forces: 1) the chronological succession of events, 2) l'adoption du schéma type, and 3) associations of ideas.<sup>238</sup> The biography is not une simple cascade de digressions, but its basis is the table of eight important events in Aristotle's life which are given by Apollodorus. The following stages correspond with those of Apollodorus (cf. DL, V, 9-10) and occur in chronological order:

l'origine d'Aristote; le séjour chez Platon; le séjour chez Hermias (le séjour à Mytilène est omis); le séjour à la cour de Philippe et l'éducation d'Alexandre; le second séjour à Athènes; la fuite à Chalcis; la mort.<sup>239</sup>

Most of the topics found in the life of Aristotle are also present in the other lives of Book V and although they are not always in the same order, there is remarkable consistency. Moraux demonstrates this by a comparative table which is reproduced in Appendix IV. It appears strange that a second curriculum vitae should be added, without transition, to the first biographical account in the life of Aristotle. In fact, the same section exists in the other biographies except that there it comprises only one or two dates. Here, Laertius has inserted the more extensive material from Apollodorus en bloc without attempting to work it into the first account.<sup>240</sup>

Many apparent anomalies in the structure of the life of Aristotle can be explained by association of ideas, although the influence of this force is not nearly as strong in Laertius as it is in Eunapius. Moraux describes an easy example of the working of associative thinking in Laertius.<sup>241</sup> Speaking of Aristotle's stay with Philip, Laertius relates how he persuaded Alexander to restore his home town of Stagira, whereupon he adds that Aristotle drew up a code of laws for the new city. This leads naturally to

telling how Aristotle drafted the code for his school - which is consistent with the theme of Aristotle as legislator even though it has no connexion with his stay at the court of Philip.

Yet the character of Laertius' lives is determined not so much by Frenkian's sixteen topics as by the amount of detail included under each. Thus the philosopher's family, ancestors, homeland, and place in the succession are usually dealt with very briefly, not that much information could be expected. Similarly the character of the philosopher is not given disproportionate space; the first evidence of Laertius' distinctive biographical personality is the emphasis which he places upon discoveries. Leo states succinctly: 'Die "Erfindungen" der Philosophen durchziehen das ganze Werk des Diogenes ....'<sup>242</sup> These findings pertain to the daily life and practical concerns of the philosophers as well as to their academic pursuits. Indeed they are a part of the traditions of *διδασκαλί* and of *δοξαι* and are therefore found in both these sections of Laertius' biographies. Empedocles is said to have been the first to discover rhetoric and Zeno the first to discover dialectic (VIII,57). Pythagoras was the first to coin the name philosophy and to pronounce the ethical dictum that friends have all things in common (VIII,10).

The life of the philosopher is never presented in fine detail from birth to death; Laertius eschews this 'annalistic' style and sets out the incidents of his life as a series of anecdotes, not necessarily connected one with another. While this may not be the way in which to write scientific biography, it is an excellent way to illustrate the teachings and character of the person concerned. Apophthegms perform the same functions as anecdotes and are equally popular with Laertius. The best example of a life told through apophthegms is that of Diogenes the Cynic.<sup>243</sup> This bio-

graphy is found at VI, 20–81: the life proper consists of sections 20–23 and 70–81. Between these two parts a mass of witticisms is interposed whose least virtue is not their entertainment value, for Laertius does not neglect the opportunity to amuse his reader. Laertius' desire to divert his readers may help to explain why he relates many sordid details, catalogued by R. Hope under the delicate heading 'sex-life',<sup>244</sup> which a more puritanical and more decorous writer like Eunapius studiously avoids. Laertius' whole tone is much less reverential than that of Eunapius towards his sophists and philosophers.

This frivolity, however, is counterbalanced by the serious attempt to present an accurate and complete account of the doctrines and especially the writings of the philosophers, something absent from his more prudish successors, Eunapius and Philostratus. In this respect, the life of Aristotle compares favourably with Porphyry's Life of Plotinus even though the latter is specifically intended as an introduction to Plotinus' works. However, the literary point of view does prevail insofar as Laertius has much material about the conflict of the various philosophical schools on the personal level, but very little on the doctrinal level.<sup>245</sup>

In common with Eunapius, Laertius shares an interest in the medical details of the deaths of his philosophers. The relevant passages of the Lives are collected by Hope in one of his topical catalogues.<sup>246</sup> In Eunapius, this interest may arise from his iatrosophistry, but he is also firmly within the accepted literary tradition. A few more features deserve comment. No other biographer quotes his own epigrams on his subjects; almost every philosopher of note is favoured with an offering from the Πάμμετρος, a collection of Laertius' epigrams in at least two books (cf. I,39). This same mentality is reflected in the fact that no one else makes so

constant or complete a use of Demetrius Magnes' work on homonyms, and in his frequent quoting of letters and wills. He copies necessarily spurious letters of the Seven Sages, for example Thales to Pherecydes and to Solon (I,43-4), and the more convincing wills of, for example, Plato (III,41 ff.), Aristotle (V,11 ff.), and Theophrastus (V,51 ff.). Perhaps the overriding literary characteristic of the Lives is that of the scrap-book filled with all sorts of marvels. So far is it from being the polished production which most classical biographies are, that there are many errors which arise from a careless handling of the excerpts from his sources. To cite only one example: Anaximander is credited with a discovery made by Anaxagoras.<sup>247</sup>

One consideration remains and that is Laertius' sources. As would be expected from the preceding paragraph, he cites sources prolifically.<sup>248</sup> No attempt will be made to solve the insoluble problems of what was Laertius' principal authority, whether he read primary sources or only compendia etc.; useful surveys of the conflicting theories propounded by a century of scholarship are given by Hope and Frenkian, the latter of whom offers some of his own suggestions.<sup>249</sup> Here the only point to be made is the obvious one that the Lives are totally dependent upon literary sources - which are handled none too critically.

## V 1 Philostratus

According to the Oxford Classical Dictionary, Philostratus was born c. A.D. 170 and died during the reign of Philip the Arab (244-9), but his dates and identity are not as certain as might be supposed from this entry. Indeed, as G.W. Bowersock shows, no entirely satisfactory solution has yet been found to sort out the members of this family.<sup>250</sup> There are problems of authorship within the Philostratean corpus, but there is no doubt that this Flavius Philostratus composed first the Life of Apollonius of Tyana (see the cross-reference at Ph. 570) and then the Lives of the Sophists. In addition, Eunapius attributes both works to the same Philostratus (454), whom he denotes as Philostratus of Lemnos.

The date of the Lives and the identity of the Gordian to whom they are dedicated have long exercised the ingenuity of scholars. When the Historia Augusta was regarded with less scepticism than now, F. Solmsen declared that the recipient was Gordian I and that the Lives were published soon after Gordian's supposed second consulship in 229/30.<sup>251</sup> Bowersock retains Gordian I, but dismisses the second consulship and the assumption that Gordian went to the proconsulate of Africa directly after his consulship and stayed there until he became emperor.<sup>252</sup> However, he can offer nothing more positive than that the Lives were composed some time after Gordian's only consulate, the year of which is not known. Most recently, I. Avotins has demonstrated that Gordian II cannot be the honorand since he cannot have been both ἐπίτροπος and ἐνδοκίματος.<sup>253</sup> Like M. Griffin,<sup>254</sup> he interprets the dedication to mean that Gordian was then a busy proconsul and hence he is able to conclude that the Lives were dedicated to Gordian I while he was proconsul of Africa in 237-8.

Philostratus was well placed to gather the first or second hand evidence which is characteristic of those lives which are contemporary with him or nearly so.<sup>255</sup> He was taught by several of the more important sophists of the day. Proclus of Naucratis (Ph. 602) and Hippodromus of Larissa (Ph. 618) had had pupils of Herodes Atticus for teachers. Antipater from Phrygian Hierapolis (Ph. 607) taught the sons of Septimius Severus, and there was also Damian of Ephesus who was renowned for his civic munificence (Ph. 605-6). Philostratus himself says that he was a member of the literary circle of Julia Domna and that she commissioned him to write the Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vit. Apoll. I,3). The Lives are themselves dedicated to an emperor of Rome with whom Philostratus had once discussed the sophists in the temple of Daphnean Apollo at Antioch (Ph. 480). The Suda records (s.v. Φρόντων Ἐμισγνός) that Philostratus was teaching in Athens at the same time as Apsines of Gadara (cf. Ph. 628).

In the first sentence of his proem, Philostratus tells Gordian that he has written an account of certain men who practised sophistry. The rest of the work bears out this indication that Philostratus' purpose is to describe individuals and not to write a history or doxography of sophistry, even to the limited extent that Diogenes Laertius and his predecessors did in the case of philosophy. At the beginning of Book I, Philostratus does distinguish between philosophy and sophistry as practised by the παλαιὸς σοφιστῆς in terms of their different epistemology: the sophist assumes knowledge. The history of sophistry is dealt with once and for all in the introduction; Philostratus has to do this here, for his work treats representatives of the Second Sophistic which he must needs define. Gorgias of Leontini founded the First Sophistic which discoursed on philosophical

and metaphysical matters; Aeschines the Second which draws its themes from history and from daily life. The stage has been set once Philostratus has given a brief account of the development of extempore rhetoric and the meanings - including the unflattering ones - of the term sophist.

The Lives is a series of biographies of varying length of individual sophists which are arranged in a chronological order. There is little to connect the biographies one with another on either a mechanical or thematic level. They are much less closely knit than the Lives of Eunapius where association of ideas (or, unkindly, rambling thought) is so important a means of achieving unity. There are three basic divisions in Philostratus' Lives. At the beginning of the first book is the separate group made up of those philosophers who seemed to be sophists because they expounded their theories with such ease and fluency (Ph. 484). This group is in temporal order and includes philosophers from Eudoxus of Cnidus in the fourth century B.C. to Dio of Prusa and Favorinus of Arelate in the first and second centuries A.D. The second group comprises the rest of the people in Book I and stretches from Gorgias of Leontini to Secundus the Athenian. The third group is Book II which goes from Herodes Atticus to the contemporaries of Philostratus.

As Solmsen has observed, Book II is dominated by Herodes Atticus der durch das ganze Buch der König der sophistischen Bewegung bleibt.<sup>256</sup> On the thematic level, he is probably the single most important unifying factor, for his name at least is cited in eleven of the thirty-three biographies in Book II, and even in Book I, he makes an appearance in four of the twenty-six lives. It is worthwhile listing the occurrences.

## Book I

Favorinus (490)	Herodes regarded him as a teacher and father
Scopelian (521)	taught Herodes when he visited his father
Polemo (537-9)	Herodes knew and admired him as a sophist
(543)	wrote to Herodes about his illness
Secundus (544)	taught and quarrelled with Herodes

## Book II

Theodotus (566)	plotted against Herodes
Aristocles (567-8)	Herodes taught him and later sent his own pupils to him
Alexander the Clay Plato (571 ff.)	their mutual displays of rhetoric at Athens
Philagrus (578-9)	quarrelled with Herodes
Adrian (585-6)	taught by Herodes
Chrestus (591-2)	taught by Herodes
Pausanias (594)	taught by Herodes
Ptolemy (595)	taught by Herodes
Rufus (598)	taught by Herodes
Aelian (625)	admired Herodes

The oratorical ability of Chrestus, Pausanias and others is compared to that of Herodes whom Philostratus takes as his standard of excellence in such matters. Herodes' paramountcy is made manifest by the fact that his biography is by far the longest in the Lives and stands at the head of Book II. Philostratus may have chosen to include full biographies of two of the earliest sophistic philosophers because of their relationship with Herodes. Dio of Prusa taught Favorinus (Ph. 492) who taught Herodes (Ph. 490). Similarly Nicetes of Smyrna was the teacher of Scopelian (Ph. 516) who was one of Herodes' teachers and a friend of his father (Ph. 514-5).<sup>257</sup>

Other major sophists also contribute to unity in this way, although to a lesser extent. Next to Herodes, the most important is Polemo;

correspondingly, his life is second only to Herodes' in length. He is cited in the biographies of the following sophists: Favorinus, Scopelian, Dionysius of Miletus, Marcus of Byzantium, Herodes Atticus, Adrian, Ptolemy, Euodianus, Hermocrates, and Hippodromus. Despite the cross-references, each sophist does receive a separate and complete biography in which almost all the important incidents of his life are narrated - insofar as they are found in Philostratus. In this he differs from Eunapius who sometimes splits one life into two parts, like that of Aedesius, and will sometimes imbed one life in another, like that of Anatolius in Prohaeresius (490 f.).

The best treatment of the structure of Philostratus' individual biographies - as indeed of his contribution to the genre - is to be found in Leo.<sup>258</sup> Philostratus' work is eine neue Spielart halblitterarischer Biographie and it is his desire to achieve an artistically pleasing form which leads him to this Verkünstelung of the traditional scheme.<sup>259</sup> In general, Philostratus retains the topics found in Diogenes Laertius and other biographers where the material is sufficient. However, his arrangement of these topics varies greatly from one life to another, although the chronological skeleton is usually present to some degree. There are even some biographies which follow the customary outline. The analysis of the lives given below is largely dependent upon Leo's pages 255-6.

For the first six of the philosopher-sophists, Philostratus relates little except an explanation of why he numbers them among the sophists. The life of Antiphon (Ph. 498 ff.) is treated from a moralistic point of view. It begins with a discussion of his political career at Athens and the morality of his actions; similarly, Philostratus comments upon the justice of his being put to death by the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius (Ph. 500 ff.). The former of these sections is followed by an examination of his claim to

have invented rhetoric; the second with a short survey of his works - and there the life ends. The life of Critias comes next and has the same bias. It consists of only two parts: a condemnation of his political actions (Ph. 501 ff.), and a commentary upon his literary activity (Ph. 502-3). The life of Dio of Prusa (Ph. 487 ff.) is totally concerned with his sophistic skill. It begins and ends with fulsome praise of his style, and the few events of his career which intrude are only offered as illustrations of the power of his oratory.

The first biography to display the usual scheme is that of Favorinus (Ph. 489 ff.). This runs: *γένος*, *ψύσις*, *εἶδος*, *ἦθος*, his relationships with Hadrian, Herodes, Polemo, his writings, and his speeches. However, Philostratus is silent about the end of his life, just as he is in the case of Scopelian (cf. Ph. 521). The biographies of Polemo (Ph. 530 ff.) and Herodes Atticus (Ph. 546 ff.) take some liberties with the scheme, but do not display complete freedom. The others in Book II conform to the pattern more closely. Leo analyses the lives of Alexander, Philagrus, and Heracleides. Philagrus' is arranged: origin, teacher, *τρόπος*, studies, travels, in the middle the Athenian episode, *χαρακτήρ τῶν λόγων*, *εἶδος*, celibacy, and death (Ph. 578 ff.).

Two other characteristics of the structure of Philostratus' Lives can be commented upon briefly. The account of a sophist's education often comes towards the middle or the end of his life. Examples are Critias where it is placed in the middle and treated en passant (Ph. 501), and Aeschines where it comes towards the end, immediately before the review of his writings (Ph. 510). The same happens with Scopelian, Herodes Atticus, Antiochus, and Alexander the Clay Plato. Association of ideas is less important in the structure and development of Philostratus' Lives than in

Diogenes Laertius', but it is still present. Philostratus says that his 'narrative' calls him to [discuss] the sophist Theodotus (Ph. 566). He follows next after Herodes Atticus in Book II, and it may be that he is called to mind because of his part in a plot against the great man. Within the life of Herodes, the mention of his father's will leads Philostratus, as he tells the reader, to record the reasons why Herodes offended the Athenians (Ph. 549). Herodes' major offence was the way in which he commuted his father's yearly bequest to the Athenian citizenry.

Some differences between Philostratus and Diogenes Laertius can be explained by his wish to preserve unity of style and literary decorum. Citations of sources are few and usually take the forms  $\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  -  $\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  -  $\omicron\iota\ \delta\epsilon$  (e.g. Ph. 498 regarding the controversy over whether Antiphon invented rhetoric or not, and Ph. 599 regarding the dispute over where Onomarchus of Andros died), or consist of appeals to contemporaries (e.g. Damian, Ph. 605). Chronology, handled in a cavalier fashion, is indicated by reference to teachers, pupils, or contemporaries (e.g. Ph. 488 where Dio of Prusa is dated by reference to his coevals, Apollonius of Tyana and Euphrates of Tyre).<sup>260</sup> In the same way, Philostratus discusses the will of Atticus, the father of Herodes, but he does not quote it as Laertius would have done (Ph. 549). Nor does he spoil the flow of his narrative style by any long quotations whether of literature or dialogue. Philostratus criticizes the literary and/or oratorical style of most sophists and usually makes a general statement about what they have written. There is no authoritative list of titles, although occasionally he mentions the name of a work. Apophthegms are frequent (cf. Polemo, Ph. 543), but never dominate a life as they sometimes do in Laertius. Philostratus does say that Apollonius of Naucratis was a libertine in love, and then proceeds to relate a witty anecdote which is unfavourable to his illegitimate son, Rufinus.

Yet this is the only story of its type in Philostratus, and he condemns the principals by declaring that Rufinus was the product of an ἀδίκος γάμος (Ph. 599). This attitude contrasts sharply with the more lurid tastes of Diogenes Laertius and is consonant with the admiration which Philostratus feels for the asceticism and celibacy of Apollonius of Tyana (cf. Vit. Apoll. I, xiii).

The Life of Apollonius of Tyana need only be mentioned briefly here, for it had no effect upon the literary form of Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists although as a model of pagan hagiography it was very likely a principal influence upon Eunapius (see Chpt. VIII). The Life is a long, chronologically arranged account in eight books of Apollonius alone and thus is not even a vestigial Succession. Leo, who stresses its narrative character, correctly places it on the periphery of biography along with panegyrics and the Cyropaedia.<sup>261</sup> Since Apollonius lived in the first century A.D., Philostratus was dependent upon written sources and his interest in these gives this work a more 'historical' flavour than his Lives. He discusses his sources at I, ii and iii where he estimates the value of Maximus of Aegae and Moeragenes; he describes Damis' scrapbook at I, xix. There is one marked stylistic difference with respect to both his and Eunapius' Lives and that is his publishing Apollonius' Apology verbatim (VIII,vii), for in the Lives neither quotes long passages of his subjects' works.

Philostratus' real contribution to the development of the genre, and hence to Eunapius, was made in the Lives. Leo may be quoted:

Aber er wird der erste sein, der eine zusammenhängende Reihe in dieser Form behandelt, ein biographisches Sammelbuch, im antiken Sinne eine Sophistengeschichte gemacht hat. Darin ist ihm Eunapios gefolgt.<sup>262</sup>

By so doing, Philostratus broke away from slavish imitation of the Succession form of Sotion and his successors, although he retained many of its features. He narrowed its focus and made it a precise and stylistically pleasing tool with which to describe his contemporaries.

## V 2 Porphyry

However, before proceeding to Eunapius, it is necessary to discuss a more traditional biographer. Porphyry, the disciple and literary executor of Plotinus, lived from A.D. 234 until about 305.<sup>263</sup> Only one of his many works is of prime concern here. The *Φιλοσόφος ἱστορία ἐν βιβλίαις δ'* was a history of philosophy and of the lives of philosophers which, as Eunapius notes with perhaps a tinge of regret, ended with Plato (454). In Eunapius, the description of this work is coupled with that of Sotion, nor is this surprising since Porphyry is in the style and tradition of Sotion. He did not adopt either the subject limits or the form of Philostratus, but confined himself to the classical period and the classical manner. The life of Pythagoras is part of Book I of the History<sup>264</sup> and will be discussed in due course; the Life of Plotinus, which Eunapius praises for its completeness (455), was written especially as an introduction to the works of Plotinus and hence is tangential to the present inquiry. On a point of dating: R. Beutler agrees with Christ-Schmid that the History was written after Porphyry had known Plotinus because der Abschluss mit Platon seems to be more in the spirit of Plotinus than of Porphyry.<sup>265</sup>

The remaining fragments<sup>266</sup> of the History will be discussed first, and then the life of Pythagoras. Book I covered the period from prehistory to the Seven Sages. Fragment i reports a statement of Porphyry that nothing worthy of memory occurred between the fall of Troy and the first Olympiad. Ideas like this are common in ancient historiography; even the proem to Eunapius' Histories comments upon the difficulty of finding the truth about the period before records of consuls and archons were kept. Varro distinguished three periods of 'history': before the first cataclysm which is unknown; from the cataclysm to the first Olympiad which is myth; and from

the first Olympiad to the present which is history.<sup>267</sup> Fragments ii and iii which deal with Homer and Hesiod show a preoccupation with detailed chronology which is certainly alien to Philostratus and Eunapius, if not to all other Successions. The Seven Sages claim the rest of Book I. The story of the tripod passed from one to another in the search for the wisest shows that Porphyry had a taste for traditional anecdotes (fr. iv). He was also interested in literary history and discoveries, for he describes the  $\text{A}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\epsilon\kappa$  of Pherecydes and says that he was the first to compose such a compendium (fr. vi).

Only two short passages survive from Book II. The first tells that Empedocles was a pupil of Parmenides (fr. viii); the second says that Gorgias of Leontini was a pupil of Empedocles and dates him to the  $\pi$  Olympiad. These remains suggest that Porphyry wrote a Succession similar to Sotion's.

Book III seems to be totally given over to Socrates. Porphyry paid attention to his sources, for he says that Aristoxenus heard about Socrates from Spintharus who had known him (fr. x). At one point, Porphyry refuses to take up the old question of whether Socrates worked as a mason with his father, thus giving the impression that his biography deals only with large and important issues (fr. xi). Yet he later says that Timaeus maintained that Socrates was a mason. Porphyry again shows concern for his sources by defending the reliability of Timaeus against Aristoxenus and Menedemus (fr. xi). Porphyry discussed the topic of education; the end of this same fragment mentions that Socrates lacked formal instruction.

Fragment xii contains Porphyry's treatment of Socrates' baser nature; even as a child he was said to be ill-behaved. He became interested in philosophy at the age of eighteen when he had an affair with Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras. Porphyry admits that Socrates was temperate and

ascetic in all physical matters except those of Aphrodite and then discusses his two 'wives' and families. Yet it is important to emphasize that Porphyry is not scandal-mongering. These stories were probably so much a part of the Socrates legend that he had no choice but to include them. Certainly he does his best to reassure the reader about Socrates' propriety. He carefully relates that Archelaus approached Socrates, who did not rebuff him. This affair could be justified - and implicitly it is - by the result which it had of turning Socrates to the study of philosophy. Twice in this fragment Porphyry assures the reader that although Socrates was σφοδρότατον τε περί τὰ ἀφροδίσια, he was ἀδικήματος χωρίς and ἀδικίαν δὲ μὴ προσεῖναι. This is a much different attitude from that of Diogenes Laertius who enjoyed relating such tales, and it is good evidence for the strictness of Neoplatonic morality. Book III ends with an explanation of how the ethnic name Γαδρηγός is to be derived from Γάδρα (fr. xiii). It is probable that this is just a learned footnote and that geography was not an important feature of the History.

Except for fragment xix which merely notes that Porphyry ἐδοξάσατο Plutarch, and for fragment xx which is Tzetzes' verse summary of the topics covered by Porphyry, all the fragments ascribed to Book IV have to do with Plato. Fragment xiv tells that Plato studied the alphabet with Dionysius and gymnastic with Ariston the Argive; some people say that he competed at the Isthmia and the Pythica. The rest of the fragments are doxographical and this probably reflects the proportions of the original life, given that over half the life of Pythagoras is doxography. Fragment xv outlines Plato's description of God or the Good, and fragment xviii returns to this subject. The three hypostases are discussed in fragments xvi and xvii.

Now it is time to examine the longest fragment of the History, the life of Pythagoras. Since it is complete except for the very end, it is

possible to analyse the structure as A. Priessnig has done.<sup>268</sup>

A. Abstammung und Lernjahre (cc. 1-10 bzw. 11-17).

B. Wirksamkeit in Italien als Lebenshöhe

I. Öffentliches Leben:

a) Grossartige Erfolge in Italien und Sizilien  
(cc. 18-22);

b) Wundertätigkeit, sechzehn Mirakel in cc. 23-31.

II. Privates Leben:

Verkehr mit Freunden (cc. 32-33),

Lebensweise (cc. 34-35),

Opferdarbringung (c. 36).

III. Darstellung seiner Lehre:

Ethik (cc. 37-40);

Symbolik (cc. 41 bis 42);

Verbote (cc. 43-45);

Metaphysik (cc. 46-53).

C. Pythagorererfolgung und Tod des Pyth. (cc. 54-57);

Fortblühen der Schule (cc. 58-61).

Priessnig notes that the narrative parts A, B Ia, and C have thirty chapters as against the thirty-one chapters nach sachlichen Rubriken. This analysis confirms what has been postulated for the rest of the History. The internal structure of the life holds no surprises and is firmly in the tradition of Sotion, even if there is somewhat more space devoted to doxography than is usual.

The most valuable - and sympathetic - treatment of Porphyry's life of Pythagoras is an article by J.A. Philip which also deals with Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras.<sup>269</sup> Porphyry's life, despite its manifest reverence for Pythagoras and its didactic purpose, is said to show no bias or tendency,

except towards limited hagiography of this arch-typical sage.<sup>270</sup> The life is the work of a third century scholar who is dealing with a mythical tradition as best he can: thirty-nine authors are quoted.

Although Iamblichus used Porphyry,<sup>271</sup> the character of his life is very different as a comparison of the two introductions makes vividly clear.<sup>272</sup> New material, usually strange or miraculous, is added even to the first part which is closely modelled upon Porphyry. Iamblichus does not attempt to reconcile variants or contradictions, but he includes anything which is praiseworthy to Pythagoras. It is the work of an evangelist rather than a scholar; the differences in treatment are an expression of their different mentalities, for they are said to have had the common purpose of combatting Christianity.<sup>273</sup>

These general criticisms of Iamblichus bear a similarity to those which Eunapius voices with regard to his biography of Alypius (460/1 and cf. 458). The same carelessness of thought is shown by his failure to give reasons for Alypius' journeys to Rome, and by his omitting to set out the causes of and purposes for the severity of the punishments and sufferings in the law courts in his time. Eunapius objects to the obscurity of the style: Iamblichus' underlying error is his attempt to gild the lily, and this accords with the evangelical fervour of his Life of Pythagoras.

Sections 134 to 249 of Iamblichus' Life are not derived from Porphyry and merit a brief discussion. This part is divided into subsections according to the virtues displayed by Pythagoras: ἰσότης, 134-56; σοφία, 157-166; δικαιοσύνη, 167-186; σωφροσύνη, 187-213; ἀνδρεία, 214-228; φιλία, 229-249.<sup>274</sup> This is ample illustration of the hagiographical and moralistic purposes of the Life. This part has added interest because it foreshadows Marinus' Life of Proclus which was written sometime after the

philosopher's death on May 29, 485. Marinus says that he will not arrange his oration - for that is the fiction which he adopts - according to the usual 'heads', but instead will make the εὐδαιμονία of Proclus the basis of his speech (II). The life is set out in sections according to Proclus' virtues with a progression from the lower to the higher: κατὰ γένη δεικνόμενοι τὰς ἀρετὰς, εἰς τὰ φυσικὰς καὶ ἠθικὰς, καὶ πολιτικὰς, ..., καθαρτικὰς τε καὶ θεωρητικὰς, καὶ τὰς ... Θεουργικὰς .... This is indeed a much more sophisticated piece of writing than Iamblichus', for Marinus is able both to maintain the chronological succession of events and to present a hierarchy of virtues. Marinus was probably aware of Iamblichus' Life and it is interesting to see how much this device can achieve when it is used by a skilful author to shape a whole biography.<sup>275</sup>

Marinus' Life of Proclus, however, is a free standing piece. A little less liberty of form was allowed to Iamblichus whose Life was an introduction to his Compendium of Pythagorean Thought.<sup>276</sup> Porphyry's Life of Plotinus is immediately called to mind, but this has a much different purpose which is to introduce an edition of Plotinus' writings and to enumerate them. Iamblichus wanted his Life to warm his reader's pagan heart in preparation for receiving the wisdom of his Compendium. Porphyry's life of Pythagoras was allowed the least stylistic freedom of the three. Economy was required since it formed only one part of one book. Its style and content had to observe the conventions of the Succession as defined by Sotion. The portrait of Pythagoras had to maintain at least the mask of sobriety in order to be congruous with more historically tangible figures such as Socrates and Plato.

\* \* \*

Lucian is worth a short digression before Eunapius' Lives is examined.

His Life of Demonax does have some things in common with Eunapius' individual biographies, but deals with only one philosopher and would have had little or no influence upon the later author. However, it was known to Eunapius who remarks upon the fact that in this book and a very few others, Lucian 'was wholly serious throughout' (454). One small point: it is now generally accepted that Eunapius is correct in attributing this life to Lucian.<sup>277</sup>

There is some similarity in motive with Eunapius, for this is a hagiographical account of the life of one of his teachers. Lucian wants to achieve two results which are that men of culture should preserve the memory of Demonax and that Demonax should serve as a modern paradigm to young men of good instincts who aspire to philosophy (2). He says nothing of sources, but he would have had no need of written material. It tells the story of the life of Demonax from beginning to end according to the customary topics: birth and race, education and teachers, and character. Then there is brief mention made of his committing suicide when old age deprived him of his self-sufficiency. This is inserted only to illustrate his character since old age and death find full and proper treatment at the end of the life. Next Lucian describes his style of life, good deeds, and eclectic philosophy, but in very general terms. There is no doxography and only one anecdote is told: how he successfully defended himself against a charge of impiety at Athens. The bulk of the life consists of a collection of Demonax's witty sayings, often at the expense of other philosophers like Favorinus (cf. 13). There is no parallel for this in Eunapius, but Leo, who has an analysis of the life, remarks upon its likeness to Diogenes Laertius' biography of Diogenes the Cynic.<sup>278</sup> The conclusion notes that Demonax reached an age of over a hundred years, and portrays his way of life when aged, his death, and the public funeral.

## VI 1 Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists

Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists is a further development of the Philostratean type, but not a mere imitation. Like Philostratus, he is concerned with the men and not with their doctrines. He wants the result of his labours to be 'a continuous and definite account of the most celebrated philosophers and rhetoricians' (454). His purpose is to write of the 'main achievements' of 'distinguished men' and 'to set down for each one his profession and mode of life' (453). How he does this will be discussed in detail in the section on the content of the individual lives; before that, it is necessary to examine the structure of the whole book.

Unlike Diogenes or even Philostratus, Eunapius nowhere gives an outline of the arrangement of his work. All he says is that he begins where it was possible for him to obtain evidence and where he could make an appropriate beginning (455). His purpose is clear, however, for he begins with Plotinus, the founder of the Neoplatonic School, and his Lives are a history of that succession - or at least the part of it which derives through Iamblichus - down to his own time, as well as of the rhetorical school of Prohaeresius at Athens. There are also a few extraneous people included like Oribasius and the iatrosophists. The Lives are a tracing out of Eunapius' own intellectual inheritance since he was a member of both Iamblichus' and Prohaeresius' schools. He was also a close friend of Oribasius who provided much material on Julian the Apostate for his Histories (cf. fr. 8).

The broad divisions of the Lives are in order:

- (1) the Neoplatonic School from Plotinus to Priscus,
- (2) the school of Julian - Prohaeresius at Athens,
- (3) a few sporadics such as Libanius,
- (4) the iatrosophists: Zeno and his pupils,
- (5) Chrysanthius and the Neoplatonic School to the time of writing.

Within each of the five divisions, the arrangement is as chronological as possible and the whole scheme is circular since it begins and ends with the Neoplatonists. The temporal progression arises naturally, for the work is a Succession of teacher and pupil, and this fact alone means that there is more continuity than in Philostratus' Lives. The placing of the individual lives will now be discussed.

As the founder of the school, Plotinus is at the beginning of the book. Although Eunapius does not actually say that Plotinus was the initiator, it is emphasized that he was a very important figure: his books are said to be more popular than the dialogues of Plato among educated men (455).

Porphyry, the chief disciple of Plotinus, follows and a goodly part of his biography is devoted to his relations with his teacher. In turn, Iamblichus was the follower of Porphyry. A list of his own pupils is given (458) which is an aid to coherence, for three of them, Sopater, Aedesius, and Eustathius, are treated in due course. The life of Iamblichus contains the first digression, the life of Alypius. His life is imbedded in that of Iamblichus because they were contemporaries and rivals. Moreover, Eunapius had read Iamblichus' biography of Alypius and comments unfavourably upon its style (460-1). Almost all of Eunapius' digressions are like this: far from gratuitous, they are the result of a natural progression of thought or association of ideas (cf. Diogenes Laertius, above p. 74 f.).

The placement of the life of Aedesius is explained by its first sentence: he 'succeeded to the school of Iamblichus and his circle of disciples' (461). Soon after its commencement, however, it is interrupted by the life of Sopater. Since Sopater was the greatest of Iamblichus' disciples, ὁ πάντων σεμνότερος (462), he must be disposed of in order to

explain Aedesius' headship of the school. When the biography of Aedesius resumes, he is said to be 'the most renowned of those that survived' the execution of Sopater (464). The first anecdote in this second section is the story of the oracle to Aedesius which advised him to lead the ascetic life of a rural hermit. This provides a dramatic contrast to the preceding tale of the ephemeral success of Sopater at Constantine's court, and is a good illustration of Eunapius' belief that philosophers should lead a simple and retiring existence. In the same way, Eunapius points up the difference in the responses of Maximus and Chrysanthius to Julian's summons to court (cf. below p. 101 and above p. 51). The life of Sopater includes that of Ablabius, the praetorian prefect who put him to death. Eunapius, feeling that this may seem a bit out of place, justifies its inclusion by saying that since he is recording the lives of learned men, it is not amiss for him to discuss briefly those who injured them (463-4). Similarly, Eunapius gives background information about Festus who executed Maximus, but this is a less perfect biography since it says nothing of his birth or early life (480-81).

Eustathius, another pupil of Iamblichus, follows Aedesius. The transition is smooth and coherent because two sentences before his own life starts, Eustathius is said to have been left in charge of the property of his kinsman, Aedesius, when the latter returned to Pergamon to teach (465). The fact of their kinship is in itself a not insignificant link. The life of Eustathius is narrated until the time of his marriage to the philosopher Sosipatra when her story takes over. Her biography is included here because her fame was so great that she is worthy of a place 'even in this catalogue of wise men' (466). After she was left alone, she came under the protection of Aedesius and collaborated with Maximus (469) so she remains linked to

the 'catalogue of wise men' and her tale continues. Eunapius then feels compelled to talk about her one worthy son, Antoninus (471); he settled in a temple at Canobus and prophesied the destruction of the pagan shrines (473). Of course this prompts Eunapius to describe the destruction of the Serapeum and to make his most explicit condemnation of the monks (472).

There is only one biography of Antoninus, not two, as K. Latte maintained in his attempt to demonstrate that traces remain of Eunapius' revision of his manuscript.<sup>279</sup> J. C. Vollebregt has disposed of Latte's main argument by showing that the reiteration is for the sake of clarity following a digression<sup>280</sup> - a digression of which Eunapius is aware (471). Indeed, there is no real duplication, for the first account is an introduction to Sosipatra's family and only the second treats Antoninus in detail.

Maximus is the first philosopher of the next generation; he was a pupil of Aedesius (473). In order to maintain continuity, Eunapius reminds the reader at the very beginning of Maximus' biography that he has spoken of him earlier. Here, Eunapius takes the opportunity of relating some suitable incidents in the life of Julian the Apostate, notably his education by Maximus and the other Ionian philosophers. Chrysanthius and Eusebius play their parts in one or two episodes and are thus introduced to the reader in some depth. Priscus is also mentioned because his demeanour at court contrasted with the pomposity of Maximus.(477-8).

The last philosopher in this section to receive a separate biography is Priscus. Eunapius says that he has already related many details about him, including his birthplace, and that therefore he will concentrate upon his character (481). Two other people are called to mind now because they died at the same time as Priscus, that is during Alaric's invasion of

Greece. These are Proterius and Hilarius, the latter of whom Eunapius knew personally (482).

With this the Pergamene philosophers end and the Athenian sophists begin. The group to which Eunapius belonged descended from Julian, and he commences with him. In the Lives, there is no connexion apparent between Pergamon and Athens, but Eunapius tries to achieve some sort of continuity by noting that Julian flourished at the time of Aedesius (482). As in the case of Iamblichus (458 and cf. p. 95 ), Eunapius lists Julian's most distinguished pupils (483). Of these, Prohaeresius, Epiphanius, and Diophantus are allotted their own biographies. Tuscianus is not because Eunapius spoke of him in his Histories (483), but he is cited later as an important source of anecdotes about Prohaeresius (484). Hephaestion is neglected because he was soon driven out of Athens by Prohaeresius' success and forsook 'the society of men' (487).

Julian is followed by Prohaeresius, the dominant figure of this section. Eunapius signalizes his importance by saying that it is still worthwhile to give the facts precisely here, despite having talked about him at length above, and even more fully in the Histories (485). The incident referred to as 'above' is Prohaeresius' successful defence of Julian and his pupils before the proconsul at Athens (484). This is placed just before Prohaeresius' own biography starts and is paralleled closely by his defence of himself before another proconsul many years later (488-90). Eunapius was a pupil of Prohaeresius and he uses this opportunity to describe some incidents in his own life, particularly his student days at Athens. One of these incidents contributes to the unity of the whole work. Prohaeresius' solicitude for the dangerously ill Eunapius (486) recalls Plotinus' preventing the suicide of Porphyry (456) and foreshadows Eunapius' guardianship

of Chrysanthius in his last illness (505) (cf. above, p. 23). There is a cursory biographical sketch of Anatolius 3 who presided over a rhetorical contest which Prohaeresius won. At that time (A.D. 357-60), Anatolius was the praetorian prefect of Illyricum. This is not a complete life, for it stops at the time of the contest and it mainly serves to make Anatolius' actions more explicable in terms of his background and training.

A short biography of Epiphanius follows and he is unfavourably compared to the great Prohaeresius (493). Another pupil of Julian, Diophantus, receives the same brief treatment and is thoroughly condemned by Eunapius as one who plays Callimachus to Prohaeresius' Homer (494). Sopolis, too, gets a meagre biography, but he is praised for his efforts, if unsuccessful, to be a great rhetorician and no invidious comparisons are drawn (494). He was not one of Julian's pupils, so far as is known, but he was chosen for a chair at Athens along with them and this is doubtless why he is included (cf. 487). Next, Himerius receives a summary treatment although he was not a pupil of Julian either. He merits a place because of his rivalry with Prohaeresius: he did not settle at Athens until after his death, and he went to the emperor Julian's court in the hope of finding the favour denied to Prohaeresius (494). Parnasius gets the shortest notice of all, and is only included because he was a contemporary of Prohaeresius and the others (494 and cf. 487).

Unlike the other sophists who stand outside Eunapius' two schools, Libanius has a full biography. It is a generally favourable, if critical, study of him, and his importance is certainly emphasized (cf. 496 passim). Indeed, all this is in addition to the 'fitting account of the career of Libanius' which Eunapius had composed in his 'annals of the reign of Julian' (495). From some traces of this earlier treatment which survive in the

fragments of the Histories, it is clear that Eunapius thought that one reason why Julian favoured Libanius was to spite his rival Prohaeresius (fr. 25). From Libanius, it is an easy step to the life of his rival Acacius. Eunapius credits him with overthrowing the supremacy of Libanius, and says that he died while still young, but with an old man's meed of reverence (497). As with Himerius, so perhaps with Libanius and Acacius - rivals of great men are deemed worthy of inclusion.

The last person in this section is the brother of Maximus, Nymphidianus. This biography is suitably short, for he did nothing remarkable although he performed competently as Julian's ab epistulis Graecis. There seems to be no reason why his life should be placed so far from his brother's, except that he died much later than Maximus (497).

Now comes the group of iatrosophists headed by Zeno. There appears to be little reason to include them until it is remembered that Oribasius was a close personal friend of Eunapius. A life of Oribasius would be almost obligatory and by including his teacher and fellow pupils, Eunapius has a well balanced little group instead of one lonely physician spoiling the symmetry of his book. Ionicus may also have been known to Eunapius, for he was a native of Sardis and his father was a famous physician (499).

Zeno himself has a short notice rather than a proper biography. In order to establish some coherence and to date him, Eunapius says that Zeno flourished down to the time of Julian the sophist and that his successors were contemporary with Prohaeresius (497). Eunapius had linked the sophist Julian to Aedesius in the same way (482). The three pupils whose biographies Eunapius writes are Magnus, Oribasius, and Ionicus in that order; each is said to have been taught by Zeno at the beginning of the respective life. Oribasius excelled Magnus and Ionicus won the approbation of

Oribasius. Thus each is joined both to his teacher and to the immediately preceding pupil which results in a well-knit piece of writing. In the last sentence of this section, Eunapius notes that there was a certain Theon who gained his reputation in Gaul, but gives no further information (499).

The last biography of all is devoted to Chrysanthius. Eunapius makes the transition from the iatrosophists to Chrysanthius by saying that he must now return to the philosophers from whom he digressed (499). This digression began when he took up the life of Julian the sophist. The statement indicates that one reason why Chrysanthius has been left to the last is so that the Lives may be a thematically well-rounded whole. It is evident that Chrysanthius died shortly before the Lives were written and hence the end of the work is up to date and truly contemporary. Moreover, Eunapius would have wanted Chrysanthius to have pride of place, for he was his first and principal teacher and 'caused this commentary to be written' (500). The last sentences of the Lives name Chrysanthius' two successors, Epigonus of Lacedaemon and Beronicianus of Sardis. The succession from Plotinus is still unbroken and alive at the time of writing.

There is one curious feature of the life of Chrysanthius. This is the retelling of how Julian summoned him and Maximus to court which he had first related in the life of Maximus. Nowhere else does Eunapius duplicate his episodes and this requires some explanation. Perhaps the basic reason is that since the incident was an important one in the lives of both philosophers, and because Eunapius is writing separate biographies, he had no choice but to tell it twice. Although he gives no cross-references from the life of Chrysanthius to that of Maximus, he is not unaware of the earlier account, for the two are dove-tailed. Two examples will be sufficient illustration. In the life of Maximus, Eunapius gives the full details of

how Julian wrote to Chrysanthius' wife Melite in the hope that she would use her influence upon him (477). In the life of Chrysanthius, one short sentence suffices to say that Julian sent a special letter to Melite for this purpose (501). Each philosopher, of course, plays the dominant role in his own biography, but in particular the actions of each following the divination episode are only given in full in the respective life (cf. 478 and 501). Yet they must be taken together if the reader is to appreciate the full contrast between the characters and actions of the two philosophers. This contrast is one of the principal themes of the Lives (cf. above, pp. 51-2). Given that Eunapius was writing separate biographies, he does exhibit economy and skill in this instance.

So much for the structure of the Lives as a whole; now for that of the individual biographies. The separate lives are remarkably conventional and consistent; the customary topics, when the material is available, are set out in chronological order. Indeed, so regular is the scheme that the one deviation from it was seized upon by K. Latte as a major support for his theory about the lack of a final revision of the Lives.<sup>281</sup> Eunapius waits until the end of Alypius' life to say that he was born in Alexandria (461). This is far different from the expected irregularities of Philostratus. However, the conventional aspect of Eunapius' lives is mainly in their outline, for as Leo remarks, these topics are mostly used as the introduction and conclusion to the real heart of the lives, the narrative episode.<sup>282</sup> Some shorter biographies consist entirely of topics, but they occupy a small proportion of the length of the longer lives. There follows the analysis of one long and one short life.

#### Prohaeresius

- a) Introduction: Eunapius and Prohaeresius (485)
- b) physical characteristics (487)

c) birthplace	(487)
d) education	(487)
e) teaching career	(487)
f) Episode: victory of Prohaeresius over his rival sophists	(488-90)
g) Episode: Anatolius' rhetorical competition	(490-91)
h) Episode: visit to Gaul and Rome	(492)
i) wife and family	(493)
j) his pupil Eusebius	(493)
k) Prohaeresius and Julian	(493)
l) death	(493)

Nymphidianus (497)

a) birthplace
b) family
c) education
d) public career
e) abilities as sophist
f) death

There are some observations still to be made about Eunapius' Lives. Like Philostratus, he does not include either doxography or lists of writings. Occasionally, he discusses individual works like Iamblichus' life of Alypius (460-1), but usually his comments are made in general terms (cf. Libanius, 496). Eunapius is very interested in written and rhetorical style and most lives of sophists pass some judgement upon these. Libanius, for instance, is praised for his literary talents and castigated for his poor speaking ability (496). Except for some snatches of dialogue which have dramatic impact, Eunapius uses few quotations. His proem alone shows that he has a greater interest than Philostratus in source problems, and he cites his authorities more frequently. Yet, because of the contemporary nature of most of Eunapius' lives, he is able to call upon first hand sources which has greater literary effect than the compiling of

scholarly footnotes. Citation of sources is stylistically desirable in Eunapius where in much of Philostratus it might not be.

There is no place for the scurrilous or unseemly story. Eunapius considers it 'hazardous and sacrilegious' to record certain marvellous tales about Iamblichus because they arise from 'a spurious and fluid tradition' (459-60). When Eunapius claims that he cannot write about the scandalous charge brought against Libanius in connexion with his pupils because it is not worthy to be recorded, this may be only a clever use of praeteritio. Libanius' rivalry with Prohaeresius is reason enough for Eunapius to want to discredit him, but given the tenor of Eunapius' Lives, and that of the tradition since Porphyry and Philostratus, there is little reason to doubt his genuine reluctance to give the details of the accusation.

Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists is the final extant pagan development of the Succession of Sotion. Instead of embracing the whole of classical Greek philosophy, it outlines the intellectual inheritance of the author himself and is an essentially contemporary study. The narrowed scope, the contemporary nature, even the mingling of sophistry and philosophy in one work, are anticipated by Philostratus, but the personal focus and the resultant unity of theme and structure are Eunapius' own contribution. Retaining the topics and arrangement of Sotion, Eunapius adopts the sophistic style of Philostratus and sheds the clumsy features of the textbook to create an aesthetically pleasing piece of literature.

VI 2 The Life of Isidore

One vestigial Succession remains: Damascius' Life of Isidore. This bears a slight resemblance to Eunapius' Lives, for it includes short biographies of philosophers who were contemporary with Isidore or lived somewhat earlier. Although it is no longer extant in toto, significant fragments are preserved in Photius cod. 242 and in the Suda; they have been edited most recently by Clemens Zintzen.<sup>283</sup> The original work was one of considerable magnitude since Photius says that it was written in sixty chapters (cod. 181).

According to Photius (cod. 181), the Life was remarkable for its digressions, and the arrangement of his excerpts and those in the Suda does nothing to make the work of reconstruction less difficult and uncertain. The first such attempt was made by Dr. Fritz Bucherer who divided up the pertinent fragments into sixty chapters.<sup>284</sup> The most thorough study of the remains is that done by J.R. Asmus<sup>285</sup> and his scheme is the one adopted here. It would be tedious and unnecessary to reproduce his detailed argumentation and it will be sufficient to outline his reconstruction of the Life.

## INTRODUCTION

## ISIDORE

birthplace

physical and intellectual characteristics

## LIFE IN ALEXANDRIA (I)

educational activities

relations with Hellenic circles in Alexandria

Hypatia

philosophers and rhetors

Severus

Hermias and his circle

## FIRST STAY IN ATHENS

Proclus and his school

Sallustus

Lachares and his school

## SECOND STAY IN ALEXANDRIA

Isidore's teachers, Heraiscus and Asclepiades

Heraiscus and the Hellenes, especially Pamprepius

Isidore's paedagogue, Asclepiodotus

Asclepiodotus' teacher, the physician Jacobus

more characteristics of Asclepiodotus

Asclepiodotus' wife and father-in-law

Asclepiodotus' illness

Marinus and Isidore as candidates for the headship of the Academy

## SECOND STAY IN ATHENS

the situation of the Academy (Zenodotus, Marinus and Theagenes)

## THIRD STAY IN ALEXANDRIA

comparison of Isidore with Hypatia and others

Pamprepius contrasted with Sarapion

the situation after Illus' death

Zeno's reprisals against the Alexandrian philosophers

flight

## THIRD STAY IN ATHENS

autobiographical information about Damascius

more reprisals

## FOURTH STAY IN ALEXANDRIA

exploring expeditions

with Asclepiodotus in Caria

return to Athens

## FOURTH STAY IN ATHENS

Hegias and his school

Isidore as head of the Academy

Isidore's resignation

## CONCLUSION

Asmus himself points out the dangers in trying to reconstruct and replace the short biographies. There is seldom a complete life like that of Theodora in cod. 181, sondern flüchtige und unkünstlerische Kompositionen zu erblicken,<sup>286</sup> which are often as scattered as the parts of the life of Isidore itself. Asmus' arrangement of the fragments is generally along the lines of that in Photius cod. 242, and thus probably reflects the original - notwithstanding the perils in Photius. The picture which emerges is of a basically conventional and chronological biography. As in Eunapius, there do not appear to have been long sections, if any, devoted to pure doxography or to lists of writings. There are many digressions, chiefly the short biographies, but there is good reason to suppose that they were closely bound to the matrix by thought links. The life of a philosopher would have been related when he appeared in the main narrative as happens in Eunapius (cf. Anatolius in the account of Prohaeresius, 490). From Asmus' reconstruction, it can be inferred that a discussion of Isidore's paedagogue Asclepiodotus led to mention being made of Asclepiodotus' own teacher, Jacobus, and of his wife and father-in-law.

The short biographies also follow the conventional format. Fragment 124 (Suda) concerns Aedesia, the wife of Hermeios, and shows that worthy women still held places of honour in late Neoplatonic circles. The usual topics appear: ancestry, birthplace, character, narrative (raising and educating her children when widowed), death and funeral oration (pronounced by Damascius). The life of Severianus is similar (fr. 278, Suda): ancestry, birthplace, education, character and abilities, and public career. The end of the life may be lost, for the fragment ends there. Eunapius assessed his sophists according to their rhetorical abilities; Damascius criticized each according to his competence in the several

branches of philosophy. Severianus was very energetic and enthusiastic, but suffered from too much action and too little reflection. Dominus was strong in mathematics, yet superficial in other subjects (fr. 227, Suda). According to Photius cod. 181, 126a, no one escaped having some fault pointed out, however praiseworthy he was.

Little can be said about Damascius' use of sources, but given the largely contemporary material, he would have drawn upon his own experience or that of witnesses. Two fragments indicate that he was conscious of source problems and the need for reliability. In reply to possible queries as to how he knows that his philosopher belonged to the race of souls, Damascius says that he will answer *μέτρα βιογραφίας*, not polemically, what he believes to be true and what he has learned from his teacher (fr. 8). In fragment 149, he protests vigorously and in elaborate language that he is telling the truth.

The question of sources leads to the comparison which Asmus draws between the Life of Isidore and Marinus' Life of Proclus.<sup>287</sup> There is little reason to doubt that Damascius read Marinus' work and that he gathered information on Proclus from it. Moreover, Asmus is able to cite a series of parallel passages. It is doubtful, however, that Marinus had as much influence upon the style and structure of Damascius as he thinks. There does not appear to have been any single unifying concept like *εὐδαιμονία* in the Life of Isidore, and this theme is a point of difference, not similarity as Asmus would have it. Indeed, the structure of the Life of Proclus is unique and quite undisturbed by biographical digressions (cf. above, p. 92). The fact that neither concentrates upon doxography or dates merely shows that they are both written in the post Philostratean style. The hagiographical tone of both works and the making of an ethical and

philosophical canon from the personality of the hero are features of all late pagan biography of this type and go hand in hand with an anti-Christian posture. The Life of Isidore is best examined as an independent work.

## VII Christian Hagiography

The three preceding chapters have dealt with the place of Eunapius' Lives in the development of the pagan Succession; this will attempt to set Eunapius in the context of the literary history of late fourth and early fifth century Christian hagiography. It will be convenient to begin with Athanasius' Life of Antony, for, although it is not a Succession, it influenced subsequent hagiography and is itself most clearly affected by secular Greek biography.

The Life of Antony is the earliest extant account of the life of a saint who was not also a martyr<sup>288</sup> and thus begins a new type of hagiographical writing. It is now generally accepted that Athanasius wrote the Life shortly after the death of the saint in 356.<sup>289</sup> The standard authorities like J. Quasten<sup>290</sup> give 357 as the year of composition which is the date proposed by A. Eichorn<sup>291</sup> on the strength of the passage relating Antony's prophetic vision of the Arian troubles (82). Athanasius there speaks of the 'present' attacks of the Arians which began two years after Antony's vision. It makes better sense to identify these attacks with those of 356 and 357 rather than with those of 339. This earlier date is favoured by the Benedictine editors<sup>292</sup> who place the composition of the Life c. 365, but can advance no stronger argument than the fact that Athanasius was then enjoying a period of peace.<sup>293</sup> A different approach has recently dated the work to the end of 357 or the beginning of 358 on the grounds that here Athanasius' cool detached attitude towards Constantius is transitional between the praise of the emperor in the Apologia ad Constantium and the criticism of him in the Historia Arianorum.<sup>294</sup>

Since Athanasius was born at Alexandria about 295, he was old enough to have acquired his dislike for pagans during the last persecutions.<sup>295</sup> This antipathy was reinforced in 362 when the emperor Julian expelled him from his see for being a disturber of the peace and an enemy of the gods. After receiving a good classical and theological education at Alexandria,<sup>296</sup> Athanasius was ordained a deacon in 319 by his bishop, Alexander, and then served as his secretary. In this capacity, Athanasius attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 where already he was remarkable for his debates with the Arians (Ap. c. Arian. 6; Soc. H.E. 1,8). When he was elected bishop of Alexandria in 328, his enemies, in particular the Meletians, combined against him. By the time Athanasius wrote the Life of Antony in 357, he had been deposed three times: 335, 339, and 355. After the third time, he took refuge with the monks in the Egyptian desert for six years. He was exiled again in 362 and 365, but he was restored by popular acclaim, lived the last seven years of his life in relative peace, and died on May 2, 373.

The discovery of the literary pedigree of the Life of Antony depends to a significant extent upon a determination of both its structure and content. Before discussing the secondary literature, it will be useful to outline the structure as simply as possible:

- (1) Athanasius' prologue
- (2) Antony's development as a monk [1-15]
- (3) Antony's great speech to the monks [16-43]
- (4) Antony's active life [44-88]
- (5) Antony's last months and his death [89-92]
- (6) Athanasius' conclusion [93-94].

The Life thus consists of two main sections: the training by which Antony

became a fully-fledged monk, and his deeds as such a monk. These parts are separated by the long speech which serves to demonstrate that Antony has mastered the theoretical basis of monasticism and hence is now able to proceed to its practical application.

Gregory of Nazianzus recognized that the contents of the Life are arranged chronologically, for he distinguished his own Life of Athanasius from the Life of Antony by saying that the latter was *ἱστορία* and *διήγησις*, while his own work was an *εὐφημία*.<sup>297</sup> In a *διήγησις*, the material is arranged chronologically and in an *εὐφημία* it is apportioned according to subject, for instance the Christian virtues. Both these types are encomia. It is worth noting that although Athanasius does not classify his Life, in the prologue he uses the term *διήγησις* to refer to other people's accounts of Antony and he also employs the verb *διηγῆσαντο* in this connexion.

This discussion of *διήγησις* and *εὐφημία* is the starting point for J. List's hypothesis that the Life of Antony is an encomium and follows the classical rules for this genre.<sup>298</sup> His case is weak, largely because of the general nature of the encomium. It proves little to say that such details as Antony's parentage are given at the beginning of the Life. They are dealt with in a very summary fashion, for much of this information comes in the first sentence, and, moreover, such vital statistics are an almost necessary feature of all biography. It is more worthwhile to adopt the specific approach of Holl and Reitzenstein as discussed below who regard the Life of Antony as a descendant of the Life of Pythagoras type. List himself draws some parallels between Athanasius' work and this type.

The first attempt to classify the Life of Antony was made by Hans Mertel in 1909.<sup>299</sup> Following the biographical theories of F. Leo,<sup>300</sup> he declared that the Life was Plutarchan-Peripatetic and lamented its lack of

unity. Even ignoring the fact that Leo's classifications have been for a long time disputed and modified,<sup>301</sup> Mertel's treatment is patently unsatisfactory, for it fails to recognize the unity of the Life which Holl vigorously and rightly defends on both the structural and thematic level. A more important objection is that the Plutarchan type of biography has no place for character development, that very development which Mertel (p. 98) failed to notice in the Life of Antony.<sup>302</sup> A. Priessnig also attempts to force the Life into the Plutarchan scheme, but he realizes the weakness of his method, for he is unable to show that the miracle anecdotes and the long speech to the monks have an organic connexion with the 'life' itself.<sup>303</sup> This approach has not been revived since.

A more successful solution is that proposed by K. Holl who concentrates upon the theme of the Life of Antony in order to arrive at an understanding of both its structure and its place in literary history: for him, this biography is Athanasius' way of illustrating an ideal.<sup>304</sup> As Athanasius himself says in the proem, he wants to describe the ideal monk. The first part of the Life shows how Antony attains the desired state. The miraculous acts of the second half are now seen to be an integral part of the Life, for they demonstrate that Antony has become a genuine holy man and the 'friend of God' who is granted *ἡσθησία*. This ideal as such is said to have its closest ancestor in Clement of Alexandria's portrait of the fully developed Gnostic.<sup>305</sup> The Gnostic manifests purity of heart and bodily self-control; filled with the spirit of God he can see the unseen world. Like Antony, he is a 'friend of God' and has abnormally great powers of intercession. Literary kinship, however, is not to be found with Clement; for that it is necessary to turn to the pagan biographers: auf die griechische Wunschgestalt des vollkommenen Weisen.<sup>306</sup>

According to Holl, Antisthenes in his 'Heracles' was the first to describe the ideal of the wise man in a biographical form. Heracles underwent toil and struggles for his own sake and for the sake of others; more important, he is portrayed as a Werdender, not as a Fertiger. The Pythagoreans adopted this form and Holl takes as his example the Life of Pythagoras by Apollonius of Tyana. As it is reconstructed, this life falls into two sections, Pythagoras' development and then his deeds. However, Holl finds the closest links with the Life of Antony not in a life of Pythagoras, but in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana. This is because in addition to the usual two parts of development and activity, Apollonius appears again on earth after his death (Vit. Apoll., VIII, xxxi) and hence he achieves that immortality to which, mutatis mutandis, Holl attaches such importance with regard to the Life of Antony.

Reitzenstein accepts Holl's thesis in general, but his approach is philological rather than thematic and his final conclusions are different. From a comparison between the Life of Antony and the lives of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus, Reitzenstein decides that Athanasius modelled his work upon a life of Pythagoras which for a large part used the same sources as Porphyry and Iamblichus.<sup>307</sup> This idea is based upon such striking correspondences as those in the description of the hero upon leaving his confinement of twenty years or so (Vit. Ant. 14; Porph. 34, 35; Iambl. 196). There is no need to repeat here the finer details of Reitzenstein's treatment, and it is sufficient to cite A.J. Festugière who accepts both the hypothesis and the method of proof: on peut tenir pour démontré que la Vie d'Antoine par Athanase dépend, dans sa forme littéraire, d'une biographie idéalisée de Pythagore.<sup>308</sup>

One other possible literary influence which must be considered is the martyr legend.<sup>309</sup> It will be remembered that List feels that the Life

of Antony is an encomium. Two types of Christian encomia are possible: that of the person who achieves holiness by his way of life, of which the Life of Antony is the earliest known example, and that of the martyr who dies for the faith. Although it might seem likely that Athanasius would have been greatly influenced by the martyr legend, this does not appear to have been the case. Certainly List does not put up a very convincing argument in favour of this hypothesis. He chooses to draw his parallels with the Life of Antony from the martyrdom of Gordius by Basil the Great.<sup>310</sup> There are many superficial similarities, for Basil includes most of the biographical elements which occur in the Life of Antony. Yet many of these elements such as the information about Gordius' family and homeland (1) and the description of his soul and body (4) are what would naturally appear in both types of encomium. List is able to discern that Gordius undergoes an Aufstiegsgedanke similar to Antony's, but in any case the comparison of these two works is pointless, for as List himself recognizes, Basil is younger than Athanasius. Because of Basil's training in rhetoric he would have been subject to practically the same literary influences as was Athanasius, and thus it is dangerous to use this martyrdom as evidence for the 'natural' Christian influence upon Athanasius. It is indicative of the weakness of List's theory that he does not attempt any analysis of the older 'genuine' passions like that of Polycarp, but merely states that they display some unspecified similarities with the Life of Antony.

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The Life of Hypatius is chiefly interesting because it is a good example of the influence which the Life of Antony exerted upon subsequent hagiography. Antony's influence will have been two-fold, for Hypatius

strove to imitate the great master, even in the way in which he looked after his sister (53,4), and hence there are some similar events in their lives. This same passage indicates that the author, Callinicus, was aware of the Life of Antony and hence the presentation of events may be similar. Any apparently pagan influences most probably came through the medium of the Life of Antony because it is highly doubtful that Callinicus had any direct acquaintance with pagan biographies.<sup>311</sup> There is not a single citation of a profane author although Callinicus has a good knowledge of the Bible. The ancient editor remarked upon his lack of learning and corrected the Syrian dialect forms with which the work was blemished (editor's dedication, 6-7).

The date at which Callinicus wrote the life of his master, Hypatius, can be closely approximated.<sup>312</sup> The Life was probably written within a very few years of Hypatius' death in 446, most likely between 447 and 450. Various events which Hypatius predicted are said to have occurred after his death such as an invasion of the Huns at the beginning of 447, six months after Hypatius died (52,3). At least a year had elapsed, for the monk Macarius came to the monastery much later (42,47). Other details such as the probability that Hypatius' sister was still alive make it unlikely that many years had elapsed (53,2).

On the philological level, G.J.M. Bartelink has collected a list of parallels in text and content between the Life of Antony and the Life of Hypatius which amply demonstrate the influence of the former upon the latter.<sup>313</sup> As would be expected, there is also a general similarity in form. At the beginning of the work, Callinicus gives the usual details of birth, family, education, etc., and the end of the Life also displays

the formal pattern. Hypatius' deathbed address, last illness, and death and burial are followed by the fulfillment of his prophecies and the influence of his memory at Rufiniana. A third of the way through the Life, Callinicus inserts a thirty page compendium of Hypatius' teaching which is exactly parallel to Antony's great speech to the monks. Each life is, technically speaking, a *διήγησις* (cf. above, and editor's dedication, 1), and hence the events are arranged chronologically, not thematically. The ancient editor mentions that he *συντάξας ὡς ἐν βιβλίῳ* (ibid., 4), but this must refer to the physical presentation only, for he says that he has altered nothing except the orthography (ibid., 6-7).

However, this similarity must not be carried too far since Callinicus is a much less able and sophisticated writer than Athanasius. Even the chronology goes wrong, for Alexander and his monks were banned from Constantinople in 426 or 427 before the condemnation of Nestorius (41).<sup>314</sup> In Callinicus' sequence, this occurs afterwards. The Life as a whole lacks the dramatic power and unity of the Life of Antony since it is picaresque in form. Hypatius' ascetic training is treated briefly and there is no memorable event like Antony's twenty year long confinement. Thus the doxographical section on Hypatius' teaching has neither the circumstantial verisimilitude of Antony's address to the monks, nor the dramatic impact of being a distillate of twenty years of seclusion and struggles with demons. Indeed the prologue foreshadows the style of the Life in this regard, for the second half of it does not serve the conventional functions, but rambles on about how Hypatius instructed his monks.

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The life of Palladius himself and the reasons for dating the Lausiaca History to 420, as well as the structure and chronology of this work, are

dealt with in Appendix V. Here the major concern is the relationship of the Lausiatic History to the pagan Succession.

Palladius' education has considerable bearing upon the question of the sources for the Lausiatic History. The handbooks state that 'he received a thorough education in the classics.'<sup>315</sup> This is confirmed by Palladius' other two works, especially the Dialogus.<sup>316</sup> Menander is the only classical author who is quoted and named (94,12-14), but there is an unacknowledged citation from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (124,2) and a proverb is ascribed to Pythagoras (94, 26-27). Unfortunately this saying has not been traced to any known work of Pythagorean writing, although a very close variant is given by Stobaeus (Florilegium, I, 20). Reminiscences of the following classical authors have been detected: Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, and Menander. Evidence of a deeper acquaintance with Greek literary traditions is provided by Palladius' Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et Bragmanibus, the second part of which is his commentary on Arrian's Anabasis.<sup>317</sup> Even the Lausiatic History furnishes some evidence, for in the discussion of the question whether or not a monk ought to drink wine, Palladius cites Pythagoras, Diogenes, and Plato as examples of ἐθελοφιλόσοφοι who drank water (Prologue, p. 12 Butler). This suggests that Palladius was familiar with lives of these philosophers, given that this is the type of small detail of life-style in which their biographers delighted (cf. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 31).

In the Lausiatic History, it is Christian influence which predominates and the most influential Christian work is the Life of Antony. The last paragraph of the life of Amoun (VIII) is said by Palladius himself to come from the Life of Antony by Athanasius the bishop. The final paragraph of the life of Eulogius describing Antony's vision of the fate of

souls after death clearly derives from the Life of Antony (66)<sup>318</sup> although Palladius says that this was related to him by Chronius. Indeed, Chronius is said to be the source for most of the anecdotes, many of which involve Antony, in the lives of Eulogius and Paul the Simple (XXI and XXII). Antony remains an important figure in the History, particularly in the Nitrian section, but with the exception of the reference to his vision of Amoun's ascending soul,<sup>319</sup> which is repeated and identified at the end of that life (VIII), these frequent references are not dependent upon the Life of Antony. Usually they take the form of a statement that a particular monk like Stephanus (XXIV) knew Antony.

Butler admits only two other written sources.<sup>320</sup> Palladius found the story of Juliana's hiding Origen in an old book which bore Origen's autograph (LXIV), and he discovered the anecdote about a certain Hippolytus in a very old book (LXV). The most serious challenge to Butler's vision of the personal nature of the History is that mounted by R. Reitzenstein<sup>321</sup> and pursued further by W. Bousset.<sup>322</sup> By means of a stylistic examination of the History which demonstrated its unity of thought, style, and method, Butler is able to counter Reitzenstein's theory<sup>323</sup> and, in any case, neither Reitzenstein nor Bousset sees any serious pagan influence on the literary qualities of the History. The Historia Monachorum is the remaining possible major Greek source. In his introduction, Butler establishes that the Long Recension of the Lausiatic History is a combination of the Short Recension, his genuine text, and the Historia Monachorum, the latter two being completely distinct.<sup>324</sup> Textually speaking, Butler seems secure, but the Lausiatic History may not be totally unaffected by the Historia Monachorum. Although it is unlikely that Palladius tried to outdo the account in the Historia Monachorum of the visit of the pilgrims to John of Lycopolis,<sup>325</sup> it is probable that Palladius had read the Historia Monachorum which

appeared twenty years before his own work and enjoyed great popularity both in the original Greek and in Rufinus' translation. Also, Butler's verdict that Palladius had no Coptic sources has been refuted, the prime example being chapter XXXII on Pachomius' monastery which seems to have come to Palladius through the medium of a Greek translation.<sup>326</sup> The most influential contemporary was Evagrius<sup>327</sup> whose career is given pride of place in the History.

Despite the foregoing, the Lausiac History remains an overwhelmingly personal document.<sup>328</sup> This is twice stressed by Palladius in his Prologue. He tells Lausus that he has written for him a record of those men and women whom he has seen and of whom he has heard, and he lists their localities (p. 10, Butler). A little later, he says that he was not content with only stories of the holy men, but that he would undertake journeys of thirty days duration, or even twice that, and he mentions the difficulties which this entailed. Here there is some imitation of Antony, for the saint visited various holy men during the period of his training and learned the particular virtue of each (4); Palladius' motive was: ἵνα κερδήσω ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχον (p. 11, Butler). Palladius says thirty-four times that he knew his subject personally, and fourteen times the source is the Fathers in general or some other person.<sup>329</sup> Many other cases suggest an oral source and chapters for which there is no indication of provenance are rare, being only XXXI, XL, LIII, LXIX, and LXX. Since the Nitrian fathers gave Palladius much information and stimulated his curiosity (VII), it is likely that many of his anecdotes about the monks who lived in Nitria, Scete, and Alexandria have local oral sources. The story about Macarius' discomfiture of the rich and avaricious virgin at Alexandria (VI) could well come from Macarius' circle or even from the father himself, for Palladius lived in his company. Paesius and Esaius, whose story falls in the Nitrian section,

were doubtless Nitriotes since their case was submitted to Pambo for judgement (XIV). Palladius says nothing explicitly about the authority for Sisinnius (XLIX), but he was a disciple of the Elpidius with whom Palladius lived. In the History, Palladius gives no clue as to whence derives his knowledge of the deaconess Olympias (LVI); in the Dialogus (58 ff.), he says that he knew her personally.

It remains to set the Lausiatic History in the context of the Succession. The discussion on sources has shown that Palladius owes nothing directly to contemporary or previous pagan works of this genre; yet it is highly unlikely, given his education, that he was not familiar with them. The nearest parallels are to be sought in Philostratus and Eunapius, both of which it is at least chronologically possible for Palladius to have read. Unlike the earlier examples of the type, such as Diogenes Laertius, both Philostratus and Eunapius abandon the universal treatment of classical schools of philosophy and make the Succession into a personal record based upon their recollections of their own teachers and acquaintances and the first hand accounts of other notables given by these men.<sup>330</sup> All this is eminently true of Palladius who also resembles Eunapius in ending the History at very near the time of writing.<sup>331</sup> Yet there is a fundamental difference between the Lausiatic History and all pagan Successions, including Eunapius: the structure of the History is essentially autobiographical.<sup>332</sup> In the pagan Succession, the philosophers or sophists are first arranged into schools and then put into chronological order. In terms of the pagan genre, Eunapius includes a relatively large amount of autobiography, but this is very much supplementary and it is not allowed to govern the structure of the work.

In matters of style and content, Palladius is much more like the Eunapian type of Succession. The Lausiatic History is no more a textbook

of theology than the Lives of the Sophists the primer of philosophy which Diogenes Laertius wrote. Palladius does not habitually give lists of his subject's written works or disciples. He mentions the Antirrhetica of Evagrius and says that most of Ephraim's works are worth reading, but this is to be much less specific and critical than even Eunapius. Palladius does furnish a list of Pambo's disciples (X) and he mentions that Moses the Ethiopian left seventy (XIX), but even so informal a biographer as Eunapius enumerated the principal followers of Iamblichus. Palladius is aware of biographical conventions; for example, he remarks that Isidore did not leave a will. Palladius contrasts himself with other biographers by saying that he is not concerned with where his subjects lived (ὁ τόπος), but displaying his wonted fondness for the pun, how (ὁ τρόπος τῆς προαφροσύνης [Prologue, 16]). Yet Palladius seldom fails to give the location of his monks.

The Lausiac History has only a few examples of the succession of teacher and pupil. This is not surprising since monasticism was a new phenomenon which had not had time to develop schools in the fashion of Greek philosophy. The successions cited below arise naturally enough from Palladius' information and the structure of the History, but not necessarily, and Palladius may have been influenced by convention. These are the examples. (1) Ammonius was the disciple of Pambo (X and XI). (2) Dorotheus succeeded Elias as the warden of a nunnery (XXX). The language is significant, for the phrase ὄν διαδέχεται Δωροθέος recalls the philosophical term δαδότης and its cognates. (3) Sisinnius was the disciple of Elpidius (XLVIII and XLIX). (4) Silvia, Olympias, Candida and Gelasia were the followers of Melania the Elder (LIV to LVII).

The individual lives in the Lausiac History are similar to those in other examples of the Succession, although only some of them are anything

like a full biography. The most complete are Macarius of Alexandria (XVIII), John of Lycopolis (XXXV), and Evagrius (XXXVIII). Often the lives are very short and, lacking many of the usual biographical details, consist only of one or more anecdotes (e.g. Pior [XXXIX]). Yet even in Diogenes Laertius there are brief and truncated lives and this is common in Philostratus and Eunapius.

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The anonymous Historia Monachorum in Aegypto is generally assumed to have been written about the year 400. The author was a monk in the monastery founded by Rufinus on the Mount of Olives who went to Egypt in 394 with six companions in order to visit the solitaries. When he returned to the Mount of Olives, he wrote the book at the request of his fellows.<sup>333</sup> The date 394 is fixed by John of Lycopolis' prophecy that Theodosius would overthrow the usurper Eugenius (1, 1-3). Butler succeeds in establishing the primacy of the Greek version which Rufinus translated into Latin sometime between 400 (the date of his church history, to which reference is made) and 410, the year of his death.<sup>334</sup> The author may have been Timotheus, the archdeacon of Alexandria, for Timotheus, the bishop of Alexandria, to whom Sozomen ascribes the work (H.E. VI, 29), died in 385.<sup>335</sup>

The Historia Monachorum may be disposed of briefly, for although the tone is similar to that of the Christian Succession, the substance is not. The Historia is a travel journal recording what the group of monks saw and what they were told as the trip progressed. The organisation of the chapters is not more subtle than this. Nor does the author attempt to make the chapters into lives; in almost all the usual trappings of birth-place, parentage, and deathbed scene are lacking, even where applicable. The author once shows an awareness of the Succession, but the theme is not developed. Pityrion is said to have been a pupil of Antony and to be

the third to inhabit this particular spot. The choice of words is noteworthy: *καὶ τρίτος τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος* (15, Festugière p. 111).

The chapter on Paphnutius approaches a life since it treats almost the whole of his ascetic career. This is doubtless because Paphnutius had died not long before the travellers came to his old haunts (14, 1) and the information would have been easily obtained from the local presbyters. These would be the same presbyters to whom Paphnutius had spoken just before his death and who were able to furnish details of the circumstances.

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Theodoret of Cyrrhus is known mostly from his own writings, one of the most informative being the Historia Religiosa. No contemporary author wrote an account of Theodoret and the only ancient life is by Gennadius Massiliensis, the continuator of Jerome's De viris illustribus, who died about 494.<sup>336</sup> Theodoret's family, perhaps of curial rank, belonged to the land owning class at Antioch and had been Christian for some generations.<sup>337</sup> When Theodoret was born (probably in 393),<sup>338</sup> his mother dedicated him to the religious life and named him accordingly (1213 ff.). In all likelihood, Theodoret remained with his parents until they died, at which time he was twenty-three.<sup>339</sup> He then sold his property, distributed it among the poor, and retired for seven years to one of the two monasteries at Nicerta, a village near Apamea and some eighty kilometres from Antioch. In the time spared from his studies, he visited the numerous local monasteries and gathered some of the material for the Historia Religiosa. Theodoret was made bishop of Cyrrhus in 423 and by 430 was involved in the doctrinal controversies which were the major concern of the latter part of his life. The last known date in Theodoret's life is June 11, 453, for on that day Pope Leo wrote to him.<sup>340</sup> Most authorities maintain that he had died by 458,<sup>341</sup> although he may have lived until 466 since Marcellinus Comes mentions him under that year in his Chronicle.<sup>342</sup>

Various dates ranging between 438<sup>343</sup> and 444<sup>344</sup> have been proposed for the Historia Religiosa. The latter date has now been established by A. Leroy-Molinghen.<sup>345</sup> The manuscript Parisinus 1454 preserves a new edition of the life of Symeon Stylites which was revised to the time of his death in 459 by someone who was obviously his contemporary and probably a disciple. When Theodoret completed his version of the life, Symeon had for twenty-eight years made a practice of fasting during the forty days of Lent (1459). Parisinus 1454 gives the number of years as forty-three and hence Theodoret's original edition appeared fifteen years previously in 444.

As with other hagiographers, Theodoret's education bears directly upon the question of what influence the pagan Greek Succession had upon the Historia Religiosa. Theodoret says nothing about his education, but it is evident from his works, notably the Curatio, that his knowledge of Greek classical and post-classical authors was extensive and perhaps intensive.<sup>346</sup> There is no evidence that there were any church schools in Antioch during Theodoret's growing years and it is likely that he was taught by a pagan sophist, although there may have been Christian sophists in Theodoret's time. It is well known that Libanius had Christian pupils. In letter 16, Theodoret says that he had Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia as masters; he must be speaking figuratively about at least the former since he died about the time when Theodoret was born. Theodore may have been a student of Libanius although this is not certain.<sup>347</sup>

The Curatio is Theodoret's main apologetic work against paganism and cites a very large number of pagan authors, foremost among which is Plato. Here is not the place to broach the eternal question of florilegia, but it is likely that Theodoret was directly acquainted with major classical writers. The citations are conveniently collected by Canivet at

the end of the second volume of his edition of the Curatio. Here, interest lies in Theodoret's awareness of those works which might have had some influence upon the Historia Religiosa. He had some general knowledge of the Neoplatonic milieu and its predecessors since he quotes Longinus, Numenius, the Orphic writings, and Plotinus. More important are his quotations from the biographical works of Porphyry. He refers to the φιλόσοφος ἱστορία which is his only example of the Succession - and a 'classical', if foreshortened one, at that. At II, 95 Theodoret grasps the essential nature of the History, the combination of biography with doxography: at IV, 31 he cites the History by name; at V, 16 there is an obvious allusion to it. There are four allusions to that part of the History known as the Life of Pythagoras: I, 14 (to 11); I, 25 (to 14); VIII, 1 (to 39 and 42). The references to the Life of Pythagoras (at VIII, 1 he is aware of several of these Lives) take on added importance when it is remembered what great influence lives of Pythagoras had upon the first example of Christian hagiography, the Life of Antony.

Even in the Historia Religiosa, a few traces of classical Greek literature can be found. This is highly significant, for it is the only work of Christian hagiography examined here which uses such classical exempla. Indeed, the whole work is stylistically very different from the Lausiaca History and is obviously written to appeal to a readership with a high degree of Greek literary culture. Perhaps the most interesting example is the way in which Theodoret explains how Publius' home town, Zeugma, received its name: the famous Xerxes put a bridge across the Euphrates there when he was moving his army to invade Greece (1161). Theodoret is curiously mistaken here, for he misapplies the story of Xerxes' crossing the Hellespont on a bridge of boats which is found in Herodotus (VII, 36). Xerxes did not cross at Zeugma on the way to attack

Greece; the place received its name from the crossing made there by Alexander the Great. Cassius Dio explicitly derives the name from this event (XL, 17, 3), while Pliny the Elder notes that the chain used by Alexander was still preserved there (N.H. xxxiv, 150).<sup>348</sup> This is the only classical exemplum of its type in the Historia and it is tempting to conjecture that because it has to do with bridging a great river, this may be Theodoret's way of making a tacit comparison with the less successful Council of Zeugma in 432 during the conflict between Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>349</sup>

There are three other classical references in the Historia. Baradatos is said to be better in argument than those who were trained in the labyrinths of Aristotle (1285). Aristotle's works are cited four times in the Curatio: V,24; XI, 13; XII,52; I,90. There are two allusions to Thucydides which both recall the beginning of the Funeral Speech (II, 35) where Pericles says that people disbelieve tales of deeds which are beyond their own capabilities and become jealous of those who perform them. In his prologue, Theodoret cautions his readers not to disbelieve him if they hear things which are beyond their own powers (1106). At the beginning of the life of Symeon Stylites, Theodoret says that he is afraid to relate the story of Symeon: his deeds are too great for human abilities and the account of them may be thought to be myth (1265). The one reference to Thucydides in the Curatio is also from this part of his work. This is the description of the burial of the first casualties of the Peloponnesian War (II,34 at VIII,32).

Theodoret shares characteristics of both main types of pagan Succession. In his desire to furnish a representative picture of monasticism - even if only of a part of it - he has the same outlook as the classical encyclopaedic Succession. Yet by restricting his

examples to Syrian ascetics of whom he had personal knowledge, either through autopsy or first hand accounts, and by his personal involvement in many of the anecdotes, his work is of the same complexion as Eunapius' and Philostratus'.

Structurally, the Historia Religiosa is like the pagan Greek Succession in that it is constructed formally and not naturally. The structure of both the Lausiac History and the Historia Monachorum is natural because the former parallels the life of the author and the latter records a journey. Theodoret arranges his lives in groups which are determined by geography and chronology.

The divisions of the Historia are outlined by Stephan Schiwietz:<sup>350</sup>

(a) chapters I-XIII: two monks from Osroene and monks in northern Syria, all dead;

(b) monasticism in Theodoret's own diocese:

(i) XIV-XX monks who are dead,

(ii) XXI-XXV monks who are alive;

(c) the conclusion, XXVI-XXX:

Symeon and others who are not in Theodoret's diocese, but who are still alive.

There is perhaps another subsection of (a) which is not noticed by Schiwietz, for in the introduction to chapter IV (1150), Theodoret says that he will now discuss those monks who lived in inhabited areas. He is careful to point out these divisions to the reader. At the beginning of the life of Maisymas, Theodoret states that there are many other famous monks in the vicinity of Antioch, but that he will now deal with the region of Cyrrhus (1216). Similarly, with the life of Jacob he describes the transition to the living, and in very florid language (1235).

With Symeon Stylites, the narrow geographical limitations are swept away; in the opening sentence, Theodoret proclaims that Symeon is the great wonder of the inhabited world, famous not only among all the subjects of Rome but also the Persians, Medes, Aethiopians, and Scyths. The structure of the Historia is climactic and Symeon is the high point of the work. The lives which follow his serve merely as a dénouement. The life of the younger Jacob is the other, but lesser, peak. Here, Theodoret notes the coincidence with the name of the first monk in the Historia, and says that he has chosen Jacob to head the list of the living, not because of the identity of name, but because the second imitates the virtue of the first (1235). This dramatic structure is found to a lesser extent in Eunapius' Lives of the Sophists which concludes with the life of Chrysanthius and a short dénouement; it is alien to the Lausiaca History and the Historia Monachorum.

Within Schiwietz's group (a), Theodoret arranges the monks chronologically following the practice of the Succession. In the preface to the last life in this first section, Theodoret says that he is putting Macedonius here because he lived longer than those who preceded him in the series, not because he is of lesser virtue. The first is Jacob who is certainly the eldest.

Theodoret attempts to link the individual lives where this is possible, although he fails to utilize one of the few master - disciple relationships. This feature of the Succession does not appear to be an over-riding principle of his structure even though examples of it can be found (see below). In both lives it is said that Jacob the Younger was the pupil of Maro (XVI [1223] and XXI [1235]), yet the chapters do not follow in sequence. This would seem to have been possible, for Jacob heads the new section and Maro could have ended the old.

The connexions are often rather mechanical. Theodoret introduces Publius by noting that he lived at the same time as Evagrius (V and IV [1161]). Palladius (VII) is firmly tied to Symeon the Elder (VI), for he was *ὁμόχρονος, ὁμότροπος, συνήθης,* and *γνώριμος* (1173). Theodoret may make this point for reasons of literary economy as he thus avoids describing Palladius' ascetic regime since it was similar to Symeon's. He uses this device again with an unexpected twist: there is no need to outline Theodosius' monastic way of life because it can be seen in his disciples (1195). Theodosius is followed by Romanus who must have been one of his disciples although this is not made explicit. They both lived in the vicinity of Rhodus and Romanus' irons and clothing were similar to Theodosius' (1200). Acepsimas (XV) was coeval with Maisymas (XIV [12192]). Chapter XXII concerns Thalassius and Limnaeus. Theodoret visited Thalassius and saw there one of his flock, Limnaeus, with whom the greater part of the chapter deals. Limnaeus was a follower of Maro and went to him at the same time as Jacob the Younger (1254). The last two sentences of the chapter reinforce the link with Jacob, for Limnaeus is said to have been a monk for the same length of time, thirty-eight years (1257).

Chapter XXIV is the best example of master-pupil relationships in the Historia and is the chief chapter of its group. Zebinas was the founder; he died before Theodoret came. His disciple was Polychronius in whom Theodoret could see the philosophy of Zebinas (1259). This group had definite connexions with that to which Jacob the Younger belonged, for Maro admired Zebinas greatly and wished to be buried in the same sepulchre (1258-9), and Jacob claimed to have given Polychronius his first hair shirt (1259). Many years later, Jacob again sent a tunic to Polychronius, but this time a shaggy goatskin; Polychronius thought

that this was too luxurious and returned it (1263). The last member of this group (*συμμορία*) is Asclepius (XXV). In spite of living ten stades away, he maintained the same regime as the others. Many people were benefitted through emulating his virtue, including the great Jacob (1264).

In the individual lives, Theodoret differs from Palladius in the same general way as in the Historia as a whole. In many respects, Theodoret's lives resemble those of the classical Greek tradition as found in Diogenes Laertius. Usually longer than Palladius' lives, they are real biographies relating in chronological order the customary details of birth, 'vital statistics', and the circumstances of death. It is thus no surprise that Theodoret often uses the terms *διήγημα* and *διήγησις* of his individual lives (cf. 1109: *διηγήσομαι*; 1108 *τῆς διηγήσεως*; 1106: *τὸ διήγημα* and *διηγησάμενοι*; 1150: *διηγήμασιν*). The formality of his presentation is emphasized and typified by the prayer with which almost all the lives end. Like Palladius and the later Greek tradition, the bulk of the individual life consists of anecdotes, but there is a notable absence of long passages of doxography. Nor does Theodoret discuss his monk's written works, although this may be the result of the high prevalence of illiteracy among them.

The life of Petrus (IX) is a representative example of Theodoret's formal method. It begins with a separate introduction in which Theodoret gives some salient facts about Petrus: he was born in Galatia, lived with his parents until the age of seven, and spent his last ninety-two years in the monastic life. The introduction includes a short discussion of Gauls eastern and western and a rather involved captatio benevolentiae. The life proper begins with the start of Petrus' career in Galatia, the removal to Palestine, and an outline of his ascetic practice. There

follows a selection of Petrus' miracles, two of which concern Theodoret's mother. Petrus cured her of ophthalmia and saved her from dying of puerperal fever. At the end of the life, Theodoret describes Petrus' robe which his mother preserved as a relic until someone neglected to return it. The life finishes with mention of Petrus' death and expectation of Heaven, and Theodoret's prayer for benediction. This scheme recalls that used by Diogenes Laertius (Appendix IV) and by Eunapius in his longer lives such as the one of Prohaeresius (485-93 and above, Chpt. VI 1).

To conclude this study of the literary history of the Succession, it is appropriate to turn to Arnaldo Momigliano's essay, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.' There he enunciates the general rule that Christians assimilated pagan ideas and literary forms, but that pagans did not adopt Christian ones.<sup>351</sup> However, he claims that 'the Christians invented ... the biography of the saints'<sup>352</sup> and implies that Christian hagiography was prior to Eunapius' Lives.<sup>353</sup> With regard to the formal literary aspects of the Lives of the Sophists, Momigliano's general rule holds against his qualifications of it, although one of Eunapius' purposes was pagan propaganda (see below). Chapters IV, V, and VI have demonstrated that Eunapius' Lives is to be explained in terms of the pagan Greek Succession. Indeed, of the comparable works of Christian hagiography, only the Life of Antony is earlier than Eunapius' Lives while Palladius and Theodoret are much later.

It remains to summarize the results with regard to the three major Christian works examined here. Athanasius, Palladius and Theodoret had each received a good classical education and were thus subject to the influence of pagan Greek literature at first hand. This is especially

evident in the case of Athanasius whose Life of Antony is clearly modelled upon the type of the life of Pythagoras. However, the Life of Antony is the biography of a single monk and had no fundamental stylistic influence upon Eunapius. The next chapter will show that it had no significant spiritual influence, either. Palladius and Theodoret could both have read Eunapius' Lives, but there is no direct evidence that they did. The Lausiac History bears a superficial resemblance to the pagan Succession, but it is essentially autobiographical in form and even the treatment of the individual monks is seldom really a life. Theodoret's Historia Religiosa is the only one of the three which is a formal Succession and there can be little doubt that he patterned it upon the Succession; he does, after all, cite Porphyry's History (IV, 31). Yet of all these hagiographers, Theodoret is the least concerned with pagans. He writes about Christians for a Christian audience and his work is only apologetic insofar as it seeks to explain and justify Syrian monasticism to the cultured urban Greek (e.g. re Aphraates [1176] and Maisymas [1216]).

## VIII Eunapius as Hagiographer

Previously, the Lives of the Sophists has been dealt with from a formal literary point of view. Here the major concern is with the Lives as pagan hagiography, for Eunapius strives to make many of his subjects into holy men who are the equal of the Christian variety. In the Lives as in the Histories, Eunapius is contributing to the eastern intellectual reaction against Christianity and the essential similarity of the content and technique of the two works will become more clear when Eunapius' treatment of Constantine, Julian and Theodosius is examined. The chapter will conclude with an attempt to set the Lives in the spiritual context of similar writings, pagan and Christian.

Eunapius had no single purpose in writing the Lives. He himself says that he has tried to write 'a continuous and definite account of the lives of the most celebrated philosophers and rhetoricians' (454) and the desire to commemorate his teachers is particularly strong in the lives of Prohaeresius and Chrysanthius. Eunapius reveals his didactic purpose at the very beginning when he praises Xenophon for making Alexander great. The third and unstated purpose is polemical, for Eunapius intended the Lives to counter Christian hagiography, although the propaganda which he employs is, like the form in which it is cast, of pagan derivation.

Eunapius' first philosopher is appropriately Plotinus. In conformity with his usual practice (e.g. fr. 9), he does not attempt to compete with Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, although he adds the name of Plotinus' birthplace, Lyco, which Porphyry had omitted. He does, however, emphasize Plotinus' very great importance. Plotinus' works are said to be more popular than Plato's among the educated and even the uneducated are influenced by his teachings. More striking is the 'proof' of Plotinus'

godlike status: Πλωτίνου θερμοὶ βωμοὶ νῦν. While no other fourth century writer confirms this,<sup>354</sup> Eunapius may be right. Porphyry in his Life of Plotinus (23) says that Plotinus went to the 'company of heaven' to be the companion of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus, not to be judged by them. Plotinus used to sacrifice and feast on the birthdays of Plato and Socrates and, although he concealed his birthdate to prevent a similar practice in his own case (ibid. 2), fourth century Neoplatonists probably honoured him as Eunapius says. It would not be surprising in an age which made Julian the Apostate synnaos theos and even believed that he had answered prayers after his death.<sup>355</sup> Similarly, Eunapius states that Apollonius of Tyana was no longer a philosopher, but τι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον (454).

Eunapius then turns to Plotinus' most famous disciple, Porphyry. He stresses Porphyry's good birth and his brilliance as a student of Longinus, who also comes in for his share of praise (456). The chief episode in the life is the account of how Porphyry was overcome by Plotinus' teaching and conceived such a hatred of the body that he almost committed suicide. Porphyry's version of the story is simply that Plotinus noticed that he was contemplating suicide and persuaded him to go to Sicily for a holiday (ibid. 11). Eunapius' account is significantly different and deliberately so, for he was familiar with Porphyry's Life of Plotinus (455). Porphyry says that he shut himself up in his house, but Eunapius tells how he went to Sicily where he avoided all human contact. Plotinus followed his pupil and persuaded him to return to society.

The main reason for the distortion is probably Eunapius' love of the dramatic which leads him to heighten both Porphyry's emotions and Plotinus' care for his disciple: the mutual solicitude of teacher and pupil is a characteristic of Neoplatonists in general and of Eunapius' Lives in particular. Wyttenbach notes the rhetorico colore<sup>356</sup> and Wright

cites several Homeric parallels ad loc. Eunapius does use the incident to explain the clarity of Porphyry's teaching as opposed to Plotinus' usual style (456/7). Plotinus' words to Porphyry in his depression were τὸ φάρμακον τῆς σαφηνείας (456). The story also serves to discredit the extreme asceticism which many Christian holy men practised, but which was eschewed by right-thinking Neoplatonists.<sup>357</sup>

Eunapius makes Porphyry into a prophet figure, describing him as a Chain of Hermes who clearly expounded all subjects to mortals (457). This is reinforced by Eunapius' statement that Porphyry had himself received a special oracle. Eunapius then mentions Porphyry's book on oracles and his admonition that one ought not to neglect oracles. Eunapius certainly followed this advice himself as is frequently evident in both the Lives and the Histories. Like a Christian prophet, or Christ himself, Porphyry had power over demons, for he expelled one called Kausatha from a bath (457). Nor was Porphyry deficient in either charity or continence: he married Marcella, the widow of a friend, solely in order that he might provide for the education of her children (457).<sup>358</sup> Eunapius has portrayed Porphyry as the equal of a Christian holy man, but more moderate and sensible.

Porphyry's pupil, Iamblichus, is the greatest miracle worker of Eunapius' philosophers. It is understandable that Eunapius should treat Iamblichus in this way, for he was the founder of the branch of Neoplatonism to which Eunapius belonged (461). Moreover, it was safe to do so since Iamblichus had died c. 325<sup>359</sup> and there can have been few people still alive when Eunapius wrote the Lives who had known him. In common with Porphyry and most of Eunapius' philosophers, Iamblichus was well-born. Like Porphyry who moved from the second greatest teacher to the greatest in studying first with Longinus and then with Plotinus, so Iamblichus studied first with Anatolius and then with Porphyry.

(Eunapius likes to make use of parallelism wherever possible.) Eunapius is not completely uncritical of Iamblichus, for he remarks upon the poor literary qualities of Iamblichus' writing (458), in particular his biography of Alypius (460). However, it was only in the matter of literary style that Iamblichus was inferior to Porphyry and it is a small matter in comparison to his virtues and powers.

Because Iamblichus practised *θεωλοσύνη* he gained the *εὐηκοία* of the gods and as a result he was much sought after as a teacher (458). The similarity to a Christian holy man and his disciples is obvious. Eunapius names Iamblichus' disciples and emphasizes their greatness. Iamblichus was a devoted teacher and except for his times of private worship they enjoyed his company. Eunapius says that Iamblichus' conversation was like nectar to his pupils, a comparison which he may have borrowed from a letter of Julian to Libanius (ep. 58 Wright).<sup>360</sup>

The first miraculous story about Iamblichus takes the form of a question put to him by his pupils (458), although the tale itself appears to be modelled upon Philostratus' account of how the Brahmins rose two cubits above the ground, not *θαυματοπολίας ἕνεκα*, but to honour god (Vit. Apoll. III, 15).<sup>361</sup> Similarly, Iamblichus is said to have performed his levitation while praying alone so that he escapes any suspicion of being a showman, as Maximus of Ephesus later was in the Temple of Hecate (475). However, Eunapius embroiders upon his borrowing, for Iamblichus' questioners have heard that he rose ten cubits and that his body and clothes took on a golden beauty: *χρυσοειδής* is a type of word favourite to Eunapius.<sup>362</sup> Iamblichus laughed at the story and this candour is probably intended to make the reader more receptive toward the next two stories. Eunapius also helps to establish their credibility by saying that his information comes from the eyewitness, Aedesius, via his

pupil and Eunapius' teacher, Chrysanthius.

The purpose of the second and third tales is clear, for they are *ἐπιδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεγάλης τῆς θεϊότητος* (458). The second tells how Iamblichus perceived that a funeral had passed along the road which he and his disciples were about to take and thus he avoided incurring pollution. This is clearly modelled upon one of Plutarch's anecdotes about Socrates,<sup>363</sup> but once again Eunapius has improved his materials. Both Iamblichus and Socrates broke off in the middle of a conversation and ordered a turning back. Most of Socrates' pupils obeyed him, but most of Iamblichus' pressed on; thus the latter's victory has the greater impact. In Plutarch, the narrator went with Socrates, but Aedesius was one of the sceptics and thus his recantation carries greater conviction. Iamblichus, moreover, outdid Socrates by announcing that the cause of the uncleanness was a corpse; Socrates had said only that he had had a sign and the cause turned out to be a herd of swine.

The most remarkable evidence of Iamblichus' powers was yet to come, something *θειωδέστερον* (459). His pupils were sceptical about the previous feat and some even suggested that it was to be accounted for by his keen sense of smell. Hence Iamblichus conjured up the water sprites, after assuring his pupils that such a display was *οὐκ εὐσεβές* and that he did it only for their sake (459). Eunapius describes the episode in considerable detail and, as he does not appear to draw upon any literary model, depends either upon his own imagination or the testimony of Aedesius. Eunapius concludes by saying that he follows the evidence of those who did not want to believe, but who *πρὸς τὴν τοῦ φανέντος αἰσθησὶν συνεκάμφθησαν* (460).

The story of Sopater is an excellent example of Eunapius' faith in retributive justice. Sopater, the most gifted of Iamblichus' pupils, felt

that he was too good to associate with ordinary men and went to Constantinople where he enjoyed great success until he aroused the jealousy of the praetorian prefect, Ablabius, and was put to death. Eunapius frequently ascribes the downfall of politically active philosophers to the jealousy of courtiers. Quite clearly, Sopater was punished for his pride and for his participation in court politics and serves as a warning to others. The emperor Constantine was punished because he honoured Ablabius and Ablabius, too, paid the penalty: *καὶ ταύτην ἔτισε Σωπάτρω δίκην...* (464). Eunapius sums up the episode with a statement of belief in Providence: *τῆς Προνοίας οὐκ ἀφείσθη τὸ ἀνθρώπινον* (464).

Some other points are worth noting. Just as Christian hagiographers like Theodoret compare their holy men to Biblical heroes (e.g. Jacob (I) to Moses and Elijah, H.R. 1110-1111), so Eunapius twice compares Sopater to Socrates in order to emphasize the foolishness of the charge brought against him (462 and 464). Eunapius' comments on the drunkenness and debauchery of the Dionysia which prepared the ground for Socrates' condemnation are consistent with his puritanical outlook in the Histories (e.g. with regard to Theodosius, fr. 48). Also consistent with Eunapius' practice in the Histories is the apparent telescoping involved in blaming the accusations against Socrates upon Aristophanes' Clouds: Socrates was put to death in 399 B.C. and the Clouds was produced in 423 B.C.<sup>364</sup> It is well to remember, though, that Socrates himself in Plato's Apology makes much of the damage which was done to his reputation by comedy and cites Aristophanes in particular (19c); Eunapius would have known this passage. The story of the birth of Ablabius is one of those colourful anecdotes beloved by Eunapius and provides the setting for another demonstration of the validity of prophecies, for Ablabius did become second only to Constantine (463/4).

Aedesius, who succeeded Iamblichus as scholarch, provides the sober contrast to Sopater, just as in the next generation Chrysanthius is opposed to Maximus. Aedesius came from a family which was noble, but not wealthy. The anecdote which Eunapius tells about how Aedesius convinced his materialistic father of the value of philosophy appears to be modelled on one told by Aelian,<sup>365</sup> although Eunapius exaggerates the effect in order to flatter Aedesius: his father now felt *ὡς θεοῦ γεγονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπου πατήρ* (461). Aelian breaks off with the son patiently bearing the blows of his father - which is the lesson which philosophy had taught him.

Aedesius, who was inferior to Iamblichus only *εἰς θεῖσμον* (461) is not one of Eunapius' wonder-working philosophers. Eunapius offers two possible reasons for this: Aedesius may have kept quiet either because of Constantine's attacks on paganism or because he did not believe that the mysteries should be profaned. As in the case of Antoninus at Canopus (471-2), Eunapius had to account for the disturbing fact that a great philosopher did not perform miracles. Here, Eunapius chooses his excuses well, for the first condemns Constantine and the second makes a point about which Eunapius felt strongly (cf. fr. 55).

Although Aedesius was no thaumaturge, Eunapius does show him to have been a person of great importance and highly respected. The dream oracle which Aedesius received both demonstrates his close relationship with the gods and provides divine justification for his life of retirement (464/5 and above Chpt. III 2). His greatness as a teacher was such that he was dragged from his solitary life in the wilderness and his school at Pergamon was so popular 'that his fame touched the stars' (465). The future emperor Julian studied under him and was thoroughly captivated by *τὸ θεοειδὲς τῆς ψυχῆς* (474) - which does them both credit. Yet Aedesius did not allow himself to be carried away by pride and would often stop while walking to chat with

tradesmen and shopkeepers (482). Moreover, Aedesius demonstrated the ἐπιμέλειαν πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον (481) which he tried to instil in his pupils by caring for Sosipatra and her children (469).

Eustathius was another of Iamblichus' pupils. His forte was his eloquence and persuasiveness which Eunapius goes so far as to describe as a kind of witchcraft (465). The measure of his abilities is shown by the fact that he was chosen by Constantius as an ambassador to the Persian king. Eunapius takes the opportunity to add that Constantius asked Eustathius although the emperor was captivated by the books of the Christians. The atmosphere of crisis is heightened, for Eunapius writes as if the Persian king had just raided Antioch (465). The use of ὁμῶς ('similarly') in the phrase τούτων δὲ ὁμῶς κατεχόντων may save Eunapius' strict honesty, but he is obviously attempting to conflate the raid which happened in the reign of Gallienus c. 258 with the embassy of 358; both events were far enough in the past when Eunapius was writing for a hasty reader to be misled. The technique is familiar from the Histories (see below).

The story of the embassy itself has also been distorted to Eustathius' benefit. Eustathius alone was able to charm the hostile Sapor who was so overcome that he made Eustathius his table companion and nearly converted to the philosophic way of life. However, the magi became jealous, turned Sapor against Eustathius, and the embassy failed to win any concessions (465/6). The pattern is clear. Eunapius has built up Eustathius as the great persuader and exaggerated his success with Sapor so much that it is difficult to explain why the embassy actually failed. Thus Eunapius falls back on the motif of the jealous courtier. The pattern is highlighted by comparison with Ammianus' account of the same embassy. There is no doubt that Eustathius was a good speaker: itemque Eustathius, Musoniano suggerente philosophus, ut opifex suadendi (XVII,5,15). However, Ammianus

ascribes the failure to Sapor's refusal to make peace unless he gained territory (XVII,14,1); he says nothing about the near-conversion or the jealous magi and these elements are most probably fictitious. In fact, the story of the near-conversion may have been inspired by the Life of Apollonius, for that sage induced the King of Persia to contemn both death and his Kingdom (I, 37).

Eunapius tells how Greece very much wanted Eustathius to visit and how skilled diviners foretold that he would do so. He did not and later proved the interpretation to have been incorrect. The purpose of the story seems to be, however unconvincingly, to demonstrate the amplitude of Eustathius' fame and his great knowledge of omens. Such knowledge is a necessary possession for Eunapius' philosophers which is not otherwise evident in Eustathius' career.

His marriage to Sosipatra is of more interest. The marriage must have taken place in the 320's, for their son, Antoninus, died in old age just before the destruction of the Serapeum in 391 (473). Thus the introductory οὕτως (466) has no temporal significance since whatever the date of the non-visit to Greece, the embassy to Persia was in 358.<sup>366</sup> Secondly, it is necessary to affirm that Sosipatra did not prophesy to Eustathius that he would live only five years longer,<sup>367</sup> but that he would be translated to the fifth essence or aether<sup>368</sup> - as would befit such a godlike philosopher (469). Eustathius cannot have died five years after the marriage, for he was corresponding with Julian the Apostate in 362.<sup>369</sup> The last difficulty concerns the statement that Aedesius cared for Sosipatra and educated her children μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου (469). This is usually taken to mean 'after the death of Eustathius',<sup>370</sup> but this cannot be true since Aedesius died before the appointment of Julian as Caesar (476) and, moreover, Antoninus was born in the 320's. Hence it is

necessary to translate ἀποχώρησις as 'going away',<sup>371</sup> and the probable conclusion is that Eustathius deserted Sosipatra. The inner circle would have known the sordid truth, but Eunapius deliberately used an ambiguous word in order not to sully Eustathius' reputation with his wider readership. It may be significant that Sosipatra is not mentioned in any of Eustathius' surviving correspondence. She must have been alive then since she told Eustathius that he would die first (σὺ δὲ προαπολείψεις ἐμέ ) and Eunapius affirms that her prophecy came true (469).

Sosipatra is one of the most fabulous of Eunapius' philosophers and he does his utmost to make her seem godlike. Even as an infant, she was noble and modest and ἀπέντα ἐποίηε ὀλιβιώτερα (467). Eunapius tells how she was initiated into rites and trained by two Chaldaean seers between the ages of five and ten (467-8). The story is dubious, for it appears to be based upon a common folk tale motif of the region<sup>372</sup> and it is also suspicious that Eunapius gives no indication of his source. This is in sharp contrast with his usual practice when dealing with the incredible (e.g. Iamblichus' miracles). The purpose of the tale is not just to establish Sosipatra's claim to mastery of Neoplatonic and Oriental lore,<sup>373</sup> but also to endow her with a divine mystique. Even if the tale developed as a 'professionally valuable' family legend,<sup>374</sup> it is likely, to judge from Eunapius' practice elsewhere, that both the precise circumstantial detail and the godlike qualities of Sosipatra are largely his work. The old men persuaded Sosipatra's father to hand her over to them by promising that they would confer a δῶρον οὐρανόμηκες and that Sosipatra would be more than a woman, even more than human (467). When her father returned, Sosipatra shone with a κάλλος ἑτεροῖον and he was so impressed that he προσεκύνησεν αὐτήν (468). Sosipatra then demonstrated her new abilities by describing to her father all the incidents of his journey. This feat

is inconsistent with the fact that she scarcely knew her father at first, but he at least was sufficiently impressed that *θεὸν εἶναι τὴν παῖδα ἐπέπειστο* (468). Although Sosipatra had no other teachers after this, she was able to expound clearly the most difficult poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric and in this resembles some unlettered monks (469).

After her estrangement from Eustathius, Sosipatra taught philosophy at Pergamon to the same students as did Aedesius. These marvelled at Aedesius' *ἀκρίβεια*, but Sosipatra's teaching was of a different and higher order: *τὸν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνθουσιασμόν προσεκύνει καὶ ἐσεβάξεται* (469). Sosipatra delivered one of her clairvoyant utterances about Philometor when she had been propounding the descent of the soul: *μεταξὺ τοῦ κορυβαντισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκβαλχέουσας* (470). The story of how she dealt with Philometor's passion for her, and her own feelings for him, provides the setting not only for the two examples of her powers of clairvoyance (469-70), but also demonstrates the chastity and unromantic nature of the Neoplatonic woman, most dramatically exemplified by Hypatia's discouragement of a would be lover.<sup>375</sup> Eunapius also takes the opportunity to deliver some prophetic insights into the character of Maximus of Ephesus (see below).

Eunapius then describes Antoninus, one of the sons of Sosipatra and Eustathius. Sosipatra had prophesied that they would have three sons who would not enjoy what men consider happiness, but who would enjoy the happiness which the gods give (469).<sup>376</sup> Antoninus is the only son whom Eunapius discusses, but he wants the reader to assume that the other two were similarly successful, for he affirms that Sosipatra's prophecy came true. Thus the sham philosophers whom he castigates for practising law cannot be Antoninus' brothers.<sup>377</sup> At the same time, Eunapius' failure to give any information about the two brothers almost certainly means that he is concealing something unpleasant. Chrysanthius had allowed him this concession

in truth-telling (500).

Antoninus is a prime example of the pagan holy man, remarkable both for his way of life and his power of prophecy. He dedicated himself to the service of the gods at Canopus, eschewed things of the flesh, and progressed towards *συγγένεια* with the divine. He differed very little from the Christian variety, except perhaps in this enthusiasm for arcane wisdom (471). A large number of *τῶν ὑγιαίνόντων τὰς ψυχὰς* came to Antoninus as disciples and some of them served as priests in the temple (470/1). He did not practise theurgy, an omission which Eunapius excuses by reference to the laws against magic (471); it was perhaps for this same reason that he refused to discuss divine matters with his visitors, although he gladly expounded Plato (471/2). He prophesied that his temple and even the Serapeum would be destroyed soon after his death (471 & 2) and it is this which prompts Eunapius to declare that *ἦν τι θεϊότερον τὸ κατ'αὐτόν* (472). A little later Eunapius says that the fulfilment of the prophecy increased Antoninus' reputation and finally he claims that he was superior to Iamblichus. When Iamblichus detected that an apparition was not the promised Apollo, but only the ghost of a gladiator, he saw merely *τὰ παρόντα δεινά* while Antoninus *τὰ μέλλοντα προεῖδε* (473). It is further evidence of Antoninus' blessed state that he died without suffering in his green old age (473). In this he resembled St. Antony (Vit. Ant. 93).

The destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria and of the temples at Canopus leads Eunapius to make his strongest condemnation of Christianity in the Lives. Yet despite the vituperation, his account is preferable in some respects to those given by the church historians. (Eunapius claims to have given full details in the Histories (472).) The chief reason for trusting Eunapius is that he was writing for an eastern audience shortly after the event: the Serapeum came to grief in 391<sup>378</sup>

and the Lives was composed soon after 395. Also, Eunapius was well informed because he dates the event precisely. Evagrius 7 was praefectus Augustalis and Romanus 5 was comes Aegypti.<sup>379</sup> There appear to be two traditions of the conversion of the Serapeum in the church historians, both of which arose in the period 390 - 400. The one is represented by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret as well as by Rufinus; the other derives from a work of the bishop Theophilus and survives in Rufinus and the Coptic Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria. On internal evidence it is possible to conjecture that Eunapius was writing in reaction to Theophilus.<sup>380</sup> At any rate Theophilus, whom Eunapius compares to Eurymedon, is the villain of his piece (472).

Eunapius states that the Christians made an unprovoked attack on the Serapeum which the pagans did not defend (472). The church historians (like Sozomen VII,15,2 ff.) paint a bloody picture of a pagan attack upon Christians and then a siege of the Serapeum. To Eunapius' credit, the fracas before the occupation of the Serapeum seems to be a doublet of the events of 363.<sup>381</sup> On the other hand, there does appear to have been some stiff fighting since Helladius, one of Socrates' teachers, prided himself on having slain nine Christians (H.E. V, 16 f). However, Sozomen says that the pagans gave up their occupation of the Serapeum when the emperor's letter was read to them (VII,15,8) and thus Eunapius is right in saying that the temple was not taken by storm. It is consistent with Eunapius' usual practice for him to have distorted the surrender of the Serapeum into the unresisted Christian assault. Thus Eunapius reinforces his image of the Christians as the aggressors, unprovoked except by greed (472), and avoids awkward questions about why the pagans surrendered. Sozomen tells that a disembodied voice was heard singing alleluiah in the Serapeum (VII,15,9). Eunapius' claim that the Serapeum was levelled to the paving stones may be dismissed

as an exaggeration, perhaps inspired by Licanius' Pro Templis.<sup>382</sup> Earlier in a less heated passage Eunapius does speak of the transformation of the building (471). Lastly, the Theophilus tradition agrees with Eunapius in making the overthrow of the Serapeum and the temples at Canopus contemporary and also in the fact that monks were settled in both places.<sup>383</sup>

This narrative is followed by a general condemnation of Christianity and monks (472). The monks had the appearance of men but lived like swine, both allowing and committing crimes, and they thought that it was *εὐσεβεί* to despise the divine. Julian the Apostate also accuses the Christians of atheism.<sup>384</sup> Eunapius objects to their great hold over the public and complains that any boor in a black robe 'possessed the power of a tyrant.' He refers to the Histories for a fuller account of their misdeeds and some of these survive in Zosimus (V,23,4 ff.). The monks damage the state socially and economically, for they eschew marriage (and hence contribute to the decline in population) and the members of their populous orders are useless in wartime and for any other public benefit. In addition, they have taken over large tracts of land and, while pretending to share all things with the poor, they are in reality reducing everyone to poverty by their appropriations.

Eunapius vigorously expresses the disgust which pagans felt when temples like those of Canopus were converted to shrines and martyria. The martyrs were slaves and criminals who were worshipped, gods produced by the earth. Julian also lamented that temples had become tombs.<sup>385</sup> Eunapius uses the word *καταδήςαντες* to describe how the Christians induced people to worship slaves. This word is used of magical operations<sup>386</sup> and is matched by Julian's accusation that Christians haunt tombs for the sake of practising witchcraft.<sup>387</sup>

The Pro Templis of Libanius paints a similar picture of the monks; indeed this speech was written in protest against their illegal attacks on country shrines (8). Libanius also describes them as black-robed and his charges of gluttony (8), drunkenness, and insolence (21) are equivalent to Eunapius' comment that they live like swine. They pillage both the goods of the peasants and the treasures of the temples and they appropriate 'sacred' land (11). Useful producers are robbed by these parasites who are as bad as brigands or vigilantes (12).

Eunapius is reacting in the usual pagan manner, but not only pagans could object to monks. Synesius thought they lacked a rational appreciation of their actions (Dio. 7-8). Theodosius himself complained of them to St. Ambrose.<sup>388</sup> From the Theodosian Code it is known that the monasteries contributed to the decline of the cities by providing a refuge for decurions. On January 1, 370 or 373, Valentinian and Valens ordered that decurions who had fled from their obligations and gone to live with the monks under the pretext of religion would lose their family property unless they returned (C.Th. XII,1,63). On September 2, 390, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius ordered that any people who were found sub professione monachi were to be forced to inhabit desert places (C.Th. XVI,3,1). This would have been designed to prevent curial abuse of religious exemption. The same emperors repealed this law on April 17, 392 (C.Th. XVI,3,2); perhaps it was too effective.

Eunapius makes his boldest accusation against the monks when he claims that in 395 they opened the pass of Thermopylae for Alaric and entered Greece unhindered along with him (476). Part of the blame is attached to the rescinding of the hierophantic ordinances, but this is only the usual rationalisation of natural disasters familiar from the Christianos ad leonem passage of Tertullian's Apologeticum (XL,1-2). The

monks are the efficient cause. This charge of treason may have some basis in fact, for Christians were used as envoys by barbarian chieftains, and monks played a major role in the incident related in fragment 55. This interpretation is supported by Zosimus' version which says that Alaric sent messengers ahead to Gerontius, the military commander at Thermopylae, who then withdrew his garrison and allowed Alaric free access to Greece (V,5,5). These messengers must be the monks against whom Eunapius inveighs in the Lives and hence the meaning of that passage is clarified. It is not surprising that Eunapius omits the plot to betray Greece since the account in the Lives is only a casual digression and hence should not be thought to contain Eunapius' complete explanation.

It is clear that Eunapius is totally opposed to the monks. Consistently putting the worst construction upon their deeds and motives, he accuses them of living like beasts, of destroying and looting, even of treason. In his defence it may be said that firstly he was reacting as a typical Hellene and secondly that his charges do have some basis in fact.

The life of Maximus is one of the most fruitful, for Eunapius takes full advantage of this philosopher. Maximus was a dazzling theurgist, a martyr, and a prophet, but he had one tragic flaw, pride. Maximus was very impressive in appearance and Eunapius stresses the fact that he had met this great man whose voice was like that of Homer's Athena or Apollo (473). The terms in which Eunapius describes Maximus are extravagant, but not unparalleled.<sup>389</sup> The winged pupils of Maximus' eyes have been compared to the flashing eyes of Philostratus' Heracles of Herodes (V.S., 552). Maximus' utterances commanded as much respect as if they were delivered by an oracle; Philostratus spoke similarly of Apollonius of Tyana (Vit. Apoll., I, 17), Polemo (V.S. 542), and Aeschines (V.S. 509). Given

Eunapius' faith in oracles and Maximus' accurate predictions, the expression has an added and suggestive force.

As would be expected of a loyal descendent of Iamblichus,<sup>390</sup> Eunapius approves of theurgy and in his eyes much of Maximus' greatness rests upon his mastery of the art. Eunapius' approval of theurgy is shown by the way in which he stresses that Chrysanthius was similar to Maximus in his practice of theurgy (474) and how he feels compelled to excuse Antoninus' neglect of it (471). Eunapius allows Eusebius 13, another pupil of Aedesius, to put the case for logic, but the future emperor Julian found Eusebius' description of Maximus' animation of a statue of Hecate more compelling and rushed off to study with him (475). Eusebius does not seem to have made much impression upon Eunapius either, for he does not figure elsewhere in the Lives.

Maximus' tragic flaw is his pride. Eunapius intimated this in the episode of Philometor. Maximus was feeling very proud of himself because Sosipatra asked him to discover the cause of her emotions about Philometor. Sosipatra then put Maximus in his place by describing to him in detail the rites which he had performed, and when, and finally added the prophetic admonition: 'The gods love you if you raise your eyes to them and do not lean towards earthly and perishable riches' (470). Maximus was to ignore both these precepts in the course of his relationship with the emperor Julian and the aptness of the warning is a caution that Eunapius may have honed the wording.

When Julian summoned Maximus and Chrysanthius to court, they both consulted the gods and both received unfavourable omens (476-7). Chrysanthius heeded the warning and did not go, but Maximus believed that a philosopher could and should compel τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν to do his will.

Chrysanthius is proved to be right in his piety, for a god appeared to him in a dream and said: 'If a man obeys the gods, they in turn hearken to his prayer' (477). When Maximus arrived at court, he fell prey to that constant object of Eunapius' censure, luxury, and also became arrogant and unapproachable. Eunapius tries to clear Julian of any blame by saying that he did not know what was happening, but this fails to convince. Just a few sentences earlier, Eunapius has emphasized how Julian constantly consulted Maximus. Here Priscus provides the contrast for Maximus since he did come to court and yet behaved himself as a philosopher should (478). This paid off, for Priscus escaped prosecution when Valentinian and Valens succeeded to the Empire (478). Again, Eunapius condemns Maximus and the others who accompanied Julian on the Persian Expedition as self-important and proud (478).

Maximus was punished for his activities during Julian's reign and Eunapius does admit that he was 'suspected' of embezzlement. Although Eunapius deprecates that charge, he gives the strong impression that Maximus got what he deserved for his unphilosophic conduct under Julian. Yet this attitude does not stop Eunapius from making Maximus into a kind of martyr who suffered terribly at the hands of sadists (478). So great were Maximus' tribulations that he had his wife buy poison, although, unlike her, he did not drink it (479): wisely, Eunapius makes no comment on the suicide pact. Eventually Maximus was rescued by Clearchus (who thus earns some extravagant praise from Eunapius (479)) when he was proconsul of Asia (366-7) and regained his property and prestige (480). The rescue of Maximus is said to have been so παράλογον that it must have been a θεῖον ... ἔργον (479).

Maximus was later convicted in the treason trials at Antioch in 371/2 following the tripod conspiracy (480). In his account Eunapius

attempts to establish both Maximus' skill in prophecy and divination and his freedom from any treasonous intent. The conspirators asked Maximus to interpret the oracle because he alone knew what the gods meant, but they did not tell him of their plot. When Maximus had studied the oracle, he issued two prophecies which came true with a vengeance. He said that the oracle would mean the death of himself, the plotters, and many innocents besides and that afterwards the emperor would perish without benefit of burial or a tomb. The inference is Adrianople and Eunapius refers to his Histories for the details. Eunapius claims that Maximus proved his innocence by refuting the charges brought against him and by convicting his accusers of perjury. Hence the authorities were ashamed to execute him and they handed him over to Festus 3, the proconsul of Asia, who did the job. Eunapius describes Festus as a butcher (480) and Ammianus concurs for this stage of Festus' career (XXIX,2,23 ff.). It is curious that Eunapius should say that Maximus' abilities as a prophet added to his judges' feelings of shame; perhaps the statement is only one more example of the importance which Eunapius gave to prophecy.

Ammianus was a witness of the trials (XXIX,1,24 and 38) and a comparison with his account shows that Eunapius' version is substantially true. Ammianus records that the conspirator Fidustius said that the sortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consultoribus luctuosos exitus praedixisse (XXIX,1,7). Eunapius could not be expected to mention the future appointment of a good emperor since it would be Theodosius whom he detested. Another conspirator, Hilarius, revealed the verses which foretold that the judges and the emperor would also be destroyed by the Furies (XXIX,1,33) and Ammianus himself says that Valens escaped assassination because Fate destined him to suffer disaster in Thrace (XXIX,1,15).

Valens' lack of a tomb may be Eunapius' post factum refinement, but there is little reason to doubt that such a prophecy was current at the time of the trial. Ammianus, too, believed in Maximus' innocence and says that he was punished because of quaesitoris iniquitatem (XXIX,1,42). Here Ammianus says that Maximus admitted knowing the verses, but denied having made them public. As in Eunapius' account, Ammianus relates that Maximus foretold the death of the conspirators without saying that the new emperor would be virtuous.

The death of Festus is a prime example of divine retribution: *καὶ τούτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς Προνοίας ἔργον ἀριστον* (481). Eunapius does his best to ensure that the incident will be believed, for it is precise in detail and exactly dated to the third day after the Calends of January (presumably 380).<sup>391</sup> Festus is said to have related his vision of Maximus dragging him down to Hades to stand trial before Pluto to the notables of Asia who were present at a banquet. He went to the Temple of Nemesis in an effort to avert this, but he slipped and fell as he was leaving the Temple and later died. The story is offered as the final proof of the greatness and innocence of Maximus.

Within the life of Maximus, there is a further example of the power of prophecy (475/6). The last genuine hierophant of Greece foretold to Eunapius the end of his office and the destruction of the temples of Greece. The temples were smashed by Alaric who invaded soon after a Mithraic priest of Thespieae was made hierophant. Eunapius attributes the easy success of Alaric's invasion to the collaboration of Christian monks (see above) and to the violation of the hierophantic laws.

Julian the Apostate figures largely in the life of Maximus where he is an example of someone who was protected and fostered by Providence. When Constantius permitted Julian to go to Pergamon to study with Aedesius,

it was θεοῦ νεύσαντος (473). Constantius sent Julian as Caesar to Gaul so that he might die there, but Julian was unexpectedly preserved ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας (476). He conquered everyone because he worshipped the gods, even though he did it in secret (476); Eunapius is here giving a lesson to his contemporaries.

The next philosopher is Maximus' contemporary, Priscus (481-2). Eunapius has earlier praised Priscus for maintaining his philosophical bearing at Julian's court and he now criticizes the unpleasant side of Priscus' character. He was too secretive, haughty, and reserved, for unlike Chrysanthius he refused to learn from Aedesius ἀρμονίαν τινὰ καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον (481). Eunapius says that Priscus died at the time of the destruction of the temples of Greece which gives him the opportunity to mention two of his friends who perished in that invasion, Proterius and Hilarius. This invasion was a recent grief and Eunapius thus had personal as well as religious grounds for his animus against the monks at Thermopylae.

At this point, Eunapius leaves the Neoplatonic philosophers and turns to the Athenian sophists. The first is Julian of Cappadocia, Prohaeresius' teacher, whom Eunapius describes as by far the greatest sophist of his day (482). Julian was revered (σεβασόμενοι) by his pupils because of his eloquence and μέθους φύσεως (482) and his house, which Eunapius visited, was like a temple of the Muses (483). Despite the religious language, Eunapius does not make Julian into an anti-Christian figure and this section of the Lives is more purely commemorative than the foregoing. Thus Eunapius records the trial of Julian's pupils as an example of Julian's παιδείας καὶ συνέσεως (483).

Commemoration is the main purpose of the life of Prohaeresius: at the very beginning, Eunapius avows the immense gratitude which he owes to

Prohaeresius for his teaching and friendship (485). Indeed, Eunapius placed friendship above religion, for Prohaeresius was a Christian. Eunapius tries to play down the fact (ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι χριστιανός), but admits that Julian's edict forced him to stop teaching (493). Yet Eunapius does not alter his descriptive language and several times calls him θεϊότητος (e.g. 483 & 486) and compares him to a god. Prohaeresius was very tall and as striking in appearance as Maximus of Ephesus. Despite his eighty-seven years, he looked to Eunapius as if he were ἀγήρων τινὰ καὶ ἰθαυάτων :it was like the epiphany of a god (485). After Prohaeresius' great rhetorical triumph before the proconsul, the audience fawned upon him: οἱ δὲ θεὸν ἔφασαν, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ Λογίου τύπον (489). Another audience felt similarly after his victory at Anatolius' competition (491). However, Eunapius goes beyond the conventional and declares that Prohaeresius was under the protection of Providence: τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν θεοῦ τινὸς προνοίας τετυχηκέναι (486). Prohaeresius was forced to leave his native Armenia ἀναστῆσαντος τοῦ δαίμονος (487); ἀγαθὴ τύχη brought a more favourable proconsul to Greece (488); and at the great debate Prohaeresius was encouraged when ζέοντος δὲ καὶ συγχορεύοντος αὐτῷ δαίμονος (489).

Prohaeresius is the model of the complete sophist and several times demonstrates his superiority as a rhetorician; his defence of himself and Julian's other pupils (484), his defeat of the other sophists in the contest before the proconsul (489), his winning of Anatolius' competition (491), and his persuading Anatolius to confirm Constans' grant of privileges (492). He displayed the correct fatherly solicitude for Eunapius, although he had not yet even met his prospective pupil (486). The luxury of Constans' court did not corrupt him, for he drank Rhine water and went barefoot during the Gallic winter (492). The flattery of an emperor and the grant of a statue did not turn his head and, in the best tradition of civic

patriotism, he chose as his parting gift that several islands should supply Athens with corn (492).

Anatolius 3, who set the problem for Prohaeresius and his fellow sophists, was praetorian prefect of Illyricum from 357 to 360 and Eunapius approves of him as an administrator who was ἀδωροδόκητος (491). He remarks that Anatolius was καὶ φιλοθύτης ὢν καὶ διαφερόντως Ἕλληνα (490), despite these two qualities being out of fashion. Eunapius tells how Anatolius bravely performed the requisite sacrifices and visited the temples (491), but he is not above gently mocking Anatolius' χρυσῆς ... μανίας (490) for rhetoric and decries the problem which he set as γελοῖον (491). Eunapius was a professional rhetor while Anatolius was only an enthusiastic amateur who had been trained as a lawyer (490).

The next person of interest is Oribasius, a friend of Eunapius (cf. fr.8) who is represented as the ideal doctor, or rather iatrosophist (498-9). Besides gaining a thorough knowledge of medicine, rhetoric, and philosophy, he was so well trained in ἀρετή that Eunapius can claim that he thereby made Julian emperor (below Chapt. XVI). As often, Eunapius uses religious language to praise his subject. Oribasius imitated Asclepius to the full extent to which a human being could imitate the divine and when after Julian's death envy led to his exile from the Roman Empire, such was his medical prowess among the barbarians that προσεκυνέϊτο καθάπερ τις θεός (499). Eventually his fame won him permission to return and he married a wealthy wife.

Chrysanthius has pride of place at the end of the Lives. Eunapius introduces Chrysanthius by saying that he was the ἀΐτιος of the Lives because he taught him from early youth (cf. 502/3) and was unfailingly kind to him until his death. Thus one of the main purposes of the Lives is to commemorate Chrysanthius and the only other person to receive a

nearly equivalent treatment is Eunapius' principal teacher of rhetoric, Prohaeresius. Eunapius ends his introduction with a promise to tell the truth as Chrysanthius had instructed him to do (500). This attempt to win the faith of the reader is not ill-advised, for with Chrysanthius he returns to the pagan holy man.

Eunapius gives an unusually full account of Chrysanthius' distinguished family background; he had, after all, married Eunapius' cousin, Melite (477). The quality and thoroughness of Chrysanthius' education is particularly emphasized. He fell in love with philosophy as he was predisposed to do *διὰ φύσεως θεϊότητά* (500) and went to Pergamon to study with Aedesius who was then at his peak. After Chrysanthius had mastered classical philosophy and rhetoric, he turned to Pythagoreanism and *ἐπὶ θεῶν γγῶσιν* (500). Eunapius likens Chrysanthius to the Pythagoreans Archytas and Apollonius of Tyana; the latter only appeared to be mortal. (This is reinforcement for his statements about Apollonius' divine status in the prologue to the Lives (454).) Chrysanthius crowned his education by becoming so proficient at divination that he seemed *παρῶν τε καὶ συνῶν τοῖς θεοῖς* (500).

Eunapius then proceeds to teach another lesson on how it is necessary to accept and to act upon the omens which the gods give and not try to extort those which one wants. It was for this reason that Chrysanthius dissolved his partnership with Maximus. Eunapius retells a complementary version of how Julian summoned both Maximus and Chrysanthius to court (see above). He approves of the passive way in which Chrysanthius fulfilled his office of high priest of Lydia, for when the Christian Empire was restored he suffered no harassment. Just as in the case of his refusal to attend Julian's court, Chrysanthius' lack of activity as high priest did not mean that he was not a devout pagan. Rather, it is evidence of

his devotion: he knew not only how to foretell the future, but also how to use the knowledge which the gods sent (501). Armed with hindsight and living under Theodosius and Arcadius, Eunapius was a realist.

Chrysanthius' personality is also idealised by Eunapius who says that he resembled Socrates in simplicity and Orpheus in charm (501). He seldom engaged in philosophical disputes because of the bitterness which they engendered, but he carried all before him when he did (502). He lived to a green old age and still maintained an otherworldly and gently ascetic regime: he only made money honestly and seldom ate meat (502). Even in old age, Chrysanthius continued to read the classics and to write more books than young men read; most important, he did not cease τὸ δὲ θεῖον θεράττων συντονώτατα (502). Chrysanthius differed from a Christian monk not only in his Hellenic moderation and charm, for unlike monks he did not abandon home and family and thus injure the state, but he took thought for his household and agriculture. Moreover, he always seemed freshly washed although he did not go frequently to the baths (502).

Eunapius' liking for parallelism leads him to make tacit comparisons between incidents in the lives of Prohaeresius and Chrysanthius. These were his two principal teachers and each was the paragon of his profession, although Chrysanthius is clearly considered to have the higher calling and to be the greater. Like Anatolius (491), Justus 2, the vicar of Asia, was an enthusiastic pagan and he found a kindred spirit in his subordinate, Hilarius 10, the governor of Lydia. Anatolius had staged a rhetorical contest and Justus had a competition in divination at which Chrysanthius triumphed by showing that his competitors were fools, many of whom had only come in hope of wealth and preferment (503). Eunapius affirms that he himself was present on that occasion.

Chrysanthius and Prohaeresius were similar in misfortune and in their philosophical reaction to it. Prohaeresius lost his two daughters within a few days of each other and Chrysanthius' son died in his twentieth year (504). Prohaeresius, however, needed the help of Milesius in his grief while Chrysanthius was self-sufficient and even an inspiration to his wife.

Chrysanthius' son was named Aedesius and lived up to, or even excelled, his namesake in character and ability, for he was very much a creature of the spirit (ἐκινδύνευεν ὅλος εἶναι ψυχῇ) and a zealous student who was πρὸς θεῶν θεραπείαν διαρκέστατος (504). He was able to deliver infallible and perfectly composed oracles merely by placing a garland on his head and gazing at the sun. There was nothing bogus about his utterances since he had not been taught verse composition or grammar, but he had an affinity with the divine.

Towards the end of the life, Eunapius again emphasizes Chrysanthius' stature as a philosopher. Many wise men came to talk philosophy with him and all went away convinced of his superiority. The most notable was Hellespontius of Galatia, a great man in his own right, who had travelled widely in hope of finding someone wiser than himself (504). When he met Chrysanthius, he regretted that he had lived so long in ignorance. Chrysanthius was remarkable not only for his intellect, for he was no more shaken by the public disasters of the Christian Empire than he had been by the death of his son (504). Eunapius doubtless felt confident in proclaiming that when Chrysanthius died εἰς τὴν πρέπουσαν λήξιν ἀνεχώρησεν (505).

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Thus it is clear that Eunapius wrote a work of pagan hagiography with commemorative, didactic, and polemical purposes. It is now worthwhile to consider briefly what were his sources of inspiration, recalling first,

however, that the literary form of the Lives is a development of the pagan Greek Succession. Indeed, no Christian influence is discernible or even chronologically possible (Chapt. VII above,...). Eunapius exemplified the general rule that, while Christians assimilated pagan ideas and literary forms, pagans did not adopt Christian ones.<sup>392</sup> This is true for the matter as well as the form of the Lives, for, despite the fact that Eunapius must have intended his biographies to counter the lives of saints,<sup>393</sup> he drew upon the pagan, not the Christian tradition, for the tone and content of his hagiography.

Philostratus' Lives of the Sophists was Eunapius' principal formal model, but it is not a work of pagan hagiography. Philostratus has a professional interest in his subjects as sophists and eschews religious language and the miraculous; it is as if Christianity did not exist. His Life of Apollonius of Tyana, however, has the best claim to be the major hagiographical influence upon Eunapius who cites the Life and reveals his interpretation of it when he says that it ought to have been entitled The Visit of God to Mankind (454). The story of how Iamblichus levitated when he prayed (458) appears to be patterned upon what Philostratus says of the Brahmins (III,15 and above) and Eunapius has borrowed the occasional phrase like the expression ἐκ τριπόδων (473; cf. Vit. Apoll. I,17 and above).

The Life of Apollonius is similar to Eunapius' Lives in tone, although Apollonius is an even holier pagan than any of Eunapius' philosophers. This is not surprising, for Philostratus consciously made Apollonius into a Christ figure on a much greater scale than anything which Eunapius attempted. There are enough similarities to be able to state that Philostratus was familiar with Scripture,<sup>394</sup> but not so many as to obscure his main aim, which was to write a good romance, and he never directly alludes to Christianity.<sup>395</sup> The polemical spirit is Eunapius' own contribution; the

religious language he shares with Philostratus. In Apollonius' search for wisdom, he was *θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας* (I,2) and his knowledge of all languages caused an Assyrian to worship (*προσηύξατο*) him and to look upon him as a *δαίμονα* (I,19). The Persian satrap questioned Apollonius as if he were a demon (*δαίμονα*) and addressed him as *θεῖε* (I,21). Apollonius had a comprehensive power of foreknowledge: he predicted how long he would stay with the King of Persia from a slain pregnant lioness (I,22) and he received a dream oracle, as did Aedesius, about the captive Eretrians (I,23). In the account of Eustathius' embassy to Sapor, Eunapius may have been imitating Philostratus' tale of Apollonius' similar effect upon the King of Persia (I,37). Examples might be multiplied almost ad infinitum.

Direct influence upon Eunapius from the Lives of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus is less certain. Eunapius cites neither Life, although he was familiar with their other writings and very likely was with these, too. Both Lives portray Pythagoras as a divine man, are directed against Christianity (cf. above, chpt. V 2), and are laden with religious language. They are part of the tradition in which Eunapius wrote.

Since pagans and Christians belonged to the same late antique culture and had the same spiritual needs,<sup>396</sup> it is not surprising to find a fair degree of resemblance between their works. The ancient dichotomy between Christian faith and Hellenic reason became blurred as Christianity incorporated philosophy and Neoplatonism admitted the importance of faith.<sup>397</sup> The early Christian apologists did not emphasize the personality of Jesus or the doctrine of atonement, but appealed to miracle and prophecy.<sup>398</sup> The preceding pages have demonstrated how important miracles and prophecies were to Eunapius and his peers.

The Life of Antony is the one Christian work discussed in Chapter VII which could have influenced Eunapius. There is no sign that it did, but it is close enough in time and spirit to merit a brief look. There are many similarities between the Life and the Lives in tone and content (but not in form) because the Life of Antony, like the Lives of the Sophists, is a child of the pagan biographical tradition and especially of the Life of Pythagoras type. Like Eunapius, Athanasius makes clear his didactic and commemorative aims in his preface and his polemical purpose is strongly evident in Antony's opposition both to heretics, especially Arians (68-70), and to pagans (72-80). Both Aedesius and Antony felt the conflict between the desire for a life of solitude and the duty to teach (85). Like the pagan philosophers, Antony's competence as a holy man is proved by his miracles and his prophecies (82), and Antony's entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is assured by his vision of his own flight up to Paradise (65). Many of Eunapius' philosophers, such as Chrysanthius, are said to have gone to the Neoplatonic 'heaven'.

Significant as these similarities may be, they must not be allowed to obscure the basic and essential differences between Antony and the pagan holy man. It will be enough to take one example, the attitude towards miracles. The Pythagorean sage is able to perform miracles because he participates in the divinity, for he is a divine man, or rather a god. Athanasius frequently emphasizes that Antony does not himself perform wonders, but that it is God working through Antony who does this (cf. Vit. Ant. 56,58, 59,62 and 64 with Iamblichus Vit. Pythag. 78,17 and 80,20).<sup>399</sup> Antony performs only useful miracles such as cures,<sup>400</sup> never ones merely for purposes of display. His humble attitude is very different from Maximus of Ephesus' proud boast that the philosopher should compel the gods to grant the omens which he wishes (477). The difference is symbolised in the epithet applied

to Antony, for he is not ὁ Θεϊότητος, but only ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος  
(93).

Eunapius wrote the Lives of the Sophists for Hellenes and he wrote within the spiritual and formal framework of pagan Greek literature. The Lives is a testimony to the vitality and self-sufficiency of the Hellenic tradition in the Eastern Empire.

PART III

THE HISTORIES

## IX The Sources for Reconstructing the Histories

There are three types of sources for reconstructing Eunapius' lost Histories. First and most important are the fragments of the Histories themselves. The second is the Lives of Sophists which helps to exemplify Eunapius' historiography and contains numerous cross-references to the Histories (see Appendix VI) which, however, are of little use in establishing the text or detailed content. Thirdly, there are those later historians who used Eunapius, at least in part, as a source.

The largest number of the fragments come from the Constantinian Eclogues. These were compiled at the request of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus who was emperor of Byzantium from 912 to 959 and consist of excerpts from a multitude of ancient authors grouped thematically in fifty-three books according to titles of which twenty-six are known.<sup>401</sup> Seven of Eunapius' fragments are from the Excerpta de Legationibus ad Romanos<sup>402</sup> and some forty-four are from the Excerpta de Sententiis.<sup>403</sup> The fact that this latter selection furnishes the largest portion of the text may help to account for the rhetorical appearance of Eunapius' Histories; although it is true that the excerptor would have chosen from the more rhetorical works, this does have the effect of concentration. These eclogues are especially important, for they alone, within the limits of the

textual transmission, give the actual words of the Histories. The remaining fragments are found scattered throughout the Suda which was compiled about the end of the tenth century.<sup>404</sup> These must be used with caution since many are anonymous and some which bear Eunapius' name are wrongly attributed. Chapter XI will treat these fragments in detail.

This chapter is concerned with those later historians who depend upon Eunapius' Histories. Mendelssohn's list of the Greek users of Eunapius has been used as the basis of the discussion, and although his treatment of the individual authors is subject both to query and to correction, it is still fundamental to an investigation of this question.<sup>405</sup> He names the following historians: Zosimus, Petrus Patricius, John of Antioch, Philostorgius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Zonaras.<sup>406</sup> Finally, the possibility that Ammianus used Eunapius must be reviewed. Of these, only Zosimus preserves large portions of the connected narrative of Eunapius, albeit in a compressed form and largely purged of rhetorical affectation,<sup>407</sup> and he provides the most important indication of the content and bias of the Histories. He will be dealt with on his own in the next chapter. The other historians are of little help in reconstructing Eunapius except on small points of detail, but they do demonstrate the importance of Eunapius among later writers as the chief pagan Greek history of the fourth century.

Socrates was born at Constantinople (V,24) about the year 380. He was taught by the pagan grammarians Helladius and Ammonius who fled from Alexandria after the destruction of the Serapeum (V,16); he was a lawyer by profession. The Church History is a continuation of Eusebius (I,1) in seven books which covers the period from the abdication of Diocletian in 305 until the seventeenth consulate of Theodosius II in 439.<sup>408</sup>

Socrates does not appear to be of much help in reconstructing Eunapius. Although Ludwig Jeep thinks that Socrates had Eunapius for a source, he is unable to draw any really convincing parallels. On the strength of the similarity between Zosimus II,43-4 and Socrates II,28, he is led to postulate a common source since the dissimilarities are too great for the one to depend upon the other;<sup>409</sup> indeed they are too great for his theory of a common source to carry much conviction. Now that Zosimus has been dated to the turn of the sixth century, it is impossible for Socrates to have used him (see below ). Yet even the optimistic Jeep expresses some doubt that Socrates used Eunapius directly and thinks that it might have been via a Christian author, although he does not suggest any candidates. Much of Jeep's theory is based upon his idea that Eunapius used Ammianus, and thus for him Eunapius is the missing link in the correspondence between Ammianus and Socrates.<sup>410</sup>

F. Geppert, whose work on Socrates largely supersedes that of Jeep, denies that any parallels can be found between Socrates and either Zosimus or the fragments of Eunapius. He refutes Seeck's argument that Zosimus and Socrates both used Eunapius because they both err on the death place of Maximianus (Soc. I,2,1; Zos. II,11) by showing that the same mistake is found in the Codex Bertinianus of Eutropius, an author who was used by Socrates.<sup>411</sup> In Eltester's review of Socrates' sources, he does not mention

Eunapius.<sup>412</sup> Alan Cameron, however, returns to the view that Socrates used Eunapius;<sup>413</sup> his argument that Socrates would have read Eunapius because he was the only available pagan history is plausible, but any serious influence has still to be proved. Cameron thinks that Socrates follows Eunapius in his narrative of Stilicho's two Balkan expeditions and cites the (not very striking) parallel between Philostorgius' ὁ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀναγκασθεὶς στρατός, οἱ τῷ Θεοδοσίῳ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου συκκοστρατεύσαντο (XI,3) and Socrates' ὁ [sc.στρατός] ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου στρατεύσας (VI,1). Because Philostorgius omits a detail which is common to John of Antioch, Zosimus, and Socrates (it was an old custom for the emperor to greet the army outside the city), Socrates cannot be drawing directly upon Philostorgius; the other three are known to have used Eunapius (see below) and hence he is most likely the source for Socrates here, too. Even so, this contributes little to the knowledge of Eunapius' original text.

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Salaminius Hermias Sozomen was a contemporary of Socrates who also practised law at Constantinople, although he was born at Bethelia near Gaza in Palestine (V,15,14). During the years 439 to 450, he wrote a Church History in nine books which covered the period from 324 to 439; like Socrates, Sozomen had the aim of continuing Eusebius. The end of the last book which treated the years 425 to 439 is lost, as is Sozomen's earlier compendium of church history from the Ascension to the overthrow of Licinius in 323.<sup>414</sup>

Although Sozomen displays a heavy dependence upon Socrates, he does use pagan historical sources. That he was familiar with classical models is shown by the fact that the first words of Book I recall the opening of

Xenophon's Cyropaedia.<sup>415</sup> Olympiodorus was an important source for the years 407-25 (IX,4-16), so that it is not surprising that traces of Eunapius can be detected. He is only supplementary, though, since Sozomen had sufficient Christian material for that period.<sup>416</sup> The following table of parallel passages is based upon the list given by Bidez-Hansen on page 416 of their edition; the page number references are to their edition.

Eunapius	Sozomen	
fr. 38	VI,35,1 f. (p. 291)	The conspiracy of Theodorus. Sozomen has more details about the tripod than Zosimus does (IV,13-15), thus preserving more of Eunapius. <sup>417</sup>
fr. 42	VI,37,2 (p. 294)	The Huns. Sozomen explains their advent differently from Zosimus. Taking the researches mentioned in fr. 41 into account, Schoo feels that Sozomen preserves an alternative story which was given by Eunapius, but rejected by Zosimus (IV,20,3 f.). <sup>418</sup>
fr. 53	VII,22,2 (p. 334)	Arbogastes. Cf. Zosimus IV,54,4 and below Chpt. XI, p. 215.
fr. 79 ff.	VIII,4,10 (p. 355)	Gainas. Cf. Zosimus V,18-22.
<u>Lives</u> 472	VII,15,5 (p. 320)	The destruction of the Serapeum. This is more a contrast than a parallel since Sozomen stresses the vigour of the pagan armed resistance, while Eunapius claims that there was no fighting at all. Each seems to represent a different tradition. <sup>419</sup>

Bidez-Hansen also cite a number of parallels between Zosimus and Socrates (see their page 428) which must, for chronological reasons, derive from the common source, Eunapius. Not all of these are striking or interesting for the present purpose, but some noteworthy examples are discussed below, and the contributions of Schoo<sup>420</sup> are recorded where they are relevant.

Zosimus	Sozomen	
I,58,1	II,5,5 (p. 57)	The fiery portents at the shrine of Aphrodite Aphscitis, but in a

## Zosimus

## Sozomen

- different context. Here Sozomen is using Eusebius V.C. III,56,55 who has nothing about the fire. Perhaps both Zosimus and Sozomen whose account is viel genauer (Schoo) depend upon Eunapius.
- II,22 ff.; 28      I,7,1-5 (p. 15)      Perhaps from Eunapius. Sozomen and Zosimus put Licinius' surrender at Nicomedeia, Socrates at Chrysopolis in Bithynia (I,4,2) (Schoo).
- II,29      I,5,1 (p. 13)      Sozomen disproves pagan allegations that Constantine became a Christian in order to gain absolution for the murder of his son, Crispus.
- II,30 and 31      II,3,2-6 (p. 51)      The founding of Constantinople. Because of the similarities, both may be from the same source<sup>421</sup> although since Constantinople was Sozomen's second home, he was not totally dependent upon secondary sources (Schoo). The same might be said of Zosimus.
- II,44 ff.      IV,4,1 f. (p. 142)      Constantius overcomes Vetrician; but there may be a closer affinity with Socrates II,28.
- III,2      V,2,20 f. (p. 194)      Julian is sent to Gaul as Caesar.
- III,9,5 f.      V,i,8 (p. 189)      Sozomen is aware of pagan tales about the vision which Julian had urging him to revolt against Constantius.
- III,30,2      VI,6,4 (p. 244)      The Jovian and Herculian legions. Cf. Eunapius fr. 6 and below Chpt. XI, p. 211.
- IV,41      VII,23 (pp. 336-7)      The Riot of the Statues. Sozomen credits Bishop Flavianus with calming Theodosius' wrath; Zosimus says that Libanius and Hilarius were responsible.
- V,17,4      VIII,7,1 (p. 359)      Gainas' jealousy of Eutropius. Cf., Zosimus: καὶ τιμηθῆναι τῆ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίᾳ ;  
Sozomen: καὶ πατρὸς βασιλέως ἀξίᾳ ἐτιμηθῆναι .

Philostorgius was born about the year 368 in Borissus, a village in Cappadocia secunda (IX,9). When he was twenty, he went to Constantinople where he spent most of his life (X,6). Although he was a layman, he became a devoted follower of Eunomius whom he once met at Dakora (X,6).<sup>422</sup> At Constantinople, he published a Church History in twelve books sometime between the years 425 and 433;<sup>423</sup> ostensibly, he, too, intended to continue Eusebius, but in reality it is a late apology for the extreme Arianism of Eunomius. Not surprisingly, the History has perished and must, like that of Eunapius, be reconstructed from fragments. The sources are Photius (cod. 40), the Artemii Passio of John of Rhodes, the Suda, and other later writings.<sup>424</sup>

The most useful treatment of Philostorgius' sources is by J. Bidez in his edition of the History. He adopts a position between that of Jeep who makes Philostorgius too heavily dependent upon Eunapius<sup>425</sup> and that of the sceptical reaction against Jeep.<sup>426</sup> As Bidez says, it is a priori unlikely that Philostorgius would have been unfamiliar with a pagan historian of Eunapius' importance. There are enough parallels to prove that Philostorgius used Eunapius, although it would be wrong to assume that he slavishly copied him out. The following table of parallel passages is based upon that given by Bidez on page 250 of his edition; the page references are to his edition.

Eunapius	Philostorgius	
frr. 24 and 26	VII,15 (p. 102)	Julien's sun worship. Not very close.
fr. 27	VII,15 (p. 100)	Mention of an oracle to Julian.
frr. 31 ff.	IX,5 ff. (p. 117)	Procopius' rebellion. <u>Cf.</u> Zosimus, IV,4 ff.
frr. 38 ff.	IX,15 (p. 122)	Theodorus' conspiracy. <u>Cf.</u> Zosimus IV,13,3 f.
fr. 41	IX,17 (p. 123)	The origin of the Huns. Zosimus mentions the Tanais at IV,20,3.

Eunapius	Philostorgius	
fr. 48 f.	XI,2 (p. 134)	The <u>luxuria</u> of Theodosius. This is one of Jeep's strongest arguments for Philostorgius' use of Eunapius since only the Eunapius-Zosimus (IV,27,1; 33; and 50) tradition is unfavourable to Theodosius. <sup>427</sup>
fr. 57	X,5 (p. 127)	Photius comments on Philostorgius' hostile treatment of Gratian. Cf. Zosimus, IV,35,2.
fr. 62 f.	XI,3 (p. 134)	The <u>de facto</u> rule of Rufinus and Stilicho. Cf. Zosimus, V,1.
fr. 63	XI,3 (p. 134, l. 24)	Rufinus. There may be traces of a verbal parallel with fr. 66 where Eunapius has Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ρουφίνος ἀνήρ τε ὢν ἢ δοκῶν, and Philostorgius has Εὐνήμηκε δέ, ψησιν, ὁ Ρουφίνος ἦν καὶ ἀνδρώδης.
fr. 65 (= <u>Lives</u> 476 and 482)	XII,2 (p. 140)	Alaric's invasion of Greece. Cf. Zosimus V,5 ff.
fr. 66	XI,4 (p. 135)	Eutropius' takeover from Rufinus. Emphasis is placed upon Eutropius' being a eunuch and a slave. Cf. Zosimus, V,17,4 and below, Chpt. XI.
fr. 75 <sup>6</sup>	XI,6 (p. 137)	The fall of Eutropius. Photius says that Philostorgius remarked upon the various reasons given for his fall.
fr. 75	XI,8 (p. 138)	Gainas and Tribigild. Here Philostorgius gives more details than Zosimus about the marriage of Arcadius and may be a useful supplement to Eunapius. <sup>428</sup>
fr. 79	XI,8 (p. 139, l. 7)	Gainas.
fr. 80 ff.	XI,8 (p. 139, l. 12)	Fravitta. Cf. Philostorgius: Πότθος μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἕλληνας δὲ τὴν δόξαν with Zosimus: ἀνδρα βάρβαρον μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἄλλως ... (V,20,1).
fr. 86	XI,8 (p. 139, l. 21)	The devastation of Isauria.
<u>Lives</u> 474	VII,1 (p. 76)	Julian and the Ionian philosophers.
<u>Lives</u> 497 f.	VIII,10 (p. 111)	The good reputation of Magnus the iatrosophist.

Bidez also cites many parallels between Zosimus and Philostorgius and the following table selects a few noteworthy examples from the list on

his page 258.

Zosimus	Philostorgius	
II,29,2	III,4 (p. 14)	Philostorgius counters pagan allegations that Constantine put Crispus to death.
II,30	II,9 (pp. 20 & 22)	The founding of Constantinople.
II,41	III,1 (pp. 29-30)	Philostorgius, unlike Zosimus, correctly makes Constantine II the aggressor. <sup>429</sup>
II,44	III,22 (p. 49)	Constantius' overthrow of Vetranio.
III,2,1	IV,2 (p. 59)	Julian is sent as Caesar to Gaul. Cf. Zosimus: κατεχρυσά δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν 'Ελένην αὐτῷ ; Philostorgius: Ἐλένην αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν εἰς γυναικὰ κατεχρησάμενος.
III,29,1	VII,15 (p. 101)	The death of Julian. Cf., Zosimus: καὶ ἐπιτεθείς ἀσπίδι φορέδην ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἄγεται ; Philostorgius: ἀγαλωβόγκι ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχωρῶν.
IV,33,1	IX,19 (p. 125)	Theodosius' triumphant return to Constantinople. Zosimus uses the adjective λαμπρός ; Philostorgius, the adverb λαμπρῶς .

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Petrus Patricius was born about 500 in Thessalonica and had a very distinguished career under the emperor Justinian. He rose from being the curator of the empress Theodora and in 534/5 served as an ambassador to Theodahad at Ravenna. By 539/40, Petrus was magister officiorum and was made patrician before 550; in 561/2 he led the negotiations with the Persians. He died in 564.<sup>430</sup> Besides a report of his mission to Persia and a tract on the magisterium officiorum, Petrus wrote a History which covered the period from the First Triumvirate to the time of Julian and appears to have been divided, not into books, but

according to the reigns of the emperors.<sup>431</sup>

Eunapius was one of Petrus' chief sources for the period covered by the later part of his History, but so little of Petrus survives that he contributes little to the reconstruction of Eunapius' work. Seventeen of the eighteen fragments printed by Müller are from the Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos.<sup>432</sup> Petrus fr. 18 is a close precis of Eunapius fr. 12 which tells how Julian demanded hostages from the Chamavi, including the son of the king whom he had already captured. Petrus fr. 15 which concerns the negotiations between Constantine and Licinius in 314 is compared to Zosimus II,20 by Müller and hence probably derives from Eunapius, although this passage of Zosimus is not itself parallel to any surviving passage of Eunapius. However, from the dissimilarity between Petrus fr. 16 and Zosimus II,44, Mendelssohn concludes that Petrus had other sources besides Eunapius.<sup>433</sup> It is far from impossible that Petrus used other sources and there are differences here between him and Zosimus, but it would be hasty to deny that fr. 16 derived, at least in part, from Eunapius. Petrus has more information than Zosimus about the embassies to Constantius from Magnentius and Vetricano and Zosimus says nothing about the vision which Constantius had of Constantine urging him to avenge his brother's murder. This is the sort of rhetorical trapping which Zosimus often omits in his synopsis of Eunapius.

A large number of fragments are found in the Excerpta de Sententiis, but their authorship was for a long time disputed. Müller prints them under the Anonymus qui Dionis Cassii Historias continuavit<sup>434</sup> and Mommsen thinks that they should be ascribed to John of Antioch.<sup>435</sup> Carl de Boor argues convincingly that the Anonymus post Dionem is Petrus Patricius and the fragments are printed under his name in Boissevain's edition of the

De Sententiis.<sup>436</sup> A large number of the excerpts are from the period after the accession of Aurelian and it is tempting to think that they preserve much of Eunapius. However, no convincing parallels can be drawn with the few fragments of Eunapius which survive from the time before the reign of Julian, and since the Petrus fragments are mostly apophthegms, it is not surprising that no echoes are found in the more economical account of Zosimus. Petrus fr. 13,3 is the aphorism that human nature is more easily undone by good fortune than bad; the same sentiment is expressed in Eunapius fr. 38 with an appropriate tag from Homer, but the temporal context is different (Diocletian and Valens, respectively) and the idea is too much of a commonplace for it to be very significant.

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Very little is known about John of Antioch except, that as his name implies, he lived in Antioch. Some have wished to identify him with John, Patriarch of Antioch (631-649), others have placed him in the eighth century. The Weltchronik which has come down under his name covered the period from Adam to 610 A.D. and was compiled in the first half of the seventh century. It is now fragmentary and the remains fall into two groups: the Constantinian Eclogues and the Salmasian Excerpts. The first belong to the tradition of pragmatic Hellenistic historiography and are written in a literary style; the second are in the spirit of Byzantine-Christian chronicles and the style is colloquial. Two distinct compilers must be postulated, but opinions differ as to which is the real John of Antioch.<sup>437</sup> Of the fragments to be discussed below, only three are from the Salmasian Excerpts (frr. 159, 183, and 200); the rest are from the Constantinian Eclogues.

John is more useful than Petrus in reconstructing Eunapius, and would

seem to give more of the rhetorical flavour of the original than does Zosimus.<sup>438</sup> Among the earliest and most important studies on John is the one by A. Koecher who agrees with Müller<sup>439</sup> that, because of the close verbal similarity, many fragments of John appear to be copied from Zosimus.<sup>440</sup> Yet because of the differences between Zosimus and John (cf. e.g. IV,53 and fr. 187 on the death of Valentinian II), Koecher concludes that, rather than John depending upon Zosimus, they have Eunapius as their common source.<sup>441</sup> Because of discrepancies between John and the Eunapius-Zosimus tradition, he thinks it certain that John was using a poorer exemplum of Eunapius than was Zosimus, perhaps the one edited by Niebuhr's Christian bookseller.<sup>442</sup> At least the first hypothesis appears to be true. Mendelssohn says that after Herodian ended, John had Zosimus and the Greek version of Eutropius for the third century; he only notes that frr. 187 and 190 (as far as Γαίνακ ὁ τῶν ἑῶν στρατοπέδων ἑξάρχος ) of John come from Eunapius.<sup>443</sup>

The following discussion of those fragments which are thought to be derived from Eunapius is based on the list given by Koecher on page 34 of his thesis.<sup>444</sup>

John fr.	Parallel	
37	<u>Suda</u> s.v. Ὑπάτοι	This may be part of a digression on the consulate with which Eunapius decorated his attack on Eutropius. Cf. below p. 220. John describes the expulsion of Tarquin from Rome.
154	Zos. I,47	Quintillus' suicide. The two accounts share some phrases, e.g. καὶ ἐνδόντοι βεῦσαι τὸ δῖμα ,μέχρι αὐτοῦ ἔφεροτο .
157	Zos. I,63	The reign and murder of Tacitus. The two versions are almost identical in wording.
158,2	Zos. I,66	Revolts under Probus. Again, much of the text is identical.

John fr.	Parallel	
159	Zos. I,67	The shower of grain. There are no close verbal parallels, but the fr. is from the Salmasian Excerpts and is perhaps more freely rendered.
160	Zos. I,71,4-5	Carus overthrows Probus. The texts are identical.
162	Eun. fr. 4	John has a compressed version of the <u>Suda</u> gloss. There is a lacuna in Zosimus here.
163	Eun.	Revolts against Carinus by Sabinus Julianus and Diocletian. Both Eunapius and Zosimus are defective here.
179	Eun. <u>Lives</u> 493	Julian's persecution of the Christians; his prohibiting them from teaching is noted by Eunapius ( <u>loc. cit.</u> ), but this fragment is rightly omitted by Koecher. It seems to derive from ecclesiastical sources: the beginning of the fr. is taken from Socrates III,1.
183	Eun. fr. 30	Eunapius fr. 30 is now known to be from Malalas (see below, p.213 ); here John survives only in the Salmasian Excerpts.
186,2	Zos. IV,35,3 f.	Jealousy of Theodosius leads Maximus to revolt against Gratian. The accounts share some phrases, e.g. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἔντιμον ἔτυχε προσελθῶν, ...
187	Eun. fr. 53	The revolt of Arbogast and Eugenius. Cf. Zosimus IV,53-8 (who omits Theodosius' prayers before the battle of the Frigidus [ <u>Müller ad loc.</u> ]) and below, Chpt. XI, p.215 .
188	Eun. fr. 63	The ascendancy of Rufinus and Stilicho. Exact verbal parallels show that John is drawing upon Eunapius, e.g.: ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ τὸ κράτος τιθέμενοι Cf. Zosimus V,1.
189	Eun. fr. 66	There are no close parallels. See Chpt. XI, pp. 215 ff.
190	Zos. V,3-8	Alan Cameron compares John and Zosimus on Stilicho's campaigns against Alaric in Greece. There are strong similarities, but Zosimus does not say that Greece did not belong to Honorius, nor does he specify which army was returned to Arcadius. Cameron concludes that both must be using Eunapius. <sup>445</sup>

John fr.      Parallel

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Müller ad loc. ascribes it to Priscus, saying: Alii de Eunapio vel Malcho cogitarunt inepte.

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The last of the Greek historians to be discussed here is Zonaras, who wrote an epitome from the creation of the world to the death of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus and the accession of John II Comnenus in 1118. He is first cited and used by Michael Glykas who wrote during the reign of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180). After a distinguished career in the imperial service as a member of the bodyguard and the head of a bureau, he became a monk and retired to an island where he wrote his history.<sup>446</sup>

It is doubtful that Zonaras had any first-hand knowledge of Eunapius. In an early study of the sources of the first twelve books, W. A. Schmidt says that Zonaras' major sources for the period from Alexander Severus to the sole rule of Constantine are Eusebius and the Anonymus Continuator of Dio. He does not find any direct use of such authors as Eunapius and Dexippus, and although there are some traces of these historians, the instances are considered to be unusual and isolated.<sup>447</sup> He does not himself adduce any parallels with Eunapius, even of this latter type.

Jeep's is the fullest and most adventurous treatment. He draws several parallels between Zosimus and Zonaras in order to show that the latter derives from Eunapius. An important example is Zonaras XIII,5,1 ff. (Dindorf p. 188 f.) and Zosimus II,39 where Zonaras provides the more exact account of the division of the empire among Constantine's sons. Jeep would like the extra detail to be from Eunapius. Zonaras twice describes

the death of Constans, and from the same source: XIII,5,15 (Dindorf p. 189) and XIII,6,6 (Dindorf p. 192,6 ff.). Jeep considers the second and longer passage to be ursprunglich Eunapius<sup>448</sup> and certainly the florid style and the condemnation of Constans for his luxury and vice are what would be expected of Eunapius. So too, the remark that Constans suffered from a disease of the joints (gout?) as a result of his dissolute way of life (cf. above, p. 42 f.).

Mendelssohn adopts a much more cautious attitude, although he admits that there are many readings in Zonaras which, by comparison with Zosimus, can be shown to be derived from Eunapius ultimo gradu. He puts forward the reasonable hypothesis that Zonaras acquired his Eunapius from Petrus Patricius. Zonaras appears to have followed Petrus quite faithfully, for he accords (XIII,7,14 ff. (Dindorf p. 195 f.)) with Petrus fr. 16 which is thought not to be from Eunapius (but see above -). Mendelssohn deprecates the value of this idea, for he is worried by the relationship between Petrus and the Continuator.<sup>449</sup> These are now regarded as the same (see above ) and Zonaras is considered to have used Petrus Patricius for political history and Eusebius, or a source depending upon him, for church history from Alexander Severus to Constantine the Great,<sup>450</sup> and perhaps for the reign of Julian as well.<sup>451</sup> From then until 450, his source is undetermined, but may have been John of Antioch.<sup>452</sup> It is worth noting that even Jeep's parallels with Eunapius do not go beyond the sons of Constantine which is the usual terminus for Petrus' History.

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The relationship between Eunapius and the principal surviving source for the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus, is clearly of great interest. Unfortunately, the evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive and, as far as the restoration of Eunapius' Histories is concerned, the results to be gained are small. That the one used the other is chronologically possible. Ammianus' last books are now to be dated to 390/1 on the strength of the parallel with Jerome's Adversus Jovinianum II, 7 at XXXI,2,3 where both tell how the Huns eat half-raw flesh.<sup>453</sup> It is known from cross-references (see Appendix VI) that parts of the Histories like the life of Julian were written before the Lives (which can be dated to c. 400 [above, p. 58]). How long before is a matter for speculation,<sup>454</sup> but it was very likely before Ammianus' corresponding books. There are three possibilities: that Ammianus and Eunapius are independent; that Eunapius used Ammianus; and that Ammianus used Eunapius.

Mendelssohn denies that there is any dependence at all between Ammianus and Eunapius.<sup>455</sup> Paschoud is in agreement and seeks to explain the similarities in the accounts of Julian's Persian expedition given by Ammianus and Zosimus by saying that Ammianus, like Zosimus' source Eunapius (fr. 8), could have used Oribasius' memoir.<sup>456</sup> Yet it is doubtful that Ammianus would have had direct access to the memoir, for Eunapius was presented with it personally and it does not appear to have been published. There is not known to have been any contact between Ammianus and the Neoplatonic circles in which Eunapius moved. Secondly, Paschoud adopts a late date for Eunapius' Histories and discards the possibility that they could have been published in stages early enough for Ammianus to have used them. On the contrary, it is very possible that at least Eunapius' Life of Julian appeared in time.

Paschoud ignores the life of Julian, but all the significant correspondences between Eunapius/Zosimus and Ammianus concern Julian. Lastly, Paschoud denies that a good historian like Ammianus would have used a poor one like Eunapius. Whatever Eunapius' merits as an historian, no one would claim that Ammianus slavishly copied him, nor would he have needed to, but he surely read the approved (cf. fr. 8) account of the reign of his hero Julian (cf. XVI,1,3). Moreover, Eunapius drew upon the eyewitness testimony of Oribasius and could have furnished Ammianus with just those small details which they share.

E.A. Thompson thinks that Eunapius had direct, or more likely indirect, knowledge of Ammianus, although he does not claim this for any other part of Ammianus' history than the narrative of the Persian expedition. Even so, Thompson's argument is not positive, for he merely shows that Mendelssohn has insufficient evidence at his disposal to prove that there was no dependence.<sup>457</sup> Thompson rightly deprecates the significance of the similarities between the accounts of Ammianus and Zosimus, for they were describing the same events and would be expected to have much in common. He focusses upon the differences. Zosimus has Julian travel a short distance on the Euphrates after crossing the Abora (III,13,1 f.) and although this would have required much effort to embark men and supplies, Ammianus does not mention it. Ammianus says that Julian found Seleucia deserted (XXIV,5,3), while Zosimus tells that he took it by storm (III,23,3).<sup>458</sup> Yet his subsequent conclusion that therefore Ammianus and Zosimus did not follow a common source only states the obvious fact that Ammianus was not dependent upon Eunapius; the possibility remains that Ammianus used Eunapius as a supplementary source. It is most improbable that Eunapius would have read Ammianus' work for the simple reason that he wrote in Latin (cf. above, pp. 17-18).

W.R. Chalmers adduces two indications that Ammianus drew upon Eunapius. Ammianus' description of the shields of the defenders at Pirisabora (XXIV,2,10) is similar to that in Eunapius fr. 21, and the details of the death of Julian may have been derived from Oribasius via Eunapius (XXV,3).<sup>459</sup> The latter is open to the objection that, while it is unlikely that Ammianus was high-ranking enough to be present at the death scene, it is not impossible that he obtained a description from one or more of the witnesses.

The second group of evidence consists of two of Julian's apophthegms.<sup>460</sup> Ammianus tells how when Numerius was charged with embezzlement, his accuser, Delphidius, complained when he was acquitted. Julian replied: 'Ecquis' ait 'innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficiet?' (XVIII,1,4). This incident is precisely paralleled in John of Antioch fr. 178,3 where even the name *Νουμεριανός* survives and Julian's reply is: *καὶ τίς, ἔφη ἀνάτιος εὐρεθήσεται, εἰ ὁ κατήγορος ἐλέγχων χωρὶς πιστεύουτο*. The same incident is related by Zonaras, but the names of both accuser and defendant have fallen out. Here, Julian retorts: *καὶ τίς, ἔσται ἀνάτιος, εἰ ἐλέγχων ἀνεύ πιστεύουτο οὐ κατήγοροι* (XIII,12,6 ff). Although this is an apophthegm, it could not have survived so long and so accurately in the oral tradition, nor is it a particularly memorable bon mot. The obvious solution is to trace it back, at least ultimately, to the same literary source: Eunapius. Julian's fair administration of justice is praised in fr. 16. The second is much less convincing, for it is just Julian's repeating the verse of Homer about 'purple death' (Iliad, V,83) as he is taken up into Constantius' chariot after being proclaimed Caesar (XV,8,17). The same verse survives in John of Antioch fr. 176 and

is spoken by Julian, but the rest of the context there is not close to Ammianus. On balance, the evidence suggests that Ammianus occasionally borrowed from Eunapius,<sup>461</sup> although he is certainly not one of the principal sources for reconstruction. This is what would be expected.

X Zosimus as a Source for the Histories

The fundamental source for reconstructing Eunapius' Histories is the New History of Zosimus. Nothing is known about Zosimus apart from what Photius says (cod. 98) and what can be deduced from his History. He was a comes and advocatus fiscali, but he cannot be identified with any of the known Zosimi; he may have been a pupil of Procopius of Gaza, although this is only a conjecture.<sup>462</sup> His dates are more secure, if not exact. Since Zosimus used Olympiodorus (cf. V,27,1) and was in turn used by Eustathius, he must have written between 425 and 518. This span may be narrowed, for at II,38,4 Zosimus speaks as if the tax known as the chrysargyrion had been abolished; this was done in 498.<sup>463</sup> More recently, Alan Cameron has sought to place at least the first book between 498 and 502, probably after the second and more violent Brytae riot of 501 and before Anastasius' Persian war.<sup>464</sup> Cameron's interpretation of the two passages upon which his dates are based (I,6,1 and III,32,6) has been questioned, but it is now generally agreed that Zosimus wrote near the turn of the sixth century.<sup>465</sup>

Zosimus was a recalcitrant pagan whose purpose was the opposite of Polybius': to write the decline of Rome (I,1,1-2 and I,57,1). The first book of his History treats the period from Augustus to Diocletian in cursory fashion and the sixth breaks off, unfinished, just before Alaric's second siege of Rome. Zosimus had no personal knowledge of the events which he narrates and he was thus totally dependent upon his sources. He was once thought to have based the first forty-six chapters of Book I on Dexippus. This has been disproved, but no substitute has been found and his source for this period remains unknown.<sup>466</sup> From Book V,26 to the end Zosimus used Olympiodorus of Thebes,<sup>467</sup> but the major portion of the New

History (from I,47 to V,25) depends directly upon Eunapius' Histories. Photius, who had read both their Histories, states that Zosimus did not write a history, but rather copied Eunapius from whom he differed only in being more concise (cod. 98). The following table of parallel passages from the New History and the fragments of Eunapius' Histories will confirm the validity of Photius' judgement. The extent to which Zosimus is a prisoner of his sources is sufficiently demonstrated by his contradictory opinions of Stilicho.<sup>468</sup> Chapter 1 of Book V, which is parallel to Eunapius fr. 62, accuses Stilicho of selling judicial decisions and offices of state. Zosimus' obituary notice on Stilicho (V,34) however, which derives from Olympiodorus, praises the Vandal general for never having taken payment for a magistracy, and for never having made a profit out of supplying the army. The corollary is that Zosimus does not appear to be able to combine two or more sources, but follows one source at one time and only turns to another when the first has ended.<sup>469</sup>

The way in which Zosimus abbreviates Eunapius can be illustrated by a comparison of fr. 12 with III,7, 6-7 which describe Julian's negotiations with the king of the Chamavi (or, as Zosimus calls them, the Quadi).<sup>470</sup> Zosimus omits both major and minor details, motives, imagery and other rhetorical embellishments. Speeches are rendered briefly in indirect discourse when they are not excised completely. Here there is no mention of how Julian and the king met in a boat in the centre of the river out of bowshot, or that they were accompanied by an interpreter. More important, Zosimus neglects to say that Julian needed a treaty with the Chamavi so that he could transport grain from Britain up the Rhine to Gaul, and that Julian refused to consider prisoners-of-war as hostages. The king's speech becomes a one sentence statement that his

son is dead and Julian's resultant feelings of pity are much condensed. Zosimus eliminates the tearful entreaties of the barbarians as well as the metaphor of the deus ex machina and the three images which Eunapius employs to emphasize the joy, astonishment and silence which the appearance of the prince produces. Then Julian's speech falls victim as does the barbarians' response to it. Finally, Zosimus does not think it worth telling that Julian asked for the mother of Nebisgastus as a hostage, or that it was now late autumn.

The same principles of condensation can be observed elsewhere. Zosimus drops the reference to the Pythagoreans when he tells how the numbers of Charietto's followers increased (fr. 11 and III,7,3). When he narrates how Jovian was chosen emperor, Zosimus excludes the praise of Julian and the medical imagery of the greater pain driving out the lesser (fr. 23 and III,30,1). Similarly, Zosimus says simply that Arbitio stiffened Valens' courage to oppose Procopius without appealing to the physics of motion (fr. 33 and IV,7,3) and he describes the unfortunate Theodorus without recourse to Homer and proverbs (fr. 38 and IV,13,3-4). Less happily, Zosimus omits biographical and character sketches which seem to have been frequent in Eunapius' Histories. This appears to be the case with Rufinus (fr. 63 and V,1,1) and Timasius (fr. 70 and V,8,3). However, when due allowance has been made, it is safe to say that Zosimus is a generally reliable guide to the content and viewpoint of the Histories (e.g. cf. fr. 37 and IV,10,1-2).

Before discussing certain passages which have been thought to be from sources other than Eunapius, the general dependence of Zosimus upon Eunapius will be illustrated by the following table of parallel passages. Unless otherwise indicated, the correspondence is noted by Müller in F.H.G. IV.

Eunapius	Zosimus	
fr. 2	I,57,3	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 211 .
fr. 3	I,70,1	This has close verbal parallels which I,54,3 (which Müller also adduces) lacks.
fr. 5	II,34,1	But, see chpt. XI, p.211 .
fr. 6	II,42,2 and III,30,2	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 211 .
fr. 7 = <u>V.S.</u> 464	II,40,3	The Execution of Ablabius.
fr. 7a	III,8,3 and <u>cf.</u> III,5,3 (Mendelssohn)	See Mendelssohn <u>ad.loc.</u> Both apply the word <u>Σαυρομανία</u> to Constantius.
fr. 8a	III,2,2	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 211.
fr. 9	III,2,4	Adduced by W. R. Chalmers. <sup>471</sup>
fr. 10	III,6,3	
fr. 11 [a]	III,7,5	
fr. 11 [b]	III,7,1	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 211.
fr. 11 [c]	III,7,1	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 212.
fr. 12	III,7,6 f.	
fr. 14,4	III,8,3 and <u>cf.</u> III,9,5	Constantius' jealousy.
fr. 20	III,28,4	Adduced by Boissonade on the basis of similar content, but Mendelssohn (n. 1, p. XLI) warns that the fr. is <u>incertae sedis</u> .
fr. 22,2	III,26,1	Not a close parallel and probably rightly denied by Mendelssohn (n. 2, p. XLI).
fr. 22,3	III,27,3	Adduced by Chalmers. <sup>472</sup>
fr. 23	III,30,1	Not very close.
fr. 29	III,36,3	Valentinian chosen emperor.
fr. 31	IV,4,2	Procopius a cousin of Julian (Mendelssohn <u>ad.loc.</u> ).
fr. 33	IV,7,3	

Eunapius	Zosimus	
fr. 34	IV,8,1	
fr. 37	IV,10,1-2	There are verbal parallels, e.g. Eunapius: ἐν ἀδέσμῳ κατείχε φρουρᾶ Zosimus: ἐν ἀδέσμῳ φρουρεῖσθαι παρὰ κληυσάμενος ψυλακῆ
fr. 38	IV,13,3-4	The conspiracy of Theodorus
fr. 39	IV,15,2-3	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 219 .
fr. 40 [a], [b], and [c]	IV,15,1	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p.213 .
fr. 41	IV,20,3	Eunapius is said to have been the first to suggest identifying Herodotus' Royal.Scyths (IV,20) with the Huns. <sup>473</sup>
fr. 42	IV,20,4-21,1 and 22,1-3	There are verbal parallels as well as close correspondence in content, e.g. Eunapius: γυναικῶν εὐπροσώπου Zosimus: γυναικῶν εὐπροσώπων (20,6). The portent recorded by Zosimus at 21,2-3 also surely derives from Eunapius although it has been omitted by the excerptor.
fr. 43	<u>Cf.</u> IV,20,5	The Goths promise to be faithful allies against the Huns.
fr. 45 [b]	<u>Cf.</u> IV,20,1	<u>Cf.</u> Müller <u>ad.loc.</u>
fr. 47 [a]	IV,23,1	See chpt XI, p.214 . Sebastianus' virtues.
fr. 47 [b]	IV,23,2	Sebastianus' rationale in choosing his men. There are verbal echoes, e.g. Eunapius and Zosimus both use the words: δισχιλίους ἤτησαν ; also Eunapius: πλῆθος δὲ μετακαλεῖν ἐξ ἀναγωγίας δύσκολον Zosimus: παιδαγωγῆσαι δὲ ὀλίγους καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐκ τοῦ θήλεος ἀναγωγῆν οὐ σφόδρα δύσκολον εἶναι
fr. 48	<u>Cf.</u> IV,28,1-4; 33,1 and 3-4 and 50,1-2	Theodosius' luxurious living and maladministration.

Eunapius	Zosimus	
fr. 49 [b]	<u>Cf.</u> IV,32,2-3	The exactions of Theodosius' tribute collectors.
fr. 49 [c]	<u>Cf.</u> IV,29,2	
fr. 51	IV,25,2	Modares' silent attack upon a band of drunken Goths.
fr. 52 [a]	IV,26,6	The Eunapius fr. may describe how Julius sent his secret letter to the Senate in Constantinople.
fr. 53	IV,33,2	See chpt. XI, p.215 .
fr. 57	IV,35,2	Mendelssohn <u>ad loc.</u>
fr. 58	IV,45,3	Adduced by Müller, but they seem to describe different events: fr. 58, the rebellion of Maximus; Zos: the rebellion of Eugenius, <u>cf.</u> Mendelssohn <u>ad loc.</u>
fr. 59	IV,52,3-4	The fall of Tatian.
fr. 60	IV,56	The killing of Eriulphus by Fravitta.
fr. 61	IV,57,3-4	There is a verbal parallel: Eunapius: ἐπ' ἡματι σχεδόν τι ἐδίκρυσεν ; Zosimus: ἐπ' ἡματι διακρύσας. <u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 215 .
fr. 62	V,1,1	There are verbal parallels, e.g. Eunapius: τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἦν τῶν βασιλέων ; Zosimus: ἀχρὶ μὲν ὀνόματος ἐδοκουν εἶναι τὸ κράτος.
fr. 63	V,1,1-3	<u>cf.</u> Mendelssohn, <u>ad loc.</u> The rapacity of Rufinus and Stilicho. There are verbal echoes, e.g. Eunapius: δίκαι τε ἀπάσαι πρὸς τούτων ἐδικάζοντο ; Zosimus: δίκαι τε πάσαι παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκρίνοντο
fr. 66	V,8,1	<u>Cf.</u> Mendelssohn <u>ad loc.</u>
fr. 71	V,10,1-3	Bargus betrayed by his dissatisfied wife. There are verbal echoes, e.g. Eunapius: μὴ συνώκει τῷ Βάρῳ ; Zosimus: τὴν τούτῳ συνοικοῦσαν γυναῖκα .

Eunapius	Zosimus	
fr. 72	<u>Cf.</u> V,10,5	The fall of Abundantius.
fr. 75,1	V,13,4	The disastrous state of Asia.
fr. 75,3	<u>Cf.</u> V,15,4	Lydia in danger of being ravaged.
fr. 75,6	V,17,4-5	Gainas' enmity against Eutropius.
fr. 76 [a]	<u>Cf.</u> V,14,2	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p.217.
fr. 79 [b]	<u>Cf.</u> V,19	This fr. may describe Gainas' being forced out of Constantinople, but there is no evident parallel. <u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p.222.
fr. 80	V,20,1	There are verbal parallels, e.g., Eunapius: ἦν δὲ Ἕλληνας τὴν θρησκείαν; Zosimus: Ἕλληνας ... καὶ τῆ περὶ τὰ θεῖα θρησκείᾳ; Eunapius: δὲ τοὺς ληστὰς ῥαδίως συνῆλθεν; Zosimus: τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ληστῶν λύμης ἐλευθερώσαντι. <u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 222.
fr. 81	V,20,3	<u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 223. Eunapius: τριακοντήρησι Διβερνίδων τύπῳ; Zosimus: πλοῖα ... Δίβερνα ταῦτα καλούμενα.
fr. 82	V,21,4-5	Fravitta's defeat of Gainas, and his rewards. Despite the uncertainties of the text, it is clear that the content of the two passages is very similar.
fr. 84	V,25,3	Arbazacius' vices. <u>Cf.</u> chpt. XI, p. 223.

Although it is generally accepted that Eunapius is Zosimus' main source from Book I,47 to Book V,26,<sup>474</sup> there are several passages between these two points which are thought to be derived from other authors. The chief detractor is L. Mendelssohn and his discussion forms the basis of what follows here.<sup>475</sup> In most cases it appears that Mendelssohn was overly sceptical, for whatever the ultimate origin of these parts, Zosimus probably found them in Eunapius.

Mendelssohn thinks that Zosimus took the digression on the Saecular Games (II,1-6) directly from Phlegon of Tralles' *περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἑορτῶν*.<sup>476</sup> He is followed by H. Diels, F. Jacoby, and I.B. Pighi;<sup>477</sup> F. Paschoud makes the suggestion which is adopted here: that Zosimus found the oracle in its present context in Eunapius' *Histories*.<sup>478</sup> Jacoby prints the oracle as a fragment of Phlegon's *περὶ μακροβίων*<sup>479</sup> and a similar explanation of the origin of the Games is given by Valerius Maximus (II,4,5). Phlegon is considered to be the common source of Zosimus and Maximus, but Zosimus need not have known Phlegon at first hand. Mendelssohn finds a wealth of antiquarian lore and accurate chronology in this digression which he feels is so foreign to Eunapius' way of writing history that Zosimus cannot have obtained the information from him. This value judgement on Eunapius' historiography carries little weight, for Eunapius' interest in the antiquities of the Roman state is demonstrated by his digressions on the consuls (*Suda* s.v. *Ἰππῶτος* and below, Chpt. XI) and the pontiffs (Zos. IV,36). The account of the Saecular Games should be regarded as another like these.

Because of Zosimus' avowed intention to relate oracles which foretold the fall of the Empire (*cf.* I,58,4), Mendelssohn considers that Zosimus is more likely than Eunapius to have wanted to include the digression on the Games. Caution must be exercised, for Zosimus'

statements of this kind - if, indeed, they are his alone - may be nothing more than a gloss on material which he found already in Eunapius. The doctrine that the strict observance of traditional rites was essential to the safety of the Empire (e.g. with regard to the Games, II,7,1) was also held by Eunapius who, in the Lives of the Sophists (476), declared that Alaric's invasion of Greece resulted, in part, from 'the fact that the laws and restrictions of the hierophantic ordinances had been rescinded.' Even Zosimus' statements in II,7 about the advanced state of barbarization of the Empire are not so obviously his alone as Paschoud would have us believe.<sup>480</sup> An author as given to exaggeration as was Eunapius had ample cause for such pronouncements in the last quarter of the fourth century. The specific motivation for the digression is the same for both Eunapius and Zosimus: the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian with the result that the Games scheduled for 314<sup>481</sup> were notheld. As Eunapius was closer in time to the missed opportunity, so he may have been more aware of its loss.

Within this passage, Mendelssohn would remove II,4,3 ( ἐπὶ τούτοις - ὑπάρτων ) from Phlegon and credit them to Zosimus, for Phlegon was a freedman of Hadrian and thus could not have mentioned the Games held by Septimius Severus. If one accepts that the whole of the rest of the piece comes from Eunapius, there is no reason to assume that he did not add this bit of information to bring the account up to date.

Zosimus says that he will publish the Sibylline oracle because others have already done so (II,5,5), and Mendelssohn takes this as proof that Zosimus is no longer using Eunapius. Mendelssohn uses the same fallacious argument with regard to Julian's Persian Expedition. (III,2,4), but it has now been shown that this statement was taken over from Eunapius (fr.9).<sup>482</sup> Eunapius was very averse to vulgarising religious

matters (e.g. 461), and this apostrophe is in all probability a vestige of his excuse for doing so. In conclusion it is worth noting that the story of the Saecular Games would have had a special appeal for the iatrosophist Eunapius. They are said to have been useful against plagues, and Valerius is prompted to act by the illness of his children (II,1,1f.).

Mendelssohn next discusses the oracle which Zosimus interprets as foretelling the future greatness of Byzantium (II,36-7). Essentially, the problem is whether or not to believe Zosimus when he says that he searched for the oracle in many histories and collections of prophecies (II,36,2). Mendelssohn takes Zosimus' statement at face value;<sup>483</sup> Paschoud feels that again Zosimus may have copied Eunapius.<sup>484</sup> Zosimus can hardly have been the first pagan to have concerned himself with finding an oracle which could be read so as to place a pejorative interpretation upon the founding of this undeniably great, but Christian and imperial city.<sup>485</sup>

A possible explanation is that chapters 35 through 37 are an addition which Eunapius made to the second edition of his Histories. This would account for the awkward context of these chapters which are separated from those on the founding of Constantinople by a description of Constantine's reforms. Photius remarks upon the disordered state of the second edition (cod. 77). There can be no doubt that Eunapius did deal with the foundation of the City, for there are parallel passages in Zosimus (II,30,1) and Sozomen (II,3,2) which describe the foundations which Constantine allegedly constructed at Troy. The common source must be Eunapius.<sup>486</sup> This conclusion finds support in the Lives where there is a remark about Constantine's peopling the City with new settlers (462).

This conjecture is borne out by the internal evidence of these chapters. Eunapius' disparaging comments about the drunken mob which

Constantine transported to Constantinople to act as his cheering section (462) are echoed in Zosimus' words about the unnecessary multitude which his successors attracted to the capital (II,35,1). Perhaps the most striking confirmation is that the new circle of walls which Zosimus mentions was begun in 413.<sup>487</sup> This is the very time when Eunapius must have been preparing the second edition; he lived at least until 414 (fr. 86). The clearest example of up-dating in the Histories is the famous digression on the Huns (fr. 41).<sup>488</sup> Eunapius had puzzled over this problem for some time and had searched the literature for a solution (cf. II,36,1).

Some minor points remain. The acknowledgement of the *εὐδαιμονία* and *μέγθος* of Constantinople (II,36,1) is not out of character for Eunapius who did recognize the grandeur of the city (cf. 495). Eunapius' own interest in oracles is confirmed by those which he gives about Julian (frr. 26 and 27) as well as by those in the Lives (e.g. 464-5). Zosimus was sufficiently keen to copy the occasional prophecy from Eunapius, but it would be unwise to make greater claims for him - except perhaps with regard to oracles foretelling the Decline and Fall,<sup>489</sup> which this is not. It is worthwhile to note in passing that two words occur in this passage which Zosimus may have repeated from Eunapius: *πολυπλήθειαν* (35,2), and *βαρύτητα* (37,2).<sup>490</sup> Finally, Zosimus' first person statements in chapter 36 may be disposed of by invoking the precedent of fr. 9<sup>491</sup> in support of Paschoud's suggestion that Zosimus has borrowed them from Eunapius.

The hierophant Nestorius 2, following the warning of a dream, made a cult statue of the hero Achilles and, by performing the necessary rites, saved Attica and Athens from the earthquake which devastated the rest of Greece in 375 (IV,18,2-4). Zosimus himself says that the truth of this tale is proved by the hymn which the scholar of the

Academy at Athens, Syrianus, wrote in honour of Nestorius. Thus Mendelssohn believes that Zosimus learned of this from Syrianus' hymn.<sup>492</sup> This is a plausible and natural conclusion to draw, but it is possible to entertain an alternative.

While it is virtually impossible for Eunapius to have known Syrianus' hymn (he became scholarch in 431-2),<sup>493</sup> yet Eunapius can hardly have been unaware of the earthquake and he must have commented upon Attica's good fortune. Eunapius was acquainted with the hierophant, for he had been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries by him, and had even heard him prophesy the end of his office and the extinction of the temples of Greece (475-6). Hence there is some reason for conjecturing that Eunapius had learned of the part which Nestorius played in saving Attica. On this interpretation, Zosimus' citation of Syrianus is to be taken merely as confirmation of what he is saying. The name of Nestorius, however, is very likely owed to Zosimus and the hymn, for Eunapius refused to reveal the identity of the hierophant in the Lives (475). The final remark in chapter 18, that it has been added because it is not *ἀνάμνησις*, may refer only to the citation of Syrianus' hymn; probably it applies to the whole story and Zosimus has retained it from his text of Eunapius, who may have felt that some excuse was necessary for this digression. Its appeal to Eunapius as a piece of edifying pagan propaganda is plain.

Mendelssohn thinks that the digression on the origin and history of the office of pontifex maximus (IV,36) comes from a source other than Eunapius, although he is unable to suggest any likely candidates.<sup>494</sup> He advances two reasons for wishing to exclude this passage, but neither of them is valid.<sup>495</sup> The fact that Zosimus introduces this passage as a digression proves nothing about its provenance, for this statement could well have stood in the original text of Eunapius. This account is

necessary in order that readers should understand the full significance of Gratian's refusal of the office, which is the subject of the immediately preceding chapter.<sup>496</sup> As Zosimus says, it is οὐκ ἄλλοτριον and the two chapters must have been together in Eunapius.

Secondly, the fact that John Lydus also sees the connexion between pontifex and bridges merely shows that this etymology must have been common. It is an easy pun which doubtless occurred to many ancient savants, given the penchant of those times for fanciful etymological explanations (e.g. Herodian on Latium, I,16,2). Moreover, the relevant passage in Lydus (de mens. IV,15) derives from a tradition different from the one which appears in Zosimus. Lydus' setting is Athens and the Spercheios River, while Zosimus speaks of Thessaly and the Peneus River. The whole digression is of the same type as those on the Saecular Games and the consuls which Zosimus has retained.

The most important of Mendelssohn's would-be omissions is the account of Julian's Persian expedition (III,12-34). This section has been the object of more Quellenforschung than any other in Zosimus, but because not all the literature is directly relevant to the question of Zosimus' use of Eunapius, and because it is reviewed by Paschoud,<sup>497</sup> only the most pertinent contributions will be mentioned here. Following H. Sudhaus,<sup>498</sup> Mendelssohn says that the similarities and differences in the accounts of Ammianus and Zosimus are such as to exclude the possibility that one depends upon the other, but rather are such as to require that they have a common source. He rejects Eunapius on the grounds that there is no dependence between Ammianus and Eunapius, the narrative of the Persian expedition in Zosimus is more 'historical' than he will allow Eunapius to have been, and none of the relevant fragments of Eunapius (19 to 23) is paralleled in Zosimus. When Zosimus says that he will

relate what others have omitted (III,2,4), Mendelssohn interprets this to mean that Zosimus is here announcing that he is dropping his main source, Eunapius.<sup>499</sup>

Thinking that Ammianus would not have had access to Oribasius' 'private' memoir, Mendelssohn's choice falls upon Magnus of Carrhae. A fragment of his account of the Persian expedition survives<sup>500</sup> and Müller and Mendelssohn seek to identify him with the tribune Magnus who was one of the first three soldiers to emerge from the tunnel into the fortress of Maiozamalcha.<sup>501</sup> Hence he is the desired military eye-witness able to provide the sober and factual record upon which this part of Zosimus seems to depend. This is with the possible exception of III,32 which may be Zosimus' own reflections on the decline of the empire and its loss of territory following the death of Julian. Yet Mendelssohn has to counter two inconsistencies. Although the beginning of the fragment of Magnus is similar to Zosimus and Ammianus, the end of it diverges greatly and he must attribute it to the work of some Christian author hostile to Julian mistakenly added to the genuine part by Malalas. He explains the differences between Ammianus and Zosimus by saying that Ammianus corrected Magnus from his own knowledge of events - which is quite to be expected.

Mendelssohn's theory met with general acceptance. Seeck, for instance, thinks that the names of the three soldiers in the Maiozamalcha episode would not have been recorded - it being in his estimation an unimportant event - if one of them, Magnus, were not the common source.<sup>502</sup> Only E. von Borries seems to have greatly dissented, for he considers that Zosimus follows Eunapius as usual, Eunapius himself being independent of Ammianus and using an unknown source, probably Oribasius.<sup>503</sup> The first to mount a detailed attack upon Mendelssohn was E.A. Thompson.<sup>504</sup> He

shows that there is insufficient evidence to decide certainly the relationship of Eunapius, Zosimus, and Ammianus: of the four fragments of Eunapius which Mendelssohn thinks pertain to the Persian expedition, only fr. 22 clearly does. Even with fr. 22, parts 1,2, and 4 are anecdotal and most likely derive from Oribasius, while part 3 which remarks on how Julian's troops nearly perished from excessive provisions is parallel to Ammianus XXIV,3,14, except that Ammianus speaks of Maiozamalcha and Eunapius of Ctesiphon. He points out that Mendelssohn is arguing from silence in claiming that Eunapius' treatment of the Persian expedition would have been so rhetorical that Zosimus would have been forced to find another source. He also disagrees with Mendelssohn on the interpretation of Zosimus III,2,4 although his own solution, that Zosimus means that he will select from Eunapius what the rest of the literature omits, asks too much of Zosimus. On the grounds of common sense, Thompson rightly feels that it would be unlikely for Zosimus to have dropped Eunapius at what must have been the high point of his work on Julian.

Thompson's refutation of Mendelssohn has been refined. The remarks of A.F. Norman are not of certain value because they depend upon accepting Eunapius' authorship of Suda s.v. Ἀνασχοῦσα, and his suggestion that Zosimus may be correcting Eunapius and not just taking extra details from him shows too optimistic a view of Zosimus' historiography.<sup>505</sup> W.R. Chalmers was the first to interpret Zosimus III,2,4 correctly. Zosimus places this statement before the account of Julian's Gallic campaigns (the Persian expedition begins later at III,12) and there is no evidence that Magnus dealt with these. Mendelssohn is aware of this difficulty, but attempts to turn it to his advantage; since Eunapius' fragments show that he treated the Gallic

campaigns fully, and since it is not permitted to accuse Zosimus of lying, then he must be referring to the Persian expedition.<sup>506</sup> Such special pleading fails to convince. Moreover, Chalmers notes that Eunapius himself disclaims any attempt to compete with Julian's own account of the Gallic campaigns and that there are verbal similarities with Zosimus (fr. 9). The obvious conclusion is that Zosimus is following Eunapius so closely that he even takes over his apostrophes. Chalmers also re-examines Thompson on the parallelism of Eunapius fr. 22,3 and Ammianus XXIV,3,14 and finds that the Eunapius passage is parallel with Zosimus III,27,3, although he must postulate errors in textual transmission. Because of the discrepancies in their accounts, Chalmers is rightly against the possibility that Zosimus used Ammianus even for correction.<sup>507</sup> L. Dillemann accepts Thompson's refutation of Mendelssohn, although he feels that it lacks vigour;<sup>508</sup> he admits the possibility that Eunapius used Ammianus, but cautions that the pertinent fragments of Eunapius are too few to be decisive in the discussion about the sources for the expedition.<sup>509</sup> Similarly, Paschoud affirms that Zosimus is following Eunapius, even to the point of borrowing the discussion on sources at III,2,4<sup>510</sup> and this is the only reasonable conclusion.

After describing the treaty which Jovian struck with the Persians, Zosimus digresses in order to ascertain whether or not the Romans had ever before ceded territory to the enemy. He concludes that they had not (III,32). Mendelssohn wishes to ascribe this chapter to Zosimus himself,<sup>511</sup> presumably upon the strength of the first person statement at the beginning. Such statements cannot, of course, be taken at face value without confirmation. The belief that the Persian Expedition belongs to Magnus of Carrhae gives Mendelssohn more confidence in assigning

this to Zosimus. If the choice of Magnus were correct, it would help Mendelssohn's case since Magnus appears to have written a Spezialschrift<sup>512</sup> which dealt only with the Expedition, and hence may not have included such panoramic reflections.

Yet it has been demonstrated above that the source for the Persian Expedition must be Eunapius, and it is eminently plausible that Eunapius inserted a reflective digression at this point. Eutropius (X,17,2) and Festus (II, 29) had earlier done so. Ammianus, too, may be adduced by way of analogy (XXV,9,9-11), although there are significant differences between the two and no dependence should be assumed. In Zosimus, the survey comes after the description of the treaty with Persia, but before the return of Jovian and the abandonment of Nisibis. In Ammianus, it is located after the surrender of Nisibis (with the attendant emotional scenes) and just before the burial of Julian. The types of exempla are also different; Zosimus cites less disastrous reverses; Ammianus recalls generals who failed to win triumphs and extorted treaties later abrogated by the Romans. In both, the magnitude of the disaster is emphasized by being set in the context of Roman history. One of the strongest arguments for Zosimus having got this chapter from Eunapius is the fact that it is an organic part of the treatment of Julian. The late emperor's greatness is emphasized by the dire consequences of his untimely death and chapters 31 through 34 should be taken together (cf. Chpt. XVI).<sup>513</sup>

There is also internal evidence which suggests that this material in Book III comes from a different source than Zosimus used for Book I: if Zosimus were himself responsible for the digression, it should more closely resemble the parallel parts of Book I (for which he did not use Eunapius) than it does. Lucullus, Crassus, and Antony

figure in the survey, but are not found elsewhere in Zosimus. Given the condensation in Book I, this argumentum ex silentio cannot be pressed too far, but it is suggestive. Eunapius was aware of Republican personages like Sulla and Marius (fr. 14,2) and may be assumed to have known of these three, too. More important is the omission in Book I of any mention of the Persian capture of Antioch in the third century. In the digression, the Persians are said to have penetrated as far as the Cilician Gates, and the capture of Antioch is noted both here and in Eunapius' Lives (465). The attitude expressed towards the unfortunate emperor Valerian is different in IV,32 and I,36. In the earlier passage, he is roundly chastised for vices like effeminacy and imprudence, and he is said to have left the Romans a legacy of shame. In Book IV, however, he is in effect praised for not having surrendered any land to the Persians. This last example may be nothing more than inconsistency and the interpretation of material to suit the purpose at hand, but it is consonant with the theory of two sources and helps to strengthen Eunapius' claim to authorship.

The one part of chapter 32 which may belong to Zosimus himself is the final paragraph following the reference to Julian.<sup>514</sup> Here Zosimus says that ἀχρι τουδε no emperor has succeeded in recovering the lost territory, but that much of the empire has been lost, barbarized, or laid waste. This description certainly fits Zosimus' day better than Eunapius', although it might be argued that the Empire had suffered sufficient disasters between 363 and c.414 for Eunapius to feel justified in saying something like this. (Already in the Lives [504], Eunapius speaks of the terror which everyone felt because of the great disasters suffered by the Empire.) There is certainly no good reason for denying that the rest of this chapter derives from him.

It is now generally accepted that the account of Constantius' campaign against the usurper Magnentius (II,45-53) is interpolated by Zosimus from a panegyric, although the qualification has been made that the panegyric may have been transmitted to Zosimus by Eunapius.<sup>515</sup> As in the case of the other examples discussed above, there are no compelling reasons for assuming that Zosimus has independent knowledge of a source other than Eunapius. However, the grounds for assuming that a panegyric underlies the account at Eunapius' level are less than is usually thought.

Mendelssohn suspected that the words from *ἐν Παιονίαις* to *πόλιν* (II,45,3) were interpolated by Eunapius ex fonte breviorē, or by Zosimus himself, giving as the reason for his opinion: tota narratio turbatur.<sup>516</sup> The two armies cannot have both been near Mursa at this point. However, this confusion should occasion little surprise and is no reason to look for another source. Zosimus is capable of making errors of this type even when following as lucid a source as Olympiodorus. He twice mentions Stilicho's arrival at Rome in 408 (V,27,3 and 29,5),<sup>517</sup> and he is apt to produce nonsense when, as here, he tries to summarize movements over terrain with which he cannot have been familiar. The activities of Alaric between 397 and 407 are a good example, for Zosimus omits Alaric's invasion of Italy in 401-2 (V,26,1).<sup>518</sup> Mendelssohn does not appear to have doubted that the rest of the campaign came to Zosimus from Eunapius.

In 1906, Otto Seeck saw the 'Homeric' duel between Menelaus and Romulus (II,52) as evidence that Zosimus had abandoned his historical source for an epic poem like Eusebius' Gainias, Eudocia's Persian War, or Claudian's panegyrics.<sup>519</sup> At this time, he does not seem to have questioned the other chapters - this particular one is introduced as a digression about the deeds of Menelaus. However, in 1911 Seeck gave the

discussion its present shape.<sup>520</sup> He defined the extent of the passage as II,45,3 (ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰ Ἄδρανα ) to II,53,1 (πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἑλπίσιν ἀπογνοῦς ὁ Μαγνέντιος ), and suggested that it came from a panegyric in the form of an epic poem which celebrated the victory at Mursa. Thus Seeck must have felt that the panegyric was in honour of Constantius, which is a point of view worth bearing in mind since the received opinion is that it was written from a pro-Magnentius standpoint.

Alberto Olivetti furnishes the fullest development of this hypothesis, for he conjectures that the source is a cento written in favour of Magnentius by 'Petronia Proba',<sup>521</sup> (Faltonia Betitia Proba 2). N.H. Baynes does not express an opinion about the authoress, but he accepts without demur that the source is a panegyric.<sup>522</sup> Similarly, Paschoud says that this theory of an epic source is très vraisemblable and that it was written en vers de l'usurpateur.<sup>523</sup> It will be worthwhile to examine Olivetti's article in some detail.

Olivetti begins by pointing out that, with the exception of Zonaras, Zosimus is our only source for the events between the elevation of Gallus to the rank of Caesar and the Battle of Mursa (March 15 to September 28, 351).<sup>524</sup> Hence the suspicion naturally arises that Zosimus has found an obscure, perhaps unique, account. Olivetti rightly deprecates the strength of his argument from silence, for the other works which survive are epitomes even sparser than Zosimus and Julian's panegyric upon Constantius, which understandably omits as many details of the campaign as possible since things must have gone very badly for Constantius until the final battle. Yet the feeling may persist that the cento is the key to the riddle unless attention is drawn to the fact that there must have been several works extant in late antiquity which dealt with the events of these months.

Ammianus would have discussed the campaign in some detail (cf. the opening words of Book XIII: Post emensos insuperabilis expeditionis eventus), and although Zosimus betrays no direct knowledge of the Antiochene's work, he is not more likely to have read a Latin poem. There is, moreover, the evidence of Zonaras XIII,3,C which gives his version of the negotiations initiated by Constantius which Zosimus relates at II,46,2. Zonaras has cut out the military manoeuvres, but he seems to have access to an account of the events of these months. The differences between Zonaras and Zosimus are such that it is difficult to postulate a common source, for Zonaras speaks of several distinguished messengers who brought letters to Magnentius, while Zosimus' narrative hangs on the daring speech of the ambassador, Philip.<sup>525</sup> Yet, although Zonaras abbreviates more vigorously than Zosimus, the main points of the accounts are the same. Significantly, Zonaras has his poetic elements, for he retains a story of the female magician (is this Magnentius' mother? Cf. Zosimus II,46,1) who advised Magnentius to sacrifice a virgin and give her blood mixed with wine to his troops to drink before the Battle of Mursa. Thus it would be wrong to think that there were no decorated Greek historical treatments of the campaign of Constantius against the usurper, nor is Eunapius likely to have jumped from the elevation of Gallus to the final battle.

One of the main arguments used by Olivetti<sup>526</sup> (as by Seeck) for denying that this passage comes from a history is the number of incidents of a romantic or rhetorical nature (particolari romanzeschi e retorici). Critics who are surprised at these incidents - not all of which are unbelievable - forget that they are a usual feature of the sort of histories whence works like Zosimus' derive. These latter are in fact sober through the necessity of compression, not by preference, as the retention of antiquarian and fantastic digressions shows.

Olivetti declares that the narrative of Magnentius' failed ambush by which he tried to conceal a force of soldiers in an abandoned stadium is too strano e fantastico to need comment.<sup>527</sup> It is difficult to see what is so fantastic about this ploy, and Olivetti surely cannot use it to strengthen his case. The exploit of the latter-day Diomedes, Modares, who with great pains to preserve silence wiped out and plundered a large band of drunken Goths is more deserving of a place in epic, but does not seem to have aroused any suspicions (IV,25 and fr. 51). Stories of ambushes must have been common favourites: the Surena failed to bushwack Hormisda and his troop and was in turn defeated by them the following day (III,15,5-6).

Similarly, Olivetti stresses the lack of verisimilitude in the description of the combat between Menelaus and Romulus, and focusses upon the bow used by the former which is said to have fired three arrows at once, each of which killed an enemy (II,52). In the press of a battle so fiercely contested as Mursa, most arrows must have found a mark. Menelaus may well have been using an engine of the sort described by Zosimus at III,21,2, but which has dropped out of Zosimus' precis at this point. Descriptions of the machinery of war were a feature of rhetorical history as is clear from Ammianus who instructs his readers about the ballista, scorpion, ram, and helepolis (XXIII,4,1-14). Zosimus preserves details of the helepolis which Julian had built for the siege of Bersabora, and which mounted a device which hurled both stones and arrows (III,18,2 f.). Even if Menelaus' bow is only considered to be a rhetorical exaggeration, Eunapius seems to have had a special interest in feats of archery. A Persian sharpshooter with Aurelian at the siege of Palmyra dispatched one of the defenders who had insulted the emperor (I,54,3). The Isaurian leader, Lydius, was shot while looking through a window by a skilful

archer whom he had insulted and who, for this reason, had gone over to the Romans (I,70 and cf. fr. 3). Nor may Subarmachius be forgotten, for he would have been an excellent Bowman except for his heavy drinking (fr. 77).

Olivetti impugns other aspects of this combat, including the existence of the combatants, for he says that these names non si trovano invece nell' onomastica del tempo.<sup>528</sup> He is followed by Paschoud.<sup>529</sup> Recourse may be had to PLRE. Menelaus is unique, but he is accepted as 'tribunus of the comites sagittarii Armenii'; this unit is found in the Notitia. On the other hand, there are no fewer than seven Romuli, this one being no. 2. He is thought to have been the magister equitum of Magnentius on the strength of the probable identification with the <sup>εἰ</sup>παρῆχος mentioned by Julian (Or. II, 57D). Indeed, it would be more surprising if Menelaus had been named in a panegyric, for this would detract from the main figure.

Apart from the names of the principals, a single combat is too poetic for Seeck and Olivetti. This scene should not surprise, though, for similar examples are not wanting. Personal combats are merely another way in which rhetorical history sought to divert the reader. The most appropriate parallels in Zosimus - and hence more relics of Eunapius - concern the commander of the Roman garrison of Tomeus, Gerontius, who inspired his troops by making a single-handed attack upon the local band of Goths (IV, 40), and Maurus and Macamaeus (III,26,5). In the same class is Theodosius' knight-errantry when, after having disposed of Maximus, he took five companions and operated against the small groups of marauding Goths who were hiding out in the Macedonian swamps (IV,48). Other less well developed episodes centring upon the individual performer are the tunnelling at Maiozamalcha (III,22) and Julian's warding off the

blow of an ambushing Persian at the same city (III,20). There are expanded versions of the last two in Ammianus, the tunnellers at XXIV, 4,23 and Julian at XXIV,4,4-5. Ammianus goes so far as to liken Julian to T. Manlius Torquatus and Valerius Corvinus. Even more heroic is Ammianus' account of Julian's personal attack on the gate of the citadel at Pirisabora where, despite his failure, he is favourably compared to Scipio Aemilianus at Carthage. Aemilianus and his men were protected by the over-hanging arch of the gateway; Julian had to fight in the open (XXIV,2,14-17).

Olivetti makes the valid point that the narrative of the campaign is, for Zosimus, very detailed. The twenty-four years of Constantius' reign are treated in twenty-seven chapters, nine of which are devoted to this campaign.<sup>530</sup> Differences in the scale of treatment do exist in Zosimus within the general trend that the narrative expands as time progresses, and this section is not without parallel. Comparisons with the section on Theodosius are inappropriate: he disposes of Maximus in four chapters and Eugenius in two, but these campaigns are briefer and are decided by one battle each. Similarly, Valens' war against Procopius was a simple affair - certainly so in comparison to Procopius' adventures leading up to the battle. The best parallel is the conflict between Constantine and Licinius which occupies Book II, 18-20 and 22-28. Thus a third of the space allotted to Constantine (II,8-40) is taken up with detailed narrative of this civil war, the same proportion as in the case of Constantius and Magnentius. The civil wars were sufficiently important for the future 'careers' of both Constantine and Constantius to merit full treatment. By the end of his reign, Constantius had acquired a formidable and justified reputation for successfully putting down usurpers, although his record in foreign wars was open to disparagement (cf. Ammianus

XXI,16,15). All of which contributes to a suspenseful and dramatic setting for Julian's revolt.

One cannot agree with Olivetti that the story of the campaign is written from Magnentius' viewpoint and that it favours him.<sup>531</sup> Magnentius does figure largely, and rightly so, for he appears to have retained the initiative and to have been winning until the final battle at Mursa. Why else would Constantius have 'allowed' him to break off the battle at Siscia (II,48), or why would Magnentius have sent an embassy thereafter to Constantius demanding that he abdicate in his favour (II,49,1)? All in all, Constantius gets a good press, for his lack of military success is glossed over, he is given an effective and telling speech against Magnentius (II,44,3-4), and his reflections upon the evil consequences of civil war do him credit (II,51,1). The criticisms of Constantius, for instance that his real motive in appointing Gallus Caesar was to find an excuse for eliminating him, (II,45,1), are essentially divorced from the confrontation with Magnentius and are easily explained by Eunapius' basic antipathy to the sons of Constantine.

It is difficult, on the other hand, to find anything favourable to Magnentius. His revolt is justified (II,42,1 f.), but Eunapius would scarcely lose the opportunity to point out the shortcomings of Constantius as a ruler. After the battle at Siscia, Magnentius is described in unflattering terms as *πλεονεκτήματι μεγαλαυχούμενος* (II,46,1), and he dares to reject his prophetess mother's advice on the correct route of march (II,46,1). The brief character sketch of Magnentius which follows his death is another indication that Zosimus' source was not a panegyric honouring the usurper (II,54). This paragraph is obviously a relic of the type familiar from Ammianus and which Eunapius would have used. This has the express purpose of enlightening those who think that Magnentius

was a good ruler, and as such it is difficult to see how Zosimus could have composed it on his own, nor is he likely to have felt the motivation to do so. It is safe to conclude that the character sketch of Magnentius was in Zosimus' source, and that therefore that source cannot have been Olivetti's putative panegyric of Magnentius. A subsidiary point which arises here is the arbitrary nature of Seeck's limiting the passage to chapters 45 to 53, for Magnentius is introduced in 42 and remains in view as the motivating force behind both Vetricano's revolt (II,43,1) and his bloodless overthrow by Constantius (II,44,1). The boundaries of the Magnentius episode should be widened to include chapters 42 to 54.

Thus it is possible to affirm that Zosimus has taken the Magnentius episode from his main source, Eunapius. There is nothing in it which is inconsistent with Eunapius' style of history, and the theory of a panegyric source cannot be maintained. Besides the evidence already presented, there are two more basic objections. It would be inconsistent with Zosimus' usual practice for him to abandon Eunapius for another source and it is very unlikely that a panegyric of Magnentius in Greek or Latin would have survived until Zosimus' day. The concluding character sketch of Magnentius, which is not easily attributed to Zosimus alone, must be Eunapius. He and his audience were close enough in time to the events to retain an interest in the morality of the principal actors, and to have had sufficient information to assess it.

Eunapius' own source seems to have been a history written in considerable detail, with enough of a pro-Constantius bias to have mitigated his defeats. However, the account as we have it is too balanced and too full to derive from a panegyric in favour of either Constantius or Magnentius. Julian's Orations I and II omit the vicissitudes of the campaign in order to save Constantius' reputation and may be taken as indicative

of the type. Apart from the internal evidence against it, there is little likelihood that Eunapius would have had access to works in praise of Magnentius. It is a truism that the propaganda of the victors survives that of the vanquished, and any such productions would doubtless have been in Latin. Olivetti's thesis should be discarded.

Finally, in the decent obscurity of a footnote, Mendelssohn expresses his reservations about two further passages.<sup>532</sup> He thinks that the description of the site of Constantinople is so accurate that it would have been written by a resident, that is Zosimus. This is possible, but there is no reason to assume it. The first part of this chapter (II,30,1) clearly belongs to Eunapius because of the parallel with Sozomen (II,3,2), as Mendelssohn himself recognizes.<sup>523</sup> What is said about the site could have been written by a visitor, and there is no reason to think that Eunapius had never been to the City. Moreover, much of the information is historical and presumably had to come from books, in any case. Zosimus may have brought the account up to date, for the comment in 31,1 that the shrine of the Dioscuri can still be seen *μέχρι νῦν* could have been added by Zosimus, or retained from Eunapius. It would be strange indeed if Eunapius had not given a description of the city founded by Constantine - especially since he did describe the one which Constantine almost founded.

Mendelssohn feels that the account of Constantine's military and civil reforms reveals the hand of the ex-civil servant interested in administration. The weakness of this argument is patent and should become even more obvious later in the discussion of Eunapius' treatment of Constantine (Chpt. XV). Zosimus was interested enough to copy out this information, but it is an integral part of Eunapius' picture of Constantine and originates with him.

Thus it is possible to affirm that Zosimus' New History from I,47 to V,25 derives from Eunapius' Histories, for Photius' statements are confirmed by the large number of parallels between the fragments and the History. The occasional reflection upon the state of the Empire may be Zosimus' own (e.g. III,32,6), but the discussion of supposed interpolations has shown that there is no reason to assume that Zosimus used other sources. Although Zosimus' narrative is a brief and occasionally inaccurate synopsis, the New History gives a sufficiently faithful reflection of the tone and content of the Histories for it to serve as the principal example for the study of Eunapius' historiography.

## XI The Fragments of Eunapius' Histories in the Suda

This chapter deals with those fragments in the Suda<sup>534</sup> for which the author's name is not given, but which various scholars have attributed to Eunapius' Histories. Part I treats the glosses which Müller admitted into F.H.G. IV. Part II is concerned with some forty glosses which have been thought to come from the Histories, but which are not found in Müller. Some of these will be discussed in Section I where this is convenient for reasons of content or style.

### I

Fragment 2 seems genuine because of the close parallel with Zosimus I,57,3.

Fragment 5 is disputed property between Zosimus and Eunapius: that it belongs to one of the two is accepted by all scholars on the strength of the parallel with Zosimus II,34,2. Valesius and Mendelssohn opt for Zosimus while Reitemeier, Boissonade, and Müller prefer Eunapius. Their arguments are stylistic and Eunapius must be the ultimate source in any case. The fragment deals with Diocletian's military measures and refers to events which fall in the lacuna between Books I and II of Zosimus.<sup>535</sup>

Fragment 6 finds parallels with Zosimus at II,42,2 and III,30,2, but it should be attributed to Philostorgius since it is more closely paralleled in a Life of Constantine which used Philostorgius. Ultimately, the gloss does derive from Eunapius and is further evidence of his influence upon Philostorgius.<sup>536</sup>

Similarly fragment 8 [a] finds an echo at Zosimus III,2,2.

Fragment 11 [b] names Charietto and describes him in generally the same manner as fr. 11 [a] and Zosimus III,7,1 ff.

Fragment 11 [c] does not name its subject and the parallel with Zosimus III,7,1 is not conclusively precise. However, the content of the gloss fits Charietto quite well and the style is certainly Eunapian. Mai cites the word *γίγαντώδης* which is of the same formation as other words which Photius quotes as being distinctive of Eunapius' usage.<sup>537</sup> The word *πολυαλοκώτερος* also adds support to the attribution to Eunapius since he employs *πολυ-* compounds frequently (see Appendix VII, Note A).

Fragment 16 was attributed to Eunapius by Küsterus with good reason, for it deals with Julian by name and in terms which are consonant with Eunapius' opinion of this emperor. The word *χανδού* may be distinctive of Eunapius' style since it occurs in the Lives of the Sophists (500) and in two other, albeit putative, fragments, 2 and 67. Although the word is relatively common in late prose, it is used by authors familiar to Eunapius: e.g. Lucian, Merc. Cond. 7 and Alex. 14; Julian, Mis. 338c; and Philostratus, Im. 2.22 (L.S.J. s.v.). However, the gloss does have *βαρύς* and *βαρύτερον*; *βαρύς* and its cognates are favourites of Eunapius (see Appendix VII, Note B).

Fragment 17 concerns Flavius Sallustius 5 and the same general arguments of suitability apply to it as to fr. 16. Moreover, *διαφέροντως*, one of the most common adverbs in Eunapius, occurs twice (see Appendix VII, Note C).

Fragment 25 [a] which tells how Julian preferred Libanius to Prohaeresius assuredly derives from the Histories. In the Lives, Eunapius says that he outlined Libanius' career in the Histories (495) and that Julian admired him greatly (496). The verb *ἐθαύμασε* is used in both the Lives and the gloss; the latter also has the word *διαφέροντως*.

Fragment 25 [b] is a similar entry about Prohaeresius and has verbal parallels with 25 [a].

Fragment 25 [c] is another version of 25 [a] under the name of Acacius. His life was written by Eunapius (497).

Fragment 27 records a verse prophecy given to Julian when he was at Ctesiphon. It is quite likely that this comes from the Histories since the content is suitable for Eunapius and it is known from fr. 26 that he did include oracles about Julian in the Histories. Fragment 45 [b] is another example of a poetic citation. Additional support is given by the fact that an almost identical version of fr. 26 is found along with fr. 27 in the same gloss on Julian, Hesychius 437 (Adler II,642,31). This is also the location of fr. 16. The likelihood that all three fragments belong to Eunapius is very great, even though the first part of this gloss is foreign matter.

Fragment 30 is now known to be from Malalas p. 363 via the Excerpta.<sup>538</sup>

The three parts of fr. 40 ought to belong to Eunapius, for each is a short notice on a philosopher who was prominent in the time of Jovian and met his end under Valens. All are mentioned by Zosimus at IV,15,1. More evidence for Eunapius' authorship of [b] and [c] is provided by the fact that both Patricius and Hilarius are said to have practised divination, a subject which arises in connexion with the conspiracy of Theodorus (fr. 38 and Zosimus, IV,13,1 ff.) and several times figures in the Lives of the Sophists (e.g. 501). It is worth noting that Patricius was from Lydia and Hilarius from Phrygia so that Eunapius might be expected to have had good information about them. Zosimus gives them the same provinces of origin.

Fragment 45 [a] seems genuine because Eunapius portrays Musonius in equally glowing terms in fr. 45 [b], and, in the Lives, he says that he has dealt with him in the Histories. The learned Musonius whom Zosimus mentions at V,5,2 is thought to be the same person (cf. PLRE Musonius 2).

Eunapius the rhetor is otherwise unknown - except for fr. 15 which is from the Excerpta de Legationibus - and this is another, if slight, argument for authenticity. The style is quite Eunapian.

Fragment 47 [a] doubtless derives from Eunapius. The catalogue of Sebastianus' virtues is given in an abbreviated form by Zosimus (IV,23,1) who then records the incidents related in fr. 47 [b]. The antithetical style is characteristic of Eunapius and the word *διαφέροντως* occurs (see Appendix VII, Note C). The use of the words *πλεονεξίαν* and *ἰρρακτικόν* looks forward to fr. 84 where the first is the third Armenian vice and the second forms a pun on the name of the subject, Arbazacius. If both fragments are accepted to be genuine, then Eunapius has created a contrast between Sebastianus' virtues and Arbazacius' vices by this verbal irony. F. Préchac attempts to show that the last part of the fragment, the comparison of Sebastianus to the Colossus of Rhodes, is not the work of Eunapius. He finds the content strange and concludes that the passage is a collection of bits made by a reader in the margin of the first extract.<sup>539</sup> His case is too far-fetched to carry conviction: Adler (ad. loc.) dismisses it as frustra. There is nothing in the style of the passage to gainsay Eunapius' authorship.

Fragment 49 [a] is identical with a passage of Zosimus: IV,50,2. Boissonade, apparently unaware of this parallel, ascribed the gloss to Eunapius on the basis of content: e re.<sup>540</sup> Modern scholarship has decided that the extract is taken directly from Zosimus<sup>541</sup> - although the ultimate source would be Eunapius.

Fragment 52 [b] appears to describe the same event as does fr. 52 [a]. There are verbal echoes (e.g. *καθείκ* in the initial position), although the language is mutilated.

Fragment 53 is surely one of the more securely attributed glosses. It is difficult to see why Adler should query this, unless it is because of the praise of Theodosius' judgement in choosing Arbogast. Yet Eunapius does not fail to give credit to Christian emperors where it is due; he lauds Valens' handling of the Goths who had come to aid Procopius in his revolt (fr. 37). Arbogast's virtues of courage and financial honesty are found in other barbarian generals (frr. 36, 80, and 81), and their opposites are severely castigated (frr. 63, 70, and 87).

There is a parallel with Zosimus IV,33,2 where Arbogast is coupled with Bauto and both are said to be endowed with the same good qualities as in the Suda gloss. Zosimus says that Arbogast's indifference to money helped him to win the respect of the soldiers (IV,54,4). Bauto and Arbogast are also found together in John of Antioch (fr. 187). There is a close verbal parallel with the Suda gloss, for John also uses the word *φλογοειδής*, although of Bauto, not Arbogast. Müller thinks that John took this passage from some Christian writer who drew upon Eunapius (note to fr. 187). Eunapius may well have had a formulaic description of the barbarian body and spirit. Certainly this fragment and 11 [c] are close enough in phraseology and outlook to assume that they were written by the same author:

11 [c] Ἐδόκει γὰρ τότε σῶμα γιγαντώδης εἶναι καὶ τὸν θυμὸν θηριώδης...

53 ὅς κατὰ ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ θυμοῦ τραχύτητα φλογοειδής ἦν.

The noun *βάρος* recalls the frequent occurrence of the adjectival forms of this word (see Appendix VII, Note B).

Fragment 61 is secured by the parallel with Zosimus IV,57,3-4.

\* \* \*

A large number of the authorless fragments deal with the eunuch

Eutropius. They will be treated together here, along with other closely connected glosses.

The first is fr. 67 which Mai ascribes to Eunapius because in it the word *χανδόν* is used in the same sense as in fr. 16 (above p.212, and cf. fr. 2, above p.211). Although frr. 2 and 16 are both uncertain - if probable - attributions to Eunapius, *χανδόν* does occur in the Lives where it describes Chrysanthius' desire for knowledge (500). Mai's other argument is that the fragment is hostile to Eutropius.<sup>542</sup> Hostility to Eutropius is not confined to Eunapius and Claudian, but the degree of vituperation may be a distinguishing factor. The church historians condemn Eutropius, but do not give themselves over to invective (cf. Sozomen, H.E. VIII,7,1 ff.). One more stylistic point may be adduced, the word *πολυπραγμαῖων* (see Appendix VII, Note A).

Fragment 68 [a] names its author, Eunapius, but not its subject which it compares to a many coiled serpent. Fragment 69 is authorless and describes the eunuch, that is Eutropius, in similar terms. Hence it is an easy and safe deduction that both fr. 68 [a] and 69 are by Eunapius and about Eutropius.

Fragment 68 [b] is more difficult since it mentions neither Eunapius, nor Eutropius/eunuch, nor a snake. Boissnade ascribes it to Eunapius because of the verbal parallels between it (*τὴν καρδίαν...κεκαρωμένος*) and 68 [a] (*τὴν ψυχὴν κεκαρωμένος*). He feels that it describes Eutropius, or perhaps Rufinus,<sup>543</sup> yet this is by no means clear. There is nothing evidently pejorative about fr. 68 [b] since the heart in question is laden with honours and Eunapius could be speaking of several people. A possible candidate is Timasius who did gain great honours (cf. fr. 70) and whom Eutropius had exiled to the Oasis (Zosimus, V,9,5-7). Timasius' exile

would give point to the phrase *παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν*.

Three F.H.G. fragments remain which deal with Eutropius' henchmen. Fragment 70 concerns Timasius and Boissonade rightly states that this manifestly belongs to Eunapius.<sup>544</sup> The style is Eunapian, especially the use of *βαρύς* (see Appendix VII, Note B) and it is known from Zosimus (V,9 and 10) that Eunapius treated Timasius at some length, just as he did two other creatures of Eutropius, Bargus (fr. 71) and Abundantius (fr. 72).

Fragments 76 [b] and [c] deal with Leo and are internally ascribed to Eunapius; hence given the added evidence of Zosimus V,14,2, there is no difficulty in postulating that Eunapius is the author of fr. 76 [a]. The style is characteristic and Leo's alcoholism is also noted in fr. 70. Eunapius devoted a fair amount of attention to alcoholism and drunkenness (cf. frr. 60, 77, 78, and 84, and above p. 43).

Similarly Boissonade accepts Küsterus' attribution of fr. 77 to Eunapius: nam res Eutropii narrauerat Eunapius, et hic eius stylum genuinum habemus.<sup>545</sup> Persuasive too, is the fact that the greater part of the passage investigates the physiology of Subarmachius' alcoholism. This provides Eunapius with the opportunity to make a typical play upon words. Subarmachius would have been a very good archer, except that his luxurious living 'shot him down'. This is an oblique reference to his alcoholism, for *τόξον* is applied metaphorically to the effects of wine by Pindar.<sup>546</sup>

It is now time to examine the Suda fragments which pertain to Eutropius, but which are not found in F.H.G. IV.

Suda (I,12,24) s.v. *Ἄβρος* from *ἄμωρ* is thought by Hemsterhusius to be from Eunapius: Eunapii videntur.<sup>547</sup> This is certainly plausible on general stylistic grounds; for example, the phrase *τῶν ἄβρων* is employed

by Eunapius in the Lives (457) as is ἀβροτέρων (477). Moreover, it can be deduced from internal evidence that this fragment probably comes from a passage about Eutropius. The elaborate description of effeminacy, the profiting from the common disasters, and the recourse to the emperor are part of the conventional picture of eunuchs in late antiquity.<sup>548</sup> It is known from fr. 66 (and see above p.215 ff.) that Eunapius did make such unflattering remarks about Eutropius; in both fr. 66 and the present one he adds to his portrayal with references to classical myths: Salmoneus and the Gorgon (fr. 66) and Midas.

In this gloss, Eunapius' use of the word χρυσίον is significant, for although the idiomatic use of this word and its cognates is well attested in classical literature,<sup>549</sup> it appears to have been an especial favourite of his. This fragment is slightly unusual in that the protagonist profits from disaster - although this accords well with the myth of Midas. However, the essential feature is usually the comparison of a 'modern' calamity with a mythical example. This usage can be illustrated in secure parts of Eunapius' text.

- (1) Carinus made the tyrants of tragedy appear golden (fr. 4).
- (2) The Goths who invaded Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly were so devastating that the mythical Mysians were golden by comparison (fr. 42).
- (3) Fr. 86 is a contemporary and topical adaptation of the form: Pamphylia considered that the Isaurian raids were golden in comparison with the reign of terror initiated by Hierax.

It is noteworthy that τρυφερώτατον occurs in fr. 86, τρυφερός in s.v. Ἄβρος. Authenticity is suggested by another verbal similarity. In fr. 62, Eunapius writes: διὰ γὰρ μελακίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς; here there is the phrase καὶ ὑπὸ μελακίας τοῦ σώματος. The adjectival form is found as well (μελακώτεροι [twice] in fr. 75,6).

Here it is convenient to discuss two anonymous fragments from Müller's collection which have this same 'golden' expression. The first is fr. 39 which belabours Festus. There can be little doubt that it belongs to Eunapius, given the similarity in content with both the Lives (480) and Zosimus (IV,15,2 f.). There is the same use of myth as in the three secure fragments. Festus was so fearsome that he made Echetus and other monstrous Thessalian and Sicilian rulers seem golden. He even shares one of the qualities which Eunapius thinks are characteristic of barbarians: his temperament is θερμός and he κατέψληξε his victims. Arbogast is said to be ψλογοειδής (fr. 53).

Fragment 49 [d] says that people were afflicted with so many evils that they felt that it was golden to be conquered by the barbarians. This statement is emphatic and hence not inconsistent with Eunapius' belief in the value of Rome's civilising mission (fr. 58). Suda s.v. Καταξινομένοι (below, p. 231), which likely derives from Eunapius, mentions people who prefer to die at the hands of the barbarians rather than to be killed by the imperial administrators. Given the frequent resort to torture, the barbarians were perhaps more humane. A like sentiment is expressed in fr. 49 [c] where the rulers are said to be more hostile than the enemy.

Five more of Adler's dubious fragments have remarkable similarities with the s.v. Ἄβρος one. Suda s.v. Δειμαίνεαι from πάντες to ἰδόντες (II,30,26) names Eutropius and compares the reaction of people on seeing him with the reaction of the suitors when they saw Odysseus stripped of his rags. Bernhardt ascribes the fragment to Eunapius for stylistic reasons, saying merely: Oratio prodit Eunapium. The most suggestive feature is the Homeric simile (see below p. 230).

C. de Boor attributes s.v. Σπάδων from καὶ εἶθε (IV,414,8) to Eunapius

on valid stylistic grounds.<sup>550</sup> Valid, that is, for the portion from ὅτι ἐπὶ Εὐτροπίου (IV,414,17) since Adler points out that the prior part comes from a different author of Byzantine date. The substance of the fragment laments the plethora and prosperity of eunuchs in the time of Eutropius, a topic which Eunapius doubtless handled with vigour, and the word βαρύνετα occurs (see Appendix VII, Note B). De Boor wishes to attach this fragment to the end of the second Suda gloss on Eutropius, that is Eunapius fr. 66. Yet this is unnecessary since a shortened but often directly parallel version of the s.v. Σπάρων gloss completes the third Suda entry on Eutropius, the one which relates his fall from power and the manner of his death.

This third Eutropius entry is identical - except for a few insignificant variations at the beginning - with a fragment of John of Antioch preserved in the Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis (EV no. 68: fr. 189 in F.H.G. IV). However, the excerpt from John of Antioch completely lacks the gloss from s.v. Σπάρων. Clearly, the compiler of the Suda for the third Eutropius entry combined the passage from the EV with a version of the s.v. Σπάρων.

There is yet another version of the fall of Eutropius; this is the second part of the gloss s.v. Ὑπατοι (IV,646,24). It is a different and often fuller version of the third Eutropius entry, but it lacks any elements of the s.v. Σπάρων. The differences between them are such as to prove that neither depends upon the other: the source of the Suda for s.v. Ὑπατοι cannot have been the excerpt from John of Antioch in the EV. For example, s.v. Ὑπατοι has the phrase ἐδιψροφονεῖτό τε διὰ τῆς πόλεως which is absent from Eutropius<sup>3</sup>. However, Eutropius<sup>3</sup> gives fuller information on the death of the eunuch, for instance the damnatio memoriae.

The first part of s.v. Ὑπατοι is a discussion of the political

theories about the Roman system of consuls in the context of its historical development. This is attracted to John of Antioch fr. 37 by Müller, but the two fragments do not overlap. If they do belong together, they should be read consecutively. It is now possible to attempt to reconstruct the whole passage on Eutropius. All the above passages dealing directly with Eutropius come ultimately from the same author, their similarities being such as to require this. The most obvious choice for the author is Eunapius. He is known to have been a prime source of John of Antioch<sup>551</sup> and it is explicitly stated in fr. 66 that he dealt with Eutropius at length.

The basis of the reconstruction is s.v. Ἰππάρχοι<sup>551</sup> which must be read as a connected whole. The phrase which introduces the personal treatment of Eutropius - πρῶτος δὲ ἵππατος εὐνούχων - shows that the enormity of a eunuch's being consul is to be seen with the history of the office in mind. The failure of the theoretical system of 'checks and balances' to prevent the tyranny of Eutropius is a good example of Eunapiian irony. It is no surprise that Eunapius should include an historical digression on a Roman political institution in the midst of a narrative of contemporary history. He did the same in his account of Gratian's repudiation of the pontifical robe and his subsequent overthrow by the usurper Maximus. Mendelssohn has insufficient reasons for saying that Zosimus did not take his digression on the Roman pontifices from Eunapius (IV,36).<sup>552</sup> Eunapius knew Dexippus' Chronicle which went back to the mythical period and used consular dates as one of the bases of its annalistic chronology (fr. 1). He had some familiarity with Roman republican history, for he cites the exemplum of Marius and Sulla (fr. 14,2).

Indeed, it is probable that the compiler of the Suda has done the

same in the case of the s.v. Ὑπατοι gloss as he did with s.v. Θεοδοσίος (John of Antioch fr. 194). There also the Suda entry is fuller than the excerpt in the EV and de Boor concludes that the Suda is drawing on John's source, Priscus, from the lost second volume of the EV.<sup>553</sup> For s.v. Ὑπατοι the Suda would depend upon another of John's sources, Eunapius.

It is likely that John of Antioch fr. 37 derives from Eunapius, too, and forms the first part of the digression. To the basis of the s.v. Ὑπατοι entry should then be added the extra details from s.v. Εὐτρόπιος<sup>3</sup> such as the damnatio memoriae and from s.v. ἑπιδωων the fuller account of the imitators of Eutropius.

One other fragment of the Suda may come from Eunapius' section on Eutropius. This is a sentence in the entry s.v. Ὑπερμαζῆ from ὁ δὲ ὑπερμαζῶν (IV,657,15) about which Adler says fort. Eunap. It concerns a former slave who has become very wealthy and the obvious candidate is Eutropius. The style is Eunapian and the word χρυσίω occurs (cf. above p. 218 f.). Eunapius does describe Eutropius as a slave, δούλος, in fr. 72, but these stylistic characteristics are too weak to do more than suggest that Eunapius is the author. However, if this fragment really is about Eutropius, then the source - on the strength of an admittedly circular argument - is almost certainly Eunapius since all the Suda glosses on Eutropius can be ascribed to him at least ultimately.

\* \* \*

Fragment 79 [b] seems to be Eunapius because of the similarity in content with frr. 79 [a] and 75,6 as well as Zosimus V,19. The use of the πολυ - compounds, πολυανδρίων and πολυτελή, is typical of Eunapius (see Appendix VII, Note A).

There can be no doubt that fr. 80 belongs to Eunapius. He displays

a generally similar attitude towards Fravitta in fr. 82 from the Excerpta de Sententiis, but the strongest proof is furnished by the very close verbal parallels with Zosimus V,20,1 where the same events are described. The fragment is one of the better examples of Eunapius' antithetical style, especially the contrast between Fravitta's body and spirit:  $\delta\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha.$

Fragment 81 is thought by Boissonade to belong to that part of the Histories where Eunapius described the fleet which Fravitta prepared.<sup>554</sup>

This is a reasonable inference given the similarity with Zosimus V,20,3 where the same word,  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha$ , is used. The fact that  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\eta\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\iota}\nu$  is said of Fravitta in fr. 80 and  $\pi\eta\tilde{\zeta}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  of the ships in fr. 81 is a significant indication that both fragments are by the same author.

Fragment 84 seems to derive from the Histories.<sup>555</sup> Zosimus treats the same events at V,25,2 ff. and his saying that Arbazacius failed to exterminate the Isaurian brigands because he was seduced by luxury and other pleasures is consonant with the description of Arbazacius' character in the fragment. The saying that Arbazacius had more prostitutes than either he or the army clerks could count is also applied, in a slightly different way, to Leo (fr. 76 [a]). This is an indication that both fragments have the same author. Eunapius remarks on the identity of Arbazacius' name and nature just as he does about Hierax in fr. 83 from the Excerpta de Sententiis. The classical tag about Arbazacius' being bound with Hephaestus' fetters is an expected feature of Eunapius' style (cf. below p.230).

Fragment 103 [a] is assured to be Eunapius by the repetition of a clause in fr. 103 [b] to which the Suda attaches the name of Eunapius.

Fragment 106 is suspected by Kusterus to belong to Eunapius ex stylo; Bernhardt does not know whether the style is more characteristic of

Eunapius or of Malchus. Boissonade and Niebuhr are also doubtful.<sup>556</sup> The question does not appear capable of resolution, for nothing more is known of Eutocius or his date and while the style does not gainsay Eunapius' authorship, it bears no truly distinctive marks.

Fragment 107 is thought by Boissonade to belong to Eunapius because *διαυχενίζεσθαι* is also found in fr. 103 [a] and *ἀνωρθούτο καὶ διαυχενίζετο* in fr. 76 [c], both of which fragments certainly derive from the Histories. The word *βαρύτερα* is added confirmation (see Appendix VII, Note B).

Fragment 108 is ascribed to Eunapius by Boissonade for stylistic reasons, but he says: Sentio quam levidense sit hoc argumentum. Again there is nothing striking about the style and it may well be preferable to give this fragment to Damascius.<sup>557</sup>

Fragment 109 is attributed to Eunapius by Boissonade because it has the rare adverb *περικαῶς*. This word is found once in the Lives (501) and once in Plutarch, but no other occurrences are recorded (cf. *μουσομανία* below, p. 231 f.).<sup>558</sup> There are contextual and verbal parallels between the fragment and the Life of Agesilaus (11,7) where the passion felt by Agesilaus for Megabates is described: *περικαῶς ἔσχεν*. Fragment 109 says: *Περικαῶς τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχων*. Given Eunapius' knowledge of Plutarch (cf. Lives 454), these parallels must strengthen the case for his authorship.

Fragment 110 consists merely of two words, *Ἐμφέρεια* and *Μεσαιπόλιος*, which Boissonade thinks may come from Eunapius or Zosimus because they also occur at Zosimus I,51,1.

## II

Suda s.v. *Ἀνεψύγοντο* (I,277,22) consists of two fragments conflated into one (see Gaisford ad loc.), but Hemsterhusius attributes both to

Eunapius, saying merely: quin uterque sit Eunapii non dubito. Adler feels that Aelian is also a possible author. The arguments have to be stylistic and there is nothing particularly distinctive about the first fragment. The second reads rather more like Eunapius, notably the word ψληνάφους (cf. fr. 57 ad fin.) although it is frequently found in classical and post-classical authors, like Lucian (LSJ s.v.).

Suda s.v. Ἀπορρώγαι ... καὶ Ἀπορρώξ from οὗτος to ἀπορρώξ (I,317,1) is said by Adler to be fort. Eunap. The phrase Ἐριννύων ἀπορρώξ is line 811 of Aristophanes' Lysistrata; Eunapius had some familiarity with Aristophanes since there is an allusion to the Clouds (l. 144) in the Lives (462). There is little in the content to suggest that this short sentence is Eunapius except that it is the sort of tag which would be suitable to describe any one of several of his villains. The most likely choice is Rufinus, for Claudian describes him as a nursling of the Fury Megaera (In Rufinum, I,89 ff.). The views of Eunapius and Claudian on Rufinus generally coincide.

Suda s.v. Γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες from ὁ to ἦγε is said by Adler to be fort. Eunap. (I,549,9-10). This one sentence states that Julian held games in Persia and it is known from fr. 22,2 that Julian provided entertainments for his troops in the vicinity of Ctesiphon.

Suda s.v. ἦγεν (II,549,11) is identical to the immediately preceding fragment.

Suda s.v. ἔθηκεν from ὁ to ἐθήκεν (II,210,25) is thought by Adler to be Eunapius, perhaps. This sentence states that Julian staged horse races; it is known from Libanius (Or. XVIII,249) that Julian did this during the Persian campaign in order to provide a diversion for his troops.

Suda s.v. Αἰθεροβαρεῖν from καὶ pr. ff. (II,165,5) is attributed to

Eunapius by Hemsterhusius: Eunapio stilus adscribit. Yet stronger evidence than mere style can be found, for it is similar to fr. 19 which is internally assigned to Eunapius. In both extracts, Eunapius contrasts possession of higher knowledge with a lack of practical expertise and there is some resemblance in vocabulary as well: ὑπαιθρόν (fr. 19) and αἰθεροβατεῖν. Because of these correspondences, it is possible that the anonymous fragment concerns Maximus of Ephesus. In the Lives, Eunapius tells how Maximus became insolent and luxurious at Julian's court (477) and how he was more successful in lecturing on philosophy than in giving sophistic declamations (480). This is kindred evidence for Maximus' deficiency in practical skills.

Suda s.v. Αἰθυγμα from ὁ δὲ βασιλείων (II,167,9) is suspected by Asmus to pertain to the Isaurian revolt against Zeno and thus he attributes it to Damascius' Life of Isidore.<sup>559</sup> Adler thinks that it could belong to Eunapius. Certainly such dreams of imperial glory could have danced in the head of someone like Rufinus who wished to marry his daughter to the emperor Theodosius (Zosimus V,3,4). The style is not decisive since the verb ἐνειροπολεῖν is found in both Eunapius (ἐνειροπολήσας, fr. 60 [a] ad fin) and in the Epitoma Photiana of Damascius (ἐνειροπολεῖσθαι, Zintzen fr. 12).

Suda s.v. Ἐδικαίωσαν (II,205,17) is thought by Küsterus to be a fragment of Appian, but Gaisford's attribution to Eunapius is the more acceptable. In fact, it is a shorter version of Suda s.v. Ἐμποίνιμος from ὁ Σατορνίνος (II,264,9). Mai ascribed this extract to Cassius Dio temere,<sup>560</sup> but Gaisford again champions Eunapius. The gloss tells about the suppression of the revolt of Saturninus under Probus; Zosimus preserves an account of this (I,66) and, more briefly, Zonaras (XII, p. 638 Dindorf).

Suda s.v. Ἐκβακχευθείς (II,214,30) is assigned to Eunapius by Tittman without argumentation.<sup>561</sup> However, this extract which describes how an enraged Valens ordered a huge military expedition to advance can be compared to Eunapius' critique of Valens' fatal tactics before the Battle of Adrianople (fr. 46). Yet there are no fully convincing parallels between the two.

Suda s.v. Ἐκδιδίτησι from ὁ to ἀψίησι (II,216,10) is judged by Adler to be fort. Eunap. The extract does no more than castigate some nameless person for luxury and other sins of the flesh. Both the style and subject are thoroughly Eunapian (cf. fr. 62 for μαλακία and fr. 75,6 for μαλακώτερος twice), but nothing more definite can be said.

Suda s.v. Ἐμβάλλουσι (II,252,17) is attributed to Eunapius by Bernhardt. This assumption is at least plausible since the subject matter of the extract is the manoeuvres of Valens and Procopius in Lydia and Phrygia.

Suda s.v. Ἐμπεσῶν τοῖσι πράγμασιν from ὅς (II,259,24) is assigned to Eunapius by Hemsterhusius. However, it is not easy to think of someone in Eunapius of whom it can be said that he controlled his temper and was incorruptible, but yet made affairs worse. Eunapius does discuss θυμός elsewhere (frr. 24, 36, and Suda s.v. Καγχάζει), but there is no striking evidence that he is the author.

Suda s.v. Ἐπαύρασθαι from τούτου to χλιδῆς (II,334,1) is thought by Adler to belong either to Eunapius or to Aelian. There is nothing distinctive about the fragment although the content is suitable for Eunapius: people who are enjoying luxury.

Suda s.v. Εὐετηρίαι (II,447,16) is attributed to Eunapius by Bernhardt. He looked in vain for its source and concluded: Veruntamen si nomen est

incompactum, Eunapium convenit auctorem haberi, PLRE does not dissent.

Bernhardy corroborates his contention by remarking that the Suda has many glosses from Eunapius on famous men under the reigns of Julian, Jovian, and Valens. The style of this extract is very Eunapian and resembles these other short biographical sketches. Fragment 47 about Sebastianus is a good example since the phrase οὐδεμίαν ἀρετῆς ἀποδείων recalls that applied to Eudeterius: οὐδέν τι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποδείων. In his treatment of Aelian (fr. 36), Eunapius shows the same concern with body and soul.

Eunapius' authorship of the s.v. Εὐετήριος extract is virtually confirmed by a verbal parallel with fr. 52 from the Excerpta de Sententiis. The ES says διὰ γὰρ μαλακίαν καὶ ἀσθενεῖαν ψυχῆς ; the Suda has διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπλόγητα (for Eunapius' use of μαλακία cf. above p.218 ).

Suda s.v. Ἰακωβός <sup>2</sup> (II,602,25) is attributed to Eunapius by Bernhardy who notes that Cedrenus relates a similar story, but substitutes Iamblichus for Jacob. The suicide takes place in the aftermath of the conspiracy of Theodorus against Valens (cf. Ammianus XXIX,1,32; Eunapius fr. 38; Zosimus IV,13,4; and PLRE Iacobus 2). The incident as such is quite believable, for Libanius was implicated in the conspiracy by his acquaintanceship with some of the principals (cf. Or. I,171 ff. and Norman's note ad loc.). However, there appears to be nothing except the content to indicate that this extract is from Eunapius. It calls to mind the suicide pact made by Maximus of Ephesus and his wife (479).

Suda s.v. Ἰοβιανός from οὗτος to εἶναι (II,638,25 to 639,18) was wrongly attributed to John of Antioch by Edwin Patzig.<sup>562</sup> This gloss is similar to, but much fuller than, fr. 181 of John of Antioch (EV 63). This will recall the above discussion on s.v. Ἰππᾶτοι and related fragments (p.220). De Boor points out that in the s.v. Ἰοβιανός extract the compiler of the

Suda has taken the first part from the EV fragment of John and has added to this a passage from John's source, Eunapius. The shift to Eunapius is marked, as such a change often is, by the words: οὗτοι μετὰ Ἰουλιανόν, ὡς εἶρηται, ...<sup>563</sup>

Suda s.v. Καρχαίει from ὁ to ἐβρυχάτο (III,1,19) is thought by Hemsterhusius to belong to Eunapius, but Adler dissents, preferring Aelian or Iamblichus. There is very little upon which to base a judgement although it may be worth noting that the phrase κατὰ θυμόν recalls frr. 24, 36, and Suda s.v. Ἐμπροσὺν ταῖς πράγμασιν (above, p.227).

Suda s.v. Καταδύς (III,44,26) is assigned to Eunapius by Bernhardt because it is about someone sending a message to Gainas (cuius indicium facit Gainae nomen). It is no secret that Eunapius dealt at length with this barbarian general (see frr. 75,6; 79; and 82; and Zosimus IV,57,2; V,7; and V,13-22). It is convenient to discuss this gloss together with Suda s.v. Ὀδύσσεια from ὁ to ἦνυε (III,509,12) which is the same except that in place of διεπέμπετο πρὸς Γαῖναν, there are the words τὸν βίον ἦνυε. Thus there is a strong possibility that both extracts are by the same author and Bernhardt attributes s.v. Ὀδύσσεια to Eunapius unlike Valckenarius who assigned it to Aelian.

Stylistic arguments for attribution can also be made - and in the case of other anonymous fragments which will be dealt with subsequently. In these two glosses, the point of reference is the Homeric tag Ὀδυσσεῖον ... μηχανήν. It can be shown from fr. 75,6 that Eunapius thought about Gainas in Homeric terms: the phrase μαλακώτερος ἀμψαψάσθαι is borrowed from the Iliad (XXII,373) where Achilles applies it to the slain Hector as he spoils him of his arms. In fr. 75,6, Eunapius must wish to imply that Gainas has been equally undone by prosperity. Also, in s.v. Καταδύς, the

word πολύπλοκον occurs (see Appendix III, Note A).

Myth, both Homeric and other, is an important part of Eunapius' literary technique as the following examples will demonstrate.

Fr. 14,7 : Homer and Palamedes.

Fr. 31 : Theseus' unsuccessful attempt to imitate Heracles.

Fr. 38 : Ἀλλ' ἔλαθεν, ἢ φησιν Ἄμηροι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διαφθερεῖς καλῶν.

Fr. 39 : Festus is compared to mythical and monstrous tyrants.

Fr. 42 : The sowing of the dragon's teeth and the Mysians.

Fr. 66 : Eutropius is worse than Salmoneus and the Gorgon.

Fr. 87 : A phrase about heralds borrowed from the Iliad, IX,11.

It is also possible to recall Suda s.v. Δειμαίνε (above, p. 219) where Eutropius is portrayed in terms of a scene from the Odyssey.

Suda s.v. Καταρράκτηι (III,56,23) may belong either to Eunapius or to Menander Protector according to Küsterus. It is dealt with here because the extract concludes with a general comparison to τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν πορθοῦ. However, this must be regarded as one of the more doubtful attributions since geographical digressions do not appear to have been as important a feature of Eunapius' work as of some other late historians, namely Ammianus. Yet in this particular case, Eunapius might well have found cause to describe the Ister during his excursus on the origin of the Huns (fr. 41).

Suda s.v. Οὐδὲν ἑλάττω (III,577,3) is attributed to Eunapius by Bernhardt on general stylistic grounds. The content is suggestive, for someone is said to be a more charming speaker than Odysseus; Eunapius thought that Maximus had a voice 'such as one might have heard from Homer's Athene or Apollo' (473). Asmus and Zintzen feel that the fragment better suits Olympus, the brother of Generosus, and accordingly give it to Damascius.<sup>564</sup>

Again, certainty does not appear to be possible.

Suda s.v. *Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον* (III,579,13) from τὸν Κόριβον is hesitatingly ascribed to Eunapius by Adler. It has a reference to Odysseus, and to the cynic Dionysus, but there is nothing very distinctive of Eunapius, except perhaps the word *πολύτροπον* (see Appendix VII, Note A).

Suda s.v. *Καταξαινώμενοι* from *Ἰληγαί* (III,52,29) is thought by Adler possibly to belong to Eunapius. The style has no striking features, but does not gainsay Eunapius' authorship. The content is somewhat more positive because frr. 49 [c] and, especially, [d] also put forward the view that the barbarians offer a preferable alternative to imperial maladministration (cf. above p. 219).

Suda s.v. *Κατὰ τὸ καρτερον<sup>b</sup>* (III,61,23) is ascribed to Eunapius by Bernhardt. Adler's text of the fragment gives no special reasons for assuming that this is true; Bernhardt emends the second clause to read *ὁ δὲ Χαριέττων ἀντέσχε τῷ πολέμῳ*, but this is to beg the question.

Suda s.v. *Μαρκελλοῦ<sup>a</sup>* (III,325,31) has been demonstrated to belong to Eunapius by Alan Cameron.<sup>565</sup>

Suda s.v. *Μουσομανία* (III,415,12) is attributed to Eunapius by Hemsterhusius because of the parallelism between the phrase in the Lives of the Sophists *ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀστῶν ἐψήκην* (465) and, here, *ἡ περὶ ταῦτα μουσομανία τῶν ἀστῶν ἀπέψαυε*,<sup>566</sup> There is another parallel with the Lives which Hemsterhusius does not adduce. It is closer in thought, if less so verbally, than his: *τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ μὲν σφόδρα μίγεται* (493). The word *μουσομανία* occurs once more in the Suda s.v. *Παρωδούμενος* (IV,62,13) which Bernhardt wishes to attribute to Procopius, whose name follows it, but Hemsterhusius prefers Eunapius, verisimilius.<sup>567</sup> Although the two glosses are not identical in wording (the second is slightly fuller),

they are so alike that they must be by the same author. Given the parallels cited above, the author is very probably Eunapius. Another argument for the common parentage of the two fragments is the extreme rarity of the word μουσμανία which appears to occur only these two times in the Suda and once in Plutarch (Moralia, 706c)<sup>568</sup> where it is used pejoratively. The fact that it is found in Plutarch increases the likelihood that the Suda extracts are from Eunapius (cf. περικαῶς , above p.224 ).

Suda s.v. Νεωτερίζειν (III,454,21) is assigned to Eunapius by Boissonade on strong stylistic grounds.<sup>569</sup> There is the use of ὑπαίθρων in fr. 19 (Boissonade no. 8) and of νεωτερισμούσης in fr. 66 (Boissonade no. 32). It is possible to add the thought and word parallel from Zosimus V,18,4 εἰς νεωτερισμόν , which is applied to Gainas. Indeed, the passage in Zosimus might be a condensed version of the original of the Suda fragment. Hence it is highly probable that Eunapius is the author.

Suda s.v. Περινήσαντες (IV,102,20) seems to Bernhardt to describe the death of Valens and to derive from Eunapius, but there is no real indication that this is the case.

Suda s.v. Στρεβλόμενοι is thought by Adler possibly to derive from Eunapius (IV,442,24). However, beyond the general suitability of style and content, there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

Suda s.v. Τῶν ἐαρινῶν φύλλων ... (IV,578,20) is considered by Bernhardt to be a flosculus of Eunapius. There does not appear to be a precise parallel to this metaphor although in fr. 1 Eunapius says that virtues are not like τὰ φύλλα which grow and fall according to the season of the year. He shows a similar concern for extortion and related problems in frs. 63 and 87.

The two fragments, Suda s.v. Τυλοῦται (IV,605,4) and s.v. Χάσμασιν

(IV,792,18), are both short discussions of parts of the Parthian armour. A. G. Roos thinks that they are from the same source as s.v. Οἰσύνας (fr. 21), that is a description of Parthian military equipment which Eunapius inserted into his Histories. This is a reasonable hypothesis.

The two fragments Suda s.v. Θῶραξ (II,724,8) and s.v. Σείραϊ (IV,346,9), the first of which Kusterus attributed to Eunapius, are assigned to Arrian's Historia Parthica by Roos. They are not unworthy of Arrian's accurato et dilucido dicendi genere and colorem Arrianeum magis quam Eunapianum habere videntur.<sup>570</sup>

Suda s.v. Ἀνασχούρα (I,190,6) may possibly belong to Eunapius. A. F. Norman has identified the Magnus who is mentioned in it with the one who emerged from the mine at the siege of Maiozamalcha.<sup>571</sup> This incident occurred during Julian's Persian expedition and is described, with some differences in detail, by both Ammianus (XXIV,4,23) and Zosimus (III,22,4). Norman attributes this gloss to Eunapius for the following reasons. The style is 'high-flown' like that of Eunapius, and little such information from the fourth and fifth centuries survives in the Suda except in fragments from Eunapius. Given Eunapius' interest in Julian, it is an event with which he would have been familiar, and given that Zosimus was following Eunapius at this point, it is highly probable that Eunapius recorded Magnus' exploit.

Although Norman's arguments are suggestive rather than conclusive, they were sufficient to convince W. R. Chalmers who is able to contribute the additional support of Eunapius' fondness for the adverb διαφέροντως which the extract contains<sup>572</sup> (see Appendix VII, Note C). However, while Alan Cameron agrees that the fragment does describe the siege at Maiozamalcha, he is much less certain that Eunapius is the author. He considers the fact that Ammianus and Zosimus make Magnus the second man out, unlike the Suda gloss which makes him the first, to be of greater importance

than does Chalmers in telling against the attribution to Eunapius. It is unlikely that Zosimus would have bothered to correct Eunapius on such a small point of detail (even if he were given to combining sources [see above Chpt. X]). Moreover, since Chalmers seems to be right in thinking that Ammianus used Eunapius (see above, pp. 179 ff.), then it is probable that Eunapius' version resembled that of Zosimus and Ammianus, and not the one given by the Suda. Nor is Eunapius the only possible claimant, for both Magnus of Carrhae and Eutygianus of Cappadocia may have given variants in their works. The possibility remains that the fragment is by Eunapius, but, even if so, it has probably been so altered as to bear little resemblance to the original, or to be of much use in unravelling the source problems of the Persian expedition.<sup>573</sup>

Maenchen-Helfen suggests that Suda s.v. ἀκροφάλοις (I,93,20) may be a quotation from Eunapius. The fragment tells how the Huns have difficulty in walking and hence on the grounds of subject matter (cf. fr. 41) the attribution to Eunapius is plausible.<sup>574</sup> However, there do not appear to be any strong stylistic indications.

Finally, it is necessary to issue a warning about the authenticity of even those fragments which are attributed to Eunapius in the Suda itself. The entries under the words εἰσπομπή (II,542,3), εἰσφρήσασθαι (II,543,18), and διάμετρος (II,66,12) are taken from Theophylact Simocatta at II,6,3; II,6,2; and II,6,2 respectively.<sup>575</sup> The διάμετρος gloss is fr. 100 in Müller's F.H.G. IV. The Suda does not display any direct acquaintance with the authors it cites, for it was compiled from secondary sources like lexicographical works and perhaps an historical florilegium and a collection of oracles. Of the surviving titles of the Constantinian Eclogues, the Suda used only the Excerpta de Virtutibus and the Excerpta de Legationibus,

and then only irregularly.<sup>576</sup> The compression and mutilation to which the Suda subjected the already inaccurate Eclogues can be seen in the two versions of fr. 68 which the Suda gives, and frr. 70 and 47 are also cases in point.<sup>577</sup>

## XII The Histories and the Second Edition

Having dealt with the sources from which Eunapius' Histories may be reconstructed, it is now time to attempt to do so in outline. However, the structure and characteristics of the Histories cannot be determined without reference to the problem of the second edition. The testimony of Photius, the ninth century patriarch of Byzantium, is crucial for both the reconstruction and the question of the second edition, for only he has left a description of both editions. The scholars reviewed below attempt, with a greater or lesser degree of success, to reconcile their hypotheses to the information which Photius gives, and this they must do since he alone has the advantage of autopsy and his general trustworthiness is not in doubt.<sup>578</sup>

In cod. 77 of his Bibliotheca, Photius says that he read the second edition (Ἀνεγνώσθη ... νέας ἐκδόσεως ) of Eunapius' Χρονικὴ Ἱστορία in fourteen books. Eunapius covered the period from the death of Claudius Gothicus, which is when Dexippus had ended his work, until the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius, at the time when Arsacius replaced John Chrysostom as patriarch of Constantinople and Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius, died of a miscarriage. More briefly, this means from A.D. 270 to 404. The extant fragments confirm this time span since they describe events from the reign of Aurelian (fr. 2) to the Isaurian war in the reign of Arcadius (fr. 86). (The title to the Excerpta de Sententiis says that they are taken from the second edition.) In fact, Eunapius wrote two works which covered the same period, the first and second editions. In the second edition, Eunapius tried to unify his material, but he also removed much that was anti-Christian and the resultant lacunae made it difficult to read. Its bias,

however, was still plainly evident. Both editions were sometimes bound together in one book.

The standard modern account of Eunapius' literary activity may be summarized as follows.<sup>579</sup> Eunapius' first major work was a history which probably covered the years from 270 to 395. It is known that a history did precede the Lives of the Sophists because there are references in the Lives to subjects which are said to be treated more fully in a 'Universal History' (see, for example, section 472, 476, 480, 482, and 493). It must have dealt with events as late as 395 since there are cross-references in the Lives to Alaric's attack upon Greece (476) and the death of Hilarius, the sophist and painter, during that invasion (482). The death of Theodosius would have been a convenient point at which to end and thus the latest parts would have been composed not long after 395. Eunapius then wrote the Lives (see above, p. 58) and followed them with the extended version of the Histories which he already had in mind when he was composing the Lives (482). He was still working on the Histories as late as 414, for there is a digression in which he tells that Hierax finally paid the penalty for having Fravitta put to death (fr. 87). This happened during the corrupt regime of the empress Pulcheria whose preeminence was signalled by her becoming Augusta on July 4, 414.<sup>580</sup> Such an explanation of the two editions is not completely satisfactory.

The problem centres on the identity of the person who prepared the second edition. The question was first raised by Niebuhr who thinks it impossible that Eunapius would have left his work in as unreadable condition as Photius found it. He makes the point that Photius does not give his reasons for attributing the second edition to Eunapius' own hand and imaginatively conjectures that it was produced by an indoctus amanuensis for some bookseller who was afraid of the anti-Christian sentiments of the original. Niebuhr does not attempt to find a time when such expurgation

would have been necessary and only offers the analogy of the situation following the Council of Trent.<sup>581</sup>

Niebuhr's first point about the unfinished nature of the second edition is easily disposed of by assuming that Eunapius died before he could complete his revision, for he was already sixty-eight years of age in 414.<sup>582</sup> His second point is more difficult, for if the manuscripts of the second edition carried only a bare attribution to Eunapius, Photius may too hastily have assumed it to be the work of Eunapius. Authenticity cannot, of course, be proved, but it is some argument for its probability that, as his comments upon the style and the condition of the narrative show, Photius was familiar with the text of both editions.

The question remains as to why Eunapius or anyone else would want to remove anti-Christian abuse. It is suggested below that this expurgation was the effect of revision by Eunapius himself and not the cause, nor is it easy to find any examples of such censorship, even by booksellers. The idea that this was the reason for producing a second edition is Niebuhr's own contribution, for Photius does not know - or speculate - why this was done. Both the Lives of the Sophists (e.g. 472 on the monks) and Zosimus (as will be seen in Chapters XV-XVII) contain offensive material. Even the fragments from the Excerpta de Sententiis, which drew upon the second edition, contain a condemnation of Theodosius' luxuria and maladministration (fr. 48) and a eulogy of Julian so fulsome that it prompted the righteous indignation of a Christian scribe (fr. 23). Photius, of course, remarks that the pagan bias was still clearly evident.

C. de Boor agrees with Niebuhr that Eunapius was not the author of the second edition, but he develops his own theory of its provenance.<sup>583</sup> He bases it upon the proem which stands between the sub-title and the first

fragment in the Excerpta de Sententiis. The writer of this apologizes for placing the selections from Eunapius after those from Priscus, and complains of the difficulty of procuring a text of Eunapius because of the 'dog in the manger' attitude of the book-owners. Unlike Niebuhr and Mai,<sup>584</sup> De Boor denies that this proem can be by the Constantinian eclogarius: armed with the authority of that bibliophile emperor, he would not have experienced such great difficulty in obtaining a text. Moreover, the Excerpta de Sententiis makes no attempt to arrange the authors which it excerpts in chronological order. His solution is that the eclogarius found the statement in an exemplum of the second edition, and, thinking that it was by Eunapius, copied it out. From the description given in the proem, De Boor concludes that the second edition was in fact prepared by a book-seller as part of a Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.

V. Lundström has the most emphatic rejection of De Boor's theory. He makes the valid objections that works could be hidden even from imperial commissioners and, more important, that these commissioners would not have been so stupid as to mistake the nugas bibliopolae for the words of Eunapius.<sup>585</sup> Although Boissevain considers that De Boor's hypothesis is speciosa et fortasse vera, he says that he cannot accept it, but does not argue his case against it.<sup>586</sup> Nor is W. Schmid very happy with De Boor's solution, although the only criticism which he makes is to say that it is nicht einwandfrei.<sup>587</sup> However, for reasons of style and content, he prefers not to attribute the second edition to Eunapius.

W. R. Chalmers agrees with De Boor in thinking that the proem is earlier than the Eclogues, but he rejects De Boor's Universal History in favour of a prior collection of excerpts which was in turn used by the Constantinian compilers.<sup>588</sup> In itself this is a plausible suggestion, which

is not, however, helped by the arguments which Chalmers brings to bear upon De Boor. To say that it is unlikely 'that a publisher would embark on so ambitious a project as De Boor suggests without first making sure of his material'<sup>589</sup> is to stretch De Boor's description, and may presuppose too high a degree of managerial excellence on the part of Byzantine 'publishers'. Chalmers claims that the style of the proem with its Homeric quotation and allusion to a fable suits the compiler of an educational work better than 'the indoctus amanuensis presupposed by the general argument'.<sup>590</sup> Even if the indoctus amanuensis were germane to De Boor's reconstruction, which he is not, he is only the natural child of conjecture and cannot be invoked in this dispute. Indeed, the argument from style tells against Chalmers rather than against De Boor. A tag from Homer is less to be expected in Chalmers' collection of excerpts - even if it were made for educational purposes as he suggests - than in the Universal History proposed by De Boor. It is reasonable to suppose with De Boor and Chalmers that the proem is earlier than the Excerpta de Sententiis itself, but it is idle, and tangential to the main question, to conjecture further about the identity of its author or the sort of work in which it occurred.

Despite these criticisms of Chalmers' attack upon De Boor, he has given the most plausible treatment to date of the second edition. Briefly stated, his solution is that Eunapius was the author of both editions, the first one being that which treated the period up to 395 and which preceded the Lives, the second that which was still in progress in 414. He first shows that after publishing the Lives, Eunapius not only extended the period of coverage, but at least once revised the subject-matter. In fr. 41 Eunapius says that he has found more material on the origin of the Huns than was at his disposal when he wrote before (κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς συγγραφῆς). Although this phrase is usually taken to refer to the early

parts of the Histories (e.g. the translation in Müller, F.H.G. IV: In priore Historiae parte), this is unlikely since the fragments of the Excerpta de Sententiis are arranged in chronological order. The preceding fragment concerns the conspiracy of Theodorus in 374 and hence this fragment is naturally dated to 376 when the Huns would make their first appearance in the Histories. Chalmers therefore sensibly takes the phrase to mean the first edition.<sup>591</sup>

Chalmers next demonstrates that the first edition contained lives of Constantine and Julian, but not one of Constantius. In the Lives, Eunapius refers to a life of Constantine for the details of how that emperor was punished for honouring Ablabius (464), and then to a life of Julian for the accession of Constantius and his execution of Ablabius (464). Yet in fr. 14,1 Eunapius says that he discussed certain matters to do with Julian in the part of his Histories which were centred upon Constantius. Thus it is likely that a separate discussion of Constantius was brought in during the revision of the first edition.<sup>592</sup>

References in the Lives to the Histories after 363 are not made according to the name of the reigning emperor, and Chalmers postulates that Eunapius dropped the biographical approach at that point and began writing a Universal History.<sup>593</sup> Eunapius once uses the word καθολικῶς to describe this part (472) and this can mean 'universal',<sup>594</sup> but elsewhere (476, 480, 482, and 493) he uses the word διεξοδικῶς which means 'detailed'.<sup>595</sup> Moreover it occurs also in references to the life of Julian (e.g. 478). Here, Eunapius may be drawing a contrast between the less detailed and freer account in the Lives and what he says in the Histories. Given the weakness of the philological evidence and the strength of Eunapius' statement in fr. 1 about grouping and dating events according to the reigns of the emperors

as well as the reference to Constantius in fr. 14.1 it is unwise to assume that he dropped the biographical approach after 363.

The major objection to Chalmer's reconstruction is that he contradicts the express testimony of Photius that both editions covered the same period. He tries to explain Photius' failure to notice that the first edition ended in 395 by saying that Photius only claimed to have read the second edition. He may have been too busy to read both and most likely compared only the first book of each edition, which would have been the one most altered.<sup>596</sup> This will not do, for, while it is impossible to prove that Photius did read all of both, Chalmers' reasons are insufficient to prove that he read only the second. That Photius did read some, if not all, of both is clear from his statement: *Ἐξ ὧν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐγνώμεν*, and he must have been familiar with the contents of the later books since he remarks upon the difference between the treatment of Stilicho in Eunapius and Zosimus (cod. 98). Stilicho would have featured in the last books of the Histories. It is most unlikely that Photius did not at least 'thumb through' the first edition.

Two recent contributions have still to be taken into account. T.D. Barnes thinks that the first edition of the Histories went only as far as the battle of Adrianople or its immediate consequences and was written about 380.<sup>597</sup> This merits a brief examination, although an early date would have no substantive effect on the solution to the problem of the second edition which will be proposed here. In the Lives, there are two cross-references to the Histories which are generally assumed to be to events in the 390's. Barnes may be right in saying that the first really refers to a diatribe against the monks and not to the destruction of the Serapeum in 391 (472), but, even if he is correct, it is worth remembering

that the worst depredations of the monks occurred in the reign of Theodosius.<sup>598</sup> Moreover, the major surviving criticisms of the monks come from the later books of the Histories. Eunapius inveighs against them in fr. 55 which concerns a settlement of barbarians within the Empire sometime between the years 381 and 383.<sup>599</sup> Zosimus preserves a general condemnation of the monks in connexion with John Chrysostom's activities in 404 (V.23) and, in the Lives, they are attacked again for aiding Alaric in his invasion of Greece in 395 (476). Secondly, Barnes interprets the reference to Alaric's invasion of Greece to mean that Eunapius intends to relate the event in his Histories in the future. However, the anacoluthon which Barnes invokes to support his case is not recognized by Vollebregt<sup>600</sup> or by Giangrande in his apparatus, nor would it seem to affect the statement about Alaric. The most natural interpretation is the traditional one. Finally, the fact that Eunapius was ill-informed about the Huns when he wrote the first edition (fr. 41) would seem to be insufficient reason for placing the composition close to 476. Absolute certainty is not possible, but it is preferable to retain the conventional view that the Histories had reached the year 395 when Eunapius wrote the Lives.

Paschoud, on the other hand, argues for a very late date for both editions, necessarily discarding the possibility that Ammianus used Eunapius<sup>601</sup> (but see above, pp. 179 ff.). His whole reconstruction rests upon his contention that Eunapius used a Latin source written in the immediate aftermath of Alaric's sack of Rome in 410. This hypothesis will have to be refuted in detail in Chapter XIV, but his explanation would not be entirely satisfactory even if this were true. Paschoud places the first edition towards the end of 412, imagining that Eunapius

was summoned by his friends to translate the putative Historia adversus christianos for the pagan cause, although this ignores what Eunapius himself says of his motivation and Oribasius' memoir in fr. 8. Thus he is forced to place the Lives in 413. Paschoud fails to consider the internal evidence for dating the Lives to c. 399/400, (above, p. 58) and seems unaware that Eunapius wrote for reasons of pietas as well as propaganda. (See above, Chapter VIII.) Paschoud explains the second edition as Eunapius' attempt to remedy the deficiencies in his source and would have him at work at least as late as 423 on the grounds that Eunapius would not have attacked Pulcheria (fr. 87) before she had fallen from power. Eunapius would have been about seventy-eight years of age in 423 and this date is not impossible, just unnecessary. Eunapius' death might explain why the second edition ended in 404, (but see below) but Paschoud nowhere attempts to explain why the first edition also did so: this would be very curious if Eunapius were using a source which dealt with the period up to the sack of Rome and, indeed, was centred upon this event.

The following reconstruction of Eunapius' literary activity seems to offer a plausible explanation of the evidence from both Photius and Eunapius' surviving writings. Eunapius first wrote lives of Constantine and Julian. Eulogistic biographies of Constantine had already been composed by Eusebius of Caesarea and by the pagans Praxagoras of Athens (Jacoby no. 219) and Bemarchius of Caesarea (Jacoby no. 220) and Eunapius doubtless felt that there was need for a life which would express what Hellenes like himself thought about the first Christian emperor. It is possible to detect a life of Constantine in Book II of Zosimus' History. Chapters 8 to 28 are a chronological account of Constantine's civil wars from his proclamation in Britain to the final defeat of Licinius and

this is followed by a topical treatment of his deeds as sole ruler until his death in chapter 39. Probably Zosimus' vestigial life gives a fair representation of how Eunapius handled Constantine in the second edition, but Zosimus might have used the original life in the first edition. Since both editions were available to Photius, Zosimus might have had access to them as well. In the face of this evidence from Zosimus and Eunapius' own reference to a life of Constantine (464), R.C. Blockley is surely wrong to say that the argument for its existence is 'implausible'.<sup>602</sup>

Eunapius' life of Julian was written out of feelings of pietas and because of the urgings of Oribasius who gave him his memoir (fr.8). It would seem that Eunapius was in fact commissioned to write the life of Julian by Oribasius who had been the emperor's personal physician and one of his closest friends. It would be unlikely for Eunapius to be entrusted with writing the Neoplatonic and Hellenic version of Julian's life if he had not already proved himself as a biographer and a supporter of the cause, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that the life of Julian followed upon a successful life of Constantine - admitting the possibility that there were earlier works which have disappeared without trace. The life of Julian may have been used by Ammianus and, if so, would have appeared before 390/1 (above, pp. 179ff).

After the life of Julian, Eunapius continued by writing his Universal History until he reached 395 when he produced the Lives of Sophists. Here Chalmers and the others make their basic error for they assume that Eunapius concluded the first edition of the Histories at the year 395. There is nothing in the text of the Lives to warrant this interpretation and there are two indications that the Histories were in progress while the Lives were being written. Most of the references to the Histories

in the Lives are neutral in this regard, that is they merely say that such and such has been recorded in the Histories, but at 476, Eunapius assures the reader that he will relate the disasters which befell Greece more fully in his Histories. Similarly at 482, he promises to tell more fully what happened to his friends like Hilarius during Alaric's invasion. Eunapius broke off momentarily at 395 to write his Lives of the Sophists, but there is no indication that he considered that he had completed the first edition of his Histories.

Because of this it is possible to affirm Photius' statement that Eunapius carried his work up to the year 404, and that this continuous account is the first edition. It would in effect cover the same period as the second edition, for, as Chalmers points out,<sup>603</sup> any biography of Constantine would start from, or very near, the year 270 since Constantine was born in 274 (or perhaps 272)<sup>604</sup> and he claimed descent from Claudius Gothicus who died in 270. Only after Eunapius had written up the events of the year 404 did he begin his revisions and produce the second edition. Although it does not appear that Book I of the second edition had to cover the whole period from 270 to 355 (see below), the attempt to incorporate the earlier life of Constantine into a unified history may have necessitated the excision of a good deal of material<sup>605</sup> from what Photius says was the most polemical part of the Histories (cod. 77). This may well be the most sensible explanation of why the second edition appeared somewhat less anti-Christian. Also, if the first edition gave a fuller treatment of some topics than the second, this may be why it was still preserved in Photius' time; it should at least have been in a more readable condition than the second.

One question remains to be answered: why did Eunapius end his Histories in 404. Müller suggests that Eunapius would have desired to

continue them up to the death of Arcadius in 408,<sup>606</sup> and Paschoud thinks that he would have gone at least to 410, perhaps to 414 or later.<sup>607</sup> All such speculations are idle in the face of Photius' specific statement that Eunapius ended (ἀποτελευτᾷ ) both editions in 404. Moreover, it is Photius who supplies the clue to the answer by the way in which he dates the terminal point of the Histories, for he cites two events in such a manner as to lead one to suspect that they were highly significant for Eunapius.

The first is the expulsion of John Chrysostom from the see of Constantinople. Zosimus (V,23 ff.) preserves a detailed account of this in the course of which John is accused of being a demagogue (V,23, 4&5) and his partisans try to burn down the city (V,24, 3). It reflects badly on John that his supporters were arsonists and Eunapius would have found it a satisfying comment on Christian piety that they first set fire to their own church. No doubt Eunapius was also pleased to be able to tell how the monks who demonstrated their support for John by occupying the churches and excluding the parishioners were massacred by the townspeople and the soldiers (V,25, 3). It will be remembered that Eunapius took this opportunity to deliver one of his major condemnations of monks in general.

The second is the death of the empress Eudoxia from a miscarriage. Her death does not occur in Zosimus' surviving narrative, but nevertheless Eunapius' hostile attitude towards the empress is clearly expressed (V,24, 1-2). Eudoxia was both extremely arrogant (πέρα τῆς φύσεως ἀυθαδικμένη) and yet completely in the power of her ladies-in-waiting and the hated eunuchs. So bad was the maladministration that right-thinking men considered that death was preferable to life.

Eunapius also had a positive reason to rejoice which is not mentioned by Photius. The Senate House at Constantinople was consumed in the fire, but two statues which stood in front of its doors survived: Jupiter and Athena. Eunapius makes a full-scale pagan miracle out of this event (V,24, 6-8). He begins by saying that this wonder (θαύματος) ought not to be passed over in silence. He then describes the severity of the fire in graphic detail and how, contrary to popular expectation, these two statues alone were found to have escaped the holocaust. As usual, Eunapius draws the moral for his reader: the miracle encouraged good pagans (τοῖς χαριεστέροις) to hope that better times were in store for the city since it showed that τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἔχειν θα τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς αἰεὶ βουλευμένων προνοίας. In the Histories as in the Lives, Eunapius is frequently concerned to demonstrate the workings of divine providence and this miracle was a welcome illustration, as were the ouster of John Chrysostom and the death of Eudoxia. These three events, then, allowed Eunapius to give his Histories a 'happy ending' and there is no real reason to suppose that he intended to continue them beyond 404.

Eunapius' Histories were regnal in structure. In the proem (fr. 1), Eunapius argues against the strict chronology of Dexippus' annalistic method and states that events are related according to the reigns of the emperors. On the analogy of other historians, it is probable that Eunapius tried where possible to devote whole books to one emperor and he may himself indicate that this is so when he says ὅτι ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλείως ἢ τοῦδ' ἐπράττετο. Herodian, who has the best claim to be Eunapius' historiographical model, was able to do this in six of his eight books (below, Chapt. XIII), nor is Eunapius alone among fourth and fifth century historians in using a regnal structure. It has recently been demonstrated that: Das verbindende Element in der Komposition der Ammianeischen

Geschichtsschreibung ist die biographische Tendenz des Werkes.<sup>608</sup> For Ammianus, history is understood in terms of the person of the emperor,<sup>609</sup> and this attitude is evident, for example, in the introductory eulogy of Julian (XVI,1). It is also present in Sozomen and most markedly in Socrates, the seven books of whose history each treat the reign of one emperor, except for Book III in which the brief reigns of Julian and Jovian are combined. Eunapius was following the usual practice of his age.

It is not possible to detail the subject matter of the individual books of the Histories with much certainty, but the following outline appears reasonable. This is based upon Paschoud's reconstruction, but puts more emphasis upon the regnal principle and apportions some of the books differently.<sup>610</sup> First of all, as Paschoud deftly shows,<sup>611</sup> Book I cannot have covered the whole period from 270 to 355. This is Niebuhr's idea and has been adopted by subsequent scholars although there is no authority for it. Fragment 8 comes from the introduction to the Julianic part of the Histories and it says that the treatment will be more detailed than heretofore, but there is no mention of 'Book I', only the vague expression *ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν* which is best translated by some such phrase as 'in the preceding books'. Ammianus, for example, does not write prefaces to single books, but to groups of books, and there is no reason to suppose that Eunapius' practice was different. Moreover, there is simply too much material in Zosimus' account of these years for Eunapius to have been able to compress it into one book. The treatment of Constantine is very full (II, 8-39) and there are also the detailed narratives of Aurelian's war against Palmyra, complete with oracles, (I, 50-61) and Probus' campaign against the Isaurians (I, 69-70). Paschoud's suggestion of three books is sensible and still allows for a significant change in

scale when Eunapius turned to Julian.

It seems quite likely that Book I dealt with the period from 270 to Diocletian's retirement in 305 which is a clear and significant break. Book II would then have been entirely devoted to Constantine from his acclamation in 306 to his death in 337. Book III would have covered the reign of Constantius until the appointment of Julian as Caesar in Gaul: the terminal point is fixed by fr. 8. The reign of Constantius could easily fill a book, for there were the civil wars of the sons of Constantine in which Eunapius must have delighted (II, 39-42), the revolt of Magnentius (II, 43-54), the disposal of Gallus (II, 55) and something about Julian's youth (fr. 14,1), to cite only the major topics.

Three books may be assigned to Julian, although it is not quite clear how Zosimus' material ought to be divided among them. The first could have dealt with Julian from his appointment as Caesar to his acclamation as Augustus at Paris (III, 1-9) and the second would have related the successful years of his reign and perhaps ended on the high note of the capture of Maiozamalcha during the Persian Expedition (III, 10-22). The third book would then have treated the withdrawal from Persia and the death of Julian. Paschoud puts Jovian in the next book with Valentinian and Valens, but given that in Zosimus' account Jovian's reign is closely entwined with the dénouement to Julian's (below, Chpt. XVI), it seems better to place him in the third Julianic book. Zosimus may still reflect this, for he makes the major break at the death of Jovian and the elevation of Valentinian (III/IV).

Fragment 28 appears to come from the introduction to the reigns of Valentinian and Valens. Paschoud gives three books to these emperors, but this is difficult to reconcile with Zosimus' account which occupies only twenty-four chapters. The change in scale after Julian is remarkable,

if less than it seems; very little is said of Valentinian in the West which means that there is ample room for detailed treatment of eastern events. The three main episodes in Zosimus IV, 1-24 are the rebellion of Procopius (4-8), the conspiracy of Theodorus and its aftermath (13-15), and the campaign and battle of Adrianople (20-24). The obvious places for the second book to have begun are the elevation of Gratian (12) and the death of Valentinian (17), for either would permit a satisfactory apportionment of the main incidents. This section would have ended with the death of Valens at Adrianople.

The narrative of Theodosius' reign in Zosimus falls nicely into three sections and, as Paschoud suggests, very likely occupied three books. The first would have extended from the elevation of Theodosius (fr. 48) to perhaps the death of Gratian (IV, 24-36; cf. fr. 57). Theodosius' campaign against Maximus could have been the basis of the second book which would end conveniently with the restoration of Valentinian II (IV, 37-47). The third book would have as its chief interest the war against Eugenius and Arbogast and this section of the Histories must have finished with the death of Theodosius (IV, 59).

Paschoud allows only two books for the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, but the nine years from 395 to 404 could certainly have supplied enough for three. Although this can be nothing more than a hint, it is noteworthy that twenty-six of the eighty-eight assignable fragments in Müller's F.H.G. IV are from this period. Moreover, Zosimus' account falls easily into three parts of the usual length. The first starts at V, 1 and would progress through the invasion of Greece by Alaric and the activities of Rufinus and Stilicho possibly to the end of Gildo's revolt. The break between the first and second books may be marked by the vestigial summary at V,13,1 (τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἐκατέρωθεν οὐσης ἐν τούτοις ). The

rebellion of Gainas would have taken up most of the second book. Sardis only escaped being plundered because the rivers were in flood (V,18) and Eunapius very likely contributed a large amount of first-hand information. Zosimus' surviving text is not a good guide to the last book of the Histories because there is a large lacuna after V,22 which has claimed the events of 401 and 402 and another at the very end (V,25) which has meant more losses (e.g. the death of Eudoxia).<sup>612</sup> It seems clear, though, that Eunapius would have needed a third book in this section.

The results of this survey may be expressed in the following table:

Book	Content
I	270-305 (to the abdication of Diocletian)
II	305-337 (Constantine)
III	337-355 (Constantius)
	Julian
IV	355-360 (from Caesar to Augustus)
V	360-363 (Augustus)
VI	363-364 (to the death of Jovian)
	Valentinian and Valens
VII	364-378
VIII	Theodosius
IX	378-383 (to the death of Gratian)
X	383-388 (to the restoration of Valentinian II)
XI	389-395 (to the death of Theodosius)
	Arcadius and Honorius
XII	395-398
XIII	399-400 (the rebellion of Gainas)
XIV	401-404 (to the ouster of John Chrysostom and the death of Eudoxia)

### XIII The Context of the Histories

Eunapius' biographical work, the Lives of the Sophists, has been shown to have its roots deep in the Hellenistic Succession and to be the product of the development of this genre (Chapters IV - VI). His Histories appear to have a rather shorter pedigree. Eunapius wrote contemporary Zeitgeschichte of the years 270 to 404 A.D., the period before the reign of Julian being treated only in cursory fashion (Photius cod. 77 and fr. 8). The Histories attempted to encompass the whole Empire, although western events were somewhat subordinated to eastern, and were composed in the Attic style. Their distinguishing feature is that the chronology and structure are built upon a regnal framework and Eunapius devotes much of his proem (fr. 1) to defending this method against the precise annalistic technique of Dexippus. Yet despite the differences in their historiographical technique, Eunapius consciously continued Dexippus' Chronica (fr. 8) and praises his merits as an historian (fr. 1). This chapter will attempt to set Eunapius' Histories in the context of Greek histories of the Roman Empire and to investigate more fully Eunapius' relationship to Dexippus.

It is difficult to find a Hellenistic example of regnal Weltgeschichte or of universal Zeitgeschichte, nor should such be expected since the Mediterranean world was still divided among various dynasties and the history of the whole of it could not easily be viewed from the vantage point of one succession of kings.<sup>613</sup> Certainly Greek intellectuals began to focus their attention on kingship from the time of Philip and especially after Alexander the Great. Philosophers produced a plethora of tracts περὶ βασιλείας and historians also participated although much of their attention was directed to the antique past and foreign peoples. The Dionysius who is known from Diogenes Laertius (VIII, 167) compiled a work Περὶ ἀρχαίων βασιλείων. It is thought that Dynastienreihen were an important element in the first

known Weltchronik, the one which underlies Diodorus Siculus. Its author was interested not just in the long established monarchies of Sparta and Argos, but also in the kings of such places as Pontus and the Bosphorus.<sup>614</sup>

Yet it is not until the early Augustan period, when the oecumene was ruled by one people in the person of their autocrat, that the first plausible example of a regnal Weltgeschichte appears, Timagenes of Alexandria's Περὶ βασιλέων. Timagenes came to Rome as a prisoner of war in 55 B.C. and died about 10-20 B.C.<sup>615</sup> Hence he was active in Roman court and intellectual circles - although he eventually fell from favour - at the same time as Cornelius Nepos (c.94 - c.24 B.C.) was writing his de regibus exterarum gentium and de regibus Romanorum. Despite the fact that only fragments of his history remain,<sup>616</sup> the general character and outline of the work can be recovered from Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus.<sup>617</sup> It has long been established that Trogus' main source was Timagenes, although it would be wrong to deny that Trogus used other sources or had any influence on the shape of his own history.<sup>618</sup> Most probably Timagenes' World History was composed as eine gesonderte Durchführung der Geschichte der Dynastien der einzelnen Stämme und Länder.<sup>619</sup> The originality of this treatment has rightly been remarked upon.<sup>620</sup>

Timagenes was an Atticist in the manner of Caecilius of Calacte and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The strong rhetorical flavour of his history shows up in such things as his attempt to rationalize myths (e.g. Justin II,6,7; IV,1,8-13; 17; XLIV,3,1 and 4,16).<sup>621</sup> In common with other Greek historians, Timagenes was greatly interested in topics like geography and ethnography and hence there is no need to postulate a separate work on Gaul.<sup>622</sup> His influence on subsequent historians was considerable, although perhaps more with regard to content than form. Quintilian speaks of Timagenes as having reparavit industriam historiarum scribendi after there has

been a long intermission (Inst. 10,1,75). There has been much debate about Livy's use of him.<sup>625</sup> No direct effect upon Eunapius can be proved (Eunapius might have consulted him in his researches on the origin of the Huns [fr. 41]), but he was still read and prized in the late fourth century. Ammianus derived much of his geographical information from Timagenes, even naming him as the source of his digression on the origin of the Gauls (XV,9,2-8).<sup>624</sup>

Yet Timagenes appears to have had no close imitators and the search for Eunapius' historiographical context must resume in the Middle Empire. Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of Hadrian, wrote a Geschichtschronik covering the period from the first to the 229<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (137-140 A.D.). He did not use the Olympiads merely for chronology, but recorded the games and the victors as well.<sup>625</sup>

A much more considerable figure is A. Claudius Charax of Pergamon (Jacoby no. 103).<sup>626</sup> He evidently lived up to the Polybian doctrine (III,4,3) that an historian should be a man of affairs, for an inscription discovered at Pergamon outlines an impressive career which culminated in the consulate in 147.<sup>627</sup> A member of the wealthy upper classes at Pergamon, he is known to have endowed the propylon of the Asclepiodoton. The Suda calls Charax a priest and a philosopher; he may be the philosopher Charax to whom Marcus Aurelius alludes in his Meditations (VIII,25,1-3).

Unfortunately for the present purpose, less is known about his literary works than about his career. His major effort was a World History in forty books. It is clear from the fragments that the Greek mythical period occupied the first ten books and that early Roman history began in the twelfth book. Like the inscriptions to Dexippus (Jacoby no. 100, T4) and to Asinius Quadratus (Jacoby no. 97, T2), the inscription which the people

of Patras set up to Charax at Pergamon gives prominence to his being an historian. Indeed, Christian Habicht feels that Patras is honouring Charax for his history and uses this as evidence that the history was divided into parts, in one of which either the citizens of Patras or the Achaeans as a whole were praised.<sup>628</sup> This may seem rather too much to infer from the inscription, but Jacoby thinks that Charax wrote in the same way as Ephorus, nach lokalen Gesichtspunkten.<sup>629</sup> At least this would appear to hold true for F. 1 to 10. However, there is no hint that within the topographical framework the structure was determined by the reigns of kings and emperors (the history was probably carried up to his own time).

Appian, who enjoyed a career in the imperial service and the friendship of Fronto, wrote the twenty-four books of his *Ῥωμαϊκὰ* during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161), probably about 160. Like Ephorus whom he took for his model, Appian put together separate accounts of various peoples, each with its own title. This topographical arrangement is chronological in that from Book IV on the peoples are treated in the order in which they came into conflict with Rome. The section on the Civil Wars (XIII-XVII) is built on the basis of the generals and their struggles.<sup>630</sup>

Flavius Arrianus (c.95-175) was a contemporary of Appian who had a distinguished imperial career and was in Leben und Schriftstellerei ein treues Abbild des Xenophon.<sup>631</sup> His historical writings were concerned mainly with Alexander and his Successors and only one had contemporary content, a history of Parthia in seventeen books which went as far as Trajan's Parthian war. Arrian was, of course, an Atticist, but while his ethos is that of Xenophon, he could follow Herodotus or Thucydides more closely in particulars.

Philippus of Pergamon (Jacoby no. 95) composed a Universal History

probably about 160/65 A.D., but nothing seems to be known about him or about it.

Chryserus (Jacoby no. 96) was a freedman of Marcus Aurelius who wrote an epitome of Roman history from the founding of the City until the death of his patron in 180. Jacoby thinks that such Rome-centred epitomes of universal history must have been quite common from the Hadrianic period onwards and that Asinius Quadratus would have had Greek predecessors like Chryserus. His work should not be described as annals.

Cassius Dio (c.163-4 to c.230) was the last Greek to write a full history of Rome.<sup>632</sup> This massive treatment in eighty books was carried up to the time of writing, for it is known to have reached the year 229. The structure, like that of Ammianus' History, is best described as mixed. Dio divided his work into eight decades and attempted to end each at a major turning point. All these breaks cannot be divined because of the fragmentary state of much of the text, but Book 41, for instance, begins at New Year 49 B.C. when the civil war between Caesar and Pompey began. Within the decade structure, the History is in principle annalistic although Dio's practice of giving the consuls of each year appears to end with the first century A.D. and the chronology is often loose. During the imperial period, Dio introduces and concludes each reign with an assessment of the emperor's character and government. The case of Claudius may be offered as an example (60,3,1) and the comparison with Ammianus suggests itself immediately (e.g. on Julian at XVI,1 and XXV,4). In his style, Dio chiefly imitated Thucydides, but he is also influenced by Demosthenes' speeches and he has to admit some Latinisms.

Asinius Quadratus (Jacoby no. 97) was a contemporary of Cassius Dio. Taking Herodotus as his model, Asinius wrote his *Χιλιετηρίς* in fifteen books in the Ionic dialect; both stylistically and materially, his historical

writing has nothing in common with Eunapius. This chronicle started with the founding of Rome and terminated with the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235).<sup>633</sup> Jacoby suggests that it was an epitome of Dio: this is possible since Asinius composed his history on the occasion of the millennial games to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome.<sup>634</sup> The quotation from Asinius in Dio (Xiph.) 73,3,3 is now thought to have been added by Xiphilinus and hence does not bear upon the date of either work.<sup>635</sup> Although it was an epitome, it did not lack all embellishments, for Asinius found room to speculate on the etymology of the name Ravenna (Zosimus, V,27,1). Thus the *Χιλιετηρίς* must have retained some popularity in later centuries even if Zosimus is more likely to owe his knowledge of Asinius to Olympiodorus than to autopsy (see Mendelssohn ad loc.). Asinius also wrote a *Παρθικά* in no fewer than nine books which would have been a continuation of Arrian and have treated both the Parthian war of his own time and that of Verus in some detail.

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Herodian is the first historian who can be shown to bear directly upon Eunapius. His influence is largely restricted to form and style since the periods covered by their histories do not overlap; Herodian goes from the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 to the accession of Gordian III in 238. Herodian may have chosen 180 because he saw himself as the continuator of Chryserus, but given the differences between Herodian's History and the earlier epitome and, more important, the natural suitability of Herodian's starting point,<sup>636</sup> this is not very likely.

The dates of Herodian's life cannot be established with exactitude, but the period covered by his history lies within them (I,2,5). On the basis of the content being favourable to Philip the Arab, but not to

Gordian III, C. R. Whittaker is able to argue that Herodian, like Asinius Quadratus, was making a contribution to the millennial celebrations of 248.<sup>637</sup> Herodian claims to have had 'imperial and public service' (I,2,5), yet nothing definite is known about his social status or career. The circumstantial evidence leads Whittaker to make the plausible suggestion that Herodian was a minor equestrian civil servant, probably an apparitor.<sup>638</sup>

Although Eunapius nowhere cites Herodian by name, G. Giangrande has demonstrated that Eunapius was familiar with him. Although Giangrande confines his study to the Lives of the Sophists, it will be instructive to repeat a few of his examples here. Indeed, the very beginning of the Lives is a (modified) echo of what Herodian says about Marcus Aurelius being the only emperor who displayed his philosophy in deeds rather than in words (I,2,4). According to Eunapius, Xenophon was the only philosopher who 'adorned philosophy not only with words but with deeds as well' (453).<sup>639</sup>

The word  $\xi\psi\eta\psi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  which properly belongs to Homeric and tragic style is significant. Its use as a noun is only attested in Herodian (VII,10,7) and in Eunapius (464).<sup>640</sup> Similarly, the rare usage of the word  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  as a substantive adjective is found in both Herodian (VII,2,3) and Eunapius (498).<sup>641</sup> The use of the adjective  $\beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$  to mean 'ample' is apparently confined to Herodian on Severus (II,14,3) and Eunapius on Julian (474).<sup>642</sup> A more interesting passage is the description of Prohaeresius' endurance during the Gallic winter (492). This is clearly modelled upon Plato's famous account of Socrates' walking barefoot in the snow (Sympos. 220 A), but the theme of the ascetic drinking freezing river water is not found in the Platonic passage. However, a closely similar motif occurs in a part of Herodian where Septimius Severus praises the fortitude of his troops on the Danube frontier (II,10,5), and it is clear that Eunapius has added

some colour from Herodian to the Platonic scene. Giangrande goes so far as to suggest that Eunapius was drawn to the Platonic passage by his reading of Herodian.<sup>643</sup> In general, Eunapius and Herodian write the same kind of rhetorical Attic. Herodian tries to imitate Thucydides, but only in diction and even here he is not thoroughly consistent.<sup>644</sup> The example of Thucydides may have caused Herodian to write in eight books.

Eunapius may be indebted to Herodian for more than vocabulary and rhetorical figures. In the proem to the Histories, Eunapius says that events are recorded as happening during the reign of this or that emperor, but he deprecates exact annalistic dating (cf. Chpt. XII). Herodian is the prime example of regnal history before Eunapius and his chronological practice is similar, too. This method of writing history was popular in the fourth and fifth centuries (cf. Chpt. XII) and direct inspiration cannot be proved, but Eunapius was familiar with Herodian and he is the most likely candidate to have been Eunapius' structural model.

Herodian's statement of his general method is almost identical to Eunapius': *ὡς δ' ἕκαστα τούτων πέπρακται, κατὰ χρόνους καὶ δυναστείας διηγήσομαι* (I,1,6). This is repeated later when Herodian says that his aim is to *πράξεις πολλῶν βασιλέων συντάξαντι γράψαι* and that in accordance with this he will 'narrate only the most important and conclusive of Severus' actions separately, in chronological order' (II,15,7). Unlike Eunapius, Herodian does not feel the need to produce a long defence of his chronological theory although his practice is similar. Dates are usually indicated by vague phrases, but are not always inaccurate. The fall of Perennis is given correctly and Herodian has mastered the complicated chronology of the year 238.<sup>645</sup>

The recapitulations at the beginning of each new book of the History demonstrate Herodian's regnal viewpoint, for where possible he apportions one book to each emperor. A brief summary of the content of each book, derived from these recapitulations, will make this clear:

- Book I      the reign of Commodus  
 Book II     the death of Pertinax, the overthrow of Julianus, the arrival of Severus in Rome and his departure against Niger  
  
 Book III    the reign of Severus  
 Book IV    the reign of Caracalla  
 Book V     the reign of Elagabalus  
 Book VI    the reign of Alexander Severus  
 Book VII   the reign of Maximinus until his arrival in Italy  
 Book VIII Maximinus, Maximus and Balbinus, and the accession of Gordian III.

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Before dealing with Dexippus, three lost historians deserve a brief mention. Nicostratus of Trapezus (Jacoby no. 98) who lived in the second half of the third century is known only from a testimonial in Evagrius (H.E. V,24). He wrote a contemporary Zeitgeschichte from the time of Philip the Arab (244) until, Jacoby thinks, Odaenathus' elevation to Augustus of the east.

Ephorus the Younger of Cyme (Jacoby no. 212) is only attested by an entry in the Suda which says that he produced a mixture of contemporary and antiquarian history: *Κορινθιακά*, *Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρῶν*, and a history of the reign of Gallienus (255-268) in twenty-seven books.

Philostratus of Athens (Jacoby no. 99) is another contemporary of Dexippus and Nicostratus. He wrote a Zeitgeschichte dealing with Sapor's

invasion of Syria, the burning of Antioch, and the victory of Odaenathus. The history went on to cover the reign of Aurelian (270-275) and his campaign against Palmyra. None of these is known to have treated a period of comparable length to Eunapius'.

P. Herennius Dexippus (Jacoby no. 100) is of great importance for understanding the context of Eunapius' Histories. Not only is Dexippus the one major 'modern' historian whom Eunapius cites by name (cf. frr. 1 and 8 and Lives 457), he gives a detailed discussion of Dexippus' methodology (fr. 1) and was consciously acting as his continuator (frr. 1 and 8). Dexippus was born c. 200/205 into a well-established Athenian family which had first attained to high civic offices in the previous generation. His own civic career - for he and his family eschewed imperial service - culminated in the eponymous archonship;<sup>646</sup> more spectacularly, under his leadership the local citizenry drove off a marauding band of Heruls during the invasion of 267/8 (F. 28).<sup>647</sup>

In his historical writing also, Dexippus, a rhetor by profession, was a man of many parts. He produced a major work in each of the three main areas in which pagan historiography of the second and third centuries exercised itself.<sup>648</sup> The first was a Hellenistic history in four books, Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον, which is of no further concern here. The second was the substantial Chronica in twelve books which Eunapius continued. From Eunapius' description, it is known that it was annalistic and treated the period from the mythical age to the death of Claudius Gothicus in 270. The third was the Scythica, a more detailed and rhetorical account of the Gothic invasions which went from perhaps the year 238<sup>649</sup> until at least the reign of Aurelian (F. 6-7).

Why did Eunapius choose to continue Dexippus' Chronica? A search through Jacoby and Christ-Schmid-Stählin reveals no Universal History or

long Zeitgeschichte of the type written by Eunapius which covered the period after 270 (except for Eusebius [Jacoby no. 101] who went to 283). There were two laudatory monographs on Constantine the Great by Praxagoras of Athens (Jacoby no. 219) and Bemarchius of Caesarea (Jacoby no. 220), and one on Constans by Eustochius of Cappadocia (PLRE no. 2), but these can have made little appeal to Eunapius. Similarly the Christian Eusebius may be left out of the reckoning. The six historians whom Jacoby extracts from the Historia Augusta are now regarded as fictitious.<sup>650</sup>

There are two possible candidates for continuation. The first is the Eusebius (Jacoby no. 101) who wrote under Diocletian at the latest; he is not to be identified with any other Eusebius, especially not with the author of the Γαινίας. If, as seems likely, Eusebius wrote his history in nine books, it can scarcely have gone beyond Carus and will thus have finished in 283. Only two fragments survive, one dealing with the siege of Thessalonica (267 A.D.) and the other describing the construction of a fire arrow. The only testimonial is a brief sketch by Eustathius of Epiphaneia preserved in Evagrius (V,24): καὶ Εὐσεβίος δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀκταβιανοῦ καὶ Τραϊανῶν καὶ Μάρκου λαβῶν ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Κάρου κατήντησε.

The best discussion of the possible contents and characteristics of Eusebius' work is by Alfred von Gutschmid.<sup>651</sup> He interprets the passage from Evagrius cited above to mean that Book I began with Octavian, Book II with Trajan, and Book III with Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius must have begun his detailed treatment with Marcus and have abbreviated the earlier period. In this way he may have been similar to Eunapius, but he adopted the Ionic dialect like Asinius Quadratus before him and imitated Herodotus not only in diction but in manner as well. While period may be more important than form to a continuator, Eunapius could hardly be expected

to have associated himself with an Herodotean when the Attic Dexippus was available. Photius (cod. 82) remarks upon Dexippus' imitation of Thucydides (whom Eunapius praises in fr. 1), and F. J. Stein has shown that Dexippus follows Thucydides in vocabulary, style, and maxime autem in electione argumentorum.<sup>652</sup> It is worthwhile to note in passing that despite the Thucydidean reminiscences, the historicity of Dexippus' account of the siege of Philippopolis has been vindicated.<sup>653</sup>

The second candidate is the Neoplatonic philosopher, Porphyry (Jacoby no. 260), who compiled a chronicle from 1184/3 (?) to 270 A.D., thus continuing - or perhaps imitating - the work of his own teacher, Cassius Longinus (Jacoby no. 259). Porphyry is the first philosopher whom Eunapius discusses at length in the Lives (456 f.), but although Eunapius emphasizes the polymathic nature of his intellectual endeavours, he does not specifically mention a history or a chronicle. (Porphyry did assemble a list of the Successor Kings and their chief deeds.) The chronicle was not tabellenform, for the text was too comprehensive for that. Rather it appears to have been a book Περὶ χρόνων, similar to the work of Eusebius in which the surviving excerpts are found. In any case it is sufficiently different from Eunapius' Histories that he could not have considered himself its continuator.

Thus by a process of elimination (albeit with a large ex silentio component), Dexippus is left as the only suitable candidate in terms of type, style, and period. Eunapius might, in any case, have chosen Dexippus for the sheer quality of his historical treatment: despite their different approaches to chronology, Eunapius is fulsome in his praise and this has been echoed in modern times.<sup>654</sup> In the fifth century Priscus still thought him worthy of imitation (below p. 272 ).

At this point it is necessary to deal with the recent contention of R. C. Blockley that Dexippus' Chronica was not a proper history, but only a chronicle. His case - to which the citation of Millar's article on Dexippus offers no support<sup>655</sup> - is based in the first instance upon a superficial interpretation of Eunapius and Photius and a neglect of the fragments.<sup>656</sup> Jacoby rightly declared that Dexippus wrote ein geschichtswerk, keine chronik.<sup>657</sup>

First some evidence from the fragments. F. 3 is a digression on the change of the place-name Epidamnus to Dyrrachium; F. 5 is a digression on the etymology of the place-name Ἐλευρος. Such excursuses are characteristic of rhetorical histories (cf. Herodian I,16,2 on the derivation of 'Latium'). F. 12 on the various world empires is rather too eloquent for a chronicle, and F. 22 has the detail expected from a history. Both Jacoby<sup>658</sup> and Blockley<sup>659</sup> interpret Eunapius' statement in fr. 1 to mean that Dexippus included a table of Olympiads and archons for the convenience of his readers. This would surely have been superfluous if the Chronica had been in tabular form, or even starkly abbreviated.

As for Photius (cod. 82), his statement that the Chronica treated the principal deeds of the emperors is not sufficiently precise to advance Blockley's thesis; especially since it bears comparison with what Herodian says about his handling of Septimius Severus (II,15,7 and above p.260). Photius' assessment of Dexippus' style is applied to all three of his works and does not make a distinction in kind, only in degree (μελιστός). It is surely significant that the Scythica is distinguished from both the Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον and the Chronica which would thus appear to have been stylistically equivalent. There is no suggestion that the Hellenistic history was written in synoptic form.

Eunapius' evidence is strongly in favour of history as opposed to

chronicle. In the Lives, Eunapius says that Dexippus was the author of a χρονική ἱστορία and a man of great learning and eloquence (457).<sup>660</sup> In fr. 1, Eunapius refers to Dexippus' work as χρονική ἱστορία and simply ἱστορία. Moreover, the inscription which his sons erected to Dexippus (T4) uses the term ἱστορίη throughout.

When Eunapius says that the Chronica was remarkable for its ἱστορικὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀληθεστέραν, this suggests that there was some discussion of the evidence, especially since Eunapius later draws attention to Dexippus' skilful combination of many sources. Eunapius thought that the proem was a thing of beauty, and the body of the work was not scanty since he says that Dexippus included everything which was of general interest as well as the noteworthy deeds of individuals. Eunapius would not have passed this judgement lightly, given his own strong views on the necessity for completeness (e.g. at Lives 454). Dexippus was unable to treat a thousand years or more of history in equal detail in twelve books and economies were made in the earliest periods. The reader was left to his own critical faculties and much dubious material was simply omitted: τὸ μὲν μυθῶδες καὶ λίαν ἀρχαίων ἀφαιρεῖ. Millar's suggestion that Dexippus gave the fullest treatment to the third century is plausible (cf. Eusebius, above p. 263).<sup>661</sup>

Blockley's article requires correction on two further points. On page 712 he says: 'But Eunapius also implies that, apart from the matter of chronology, he is using Dexippus as a model, which causes difficulty, since the characteristics of the major part of Eunapius' history are not those of the Chronica.' Eunapius nowhere 'implies' that Dexippus' Chronica is his 'model'; his closest discernable model is Herodian (above, p. 258 ff.). Eunapius' criticisms of Dexippus' chronological methods and his own strong

advocacy of the didactic purpose of history are so basic as to prove that Dexippus is neither structurally nor ethically his model (fr. 1). Blockley's general assumption that continuation implies imitation is dangerous and unwarranted: Olympiodorus continues Eunapius, but his history is strikingly different in style, structure, and focus (see below). Blockley's phrase 'secular historiography' (pp. 711 and 713) contributes nothing positive to the discussion since it ignores the different types of historical composition and is meaningless in its generality.

The attempt to prove that the Scythica was Eunapius' model for Book II and following is equally ill-conceived. This is apart from the fact that Blockley has inherited the error of thinking that Book I covered the whole period from 270 to 355 (cf. Chpt. XII). The Scythica is neither Universal History nor Zeitgeschichte: it is a Kriegsmonographie of limited and eastern compass,<sup>662</sup> in the long tradition of such works as the Παρθικά of Asinius Quadratus and many others.<sup>663</sup>

Secondly, Blockley thinks that fr. 1 of Eunapius applies only to 'Book I' and that the proem to 'Book II' (fr. 8) announces a change of model from the Chronica to the Scythica.<sup>664</sup> Eunapius did not imitate the Chronica and the Scythica was also unsuitable, as has been pointed out above. Moreover, Eunapius offers no indication that the proem which stands before 'Book I' applies only to 'Book I' and surely it expresses the idea which Eunapius has of his whole history. Fr. 8 offers no support to Blockley, for it begins with a one sentence recapitulation in the exact manner of Herodian and then launches into Julian, whose advent and importance have already been announced in fr. 1. Blockley cites no analogies from other histories and it is doubtful that any exist.

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Eunapius' continuator, Olympiodorus, was born in the Egyptian Thebaid

about the year 380.<sup>665</sup> He differs from the typical historians of the fourth and earlier centuries in two important respects. First, he was by profession a poet (Photius cod. 80), one of the large number to emerge from Egypt in the fifth century as public and political figures and imperial servants.<sup>666</sup> It is noteworthy that despite the evidence of learned digressions and brilliant displays (e.g. fr. 24 on the marriage of Galla Placidia), no trace of any formal speeches survives. Secondly, he made his career in the imperial civil service unlike (presumably) Eunapius and Dexippus who remained civic figures. Best captured in the phrase 'Byzantine diplomat'<sup>667</sup> he first appears in his History in 412 on an embassy to the Hun king, Donatus (fr. 18). It is not surprising that a man in the mould of Claudian and Ammianus should have written a history of the west, similar in many respects to the Antiochene's.<sup>668</sup>

Before proceeding farther, it is necessary to establish that Olympiodorus was in fact continuing Eunapius' Histories. Olympiodorus never cites Eunapius by name and no parallels have been detected - nor would they be expected to shine through the epitome of Photius. The most serious aspect of the problem is the fact that Eunapius' Histories ended in 404 (Photius cod. 77) and Olympiodorus began his in 407 (Photius cod. 80). The great dissimilarity in their works while not an argument against continuation is certainly not an argument in favour. Zosimus' switch to Olympiodorus after Eunapius ends is some indication, but a weak one. There is no reason why Zosimus should not have done as the compiler of the (whole) Origo Gentis Romanae did and simply have stuck end to end three convenient accounts and so have produced his heterogeneous survey of Roman history.<sup>669</sup>

The argument from probability is valid. Eunapius wrote the canonical pagan Greek history of the fourth century and its popularity during later

centuries is shown in its use by Petrus Patricius, John of Antioch, Zosimus, and even the church historians Sozomen and Philostorgius (above, Chpt.IX). It is hard to believe that a man of Olympiodorus' erudition (and paganism [cf. Photius cod. 80]) would not have read Eunapius as well as Asinius Quadratus (Zosimus, V,27,2).

However, the proof, like the difficulty, lies in Olympiodorus' starting point. In the most recent treatment of the problem, J. F. Matthews reverts to the theory of Reitemeier and Haedicke that Olympiodorus had an introductory section covering the years 405 and 406. This is indicated by Zosimus' mention of the invasion of Radagaisus in 405-6 (V,26,3 f. and VI,3,2) and Sozomen's recording the appointment of Jovius as praetorian prefect of Illyricum in 405 (IX,4,3. Cf. VII,25,3).<sup>670</sup> Thompson disagrees to the point of saying that while Olympiodorus refers to events before 407 when necessary, he 'does so in the course of his narrative'.<sup>671</sup> Thompson's solution is less satisfactory from the present point of view, but does not contradict the possibility of continuation.

Yet even though Olympiodorus has been shown to treat events from 405, this is still a far from happy situation. Olympiodorus dealt almost exclusively with western affairs and Eunapius is thought not to have carried his account of the western empire beyond 395.<sup>672</sup> Certainly Eunapius had great difficulty in obtaining information on western events for the period after 395 (fr. 74). A de facto gap of ten years between the two histories is an unacceptably long time. The answer lies in fr. 2 of Olympiodorus where Photius records that Olympiodorus narrated Stilicho's rise to power and in particular how Theodosius made him regent over both Arcadius and Honorius. This mythical<sup>673</sup> dual tutelage must be dated to the death of Theodosius in 395 and hence it is evident that Olympiodorus was continuing Eunapius' account of western events.

This is also quite suitable on the thematic level, for Stilicho, who was one of Olympiodorus' main concerns (eg. frr. 2-9), was certainly not among the least of Eunapius' preoccupations. Eunapius is particularly interested in the conflict between Stilicho and Rufinus and the deleterious effect which this had upon the concordia of the two halves of the empire (fr. 62). Concordia is one of the more important motifs in the political poetry of Claudian:<sup>674</sup> evidence that Eunapius was not isolated from contemporary imperial politics. Eunapius' desire to learn about Stilicho's activities is revealed again in the passage about the difficulty of obtaining information from the west in the time of Eutropius (fr. 74).

In structure and chronology, Olympiodorus' History was markedly different from Eunapius'. It treated the period from 407 (with flashbacks to 395) to 425 in twenty-two books, the second decade beginning in 412.<sup>675</sup> (It will have been published soon after the terminal date, probably early in 427 given the favourable opinion of Bonifatius [frr. 21,40, and 42].)<sup>676</sup> Clearly, Olympiodorus wrote in greater detail than Eunapius, even if the often tangential digressions occupied a quarter of the work.<sup>677</sup> Olympiodorus reverted to the annalistic form: the death of Stilicho is dated by the consuls of the year and the two succeeding years are given their consuls, too (Zosimus V,34,7; 42,3; VI,7,4). In at least the earlier books, the annalistic method was applied most rigorously to Italian affairs. Gaul and Spain were handled in independent digressions, often best understood by reference to the Italian narrative.<sup>678</sup>

Olympiodorus has left his mark even more clearly upon the style and content. He includes far more detail about himself than does Eunapius, for his experience on the embassy to Donatus (fr. 18), at Athens (fr. 28), at the Oasis (fr. 33), and in the remote parts of Upper Egypt (fr. 37) have no counterpart in Eunapius. Eunapius may have led a more sedentary life

than Olympiodorus, but this does not fully explain his reticence.

Haedicke considered that Olympiodorus was really writing memoirs or commentarii,<sup>679</sup> but this is to exaggerate, for the author's reminiscences are outweighed by long passages of political narrative (e.g. frr. 16-26) and Ammianus offered an excellent precedent for the inclusion of memoirs in history (e.g. XVIII,6 to XIX,8).

Stylistically, the History is quite heterogeneous. Photius agrees with Olympiodorus when he says that he did not write a proper history, but a *ἄλη συγγραφή*. This judgement appears to have been based mainly on the character of the diction which was not only rambling, but admitted much technical jargon, many Latinisms, and statistics on the income and expenditure of Roman senators (fr. 44).<sup>680</sup> Yet the History had the trappings - except perhaps speeches - of the rhetorical efforts of the preceding century: a great interest in geography (fr. 33), etymological digressions (e.g. fr. 7), antiquarianism (fr. 45), and physical and psychological sketches (fr. 23 on the 'tyrant' Constantius). Moreover the work was divided into books which Olympiodorus *προαμύσις πειράται κοσμεῖν* (Photius cod. 80). Olympiodorus has his idiosyncrasies, but he is still within the traditions of Greek historiography of the Roman empire.

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The next major historian of the fifth century - and the last to be dealt with here - is a rather more conventional version of Olympiodorus. A sophist by training, Priscus published letters and rhetorical exercises as well as his history (Suda s.v.). Like Olympiodorus, he was in the imperial service and may have started in one of the scrinia directed by the magister officiorum.<sup>681</sup> He first emerges as a member of Maximinus' embassy to Attila in 448 (fr. 8). In 452, he accompanied Maximinus to

Arabia and the Thebaid (frr. 20,21) and was soon after chosen by the magister officiorum, Euphemius, to be his assessor (fr. 26).

There is no proof that Priscus was consciously continuing Olympiodorus. The Suda says that he wrote ἱστορίαν Βυζαντιακῆν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἄτταλον ἐν βιβλίῳ ἧ'. This entry has been variously interpreted, but Mommsen most plausibly suggests: cum satis constet Priscum et ab Attila incepisse et maxime elaborasse in explicandis rebus regis.<sup>682</sup> The attempt by J. Kuranc to prove contamination in the gloss between Priscus' History and a putative monograph on Attalus the usurper carries little conviction.<sup>683</sup> The starting date of the work is not determinable, but Niebuhr's original conjecture of 433 is likely. None of the fragments refer to an incident which can be dated before then, and 433 is the first year of Attila's reign.<sup>684</sup> Gyula Moravcsik's theory that Priscus continued Zosimus from 410<sup>685</sup> is not tenable, for Priscus published soon after 476<sup>686</sup> and Zosimus wrote at the turn of the sixth century.<sup>687</sup> Priscus carried his History down to 473 since Photius (cod. 78) saw a manuscript in which the first part of Malchus' History was omitted, the rest serving as a continuation of Priscus from 474.<sup>688</sup>

The style no more suggests that Priscus was Olympiodorus' continuator than does his starting point. Thompson's list of Priscus' virtues and defects as an historian is a good illustration of the differences between them,<sup>689</sup> for despite Moravcsik's attempt to make Herodotus his model,<sup>690</sup> Priscus was an Atticist writing in the rhetorical style of the third and fourth centuries. In his description of the siege of Naissus by the Huns in 441 (fr. 1b), Priscus not only drew upon Thucydides, but also upon Dexippus' imitation of Thucydides in his account of the siege of Philippopolis (F. 27) - without necessarily losing any historical veracity.<sup>691</sup> In

addition, Priscus has a literary debt to Eunapius who was the first to suggest that the Huns might be identified with the βασιλῆες Σκύθαι in Herodotus (IV,20) (at Zosimus IV,20,3). The second example is Priscus' complaint that Theodosius II taxed so heavily that the senators were forced to sell τὸν κόσμον τῶν γυναικῶν ; the phrase is obviously borrowed from Eunapius' similar attack upon Theodosius I: ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικείος κόσμος (at Zosimus IV,32,3).<sup>692</sup>

These considerations of period and style (for what that is worth) make it difficult to see Priscus as the conscious continuator of Olympiodorus. It is unlikely that so idiosyncratic a work as Olympiodorus' would have found many disciples.

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Eunapius' Histories are to be viewed in a more immediate context than his Lives: their roots are not found in the Hellenistic period, for the closest model appears to be Herodian in the third century A.D. The Histories share the biographical bent of fourth century historiography which appears, for instance, in Socrates and to a lesser extent in Ammianus. This approach to history is consonant with Eunapius' literary predilections, given that his other known works are the Lives of the Sophists and the lives of Constantine and Julian. Finally, while it is true that Eunapius continued Dexippus and was in turn continued by Olympiodorus, there is a large element of faute de mieux in their choices and there is no reason to assume that the continuator was also the imitator.

PART IV

THE HISTORIAN

#### XIV Aspects of Eunapius' Historiography

Part IV is concerned with how Eunapius wrote history. His methods will be illustrated in the three following chapters by examining his treatment of Constantine, Julian, and Theodosius. This chapter serves as an introduction to these and will deal with what Eunapius says about the writing of history and with his sources. There is frequently a considerable difference between his protestations and his practices, for Eunapius writes with a definite pagan bias and his largely conventional historiographical statements often excuse or conceal what he actually does. This is true of his purposes in writing the Histories, for the two which he enunciates, the encomiastic and the didactic, were common to historians in his own day. These will be dealt with now. The third unstated, but major, purpose is a polemical one of which the best example is Eunapius' defamation of the Christian emperors. Chapters XV and XVII will demonstrate this clearly and it may be left aside here.

Photius' statement (cod. 77) that the Histories of Eunapius were an encomium on Julian the Apostate merely echoes what Eunapius says in the prefaces to his first and second parts. At the very end of the proem to Book I (fr. 1), Eunapius declares that all events centred upon Julian and that mankind revered him as if he were a god. In the proem to the Julianic books (fr. 8), he announces that the Histories, having covered the years between the end of Dexippus' work and the time of Julian, have now reached the point to which they have aimed from the beginning. Eunapius has been driven to write by his great love for Julian, itself stimulated by the great admiration for Julian which he sees in everyone around him. In such a situation, he could not keep silent, especially since many illustrious men, particularly Oribasius, would accuse him of impiety were he not to write about Julian. Moreover, Oribasius had given him his memoir. The

fragment ends with Eunapius saying that he could not be idle or put off the task of writing, even if he wished to.

Ammianus' account of Julian verges upon panegyric,<sup>693</sup> so that it should come as no surprise that a rhetorician like Eunapius falls into the same 'trap'. Ammianus begins by saying that the deeds of Julian in Gaul surpass many brave actions of the ancients and that even all his literary resources will be unequal to describing them (XVI,1,1,ff.). He confirms that he will tell only the facts: even so his account will almost be a panegyric [rather than a history]. The lex quaedam vitae melioris which attended Julian from the cradle to his death recalls to mind Eunapius' attributions of divinity to Julian in fragments 8 and 23. Julian is compared for his virtues to Titus, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius: praises for his administrative solicitude and ability follow in XVII, 3 and XVIII, 1.

This panegyric style of history was not confined to the pagans. Pre-eminently there is the Life of Constantine by Eusebius of Caesarea, and the same tone persists in the Church History. At the beginning of IX, 9, Constantine is described as the king of kings and the most pious of the pious. The final chapter of the History celebrates the victory of Constantine over Licinius and the arrival of another golden age. This did not, however, pass unnoticed, for in the preface to his own History, Socrates criticizes Eusebius for having put more effort into praising Constantine than into recording facts accurately. Nevertheless, Socrates himself lavishly celebrates the piety of Theodosius II (VII,42).

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Eunapius' didactic purpose finds expression in the Lives as well as in the Histories. Eunapius begins the Lives with a commendation of Xenophon: he was unique among philosophers 'in that he adorned philosophy

not only with words but with deeds as well' (453). Not only did he write of the moral virtues in discourses and historical commentaries, but he also excelled in action. (Here, Eunapius may echo what Herodian says about Marcus Aurelius at the beginning of his History [above, p. 259]). So sure is Eunapius of the importance of Xenophon's examples - he does not distinguish between the written and the actual - that he says that they created generals, even that Alexander would not have been 'the Great' without Xenophon. Whatever truth there is in this last claim, it does reveal the paradigmatic importance of historical examples to Eunapius.

Towards the end of the introduction (455), Eunapius asserts that he has done his best to present the truth and then gives his reasons for making this effort. He wishes to hand down the truth to future generations: both to those who want to hear thereof and to those who are able to follow the examples which he gives *πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον*. Here Eunapius is firmly in the didactic tradition of Greek historiography and echoes the statement of its most famous exponent, Thucydides (I,22). There is one more useful citation in the Lives. Although the praetorian prefect Salutius has now become old and slothful, 'in the reign of the emperor Julian he had perfected and adorned his own mind. ... And in fact in those days he thought only of nurturing and strengthening his mind by reading and by inquiry into the facts of history', (479).

In the Histories, the fullest statement of the didactic purpose is in the proem to Book I. In his argument against the necessity for detailed chronology, Eunapius says that the times in which they lived added nothing to the wisdom of Socrates or to the cleverness of Themistocles. These men were not *καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ* according to the summer, nor does a person shed virtues, like leaves, in the autumn. Eunapius may well have believed that his Histories could contribute to such qualities in his readers, but there

are two points which need to be made.<sup>694</sup> The first is that Eunapius takes advantage of his loose chronology to arrange events according to his own purposes: the best example is how he constructs his account of Constantine around the emperor's conversion to Christianity (see Chpt. XV). Secondly, Eunapius may really be attacking the Christian chronicle, although he does not deign to acknowledge its existence and prefers to hang his discussion on Dexippus.

Also in fr. 1 Eunapius says that superfluous details are a hindrance to learning what things ought to be avoided and what sought after. This same idea is expressed metaphorically: useless items, like foreign foods, spoil the useful and edible in history. He even criticizes Thucydides for concentrating on the quarrel over days in his discussion of the causes of the resumption of the Peloponnesian War (IV,22) rather than determining which side was in the right, for history should be not only didactic, but also moralistic. Later in fr. 75,1, Eunapius says that against his will, but for the sake of the truth, he will describe the awful disasters which befell Asia and he compares this to taking a draught of bitter medicine for the sake of one's health. Finally, Zosimus preserves the statement that it was a duty to tell how Athens was saved from Alaric's Goths because this was a work of the gods which ought to restore his readers to piety (V,6,1).

The Church historians also express a didactic purpose. Eusebius believes that his Life of Constantine will be useful because it describes royal and noble deeds which please God. Hopefully these examples will inspire the love of God in those who are capable of it, and in contrast to much other literature it should tend to the improvement of morals (I,x). In the Church History, it is his general intention to insert only those events which will be of benefit firstly to his own generation and secondly

to posterity (VIII,2). One of the reasons why Sozomen thinks it worthwhile to include the history of the monks in his Church History is that this will provide others with a model of the way by which they can achieve a blessed and happy end (I,1,19). In the case of the Christians, this is part of the wider belief that literature should be edifying.

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In both the Lives and the Histories, Eunapius makes a great deal of the necessity for truthfulness and addresses some of the problems which an historian faces in trying to tell the truth. By these largely conventional statements, Eunapius attempts to win the confidence of his reader and to justify the sort of historiographical practices which will be revealed in the following chapters. Some of these have already been seen in Chapter VIII.

In the Lives, Eunapius has several expressions of concern for the truth. He has attempted to write 'a continuous and definite [or better, "accurate"] account of the lives of the most celebrated philosophers and rhetoricians ...' (454). Despite his great admiration for Prohaeresius, Eunapius affirms that he will not stray from the truth in speaking of him, and reinforces his claim by citing Plato's axiom (Laws 730B) that both for gods and men truth is the guide to all that is good (486). In a similar fashion, Eunapius says that he will not show favouritism to Chrysanthius since he honoured the truth and taught his pupil the importance of this, but the effect of these splendid sentiments is somewhat spoiled by Eunapius' closing words. He and Chrysanthius struck a bargain whereby Eunapius might moderate his statements and say less than the truth (500). This somewhat puerile admission does cast doubts upon Eunapius' reliability as an historian.

Eunapius makes his most specific and fullest declaration in the proem

to Book I and it is worth quoting in full: ὅτι τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ σκοπὸς ἀρίστος τὰ πραχθέντα ὅτι μάλιστα δίχα τινὰ πάθους εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀναφέροντα γράφειν. Again in the proem, he remarks that Thucydides is the most accurate of historians and that he himself has written a trustworthy account following the example of the most learned men of his age. Deprecating any attempt on his part to engage in a sophistic and puerile contest with Julian's own monograph on his Gallic war, Eunapius says that he will deal briefly with the events in order to maintain continuity and make his record conform to the standards of historical accuracy (fr. 9). Although he is willing to excuse the lapses of historians of former times, he demands that contemporary happenings be told truthfully and cites Plato as a supporter (fr. 28).

In fragment 73, Eunapius disapproves of those historians who, although exact about dates, yet for the sake of their own safety slant their work either to praise or to blame. Eunapius claims that he has never done this, but always gone straight for the truth. This is one of the more conventional complaints of ancient historiography, most familiar from Tacitus (Annales I,1), and Herodian, too, has a variation on this theme. He distinguishes himself from those historians who have exaggerated trivial events because they were opposed to a tyrant or wished to flatter an emperor, a city, or a private person (I,1,2). At one point, Ammianus had decided not to treat contemporary events for reasons such as those alleged by Eunapius. He was afraid both of the pericula ... veritati saepe contigua and of unreasonable critics who would take offence at his omitting small items of interest to them (XXVI,1,1). Yet it is necessary to distinguish between writing facts without bias and passing moral judgement upon them, which, as a didactic historian, Eunapius must do. In his proem, he chastises Thucydides for

failing to apportion the blame for the resumption of the Peloponnesian War.

Eunapius states that ideally an historian's treatment should be exhaustive and tell the whole truth. At the start of the Lives, he says that nothing will be concealed from his readers of either the written or the oral tradition; he is able to promise this because there have been very few writers on this subject (453). Towards the end of the introduction, he claims that he has tried to omit nothing, in silence or through envy, of what he has learned by reading, hearsay, or inquiring of men of his own time. So far as possible he has respected the truth and handed it down to future generations for their instruction and benefit (455). This is in fulfilment of his didactic purpose.

Eunapius says that he has done his best in the first part of the Histories not to omit any public act which has happened since the end of Dexippus' work and which has not yet been commemorated in a published book (fr. 1). Not satisfied with his solution of the origin of the Huns *κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς συγγραφῆς* (fr. 41), he undertook further researches. He is leaving in the older untrue accounts for the sake of the historical tradition, but he is subjoining the correct explanation for the sake of the truth. The retention of the older theories can also be seen as part of his attempt at completeness. One of these alternative explanations may survive in Sozomen (H.E. VI,37,2; cf. above, p. 168). Again Eunapius appears to be following convention. Arrian includes scurrilous stories about Alexander's death, not because they are worth believing or even recording, but so that he will not seem ignorant (Anabasis, VII,27,3). Eunapius compares the historian to the painter in that he must, if he is to draw a true portrait, include even such small details as the wrinkles on the face or the down on the

chin (fr. 57).

Eunapius, moreover, declares that it is immoral to keep silent. For if, as Xenophon says, 'even the playful moods of virtue are worth recording, then it would be absolutely impious to be silent about her serious aims' (453). Whatever Eunapius may feel about the value of recording the 'playful moods', the second part of the statement holds true for him. In fragment 75, he says that it would be unjust not to tell of the calamities which befell Asia just because they are unbelievable.

However, Eunapius feels that it is permissible to omit details if they hinder or are unworthy of his high-minded didactic aims. At the beginning of the introduction to the Lives, Eunapius announces that the aim of his 'narrative is not to write of the casual doings of distinguished men, but their main achievements' (453). Here Eunapius departs, in theory at least, from the practice of a biographer like Plutarch who feels that great deeds should be left to history; he will depict Alexander's character from τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα (Alex. I). Some of the following examples of omissions have been dealt with in Chapter VIII, but it is worthwhile collecting them here. Eunapius refuses to record certain marvellous tales about Iamblichus because they would spoil and dishonour his work (460). Two of Sosipatra's sons did not merit having their names recorded (470). Similarly he refuses to write down the names of the sham philosophers, or rather lawyers, of Sosipatra's school since he is eager to proceed to more worthy topics (471). Although he mentions the existence of a scandalous charge against Libanius in connection with his pupils, he does not write about it, for that would lower the tone of his work (495). (He

does succeed in casting sufficient aspersions on the moral character of Prohaeresius' rival [but cf. above, p. 104]]. The speeches of Diophantus, another rival of Prohaeresius, are not good enough to be quoted in the Lives (494). His inability to report fully the sufferings of Maximus of Ephesus during the reign of Valentinian and Valens is a rhetorical flourish to emphasize the plight of Maximus and need not be taken seriously in the present context (478).

In the proem to Book I of the Histories, Eunapius offers a coherent theory which reconciles the demands of completeness with the necessity for omission. Superfluous and irrelevant facts serve only to adulterate the useful food of history and render it unpalatable, thus hindering the fulfilment of the didactic purpose. In fragment 26, Eunapius refused to record other oracles about the death of Julian, for it would not be decorous to have them in a serious history. The last reference to omission in the Histories occurs in the same fragment. It is not characteristic of one who honours the truth to write down every little fact, but rather it is due to curiosity on the part of one who is prone to nonsense.

It is not surprising to find that Ammianus has similar views on historical veracity.<sup>695</sup> There is the same general concern for truth and the belief that it is necessary. As far as he was able to find it out, he has given a true record of events (XV,1,1). Despite the panegyric tone of his account of Julian, he has not written anything except the untrammelled facts (XVI,1,3). Constantius is severely criticized for lying about his prowess in his edicts and in the public records (XVI,12, 69-70). Once again, Ammianus affirms that his account is not exaggerated (XVIII,6,23).

He believes that an historian should aim for completeness, but that, for reasons similar to those of Eunapius, this is not always possible or desirable. Conciseness is only praiseworthy if it removes unnecessary verbiage and does not impair the understanding of the course of events (XV,1,1). An historian who knowingly passes over what has happened is no less deceitful than one who invents things which never occurred (XXIX,1,15). In answer to critics who complain that such items as the emperor's table talk, the visiting list of the city praetor, or the names of some tiny forts are excluded, Ammianus says that it is in accordance with the principles of history discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines assuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum (XXVI,1,1). Any attempt to include such small items would be like trying to count the atoms which fly through space. Ammianus begs his readers not to demand an accurate list of battle casualties because it is impossible to discover what they were. It is enough to describe the main points of events so long as the truth is not obscured by an untrue statement (XXXI,5,10).

Similar sentiments are voiced by Herodian in his critique of the poets and historians who have written lives of Severus (II,15,6-7). They have given detailed accounts of his marches, and have recorded his speeches, the omens which appeared, and have described the geography of each place. They have included battle plans and the number of soldiers who were killed on each side - this last point calls to mind Ammianus' comment about the difficulty of providing such information. Herodian, on the other hand, eschews such trivia and says that he will relate only the most important and decisive of Severus' deeds.<sup>696</sup> The Church historians also select their material carefully. Eusebius includes only those events which will benefit his readers (H.E. VIII,2) and Socrates only those which concern the Church (H.E. I,18).

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The way in which Eunapius handles his sources is one of the most significant aspects of the discussion of truthfulness and is ultimately of great importance in determining the historical value of his works. It is necessary to take into account not only his theoretical ideas on the use of source material, but also to classify and identify the actual sources. In the introduction to the Lives, Eunapius himself defines three of the main types of sources: hearsay, reading, and inquiry from men of his own time (455). To these must be added his own personal experience. These provide four convenient categories under which to discuss the source problems, firstly of the Lives and secondly of the Histories.

It is disturbing that in the Lives Eunapius tries to transfer to his sources all responsibility for giving a correct account. He says that he has read good and detailed commentaries and that he has followed those whom it was his duty to follow; he thus feels that he may criticize with the assurance of being right and, if he should err, that the blame will attach to his sources and not to himself (453). Even though Eunapius does not fail to be critical in the Lives, this statement reveals not only feelings of insecurity and immaturity in the writing of history, but also a basic flaw in his historical ethic.

Written sources are most important for the lives of those sophists who lived too long before Eunapius for him to have known them or their acquaintances. He attempted to find written accounts of such earlier Cynic philosophers as Musonius, Demetrius, and Menippus and, when he failed, he concluded that none existed and that their own works were a sufficient record of their lives. Eunapius defines the method of gleaning facts from a person's own books and then writing a biography from these using the example of Plutarch (454). The method is applied to Porphyry and information extracted from both his own writings and those of his teacher

Plotinus (456-7). Mention is made of researches into the life of the philosopher Eustathius, Constantius' sometime ambassador and the husband of Sosipatra (466). Eunapius had read Iamblichus' biography of Alypius and may have used it despite his dislike of it (460-1). Eunapius knew Himerius only through his writings (491) and he was familiar with both the letters and declamations of Libanius (496).

Another source in which Eunapius placed his trust was the stories which he heard from eye-witnesses. Chrysanthius was probably Eunapius' most important informant, although only a few tales are specifically attributed to him. Indeed, Eunapius says that Chrysanthius was responsible for the Lives being written because of the education and kindness which he gave (500), and it may be that many of the lives are seen through his eyes. He told Eunapius of a dream prophecy which convinced him of the wisdom of staying in Sardis and not going to court to join in Julian's pagan revival (477). According to Chrysanthius, the manners of Aedesius were sociable and democratic unlike those of his pupil Priscus (481). The story of Julian's defection from the logic of Eusebius to the theurgy of Maximus probably comes from Chrysanthius who assisted in teaching the future emperor (474-5).

Eunapius is justifiably very hesitant about including the story of Iamblichus' conjuring up the two water sprites, Eros and Anteros. He carefully points out that he heard it from Chrysanthius, the pupil of Aedesius who was the pupil of Iamblichus, but, even so, he considers it mere hearsay and mentions that none of the followers of Iamblichus had dared to write it down (459-60). There were more astonishing tales which he refused to record at all. Doubtless, Eunapius wishes to reassure the reader that he is not completely gullible and that he is honest and careful enough to give the reader the pedigree of a doubtful tale.

Tuscanus appears to have been Eunapius' most important source for the early career of Prohaeresius. Eunapius is aware of the value of first hand reporting and is careful to add confirmation to the story of Prohaeresius' defence of Julian and his fellow pupils by saying that Tuscanus was present (484). Eunapius is conscientious enough to inform the reader that Tuscanus could remember only the purport of the first part of Prohaeresius' speech, although he was able to quote the second proem. Later in his career, Prohaeresius was overcome by his rivals in Athens and forced into temporary exile. Tuscanus furnished Eunapius with a precise eye-witness report of this and of his triumphant return (488). Eunapius learned that Libanius had seldom attended the lectures of Diophantus at Athens from those who knew him intimately (495).

The term hearsay is used for those tales whose authorship and validity are uncertain, although it can also be applied to doubtful stories at second hand such as Iamblichus conjuring up the water sprites (459-60). Eunapius tells of another victory of Prohaeresius in a rhetorical contest staged by the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Anatolius. Since this happened many years before, he has been very cautious 'in his report of what he learned from hearsay' (491).

The most important source for the Lives is Eunapius' own experience and the reader is frequently reminded of the personal nature and content of this memoir. Large sections relate incidents and periods from Eunapius' life such as his arrival as a freshman at Athens (485) and the death of Chrysanthius (505). Eunapius imparts a quality of immediacy and authenticity to his work by frequently noting his part in some event or scene which he is describing. He had heard the hierophant of Greece prophesy the destruction of the temples and the extinction of his priestly office (475). He was present when the proconsul Festus was deprived of his office (481) and at the pagan sacrifices staged by the vicar of Asia,

Justus (503). The house of Julian the sophist at Athens seemed like a holy temple to him because of its cultural associations (483). Many of the sophists whose biographies he writes were known to him personally: he is able to give a vivid impression of his feelings upon seeing Maximus (473) and Prohaeresius (485) as well as the striking physical appearance of these men.

Eunapius had the same four types of sources for the Histories as for the Lives. Although only two of Eunapius' literary sources are known for certain, Oribasius and Julian, he does give quite a full explanation of his handling of such material. He nowhere attempts to shift the responsibility for accuracy onto his sources as he does in the Lives, and although he does say in the proem that he has followed the men of his age most renowned for their learning, it is as historiographical models and not as sources (fr. 1).

Since so little of Eunapius' history of the period before the reign of Julian survives, his sources must remain a matter for speculation<sup>697</sup> and it is only possible to indicate what might have been available to him. There were Eusebius' Life of Constantine and his Church History, the former of which appears to have been used by Libanius.<sup>698</sup> Philostratus of Athens (Jacoby no. 99) treated the reign of Aurelian and the other Eusebius (Jacoby no. 101 and above, p. 263) reached the year 283. Praxagoras of Athens (Jacoby no. 219) and Bearchius of Caesarea (Jacoby no. 220) wrote lives of Constantine, and Eustochius of Cappadocia (PLRE no. 2) a life of Constans. Although these monographs would have taken a very different viewpoint from Eunapius, he might have gleaned some information from them. Eunapius could have supplemented Oribasius' memoir on Julian's Persian expedition with the work of Magnus of Carrhae and Eutygianus of Cappadocia. Nicomachus Flavianus has been suggested as a major source for

the period 270 to 366, but given that nothing is known of his Annales, not even that they were concerned with contemporary history, this is not an attractive hypothesis.<sup>699</sup> Festus and Eutropius may have contributed something to Eunapius, but this is very doubtful and, in any case, their accounts are too meagre to have had much importance. Lastly, it appears that it was Ammianus who used Eunapius (above, pp. 179 ff.).

Faced with the particular problem of the origin of the Huns, he made a literature search in the attempt to find the solution (fr. 41). Eunapius carried his research at least as far as Herodotus, for he was the first to identify the Huns with the Royal Scyths (above, p. 273). After weighing the various accounts, he adopted the most satisfactory. It is not surprising that Eunapius should compile his history from several sources, at least on a particular point, for he understood how Dexippus had put together his history from a number of predecessors (fr. 1). His explanation of how he wrote the life of Porphyry from indications in his own works and those of Plotinus (456-7 and p. 45) is recalled in fragment 99 where he says that it is possible to reconstruct a person's whole life *ἐκ τῶν ἐναργῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβόλων τε καὶ σημείων.*

Since Eunapius was writing recent and contemporary history, he could not very well have been a mere copier of other historians. In fact, he tried to be original and seems to have eschewed what other writers had covered. Oribasius' memoir was not a polished history. For the period before the elevation of Julian, Eunapius wants to deal only with what prior historians have neglected, and he deprecates any attempt to compete with Julian's monograph on his wars against the Germans (frr. 1 and 9). Zosimus preserves Eunapius' remarks on the sufficiency of Julian's own works for the story of the German wars, and his treatment of events leading up to the battle of Argentoratum is much telescoped (III,2-3). This battle would have been the climax of Julian's monograph, and Zosimus reflects the already

abbreviated account which he would have found in Eunapius.

Eunapius must have found much of the written material unsatisfactory; although he included some of it, he evidently added a disclaimer. In fragment 78, he remarks that he has earlier related the ψάληναψον of drunken writers. Because of the secrecy of Gratian's court, the only information available was so mixed with rumour that it was impossible to extract the truth (fr. 57). This may refer only to verbal sources since written records are not specifically mentioned. In fragment 73, though, Eunapius voices a similar complaint against historians who not only slant their history towards praise or blame for the sake of their own safety, but also pander to the public taste and corrupt their works with wild rumours.

In contrast to his other written sources, he praises Oribasius and Julian. The Memoir of Oribasius was especially valuable, for not only was it accurate, but Oribasius knew Julian personally - which Eunapius admits that he did not - and he was present at those events which he related (fr. 8). W.R. Chalmers supports Eunapius' assessment of the value of Oribasius against that of E.A. Thompson who thinks that the Memoir cannot have been of fundamental value<sup>700</sup> and that of Seeck who thinks that it was composed a generation after the Persian expedition.<sup>701</sup>

Eunapius commends Julian's monograph on his campaigns in Gaul because of its literary excellence and because it gives a proper impression of the magnitude of the deeds (fr. 9). (Iamblichus' biography of Alypius failed to demonstrate the true greatness of its subject [460].) Julian wrote of his actions in several works, including a letter to Cyllenius correcting and reproving him for misrepresenting one of his campaigns (fr. 14,7). Zosimus preserves Eunapius' comments when he says that the best survey of Julian's exploits and the accomplishments of his administration was to be found in his speeches and letters (III,2,4), and when he says

that Julian's panegyric on Constantius gives an adequate appreciation of the Parthian wars of that emperor (III,8,2).

Fragment 74, in which Eunapius tells of his difficulty in procuring reliable information on happenings in the West, is important for several reasons. It reveals an interest in the West which is unusual in a Greek rhetorician of his Hellenic prejudices.<sup>702</sup> Even if the overwhelming difficulty of obtaining this information is exaggerated and used as a convenient means to avoid having to treat western events in detail, it still proves that an eastern Greek historian thought that he should include western affairs. His concern may well be sincere, for fragment 57 shows that he was interested in Gratian. Eunapius' real difficulty is believable given that Synesius had trouble getting news from the West in 402 (Ep. 109), and that Stilicho had forbidden all eastern shipping from using western ports by 408.<sup>703</sup>

Here Eunapius reveals that he utilized, or attempted to utilize, the testimony of witnesses such as merchants, soldiers and sailors. However, if there were any travellers or soldiers who knew anything about public events, their letters were always biased either to favour or to disfavour according to the pleasure of the correspondent. If Eunapius were able to collect three or four witnesses together, they would only quarrel among themselves over the details of the case with the result that it was impossible to unravel their tales and arrive at the truth. As for the merchants, they would only tell lies and talk of profit. Traders were conventionally regarded as unsatisfactory sources, at least for geographical information, because they were not trained observers and because they were actually untrustworthy.<sup>704</sup> These complaints do reflect the standard attitude of the educated elite towards the lower orders of society, and they are doubtless

overdrawn, but they do illustrate the sources of information available to, and some of the difficulties faced by, an historian of contemporary yet distant events. The sea voyage and the length of time required alone meant that the news which arrived was out of date and corrupted - as in a lengthy and protracted disease.

One should not forget that Eunapius was a contemporary and perhaps even a witness of much of what he wrote in the later books of the Histories. This would tend to lessen the importance of his sources, particularly with regard to his value judgements. Sardis was only a provincial capital, but it was not completely out of the way and it is valid to assume that Eunapius was vividly aware of whatever happened there. Eunapius would have been a student in Athens in 365 during Valens' stop in Sardis after his defeat of Procopius (Zosimus IV,8,3), but family and friends could have supplied him with the details. Zosimus records that the magister equitum et peditum Timasius whom Eunapius discusses (frr. 70 and 71) found his unsavoury henchman Bargus in Sardis (V,9,1). If the river had not been in flood, Gainas and Tribigildus would have sacked Sardis in 399 (V,18,5); Lydia was not so fortunate (V,13,4). The examples given above (pp. 46-8) of Eunapius' associations with provincial dignitaries show that he was well placed to know and appreciate the political situation in Lydia, if not of a wider region. It is this multiplicity of opportunities, especially in the later books, that makes any search for a single source and particularly a literary one, futile and unnecessary.

In his reliance on personal observation and the reports of witnesses, Eunapius is no different from the other historians of contemporary events. The best example is Ammianus who in his preface to Book XV says that he is recording what he saw himself or learned by questioning those who were

involved (XV,1,1). This claim is amply justified in his work and only a few examples need be cited here. Ammianus knew the eunuch Eutherius I during his retirement at Rome; Eutherius had been Julian's praepositus sacri cubiculi and no doubt Ammianus drew heavily upon his vigorous memory (XVI,7,4-8). A survivor of the battle of Adrianople told how Valens was burned to death in a house (XXXI,13,16). Ammianus relates his own adventures as a scout and during the siege of Amida (XVIII,6 - XIX,8). He was also familiar with public records and imperial edicts (XVI,12,69-70), and while he will have used written works, he was not dependent upon any single history.<sup>705</sup>

Similarly Herodian could have relied upon personal knowledge for much of what he wrote; he was present at the games of 192 and gives a detailed account of Commodus' proficiency with spear and arrow (I,15,4). He claims not to have included any second-hand information which he had not verified (I,1,3). He was familiar with earlier histories such as those written about Severus (II,15,6-7) and it is likely that he made some use of his elder contemporary, Cassius Dio,<sup>706</sup> but he had the ability to combine more than one source and was certainly not the slave of any one account. For the later books of his History, Socrates says that he writes either what he has seen himself or could learn from those who did see it; he had the same difficulty as Eunapius in trying to combine dissident accounts (VI, proem, 9-10). Even Libanius, who had no pretensions to being an historian, elicited information on Julian's Persian expedition from both the soldiery and his friends before composing Oration XVIII.<sup>707</sup>

With the foregoing in mind, it is time to assess Paschoud's hypothesis that an Historia adversus Christianos was the principle source of Eunapius' Histories. As Paschoud reconstructs it, this was a Latin history which covered the years from 305 to 410; it was a work of pagan propaganda prompted

by and composed immediately after the sack of Rome. Large claims are made for Ignotus, such as that he was also a principle source of Olympiodorus and that Augustine and Orosius wrote in reaction to him.<sup>708</sup> None of these can be sustained,<sup>709</sup> nor can the existence of Ignotus.

There is no evidence that Ignotus or the Historia did exist; no fragments, no citations, no inscriptions. All his characteristics are extracted from Greek histories, mostly from Zosimus. Secondly, a full-scale anti-Christian history in Latin like the one Paschoud imagines would be unique in the fourth century.<sup>710</sup> Western pagans did not attempt to compete with Christianity intellectually, least of all in the writing of history. This was left to eastern pagans like Eunapius (and later Zosimus) while western historians composed epitomes for the instruction of their Christian emperors. The only proper contemporary Latin history was by Ammianus Marcellinus, miles quondam et Graecus (XXXI,16,9), and it is not a work of religious propaganda. It is also worth asking, as Paschoud does not, how his Latin history could have found its way to Sardis and, even if it did, whether Eunapius would have been willing or able to make use of it.

Paschoud feels that the existence of a Latin source for Eunapius is proved by what Zosimus says about the death of Gratian (IV,35-6).<sup>711</sup> The pun on pontifex and Maximus would not have been beyond Eunapius' comprehension, but Paschoud accepts Sylburg's claim that there is a second and more recherché play on words which could only be made by a Latin speaker: that Gratian would stain a bridge with his blood (pontem sanguine inficere). This is too obscure to be convincing, especially since sanguine must be supplied. Moreover, this pun would do violence to a fact of history. Gratian was captured on a bridge, but he was put to death at a banquet sometime later.<sup>712</sup> Ignotus, being a westerner should have known the truth and he can have had no reason for distorting

it to fit such a pun, as Paschoud would have him do. Paschoud feels that Zosimus says that Gratian was killed on the bridge: *καταλαβών τε διαβαίνειν ἐθέλοντα ... γέφυραν , κατασφάξει* . This is a possible interpretation, but not a necessary one and it is probable that Zosimus has simply omitted the intervening events. He has almost certainly excised an anecdotal account of how Gratian was tricked by Andragathius, for versions of this survive in Socrates (V,11) and Sozomen (VII,13,8-9), the latter of whom retains the interval between capture and death. Sozomen is known to have used Eunapius (above, Chpt. IX) and it is not impossible that his account derives from the Histories.<sup>713</sup> A fictitious bride and love sick emperor make the type of story in which Eunapius delighted (cf. Theodosius' passion for Galla [IV,44,2 ff.]). If Sozomen's version does derive from Eunapius, this is confirmation that Zosimus cannot have meant that Gratian was slain on the bridge and hence his account of Gratian's death cannot prove the existence of Ignotus.

There are other arguments which may be brought to bear upon Paschoud insofar as he thinks that Eunapius depended upon an Historia adversus Christianos. The discussion of the first and second editions of the Histories in Chapter XII showed that Eunapius was writing long before the Historia could have reached him and that, if it ever did, it had no substantive effect upon his work. Eunapius ended his Histories deliberately in 404 and, while he alluded to the sack of Rome in order to score a point against Theodosius (IV,59,2), the mainspring of his Histories is Julian the Apostate, not the capture of the Eternal City.

Zosimus does have a good deal about the Roman state religion and its vicissitudes in the West,<sup>714</sup> but this does not require Eunapius to have had a major pagan Latin source. As a committed Neoplatonist and an historian of the Empire, Eunapius obviously had an interest in the state religion, but what Zosimus relates about it is sufficiently important and

public that Ignotus is superfluous. On the contrary, Eunapius' Histories were very much centred upon the eastern Empire. There is practically nothing at all about the West after 395, which is hard to explain if Eunapius employed a Latin source which was principally concerned with the year 410.<sup>715</sup> Even before 395, there is much less about the West than about the East. The late date for Constantine's conversion is eastern in character and long antedates Ignotus.<sup>716</sup> It has already been pointed out that very little is said about Valentinian in contrast to Valens (above, p. 251). No less significant are the deliberate distortions of historical fact, particularly with regard to Theodosius (see Chpt. XVII). It is very unlikely that a western historian writing for a western audience in 410 would have had the temerity to substitute an eclipse on the first day of the battle of the Frigidus for the bora on the second; certainly he would not have had Theodosius visit Rome and address the Senate in 394. An Historia adversus Christianos does not underlie Eunapius' Histories.

In what he says about the encomiastic and didactic purposes for writing history as well as about the necessity for truthfulness, Eunapius is similar not only to fellow pagans like Herodian and Ammianus, but also to the church historians. He is conventional, too, with respect both to his sources and to his expressed attitudes towards them. Eunapius had a good idea of how history should be written and he possessed most, if not all, of the sources which he needed; it is now necessary to discover what kind of historian he actually was.

## XV Constantine

Photius (cod. 77) declares that Eunapius abused Constantine the Great more than any other Christian emperor. This chapter will examine how. The main source is Zosimus, for there are no fragments from the Histories themselves and the Lives, while they offer several important pieces of information, do not furnish anything like a complete account. Constantine had lived long enough ago that Eunapius could afford to be more daring and less subtle in his defamation than in the case of a contemporary emperor like Theodosius, but at the same time he was more dependent upon literary tradition. The tradition which Eunapius followed is that of Julian the Apostate and hence Zosimus has left a valuable record of how the first Christian emperor was regarded by educated eastern pagans in the late fourth century.

Eunapius is principally concerned with Constantine's character and this is depicted as the dominant factor in his actions, including his conversion to Christianity and his reform of the Roman state. This is consistent with Eunapius' practice elsewhere in the Histories, for he almost invariably explains events in terms of the psychology of individuals. Here, the picture which emerges is that of the rhetorical tyrant of classical historiography most familiar from the Tiberius of Tacitus' Annals. Constantine's character is basically evil, a fact which is impressed upon the reader at the beginning of Zosimus' account. For some years, Constantine's true nature was prevented from expressing itself by external restraints, and, being like Tiberius a man of great if limited abilities, he enjoyed success in both barbarian and civil wars. Once he achieved sole rule, Constantine lapsed into naked tyranny, he ceased to win military victories, and in the opinion of the conservative spirits of his age, his misguided reforms of the Roman state were the cause of its decline.

Constantine is first introduced just after the mention of Diocletian's death (II,8,2). The scene is carefully set, for Diocletian is the last of the great pagan emperors (before Julian) and enjoys full approval. He left the empire as it would not be again (τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων εὖ διακελευμένων ) and the barbarian situation was especially good. Hence the decay in the prosperity and security of the empire can be laid to Constantine's charge: the difference between their respective methods of guarding the frontier against barbarian attack is clearly pointed out later (II,34,1).

The scene-setting extends to Constantine's character which must be established at the very beginning. Constantine's worst excesses only come after he has disposed of Licinius, and it is necessary to prevent the reader from gaining a good impression of this initially successful ruler. As is usual in defamation, Eunapius denigrates Constantine's parentage: Constantine was the issue of a union which was οὐ σεμνῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον (II,8,2). The choice of words is significant, for like produces like and impiety is one of Constantine's dominant characteristics. There is irony in the fact that Constantine was a bastard since he was later to place great emphasis on legitimacy with regard to the succession - enough, it has been thought, to have been the reason why he put Crispus to death.<sup>717</sup> Irony may be seen as well in the fact that Constantine's mother, Helena, held a place of high honour under her son's regime and was one of the great founders of churches of the period.<sup>718</sup> As such, Eunapius had no reason to be kind to the memory of her early years. Yet this is not fabrication, for Helena began public life as a servant in an inn (the legal equivalent of a prostitute),<sup>719</sup> and was the concubine of Constantius I about the year 280.<sup>720</sup>

The other important characteristic which Zosimus emphasizes in this

chapter is Constantine's ambition to rule the empire. The language which Zosimus uses - and which he took over from Eunapius - is predictably strong and highly coloured (e.g. ἐπιθυμία and ἔρως ), and Constantine's desire is said to have been heightened by feelings of envy for Severus and Maximinus and to have been plainly evident to many people. These last two points have a specious verisimilitude that may owe more to Eunapius and the anti-Constantinian tradition than to history, yet the facts of history leave no doubt that Constantine was ambitious. Eunapius has obviously taken the pejorative interpretation in saying that Constantine went to join his father on his own initiative, but this was the usual pagan version (cf. Aurelius Victor 40,2, and the Epitome, 41,2). According to Lactantius (Mort. 24; cf. Anon. Val. 2-4) Constantius I had summoned his son. Given the difficulty in ascertaining the truth in such a matter, it is unlikely that either the Christian or the pagan writers can have known what really happened and both have chosen as would be expected. The chapter ends with Constantine's flight to the West. This is one of those dramatic and precise episodes which were a common feature of Eunapius' Histories. Here the main detail is how Constantine disabled the horses of the public post so that his pursuers could not catch him. Neither Eunapius nor the pagan tradition has invented this item, for it is also found in Lactantius (Mort. 24).<sup>721</sup>

Chapter 9 continues the denigration of Constantine's parentage, but more effectively than heretofore since it is done through the mouths of the army and Maxentius. One of the reasons why the soldiers proclaimed Constantine Augustus was because they felt that none of Constantius' legitimate heirs was fit to rule, thus indirectly confirming Constantine's bastard status. For his part, Maxentius was unable to tolerate the situation in which the son ἐξ ἀθέτου μητρός (9,2) gained the purple but he, the legitimate son of an Augustus, was left a private citizen. Consistent with his

psychological interpretation of history, this is the only motive which Eunapius gives Maxentius for revolting, but it appears that the city of Rome was resentful of Galerius' fiscal policy and that the initiative may have been taken by the praetorians who feared being disbanded.<sup>722</sup>

Zosimus does go so far as to say that Maxentius gained the support of the praetorians. This version centring upon Maxentius is dramatically more powerful and has the principal effect of reinforcing the baseness of Constantine's origins, as well as making his unworthy ambition the root cause of the civil war with Maxentius.

There were three positive reasons why the soldiers wanted Constantine: his capacity for the job, his good physical shape (εὖ ἔχοντα σώματος (9,1)), and their hopes of gifts. Given Eunapius' general opinion of the military, the very fact that the soldiers wanted Constantine could be construed as a condemnation. More specifically, it is doubtful that Eunapius would have given much weight to mere physical prowess as a qualification for ruling: he values Julian for his philosophy and piety and there is no reason to suspect that Eunapius did not fully share Julian's good opinion of the valetudinarian Marcus Aurelius (Caesares 317C-D). The acknowledgement of Constantine's capability should not surprise, for it would be foolish for Eunapius to deny what subsequent events demonstrated and Constantine had already proved himself as a commander in his father's last campaign against the Picts which was waged with the troops who proclaimed him emperor.<sup>723</sup> Yet because Eunapius does not make this avowal in his own person, but in that of the army, the effect is lessened. Eunapius is dissociated from it and thus avoids appearing inconsistent.

Chapter 10 is largely neutral with regard to Constantine and is mostly concerned with the infighting of the Tetrarchs. In 10,4, Maximian

Herculius complains of the young rowdies, that must be Constantine and Maxentius, who are in the process of destroying what it took the old Augusti so much effort to create. Yet no names are mentioned and given Maximian's character in Zosimus, this does not carry much weight against Constantine, but is rather in the nature of a general lament. In fact in 10,6 and 7, it is Maximian who plays Constantine false after he has married his daughter Fausta and who tries to bring Constantine into conflict with Maxentius and Galerius. Here may be seen a tacit and unfavourable comparison with Constantine's later disavowal of paganism, for Diocletian's constant piety (II, 10,5) allowed him to foresee the future and he wisely remained in retirement. In 11,1, Maximian Herculius continues to plot against the aggrieved Constantine who is warned by Fausta. So far Maximian is the villain of the piece with the only bad reflection upon Constantine being that when he later puts Fausta to death he thus adds ingratitude to his list of crimes.

In chapters 12 and 13, the focus shifts onto Maxentius and Constantine is forgotten until chapter 14. Once again Constantine is the aggrieved party, for Zosimus explicitly states (14,1) that Maxentius sought pretexts for going to war. These he found in the death of his father for which Constantine is said to have been responsible (δεδωκότος αἰτίαν). This statement is not qualified by any recollection of Maximian's having first plotted against his son-in-law, but even so it is the only anti-Constantinian statement in the chapter. It is important to note that Maxentius is depicted as a typically savage and hypocritical tyrant who only feigned grief at his father's death (14,1) and who behaved with great cruelty in Carthage, Rome, and Italy (14,4). There is no attempt to set up Maxentius as a good and worthy alternative to Constantine, nor is the latter yet painted in the blackest colours. In what is said about Maxentius

and the other 'tyrants' whom Constantine put down, Eunapius would have been the prisoner of his sources, for little if any writing favourable to them can have survived until his day.

The next three chapters narrate the conflict between Constantine and Maxentius which ended with the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Maxentius continues to be depicted as a tyrant and hence Zosimus cannot avoid casting Constantine in the role of a saviour, although there is, of course, no overt praise of him. Chapter 15 describes the forces which were engaged on each side. Zosimus accords with the common tradition in allowing Maxentius numerical superiority, but he omits to say that Constantine left a large part of his forces to hold the Gallic frontiers.<sup>724</sup> This minimizes Constantine's achievement in defeating Maxentius and leaves him open to the charge of neglecting the security of Gaul. This is especially so, for in his account of Constantine's recruiting Zosimus gives the impression that he is using all available manpower against Maxentius (e.g. 15,1 for his enrolling barbarian prisoners of war). Zosimus' narrative is very concise for he says nothing of the operations in north Italy, but goes straight to the confrontation at Rome.<sup>725</sup> Such compression may be due to Zosimus, but Eunapius himself may have excised a lot of detail when rewriting the life of Constantine for the second edition (above, p. 246). The campaigns in north Italy are the kind of complicated and dramatically less productive narrative which Eunapius would have omitted. However, the episode of the collapsible bridge (15,3-4) appealed to Eunapius' taste for the romantic and ironical.

Christianity has no place in Zosimus' account of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. Maxentius did everything expected of a pagan emperor: sacrificed to the gods, questioned the haruspices, consulted the Sibylline Books, and fatally misinterpreted an oracle (16,1). Constantine's only

contact with the supernatural was to order his troops into battle formation when he saw a large flock of owls settle on the walls of Rome (16,2). It matters little that Constantine was too far from Rome to have seen this ill omen. Only Zosimus reports the owls and the episode is probably an invention of Eunapius' source intended to counter Christian stories of Constantine's visions.<sup>726</sup> Thus the pagan gods, not the God of the Christians, were responsible for destroying the tyrant Maxentius.

The people of Rome rejoiced at Constantine's victory, but not because it was Constantine. When the battle began, the Romans and Italians in Maxentius' army held back, for they were looking for a way to escape his tyrannical rule (16,3). They were afraid to manifest their joy until they saw Maxentius' head upon a stake (17,1). Constantine's fair and efficient regulating of affairs at Rome is not ignored entirely but is recorded in a brief paragraph without comment. There is, of course, no word of the famous 'Edict of Milan' which would have to be ignored even if it were authentic.<sup>727</sup> Indeed, it is necessary for Eunapius to suppress all reference to Constantine's pro-Christian policy before 326 if the scenario of his conversion in 326 is to be effective.

The seriously tendentious condemnation of Constantine begins in chapter 18, and Licinius is the first of his opponents to be cast in the role of victim. Licinius' status as victim may be a literary survival, and this is more likely in his case than in that of Maxentius. As such it may reflect the religious conflict between Licinius and Constantine, although because of the 326 date for Constantine's conversion, this cannot be enunciated. Hence the motivating factor is not religion but Constantine's evil character. Constantine shows bad faith (ἀπίστου) with regard to the agreements between himself and Licinius; the reader is reminded that this is Constantine's natural practice (κατὰ τὸ σὺνηθες).

His ambition made him covet some of Licinius' provinces. This is thought by Paschoud to be a calumny, and the impression given of Licinius' innocence is false.<sup>728</sup> Zosimus suppresses the fact that Licinius had put to death all of Maximin Daia's family and he omits the events which led up to the rupture. As part of the agreement between Constantine and Licinius, Bassianus was elevated to the rank of Caesar. He was instigated by Licinius to plot against Constantine; his execution by Constantine was the casus belli. The earnestness of Zosimus' tendenz is shown by his affirmation that Licinius was not to blame for the war (Λικιννίου μὲν οὐ βεβηκότος αἰτίας ) (18,1). The battle of Cibalis occupies the rest of the chapter.

The next section may be treated together (18,2-26), for it is the account of the hostilities between Constantine and Licinius. As it appears in Zosimus' text, it is in the main a sober and factual account offering as it does little opportunity to explore Constantine's motives. Eunapius' bias only becomes evident at points where Constantine's characteristic bad faith and ambition can be seen as in 18,1. Chapter 19 continues the story of the battle and is neutral in tone; chapter 20, however, is of more interest. There is first of all the cynical convenience by which Valens, Licinius' Caesar, is executed as the scapegoat (20,1) for the war of which Constantine was the real cause (18,1). There is heavy irony in the way in which Constantine, that notorious oathbreaker, and Licinius promised each other good faith (i.e. πρὸς πίστιν βεβαλοτέρων). Finally, Zosimus carefully points out that one of Constantine's new Caesars, Crispus, was his son by the concubine Minervina, thus prompting the reader to recall Constantine's own mother.

Chapter 21 is the only one which says anything of the events of the years 317-322 when relations between Constantine and Licinius continued

to deteriorate.<sup>729</sup> This omission must be mostly due to the need for conciseness felt by both Eunapius and Zosimus, but Licinius' policy towards Christianity caused much of the difficulty and this had to be suppressed if the pagan theory of Constantine's conversion were to hold. So compressed is the chapter that Constantine's campaigns against the Goths of Rausimodus and the Sarmatae are blended together, and Zosimus rather than Eunapius must have been responsible for this. Constantine does acquit himself well against these invaders and there is no attempt at denigration. There may be an ulterior motive in this since it makes a good contrast with his post-conversion defeat by the Taifali (31,3).

The first section of chapter 22 is so written as to place the blame for the resumption of hostilities upon Constantine. As soon as he had ended the barbarian menace, he began preparations against Licinius. Hence the reader feels that only the invasions prevented Constantine from doing so earlier and that he never intended to keep the promised bargain with Licinius. On the other hand, Licinius only summoned his forces when he heard that Constantine had mobilised. Eunapius can only impose this simplistic causality because of the omission of the years 317-22. The rest of the chapter is neutral except for section 6 which tells how Constantine crossed the Hebrus with twelve cavalrymen and put the enemy to flight. This number is thought to be false and there are other difficulties in Zosimus' account.<sup>730</sup> Such heroics are, of course, to Constantine's credit, but Eunapius must have felt that the dramatic appeal of the episode outweighed this other consideration. Moreover, it has no bearing upon Constantine's specific vices, for he is never charged with cowardice.

The next four chapters (23-6) are a neutral account of the engagements between Constantine and Licinius culminating in the latter's withdrawal towards Nicomedia. Chapter 27 is the digression about how Hormisdas

came to join Constantine's court. It has no connection with the rest of the narrative, but it is too good a story for Eunapius or Zosimus to pass over. It is placed here because Hormisdas did come at this time (*ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ* (27,1)), and it does not greatly interrupt the flow of the narrative since the war of movement is over.

In chapter 28, Eunapius' bias is once again revealed. According to the version in Zosimus, when Licinius who was besieged in Nicomedia realized that he had no hope of succour, he made a complete submission to Constantine, handing over the purple and asking pardon. Previously, Licinius' wife had received promises from Constantine that his life would be spared, but when Licinius was sent to Thessalonica he was hanged. As was his nature, Constantine had once again trampled upon his oaths (28,2). Things did not happen quite so simply.<sup>731</sup> Licinius' wife was the half-sister of Constantine (cf. 17,2) which must make Constantine's duplicity appear even worse. According to Zonaras (13,1 p. III, 174, 26-31), there were two sets of negotiations, for Licinius tried to keep his rank of Augustus and only gave it up when Constantine insisted that he do so. Obviously Licinius is more pitiable if he makes the one complete surrender, as he does in Zosimus, and it is probably safe to assume that Eunapius purposely omitted the first proposals. Eutropius (X,6,1) is the only other source to accuse Constantine of perjury in putting Licinius to death. According to the Christian version, Licinius began to plot against Constantine who gave into the demands of the soldiers that he be executed (Anon. Val. 29 and Socrates I,4). Yet, it is important to stress that Licinius is never built up as the good alternative to Constantine; he is merely a passive and unoffending object upon which Constantine exerts his evil character.

The next chapter is the major turning point in the Life of Constantine,

for, in the manner of tyrants, once he has sole power οὐκέτι λοιπὸν τὴν  
κατὰ φύσιν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτῷ κακοθήθειαν ἐκρυπτεν (29,1). Constantine  
still observed the ancestral rites for a time, not because he truly  
honoured them, but for the pragmatic reason that he had always found  
divination a reliable guide to the future. Here, Eunapius inferred Con-  
stantine's lack of sincerity from his subsequent actions, but his impu-  
tation of motive is still the usual specious technique. To ambition and  
bad faith, Constantine now added impiety, and this remains one of his  
foremost characteristics in the latter part of the Life. He began to  
act impiously in his own household, says Zosimus, as he tells the received  
pagan version of the reasons for his conversion to Christianity (29,2-3).

Eunapius does not mince his words, for it is the execution of  
Fausta and Crispus which really gives him the opportunity to portray Con-  
stantine as a monster. The background circumstances are sordid and un-  
natural, for Crispus is accused of having had incestuous relations with his  
mother-in-law, Fausta. Yet, Crispus is described as a worthy young man  
(ἀξιοθέεντα τιμῆς ) and the reader is prompted to feel that he is probably  
innocent. Moreover, Zosimus declares that Constantine's killing Crispus is  
contrary to nature. Constantine then tried to soothe his mother, Helena, by  
committing another crime (κακῶ τὸ κακὸν ἴσατο μείζονα): not only did he  
kill the wife who betrayed her own father for him, but he did it in a par-  
ticularly bizarre and barbarous way by placing her in a bath of very hot  
water. It was with his conscience stricken by remorse for these deeds - and  
by the memory of his broken promises (καὶ προσέτι γε ὄρκων καταφρονήσεις),  
for Eunapius does not allow the reader to forget this trait - that Constantine  
went first to the pagan priests for absolution. When they declared that no  
remedy was possible for such great crimes,<sup>732</sup> Aegyptius assured Constantine  
that the Christian religion could purge him of all sin (29,3). The effect of

this exchange is both to confirm the serious nature of Constantine's evil-doing, and to cast a dubious light upon the morality of Christianity and its adherents.

Not all of this scenario is historically correct, but it is not the invention of Eunapius.<sup>733</sup> It first appears in Julian's Caesares (336B) where the names of the victims are not given, but Constantine is called a murderer and goes to Jesus for absolution. The deaths of Crispus and Fausta remain obscure, although it is known that they took place before July 18, 326 on which day Constantine arrived in Rome. Crispus met his end at Pola: thus Zosimus has the setting wrong, but the date is nearly correct. His Phaedra-type motivation has not met with much acceptance. Guthrie sees Crispus as the victim of Constantine's desire to secure the succession for his legitimate offspring,<sup>734</sup> but this solution fails to explain the murder of Fausta. Moreover, Guthrie appears to take too legalistic and clinical an approach, especially with regard to the question of legitimacy. The explanation might better be sought in an immediate context, for the twenty year old Crispus had proved himself as an admiral against Licinius<sup>735</sup> and it is tempting to conjecture an attempted coup by Crispus and Fausta. The pagan imputation of a liaison between Crispus and Fausta may not be totally groundless.

If there were an edifying explanation of this sordid affair, the Church Historians would certainly have made it known, and they do not. Sozomen is the most complete and most interesting, for already in his day he found it necessary to refute the pagan version of Constantine's conversion (H.E. I,5,1f.). He cites laws (from the recently published Theodosian Code) in favour of Christianity which bore the names of both Constantine and Crispus, thus disproving the Hellenes, as he calls them, on chronological grounds. Yet Sozomen totally ignores the cause of

Crispus' death and he never once mentions Fausta by name. Since Eunapius was one of Sozomen's sources, this must be a deliberate attempt to glide over the most serious part of the pagan slander, and hence this attempt shows that the slanders had some basis in fact.

The other immediate casualty of Constantine's impiety was divination. He forbade it because he knew its efficacy and feared lest it be used against him (29,4). In reality, Constantine's measures against divination have precedents, and his own laws were already in force in 319.<sup>736</sup> Again, there has been a grouping of seemingly related events around the magnetic year, 326.

Another example of this attraction is the following. Zosimus tells how even after his conversion Constantine took part in a state procession to the Capitol out of fear of the soldiers, but that he refused to do so a second time when he had been admonished by the 'Egyptian' (29,5). Utilising Mendelssohn's improvements of Zosimus' text, Paschoud is able to reconstruct the two incidents.<sup>737</sup> He places the first one when Constantine did participate in 312, the second in July 315 when he came to Rome for his decennalia. By then, Constantine had come under the influence of Hosius of Corduba.

According to Zosimus, Constantine's refusal to observe the traditional ceremonies gained him the hatred of the Senate and People of Rome (29,5). This, then, provides Eunapius with the reason for Constantine's founding of Constantinople, and as usual it is a psychological one. Constantine could not endure the ill-will of the Romans, and thus looked for a site that would be ἀντίρροπον τῆς Ῥώμης (30,1). Constantine did not visit Rome again after 326, a fact which helped to make this version more plausible. None of this is to Constantine's credit, for Zosimus has amply demonstrated that the Romans were eminently justified in their dislike of the emperor, and it is another manifestation of his over-weening ambition that he wanted

to build a city to rival Rome. Although the rest of this chapter is a neutral description of the new city and its buildings, more evidence of Eunapius' unfavourable attitude is found in the Lives. Constantine's pride and love of flattery are given as the reasons why he transported masses of people to his city - so that he could be praised by the drunken mob in the theatre (462). Presumably such adulation was no longer to be had in Rome, which is consonant with Zosimus' hostility thesis. Even the geography of Byzantium does not escape Eunapius' censure, for in the Lives he points out that the city was not easily approached by ships except when they had the help of a strong south wind (462).

Zosimus' view that Constantine founded his city because of the hostility of the Romans has been both accepted and rejected by modern scholars. A recent work has sought to show that relations between Rome and the emperor were excellent throughout,<sup>738</sup> but official medallions and expressions of grief by the Senate at his death should not be taken as expressing the real climate of opinion at Rome. On the whole, too much has been made of this psychological motivation and the real reasons should be sought for in economic and military terms as the centre of gravity of the empire shifted eastwards.<sup>739</sup> The wish to have a Christian capital played its part in Constantine's own mind,<sup>740</sup> but Zosimus ignores this aspect of the problem - just as he ignores Constantine's church building activities.

Once again, the chronology has been distorted by the 326 fixation. The decision to found Constantinople was taken before the supposed date of Constantine's conversion; in fact, the site was dedicated on 3 November, 324.<sup>741</sup> Constantine doubtless became aware of the strength of the site during the final campaign against Licinius, for he was unable to take Byzantium by storm and it only surrendered to him after Licinius was defeated (26,3). The works which Zosimus (30,1) and Sozomen (II,3,1-3) claim

were visible at Troy cannot have been built by Constantine since that area was in Licinius' power until the battle of Chrysopolis on 18 September, 324.<sup>742</sup> Yet the tradition is well established that Ilium was one of the sites which Constantine considered - along with Sardica, Thessalonica, and Chalcedon. His interest in Ilium is confirmed by his bringing the Palladium from Rome to Constantinople.<sup>743</sup>

Chapter 31 continues the account of Constantine's activity at Constantinople, but in such a way as to demonstrate not merely his ambition, but also his impiety. He built a palace which was little inferior to the one at Rome, and he decorated his new city with the pagan treasures of Greece like the tripod of Apollo from Delphi. So little did he care for these sacred objects (διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ... ῥαθυμίας (31,2) that he altered the position of the hands of the statue of Rhea which Jason's companions had set up on Mount Dindymus into a praying posture (31,3).

Zosimus then makes the blunt statement that Constantine no longer waged any successful wars. Given the flow of the narrative, the reader is led to assume that this is a form of punishment for Constantine's impious deeds and crimes, although this conclusion is not explicitly drawn in the text (31,3). Not surprisingly, Zosimus' claim has been denied,<sup>744</sup> but it would be over-hasty to accuse Zosimus-Eunapius of total dishonesty. For the period after 324, a hostile interpreter might well make this claim with some reason: Constantine's sons were often in nominal command of the forces and the settlements which were made with the barbarians would not be considered as victories by people like Eunapius.

In 328, Constantine went to Trier and defeated the Alamanni, but the Caesar Constantine was officially in command of the troops. Similarly, Constantine II led the forces which crossed the Danube and forced the Goths to submit in 332. By the terms of the treaty, the Goths were paid a

subsidy in food and money in return for guarding the Danube. There is no dispute that this was a common and well-precedented practice, but, all the same, it would not have had the status of a victory for Eunapius and his ilk. For instance, in the Caesares (329a), Julian says that Constantine's campaigns against the barbarians were γελοῖα because he paid them tribute. Following the civil war of the Argaragantes and the Limigantes, large numbers of the former were settled in devastated areas of the Balkans and Italy - not something of which Eunapius would approve. Elsewhere, the revolt of Calocaerus in Cyprus was put down by Dalmatius in 335, and the Persians were driven out of Armenia by Hannibalianus in 336. Finally, Constantine's defeat by the marauding Taifali, which is abridged (in a self-contradictory fashion) by Zosimus (31,3), is a vestige of an incident which would have been more fully written up in Eunapius as a vivid example of Constantine's lack of military success in this period, and as a source of entertainment for his readers in the manner of like episodes.

Chapter 32 makes the transition to the topical treatment of Constantine's civil and military reforms. In the first sentence, he is said to have forsaken warlike pursuits and to have given himself up to luxurious living (Μεῖνας δὲ ἀπόλεμος καὶ τρυφῇ τὸν βίον ἐκδούσ). This may be slander, but Eunapius is not the inventor of it, for Julian in his Caesares makes the same charge of luxury against Constantine (329a and 336a). Incidentally, this is consistent with the claim that Constantine was unsuccessful in warfare after 324 (31,3). This leads to the first attack upon Constantine's extravagant spending - which is one of the main themes of the latter part of the Life.<sup>745</sup> Constantine initiated food distribution at Constantinople and an unnecessary building programme which was carried out so hastily that the structures were not sound (32,1). This is malevolent,

but not fictional, for the shoddy construction is noted by Themistius (Or. III, 47c).

Zosimus next tackles Constantine's reform of the offices of state: the verb of the transitional sentence carries a pejorative connotation (συνετάραιξεν [32,1]), and shows that Eunapius subscribed to yet another aspect of the Hellenic conception of Constantine. Ammianus records that in his letter to the Senate of Rome, Julian memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit,... (XXI,10,8). The praetorian prefecture is the first topic. It is described as it was just before Constantine's innovations so as to provide a standard by which to condemn his measures. This technique was employed at the very beginning of the Constantinian section (8,1) and again with regard to the change in frontier defences (34,1), where in both cases Diocletian is taken as the model. The actual reforms are recounted in chapter 33 where the language doubtless reflects Eunapius' opinion of them, for Constantine was τὰ καλῶς καθεστῶτα κινῶν (33,1). These changes took place from 312,<sup>746</sup> but there is no indication of evolution in Zosimus' account. This may be another effect of the 326 fixation, although more reasons can be found. It would not have strengthened Eunapius' case to outline a process; indeed the effect is more startling because of the lack of process. Both Eunapius and Zosimus needed to compress material, and it may be doubted whether Eunapius had either the interest or the competence to trace the evolution satisfactorily.

Eunapius does not, of course, accuse Constantine of desiring to destroy the Roman state, but he does believe that he was mistaken in weakening the praetorian prefecture by changing it from a collegiate office with authority over the whole empire into a territorial one. More important, perhaps, was the way in which the *magistri militum* took over its military function. Yet the example of the ill effect of this reform which Zosimus

chooses to cite is not very convincing. According to him, the soldiers were less disciplined when the same person was no longer responsible for both food and punishment (33,4-5). It seems as if Eunapius may have been hard pressed to find any concrete faults in the new system and hence fell back upon his customary hostility to the military.

However, chapter 34 delivers an effective critique of Constantine's changes in the deployment and organization of the army, and is the most important literary source for this reform.<sup>747</sup> Eunapius' principal objection is made clear in the opening sentence which states that Constantine's measures allowed the barbarians to invade Roman territory unhindered. Once more, Diocletian is taken as the model of right conduct, for he had fortified the frontiers so well that it was impossible for the barbarians to enter, such was his *πρόνοια* (34,1). Constantine denuded the frontiers by withdrawing units to form the field army and then stationed it in cities which did not need protection from the barbarians, but in which the soldiers were corrupted (*θεάτροις καὶ τρυφαίς ἐμαλάκισε*). The cities themselves were turned into deserts by the depredations of their garrisons - a significant criticism since the condition of the cities is one of the more important touchstones by which an emperor is judged to be 'good' or 'bad'.<sup>748</sup> The chapter ends with the declaration that this re-deployment was the seed of *τῆς ἀχρὶ τοῦδε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπωλείας*, showing that ruination of the empire is thought of in the concrete terms of invasion and occupation by barbarians. As usual in the case of *ἀχρὶ τοῦδε* statements, the question arises as to whether this final conclusion belongs to Eunapius or Zosimus; here it is preferable to regard it as a piece of Eunapius retained by Zosimus who felt that it still applied to his own day.

The historicity of this chapter has been in the main upheld.

Eunapius may have exaggerated the extent to which the frontiers were stripped of troops, but it is now generally accepted that Diocletian had concentrated upon frontier defence and that Constantine was the first to create a large field army.<sup>749</sup> There were good strategic and political reasons for the change, but Eunapius cannot be expected to present Constantine's case. On the subsidiary point that the soldiers were softened and corrupted by being stationed in cities, it is true that this is a literary cliché - the classic example being that of Hannibal's army at Capua (Livy, XXIII, xviii)-but it may not be totally unrealistic.

The following three chapters attack Constantine's most tangible memorial, the city of Constantinople. The impetus given by Constantine caused a great increase in population, for military, commercial and other activities prospered there.<sup>750</sup> As a consequence the city was overcrowded, despite the new outer walls, and the impression which Zosimus gives is of a thoroughly unpleasant place in which to live (35,1-2). Feeling that such a great city must have been foretold by the gods, Eunapius dredged up a Hellenistic oracle (cf. 36,2 and above, pp. 192-3) and interpreted it in a strained and unfavourable light. The purpose of pagan propaganda which this serves is patent.<sup>751</sup> According to Eunapius, this prophecy really predicted the heavy taxation from which the Bithynians would suffer, and that ἡ ἀρχή would fall to those who held the seat of Byzas. None too convincingly, Eunapius says that people had not realized its true meaning before because of the long time it took to fulfill the prediction (37,2).

However, the oracle is less inept from a literary point of view since the description of the ravaging lion and the wolf set the scene for the condemnation of Constantine's fiscal policy in chapter 38. Zosimus first mentions Constantine's lavish spending, for he impoverished the state

by making gifts to unworthy men (38,1). This echoes the viewpoint of Julian in the Caesares where a dominant characteristic of Constantine is his devotion to pleasure (318A, 329A, and 336A) and where he is made to say that his chief ambition was to amass great riches and then to spend them for the enjoyment of himself and his friends (335B).<sup>752</sup> It would be wrong to accuse Julian and Eunapius of falsification, for Eusebius remarks upon how generous Constantine was with presents and promotions although he does not interpret this pejoratively (V.C. IV, 1).

This expenditure necessitated new taxes, notably the chrysargyron which was levied on all commercial activity, including prostitution. Here, Eunapius took the opportunity to indulge in colourful rhetoric which is still noticeable in Zosimus' text as he describes the beatings and tortures inflicted upon the taxpayers, and how they were forced to sell and to prostitute their children. (38,2-3). In passing, Constantine is also criticized for exacting money from the praetors and for levying the follis on senators (38,3-4). The end result is the impoverishment and depopulation of the cities (38,5). After this, the treatment of Constantine ends abruptly: having grieved the state in all these ways, he died of a disease (39,1). At this point, Zosimus has abbreviated the Histories drastically, for in the Lives (464) Eunapius says that he described how Constantine died. This would have been done with some spirit since Eunapius regarded Constantine's death as his punishment for honouring Ablabius and he was thus able to end with a satisfying example of retributive justice.

Constantine was the first Christian emperor and in the view of Eunapius and his fellow Hellenes he bore primary responsibility for the ills of their own age. He is portrayed as a typical tyrant whose evil character prompted his actions and whose turn for the worse was marked by his guilt-ridden conversion to Christianity. There is little in Zosimus'

account that is actually false, but Eunapius made his case by such techniques as the imputation of motive and, above all, by a drastic schematisation of events in the post-conversion period.

## XVI Julian

The reign of Julian the Apostate was the high point of Eunapius' Histories. In his general introduction (fr. 1), Eunapius declares that Julian is the focal point (πάντα γε ἐς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναφέρειν ἔδοκεν), and reveals why this is so: τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτὸν ὡς περ τινα θεὸν προσεκύησαν ἅπαντες. Again, in the preface to the part of the Histories dealing specifically with Julian, Eunapius says that the narrative has now arrived at the point to which it has aimed from the beginning (fr. 8). He does not avow impartiality, but tells how love of Julian impelled him to write (ὡς περ τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτικόν). Photius saw that the Histories were almost an ἐγκώμιον of Julian, and that he and Constantine were the opposite poles of the work (cod. LXXVII). Eunapius ought not to be hastily condemned for this attitude, for even an historian as sober as Ammianus fell under Julian's spell and wrote what was virtually panegyric: Quicquid autem narrabitur, ... ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit (XVI, 1, 3).

Eunapius was in fact commissioned to write the life of Julian by the emperor's surviving companions, and Oribasius gave him his Memoir for this purpose (fr. 8). Thus what survives in Zosimus and the fragments may reflect the opinions of the Julianic circle rather than always Eunapius' own. Eunapius' personal thoughts may be detected in the Lives where Eunapius approves of Chrysanthius' cautious attitude towards Julian's restoration of paganism (501). Moreover, Eunapius feels that the Persian Expedition had been a failure (478), which is not the impression given by Zosimus at the time of Julian's death (III, 29, 1). Not only did Eunapius have to satisfy the claims of Julian's friends, but he also had to conform to what Julian himself had written and, perhaps to a lesser extent, Libanius. He knew at least some of the latter's works (496). Eunapius had no personal knowledge of Julian, having been still a youth during his reign, and would

have been dependent upon what he read or was told (fr. 8). The large proportion of the account which the Persian Expedition occupies may reflect not only the importance of the campaign, but also the fact that Eunapius' most important source, Oribasius' Memoir, dealt with it.

Despite what Eunapius says in fr. 14,1 about relating Julian's life *ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως*, he does not appear to have done so in much detail before his appointment as Caesar. This is clear from Zosimus (III,1) and is borne out by the fragments, the first of which deal with Julian in Gaul. Such is Eunapius' usual practice, and no emperor gets more than a cursory introduction. There was little need for Eunapius to relate Julian's earlier life since the emperor told a good deal in his Letter to the Athenians, and Eunapius did not compete with Julian's own works (fr. 9). In the Lives, Eunapius gives more information than Julian himself does about his relations with the pupils of Aedesius (473 ff.), but Eunapius does not duplicate in the Lives what he wrote in the Histories (e.g. Constantius' elimination of Julian's relations [473 and Zosimus II,40]), and presumably the reverse is true.

The first chapter of Book III is a detailed exposition of Constantius' reasons for appointing Julian as Caesar in Gaul. Constantius' basic motive is clearly outlined by Zosimus: the empire was in serious trouble on three fronts. Gaul was the hardest hit being invaded by Franks, Alamanni, and Saxons, and forty cities along the Rhine had fallen to the barbarians. Julian himself put the number of cities whose walls had been destroyed at forty-five,<sup>753</sup> and other ancient sources give an equally grim picture.<sup>754</sup> In addition, the Quadi and Sarmatae were over-running Pannonia and Upper Moesia, and the Persians were harassing the eastern frontier. Zosimus takes another opportunity to remind the reader of Constantius' execution of Gallus (as he has done in the connecting sentence which begins the chapter) by

saying that Gallus had kept the Persians quiet, yet there is no reason to doubt that Constantius did feel inadequate for this triple task, as Ammianus also asserts (XV,8,2).

Eunapius' bias is not shown in this description of the frontiers, but in the reasons why Constantius is said to have hesitated to appoint a co-ruler. The first of these is ambition (*διὰ τε φιλαρχίας ὑπερβολῆν* [III,1,1]), a characteristic commonly found in Eunapius' 'bad' emperors like Constantine (II,8,3). The second is Constantius' specific vice, suspicion, for he feared that no one would be loyal to him. Eunapius' assessment is here shared by Ammianus who in his epitaph on Constantius remarks upon acerbitas eius et iracundia suspicionesque (XXI,16,9), and exemplifies these qualities in his account of the destruction of Silvanus (XV,5,5 and 15). Julian himself declares that he was under perpetual suspicion (e.g. Ep. ad Ath. 277 A-B). However, despite the similar interpretations of Constantius' character, Ammianus' account is radically different from that found in Zosimus.

Ammianus says that Constantius himself first thought of taking Julian as his colleague (XV,8,1) and that it was his courtiers who dissuaded him by telling him that he could rule alone, and by reminding him of Gallus (XV,8,2). Only at this point did the empress Eusebia press Julian's case: omnibusque memorans anteponi debere propinquum (XV,8,3). There are no courtiers in Zosimus' version, and Eusebia is the first to suggest Julian (III,1,2). The two established themes of Constantius' destruction of Julian's family and his suspicious nature are combined, and the thought is imputed to Eusebia that Constantius was *πρὸς πᾶν ὑπόπτως τὸ συγγενὲς διακείμενον* (III,1,2). This finds no support in Ammianus and is likely the product of Eunapius' imagination. So, too, is the speech by which Eusebia persuades Constantius - a piece of commonplace cleverness

designed to denigrate Constantius (III,1,3). If Julian is successful in Gaul, it will be to Constantius' credit and, if he fails, Constantius will have no more relations left to worry about. Here Eunapius is following the lead of Julian (Ep. ad Ath. 270 C-D), as does Libanius (Or. XVIII,31). Also in the Lives (476), Eunapius says that Julian was sent to Gaul not to rule, but to die, and adds that he was preserved *ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας*. A similar motive was imputed to Constantius with regard to the appointment of Gallus: so that he might resist the Persians, or so that an excuse for his elimination might be found (II,45,1). The commonplace itself finds another manifestation in the Epitaphios where Libanius says that at the same time Constantius hoped that Julian would both defeat the enemy and be defeated by them (Or. XVIII,36). Nor surprisingly, Ammianus says that it was a universal rumour that Julian had been sent to Gaul in the hopes that he would be killed there (XVI,11,13).

Eunapius seems to have given more emphasis than any one else to the part played by Eusebia. For Ammianus she is a secondary force, and Libanius says nothing of her in connexion with the elevation. However Julian, although he speaks of her help only in general terms (e.g. Or. III, 121B and 123 A-B; Ep. ad Ath. 273A ff.), was sufficiently grateful to write a panegyric in her honour. Eunapius thus gives concrete form to Julian's gratitude and, with his sense of drama, concentrates all interest upon the thoughts of the emperor and his empress.

It is noteworthy that Eunapius endows Eusebia with the same two specific qualities as do Julian and Ammianus. As in the case of Constantius, Eunapius manipulates events, but he does not alter her character. She is described thus: *παιδείας τε εἰς ἄκρον ἤκουσα καὶ φρονήσεε τῆν γυναικίαν ὑπεραίρουσα φύσιν* (III,1,2). Ammianus states that Eusebia supported Julian either because she did not want to go to Gaul or pro

nativa prudentia consulens in commune (XV,8,3). According to Julian, Eusebia possessed παιδείαν ὀρθήν , and σύνεσιν ἐγγεληῆ (Or. III,109C), looked like an εἶδμα σωφροσύνης , and could make speeches equal to those of τῶν γενναίων ῥητόρων (Or. III, 123A-B).

The next chapter summarizes the events leading up to the Battle of Strasbourg and strongly contrasts with the expansively treated 'human interest' of the preceding one. Zosimus (III,2,4) has borrowed the explanation for this compression from Eunapius<sup>755</sup> who refers the reader to Julian's own writings and says that he will relate, in the main, events which have been omitted by others (fr. 9). Libanius might be one of those whom Eunapius has in mind, for he treated the period before the Battle of Strasbourg in some detail (Or. XVIII, 40 ff.).

Zosimus commences by saying that Julian was summoned from Athens where he was excelling his teachers (III,2,1). This conventional tribute to Julian's learning is echoed by Libanius who affirms that Julian alone of the young men at Athens taught rather than learned (Or. XVIII, 29). Zosimus continues with the simple statement that Constantius invested Julian as Caesar (at Milan, November 6, 355).<sup>756</sup> Such brevity is very different from the full description of the investiture in Ammianus (XV,8,4 ff.), but Julian himself devotes only one sentence to it (Ep. ad Ath. 277A), and Libanius gives no details in the Epitaphios. Despite what Eunapius says about not repeating what others have told, here his silence may be due to lack of information. In the same sentence, Zosimus records that Constantius gave Julian his sister Helena in marriage, and despatched him to the peoples beyond the Alps; Julian set out on December 1.<sup>757</sup>

Julian had only figurehead status and was under the control of Marcellus 3 and 'Sallust' (i.e. Saturninius Secundus Salutius 3) (III,2,1-2; fr. 8a). Libanius also testifies to this (Or. XVIII,42), and both Zosimus

and Julian (Ep. ad Ath. 277D) attribute this to fear that Julian would revolt. Zosimus exploits his picture of Constantius' character, saying: ἀπίστος δὲ ὧν φύσει . Constantius may have been suspicious of Julian, but in any case it would have been folly for him to have entrusted real power to someone as inexperienced as Julian. The fact that Constantius later allowed Julian to exercise some authority argues for inexperience being the chief consideration. Moreover, it had been the practice since the Tetrarchy for the Caesar to be the subordinate of the Augustus, having at most only a delegated military function and no powers of civil administration.<sup>758</sup> This was not always recognized by ancient sources and Ammianus does not distinguish between the two periods of Julian's competence: as a result, he accords him too important a part in the campaigns of 356 and even misplaces the recovery of Cologne in this year.<sup>759</sup>

Julian remains the focus of Zosimus' attention and Constantius is dealt with in a single sentence. He went to Pannonia and Moesia where he settled the affairs of the Quadi and Sarmatae, and then set out for the East which was being attacked by the Persians (III,2,2). Here, the compression is less extreme than it appears to be, for although Constantius fought his major campaign against the Quadi and Sarmatae in 358, he did go to Sirmium in the summer of 357. The origin of Zosimus' phrase may, perhaps, be Julian's statement that he sent Chnodomarius to Constantius when he was ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐσπλιόντα (Ep. ad Ath. 279D). Constantius went to the east in 359 after the fall of Amida, but Zosimus omits this disaster, as he does Constantius' visit to Rome from April 28 to May 29, 357.<sup>760</sup>

Zosimus' account of Julian's first year in Gaul is also brief: because the barbarians kept up their attacks on Gaul, the Empress persuaded Constantius to hand over to Julian τὴν διοίκησιν ... τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων

(III,2,3). The part played by Eusebia is not found in Julian or Libanius and is Eunapius' further exploitation of the causality which he earlier established. According to Julian himself (Ep. ad. Ath. 278D), Constantius first replaced Marcellus by Severus 8 and then at the beginning of spring gave Julian the command of the army, not the whole direction of affairs as Zosimus implies.<sup>761</sup> Libanius agrees with Julian in the essentials (Or. XVIII, 48).

Chapter 3 begins with another erroneous statement that Constantius handed over ἅπαντα to Julian, and thereupon left for Persia. Hence the chronology is badly out of step here, for this puts Constantius in 359 and Julian is still in 357. This degree of distortion is exceptional and the culprit may be excessive compression. Next, in order that Julian's military achievement at Strasbourg may appear the greater, Zosimus again outlines the extent of the German invasions of Gaul and comments upon the poor quality of the troops at Julian's disposal (III,3,1-2). Constantius had given Julian only three hundred and sixty soldiers, and these knew only how to pray - a remark which strikes at both the emperor and his religion. Zosimus attributes the quip to Julian, but it does not occur in his extant writings; Julian does agree with Zosimus as to the number of the troops (Ep. ad Ath. 277D). Eunapius did not, however, manufacture the comment since Libanius emphasizes how thoroughly Constantius stripped Julian of his best troops in 359 by saying that he only retained ὀπλίτας εὐξασθαί μόνου δυναμένους (Or. XVIII,94; cf. Norman's note ad loc.).

Ammianus, Libanius and Julian do not record Julian's enrolling volunteers and using a store of old weapons, but the actions may be true (III,3,2). Both redound significantly to Julian's credit and point up the inadequacies of previous commanders in Gaul. Not only was Julian energetic enough to bolster his forces, but the fact that he could enlist many volun-

teers (πολλούς δε κὺ ἐθελοντάς ) shows his ability to inspire his subjects, a quality upon which Libanius also remarks (e.g. Or. XVIII, 43 and 48). The rest of the chapter illustrates that Eunapius did as he said he would in fr. 9. The Battle of Strasbourg is dealt with in a very cursory fashion (III,3,3), but all the important points are made: the vast numbers of the enemy, Julian's hastily assembled forces, the unexpected victory, and the huge number of enemy dead, both on the battlefield<sup>762</sup> and in the river. Finally there is a rhetorical flourish to emphasize the achievement: the comparison of Julian's victory to Alexander's defeat of Darius.

Eunapius then fulfills the other part of his promise by relating how Julian punished the cavalry who had broken ranks and fled during the battle (III,3,4-5). Julian says nothing of this incident in the Ep. ad Ath. Libanius wrongly states that the offenders were standard-bearers and, although he mentions that they were punished, he gives no details of how (Or. XVIII, 66). Ammianus narrates the flight of the cavalry, but not their chastisement (XVI,12,37 ff.). Yet the omission of the incident by contemporary pagan authors was not the sole reason which would have prompted Eunapius to relate it. The novelty of the punishment (dressing the troopers in women's clothing) would have appealed to Eunapius' taste, but it is more important for what it says about Julian. In Eunapius' view, Julian always preferred reproof to capital punishment, and thus this is consistent with his action in writing the Misopogon to the Antiochenes and Oratio VII to the Cynic Heracleios. Moreover, the efficacy of Julian's unorthodox methods was proved by the exemplary bravery of these same cavalry in the second war against the Germans (III,3,5).

Chapter 4 is one of the most badly confused in Zosimus, as Mendelssohn has demonstrated.<sup>763</sup> Zosimus is himself responsible since Eunapius' frag-

ments 10 to 14 preserve the correct order of events. Zosimus is so interested in how Julian recovered the captives from the Germans (as a result of the campaigns of 358) that he confuses Chnodomarius whom Julian captured in the Battle of Strasbourg with Vadomarius whom Julian took prisoner in 361.<sup>764</sup> Indeed, the confusion is greater than Mendelssohn thinks, for Zosimus says that Badomarius was the son of the barbarian leader (III,4,2), and thus appears to be identifying Badomarius with the son whom he demanded back in return for giving up Roman captives (fr. 13).<sup>765</sup>

The whole of the chapter is very much to Julian's credit. He fought on the German side of the Rhine in order to spare the Gallic cities any more distress. He defeated a huge army and forced the Germans to ask for peace, but like a dutiful Caesar he sent Vadomarius to Constantius and attributed his victory to τῆ τούτου τύχῃ (III,4,1-3). Zosimus gives the full details of how Julian found out the names of the captured Gauls and secured their return, nor does he fail to convey some of Eunapius' sense of ceremony, for he describes Julian as confronting the Germans ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθίσας (III,4,6). Indeed, the barbarians considered that Julian was aided by θεία τινὶ ῥοπήν (III,4,7). Once more, Eunapius may have related what others had neglected. Libanius says briefly that captives were returned as a condition of peace, and that those who were released gave the names of those who had died so that all were accounted for (Or. XVIII, 77-8). Julian mentions that he recovered captives, but gives no particulars (Ep. ad Ath. 280D), and Ammianus' version, while a little fuller than Libanius' and Julian's, is different from Zosimus' and less expansive (XVII,10,7 ff.).

The next chapter provides further proof of Julian's solicitude for his subjects by telling how he brought corn from Britain (III,5,1-2). Some would date this to 359,<sup>766</sup> but Zosimus' implicit date of 358 is preferable.<sup>767</sup>

The context of Zosimus' narrative puts the building of the corn fleet just after the recovery of the Gallic prisoners, for it was to feed them, as well as because of the ravaged state of Gaul, that Julian had to import food (III,5,1). Julian is said to have accomplished the victualling of Gaul shortly after his twenty-fifth birthday (III,5,3); he was born in May/June, 332.<sup>768</sup> In the second half of the chapter, the recall of 'Sallust' is noted and this took place in 358.<sup>769</sup> Chapter 6 recounts Julian's campaign in Batavia against the Quadi who had invaded the Salii which is also dated to 358.<sup>770</sup> Eunapius fr. 12, which Müller assigns to 358, notes that the goodwill of the Chamavi, i.e. the Quadi, was necessary if corn was to be shipped from Britain.

Other sources support this year. Julian states that he brought his fleet into the Rhine before he received part of the Salii and expelled the Chamavi; he did that rather than pay tribute for the safe passage of the ships (Ep. ad Ath. 280A). Libanius gives a fuller version with the same chronology (Or. XVIII, 83-9). Ammianus' only reference to this matter does come in his narrative of 359. However, he says only that Julian built granaries for the corn which was shipped from Britain; there is no word of when this practice began, but the impression is that it has been going on for some time: horrea..., ubi condi possit annona, a Britanniis sueta transferri (XVIII,2,3).

The second half of chapter 5 sums up Julian's virtues as Caesar, and deals with the relationship between him and Constantius. Julian's soldiers are said to have liked him chiefly because of his simple way of life, his courage, and his *περὶ χρηματισμὸν ἐγκρατὴς* (III,5,3). The last is one of the cardinal virtues in Eunapius' scale of values, and this description of Julian is similar in form and content to what is applied to other 'good' men like Arbogast (IV,53,1 and 54,4). Conversely, Julian's

success as a Caesar is expressed by the opposite of what is later said of Theodosius (IV,29,1): the army increased in size and effectiveness and the cities prospered in peace (III,5,4). This chapter introduces the theme of Constantius' jealousy of Julian which is plausibly attributed to envy at his prosperity. Constantius ascribed Julian's effectiveness to 'Sallust' and recalled him; Julian, like a good Caesar, complied. There is nothing ridiculous in this scheme which is repeated by Libanius (Or. XII, 58; Or. XVIII, 85-6) and by Julian himself (Ep. ad Ath. 282C).

Chapter 6 treats Julian's campaign against the Quadi and Salii in 358.<sup>771</sup> Zosimus, as is to be expected, is more interested in the exploits of Charietto than the praises of Julian, and the extent to which he abbreviates Eunapius can be seen by a comparison of his text with fr. 10.

Eunapius gives an elaborate picture of Julian as the *πηγή ... τῶν ἀρετῶν* who prevented his soldiers from harming the innocent Salii and directed his wrath upon the invading Quadi. Zosimus preserves the bare bones of this (III,6,3) and testifies to the success of Julian's policy by saying that the Salii surrendered to him because of his *φιλευθροπία* (III,6,3) towards them. The ground was prepared for this interpretation of Julian since the Franks were said to have opposed the Quadi lest they give Julian a *δικαίαν αἰτίαν* (III,6,2) for attacking them.

Ammianus' brief account of the same episode puts a rather different complexion upon it.<sup>772</sup> The Salii were pressed by the Quadi and offered peace to Julian who discussed the matter with them. However, these discussions were a ruse to put them off their guard, for as soon as the envoys had left, Julian fell upon the Salii tamquam fulminis turbo (XVII,8,4). Julian then mercifully accepted their surrender, along with their property and children, as Zosimus says. There is one phrase in Zosimus which might indicate that Eunapius had told the whole story, for Zosimus states that

some of the Salii *συμψυγόντες εἰς τὰ ὄρη κατήεσαν* (III,6,3). However, this is too slight to outweigh the picture of Julian presented by fr. 10. The reasonable conclusion is that Eunapius suppressed Julian's treacherous attack upon the Salii in order not to tarnish the image of his hero. Ammianus does not have the same problem, for all he says of what Julian told the Salii is: Hos legatos negotio plene digesto, oppositaquae condicionum perplexitate, ut in eisdem tractibus moraturus, ... (XVII,8,3).

Chapter 7 has two subjects, the first of which obviously appealed to Zosimus and the second not, to judge by the fullness of his narrative. The first is Charietto 1. When Julian had defeated the Quadi, they turned to guerrilla warfare and caused much damage. Julian solved this problem - as he was to solve others - by an *ἐμψρονι στρατηγήματι*: he availed himself of the services of Charietto (III,6,4). This is one of Eunapius' episodes and Zosimus preserves the introductory information about Charietto, although in plainer style (cf. III,7,1 and fr. 11). It is carefully pointed out that Charietto began his career of preying upon barbarian raiders in the bad days before Julian came to Gaul. His modus operandi is told in detail, for both Zosimus and Eunapius delight in attacks upon drunken armies, and the head-hunting adds an attractively gruesome touch (III,7,2). Zosimus makes it clear why Julian had no choice but to ally himself with Charietto; it has been thought that Ammianus suppresses the fact that Charietto was a brigand as discreditable to Julian.<sup>773</sup> If Eunapius felt likewise, this would explain the elaborate justification.

The alliance was successful and the surrender of the Quadi is the second subject of the chapter. Here is one of the most striking examples of how Zosimus can condense Eunapius (III,7,6-7; cf. fr. 12). The episode has little value as a story and the details are quickly put. When the Quadi asked for peace, Julian demanded the son of the king, whom he had

already captured, as a hostage. The Quadi thought that the prince was dead and greatly lamented, fearing that a treaty would be denied them, but Julian revealed the king's son and all was well. Most of the interest lies in the direct speeches of Julian and the king, and in the colourful description of the despairing barbarians. Zosimus omits all this and, less felicitously, some useful information such as the facts that Julian needed the acquiescence of the Quadi for the safe passage of the British corn fleet, and that the surrender took place at the beginning of winter (i.e. 358). The incident is neutral as far as Julian is concerned, and its main attraction for Eunapius was clearly the opportunity which it afforded for a display of rhetoric.<sup>774</sup>

Chapter 8 sets the scene for Julian's revolt against Constantius. It begins with the information that Julian enrolled the Salii and some of the Batavi and Quadi into army units which still exist *νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν* (III,8,1). Whether this 'now' applies to Eunapius, or Zosimus, or both, it shows the correctness and durability of Julian's measures with regard to these barbarians. Zosimus then sums up the happy state of Gaul, attributes this to Julian's *πρόνοια*, and implicitly contrasts the bad situation in Constantius' realm which the Persians were raiding (III,8,1-2). Zosimus is now able to impute jealousy as Constantius' motive for withdrawing troops to the east in preparation for overthrowing Julian (cf. fr. 14.4). It was certainly justifiable in military terms to take soldiers from the quiet Rhine frontier to the east where things were going badly against Parthia. Perhaps it is to disguise this genuine need that Eunapius omits all mention of the fall of Amida in 359<sup>775</sup> and substitutes the successful defence of Nisibis - which took place in 350.<sup>776</sup> The siege is not related, but the reader is referred to Julian's work on the subject (Or. I, 27A ff.) and the opportunity is taken to praise Julian's *ἐν λόγοις ἀκρᾶν ... ἀρετῆν*

(III,8,2). Eunapius should not be excused on the grounds of ignorance, but few readers of the Histories, a half century or more after the events, can have known the truth. He obviously thought it highly unlikely that any would have looked up Julian's panegyric.

The choice of jealousy is a good one since, in terms of Zosimus' text, it has been established as one of Constantius' dominant characteristics (e.g. III,5,3) and it is not easily disproved. Whatever the military requirements of the east, Constantius could well have felt uneasy about Julian by this stage, especially if he was being worked on by Florentius and his courtiers (fr. 14,2).<sup>777</sup> Most important, the jealousy theory was widely held at the time, for it appears in Julian (Ep. ad Ath. 282D), Libanius (Or. XVIII, 90 ff.), and Ammianus: Constantium ... urebant Iuliani virtutes (XX,4,1 and ff.). According to Zosimus, Julian obeyed his Augustus at once while trying to preserve the security of Gaul (III, 8,4).<sup>778</sup> He had been so effective that the barbarians did not dream of war. However, Eunapius did have accurate information about this period of Julian's reign, whatever his bias; he knows for instance that an advance party of troops was sent off at once (III,8,3; cf. Ammianus XX,4,5).

Chapter 9 deals with the acclamation of Julian as Augustus by the army at Paris and with his decision to wage civil war against Constantius. This is not the place to examine in detail the question of whether or not the acclamation was engineered with Julian's contrivance, although there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that it was - both strategically and tactically. Julian had feared and hated Constantius ever since the massacre of his family in 337 (e.g. Ep. ad Ath. 270C ff.; 275A ff.), and the letter to Oribasius in which he discusses his vision of the tall tree and the small tree shows that thoughts of empire did occupy his mind (Ep. 4 Wright).<sup>779</sup> It is more than a little suspicious that Julian gave a dinner for the

departing officers on the very night that they proclaimed him Augustus, whatever else Ammianus may say about how Julian tried to dissuade the troops (XX,4,13 ff.). However, Zosimus' account is carefully written in order to show that the elevation was contrary to the wishes of, and without the prior knowledge of, Julian, and this is not contradicted by what Eunapius says in the Lives (476 and 498). It is also possible to detect how Eunapius telescoped events in order to enhance the dramatic aspect of the proclamation.

Zosimus rightly begins with the information that Julian was at Paris where the army was being assembled to march to the east (cf. Ammianus XX,4,11/12). The scene is then set so that the picture of a spontaneous mutiny prompted by love for Julian will be plausible. The troops banquetted *νυκτὸς ἄχρι βαθείας* near the Imperial palace, but they were unaware of the plots against Julian (III,9,1). These long-standing (*πάλαι*) machinations were discovered by some of the officers - thus the reader is twice told of Constantius' attacks upon Julian in the first section of the chapter - who distributed anonymous letters which said that Julian would be in extreme danger if the departure of the troops was not prevented. Hereupon the soldiers rushed off in a drunken fury, broke into the palace, and hoisting Julian upon a shield proclaimed him Augustus. Even in Zosimus' epitome, some of the dramatic force and specious circumstantial detail of Eunapius' original survives: e.g. *τῶν κυλίκων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔτι κειμένων* (III,9,2).

According to both Ammianus (XX,4,10-11) and Julian (Ep. ad Ath. 283B), the anonymous letters of Zosimus' account were really one letter which was tossed on the ground in the camp of the Petulantes and Celts some time before the mutiny. It was only after this letter was found that the decision was taken to have the army assemble at Paris. Eunapius

clearly telescoped events, partly to give the impression of spontaneity, partly for dramatic effect. The contents of the letter(s) are also interesting. Julian says that the letter contained three points: criticism of Constantius, the betrayal of Gaul, and the dishonour done to himself (Ep. ad Ath. 283B). Ammianus states that the letter dealt with several topics, but chooses to quote the soldier's complaints about having to go to the ends of the earth and their fears that their wives and children would be enslaved by the Alamanni (XX,4,10). According to Zosimus, the letters spoke of Julian's victories, his fighting alongside his troops, and the danger which he faced (III,9,1). Thus at the same time Julian is praised both directly and indirectly; the troops rebel, not because of their selfish fears, but for Julian's sake.

Eunapius formed his shield-raising scene out of three separate incidents, but for literary effect, not because of ignorance. The soldiers did proclaim Julian Augustus at night and after dinner, but the dinner was the one which Ammianus says Julian gave for the officers (XX,4,13). There is nothing in Ammianus about a drunken revel by the common soldiers. It is clear that Eunapius 'adjusted' the dinner in order to remove any possible suspicion from Julian, and in order to provide a reason for the volatile mood of the troops. Julian did not, in fact, leave the palace until daylight and it was only then, and after a speech, that he was hoisted on a shield (Ammianus XX,4,14-17). It was not until later in the day that the Petulantes and Celts broke into the palace after they had been alarmed by a false rumour that Julian had been murdered (XX4,20-22). Julian's own account of these events agrees with Ammianus' (Ep. ad Ath. 283A-285D), and this is more reason to believe that Eunapius knew the truth.

Zosimus states that the diadem had been placed on Julian's head *οὐκ βία* and follows this with the emphatic statement that Julian did

not approve of his acclamation (*δυσανασχετῶν*) (III,9,2-3). Julian may not have been quite as reluctant as he is said to have been, but the same thesis is maintained by Julian himself (*Ep. ad Ath.* 284B-D), Libanius (*Or.* XVIII, 97-9), and Ammianus: *iamque periculum praesens vitare non posse advertens, si reniti perseverasset,...* (XX,4,18). It is no surprise that Zosimus says that Julian did not revoke what had been done because he felt that it would be unsafe, or that Zosimus takes the opportunity to declare that Constantius was utterly untrustworthy (III,9,3). The latter is a frequent charge against Constantine (e.g. II,28,2 and 29,3), and Eunapius believes that Constantius is a true son of his father's: *ἔδεικνυτοῦ πατρὸς ὧν* (fr. 7a).

More serious distortions are found in Zosimus' version of the correspondence between Constantius and Julian (III,9,3-4). Zosimus pretends that Julian offered to relinquish the diadem and to hold only the rank of Caesar. When he received this letter, Constantius was *ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἠνέχθη* and said that in return for his life Julian should give up the rank of Caesar and become a private citizen. Julian's response was that he preferred to trust in the gods rather than in Constantius' promises. Zosimus' statement that Julian made this declaration within earshot of everyone (*πάντων*) may be a remnant of Eunapius' attempt to add a little support to his picture of Julian's pagan piety and Constantius' untrustworthiness. It is unlikely that Julian would have made a public pronouncement of his paganism this early: his last appearance in church is thought to have been Epiphany 361.<sup>780</sup>

In the other sources, Julian appears less humble and accommodating. Ammianus furnishes a full version of Julian's official letter to Constantius in which Julian does not offer to return to being a Caesar (XX,8,5-17). His only concession was to allow Constantius to appoint his praetorian prefect

(XX,8,14). Moreover, Ammianus says that Julian sent Constantius another letter which he was unable to peruse, but which was more forceful in tone: obiurgatorias et mordaces (XX,8,18). Constantius did not order Julian to become a private citizen, but to intra Caesaris se potestatem continere (XX,9,4). Libanius' account agrees with Ammianus: Julian proposed to retain his title of Augustus and his present power, while Constantius wanted him to revert to the status of Caesar (Or. XVIII,106). Thus it appears that Eunapius altered the respective proposals by one grade in order to put Julian in a better light. Ammianus does, however, accord with Zosimus in the matter of Constantius' emotional reaction to Julian's letters: ultra modum solitae indignationis excanduit imperator (XX,9,2). Eunapius does not, of course, make any attempt to alter the fact that Julian really did rule Gaul as Second Auguste.<sup>781</sup>

At this point, Constantius is said to have openly prepared ἐμφύλιον ... πόλεμον (cf. fr. 14.4), but Julian was still hesitant to do so, not wishing to gain a reputation for ingratitude (III,9,5). He did not decide to fight until he had a vision from Helios at Vienne which prophesied the death of Constantius (III,9,6). Ammianus quotes the same oracle (XXI,2,2) and Zosimus' veracity need not be questioned. The passage is interesting in light of the statement in the Lives that Julian only ἐπὶ τὴν καθάρσιν ἤγέρθη τῆς Κωνσταντίου τυραννίδος after the Hierophant of Greece, aided by Oribasius and Euhemerus, performed particular secret rites (476). Later Eunapius says that Oribasius βασίλεα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέδειξε (498). Eunapius claims to have related the affair in full in his Histories (cf. fr. 14.5 where he compares Julian's revolt to those of Darius against the Magi and Arsacius against Antiochus II), and he may have done so in the context of the vision of Helios. He cannot be referring to any plots prior to the acclamation of Julian as Augustus,

for, however wrongly, his whole account is constructed to prove that Julian was innocent of such. Merely by being proclaimed Augustus, Julian had not overthrown the tyranny of Constantius; it was this which Oribasius and his accomplices persuaded him to do as the statement in the Lives indicates (476).

Although Ammianus mentions no names, a similar story can be inferred from him. At the time of Julian's quinquennial games in 360, he was still in doubt as to whether or not to attack Constantius, although his scruples were military, not moral as in Zosimus' version (XXI,12). Ammianus says that Julian's desire to take the offensive against Constantius was quickened by praesagia multa (quae callebat) et somnia (XXI,1,6) which told him that Constantius would soon die. Moreover, Julian had fellow participants in his occult practices who must have been Oribasius and his friends: arcanorum participibus paucis (XXI,2,4). As for the oracle which he and Zosimus quote, Ammianus merely says that it came apud Viennam postea [i.e. later than the omen of the shield at Paris] (XXI,2,2), but it is related among the events of 360. Zosimus puts it during the winter (III,9,7).

Thus Zosimus has omitted the campaigns of 360 by passing directly from the elevation to the vision. After the vision, he next deals with the summer of 361, mentioning Julian's operations against the barbarians briefly and in general terms (III,10,1). Probably Eunapius did abbreviate the events of 360 and 361 out of a desire to do justice to Julian's blitzkrieg against the western part of Constantius' possessions, but the extreme compression looks like Zosimus' work. Eunapius would scarcely have missed the opportunity to tell how Constantius used Vadomarius against Julian, and the capture of Vadomarius' letter to Constantius is the sort of thing which should have appealed to his taste.<sup>782</sup> The

Lives and the fragments offer some indication that Eunapius' account was fuller. In connexion with Julian's victories over the Germans beyond the Rhine, Eunapius says that Julian escaped many plots which are told fully in the Histories (476). Fragment 7a could refer to Vadomarius or a similar plot, for it states that Constantius considered  
 τὸ ξένον οἰκεῖον, εἰ καταλύει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα.

Despite the brevity of his account, Zosimus carefully demonstrates that Julian did not neglect Gaul after he had decided on civil war. In the winter of 360, Julian as usual took good care of affairs and exercised his πρόνοια against the barbarians so that Gaul would be safe (III,9,7). The following summer, his campaign across the Rhine caused the Germans to prefer peace to war (III,10,1). Then after having provided for the civil and military government of Gaul (cf. Ammianus XXI,8,1), Julian set out against Constantius (III,10,1). Zosimus' account of Julian's advance to the east and the splitting of his army into three divisions is accurate. Eunapius may have described the journey in some detail, for Zosimus retains the precise figure of eleven days for the time taken by the river flotilla to reach Sirmium (III,10,2-3).

Zosimus makes only one serious error and that is his confusion of Julian's stay at Sirmium with that at Naissus. Julian left Sirmium at dawn on the third day of his stay there and all his administrative and other acts which Zosimus locates at Sirmium in chapters 10 and 11 were really performed at Naissus (Ammianus XXI,10,2). Zosimus completely omits Julian's seizure of the pass at Succi (Ammianus XXI,10,3), and both this lapse and the confusion of Sirmium and Naissus were probably caused by careless abbreviation. Eunapius may be presumed to have known the truth, and since the errors are not to Julian's credit - in fact militarily the opposite - they may safely be ascribed to Zosimus.

Zosimus mentions Julian's letters to the Roman Senate, Athens,

Sparta, and Corinth (III,10,3-4), but says nothing of the hostile reception which the Roman Senate gave theirs (Ammianus XXI,10,7). Both Ammianus and Zosimus record Julian's hearing of petitions (at Naissus and Sirmium, respectively), but while Zosimus describes Julian's judgments as *προσῆκοντα* and *δίκαια* (III,11,1), Ammianus complains that he iniuste plures muneribus publicis annectebat (XXI,12,23). It is also significant that Zosimus is silent about the mutiny at Aquileia of the troops from Sirmium, for this was a serious threat to Julian as Ammianus points out (XXI,11,1 ff.).<sup>783</sup> Both Ammianus (XXI,1,1 f.) and Zosimus (III,11,1) tell how Julian consulted soothsayers, but only the latter claims that the death of Constantius was announced at the time foretold by the vision from Helios (III,11,2). Eunapius believed in the efficacy of oracles (e.g. 478), and here he is able to give a 'proof' of it. Even in death, Eunapius was not generous to Constantius, for in Zosimus' account the messengers bring Julian the news that *τὰ στρατόπεδα* have called upon him to rule the whole empire (III,11,2), whereas Ammianus records that eum [Constantius] voce suprema successorem suae fecerit potestatis (XXII,2,1).

Julian thereupon hastened to Constantinople where he was given an enthusiastic welcome by his native city (III,11,2) which Ammianus also describes fulsomely (XXII,2,4-5). Zosimus treats Julian's stay in Constantinople briefly and selectively. The silence about the trials at Chalcedon may be owed to Eunapius, for, as Ammianus admits (XXII,3,1 ff.),<sup>784</sup> they did not show Julian in a good light. However, there are other omissions which may be due to Zosimus rather than to Eunapius since they are to Julian's credit: his purge of the palace staff (cf. Ammianus XXII,4,1), his administration, and his reception of foreign embassies (Ammianus XXII,7,1). Vestiges of these do remain in fragments 15 and 16. Zosimus

includes that in which he has a greater interest,<sup>785</sup> Julian's public works at Constantinople: a harbour, a stoa, and a library (III,11,3). Ammianus says only that Julian reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis maximis fultam (XXII,9,2), but Himerius vouches for the stoa and the harbour (Or. XLI,14 Colonna). However, Julian did not give Constantinople a senate equal to that of Rome,<sup>786</sup> and this appears to be another case of Eunapius' shifting facts: here adding to Julian's account at the expense of Constantius'.

Zosimus then turns his attention to Antioch and the preparations for the war against Persia. He says that Julian left for Antioch after spending ten months in Constantinople (III,11,5), but this is wrong, for there were only eight months between Julian's entries into Constantinople (December 11, 361) and into Antioch (July 19, 362).<sup>787</sup> Mendelssohn emends the text to 'eight', but even so the travelling time is included in the stay at Constantinople. Zosimus gives no details of the journey, although he says that the troops behaved themselves well, being under Julian's command (III,11,4). It would be surprising, though, if Eunapius had passed over Julian's visit to the shrine of the Great Mother at Pessinus (cf. Ammianus XXII,9,5 ff.). Julian arrived at Antioch on the festival of Adonis, and Ammianus regarded this as a bad omen: visum est triste (XXII,9,15). Zosimus claims that the Antiochenes received Julian φιλοφρόνως (III,11,4) which leads to the suspicion that Eunapius suppressed the coincidence of the festival; perhaps it was to disguise this that he lengthened Julian's period at Constantinople. There is no attempt to conceal Julian's later unpopularity at Antioch, but the food crisis is ignored (cf. Ammianus XXII,14,1), and the account focusses upon the Misopogon whose arguments are repeated. Julian's measures to increase the decurionate are described with surprising precision, for Zosimus

records that even the sons of daughters of decurions were made liable to serve (III,11,5); this is confirmed by Libanius (Or. XLVIII,15). Unlike Zosimus, Ammianus harshly criticizes Julian's attempt to replenish the ranks of the curials (e.g. XXI,12,23; XXII,9,12; and XXV,4,21). but he may have been personally affected.<sup>788</sup> Zosimus sums up Julian's stay in Antioch with the words ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως οἰκονομήσας (III,11,4); Ammianus felt differently.

From this point until the death of Julian, Zosimus deals exclusively with the Persian Expedition. The difficulties in the accounts of Zosimus and Ammianus are notorious, but some at least of Zosimus' may be caused by his careless and radical compression. Zosimus begins very abruptly by saying that Julian assembled his army at the end of winter and dispatched it from Antioch (Ammianus gives the date as March 5 [XXIII,2,6]). It is unlikely that Eunapius did not introduce this grand enterprise with at least a few words along the lines of the personal and political motives which Ammianus ascribes to Julian (XXII,12,1), although it is far from impossible that Eunapius himself suppressed both the opposition to the Expedition and the unpopularity caused by Julian's lavish preparatory sacrifices and his consequently rowdy and over-fed soldiery (Ammianus XXII, 12,3-6). The bad omens about the campaign were too well known to be ignored, but Zosimus glides over them as quickly as possible.<sup>789</sup> Ammianus, on the other hand, gives the particulars of many gloomy portents,<sup>790</sup> but this is to set the mood for his tragic view of Julian and his Expedition.<sup>791</sup> The opening words of fr. 22.1 (ὅτι τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἤκμαζεν ὁ εἰς Πέρσας πόλεμος) lend support to the idea that Eunapius gave more of the background to the Expedition than Zosimus retains.

Zosimus' first error, an innocent one, is to have the fleet meet Julian at Hierapolis (III,12,1), a city which is not even on the Euphrates.

Since he later correctly puts the rendezvous with the fleet at Circesium, it seems that he, not Eunapius, carelessly substituted the fleet for the army in chapter 12.<sup>792</sup> More serious is Julian's visit to Edessa (III,12,2), for this appears to be an invention.<sup>793</sup> Zosimus says that Julian went from Hierapolis to Batnae where he was met by the Edessenes who gave him a crown. He then visited Edessa and from there went to Carrhae. Ammianus makes no mention of Edessa or its embassy, but has Julian travel directly from Batnae to Carrhae cursu propero (XXIII,3,1). Ammianus' evidence is not decisive, for he was with the fleet, not the army,<sup>794</sup> and his account of the journey to Carrhae is summary. He knows that Julian was in Carrhae on the night of March 18 (XXIII,3,3), but he gives no travel times within this period, as Eunapius at least pretended to be able to do. However, Libanius says that Julian did not visit Edessa<sup>795</sup> (although he does not name it), and like Ammianus he emphasizes the speed of Julian's march: ἀλλ' ὀφύτητος δεῖσθαι τὸν καιρὸν εἰδῶς (Or. XVIII, 214). Finally, Sozomen clinches the issue: παραδρομῶν τε τὴν Ἔδεσσαν (VI,1,1).

There are at least two possible reasons why Eunapius might have fabricated Julian's trip to Edessa. It serves to distract the reader's mind from any recollection of the bad omens at Hierapolis and Batnae where fifty men perished in each incident (Ammianus XXIII,2,6 and 8). Moreover, it would have been a great coup for Julian to have been welcomed by Edessa which was a staunchly Christian city of long standing; Sozomen (loc. cit.) gives this as the reason why Julian avoided it.<sup>796</sup>

According to Zosimus, Julian was still uncertain whether to take the route by the Tigris or the Euphrates when he came to Carrhae (III,12,2-3). This is quite untrue, for the Euphrates was the only practical route<sup>797</sup> and neither Ammianus (XXIII,3,1 ff.),<sup>798</sup> nor Libanius (Or. XVIII, 215-6), indicates that Julian had any doubts about which way to proceed. Julian was very secretive about his plans for the campaign (fr. 18.2),<sup>799</sup> and Eunapius'

informant may, like the Persians, have been deceived by Julian's feint across the Tigris (Ammianus, XXIII,3,6). Yet Oribasius should have known as much as Libanius or Ammianus, and the doubts may be no more than gratuitous mind reading by Eunapius.

While Julian was at Carrhae, he sent off the diversionary force under Procopius and Sebastianus since his strategy was to catch the Persians in a pincer movement at Ctesiphon. Ammianus correctly says that Procopius' force was to protect the Tigris front and to join Julian in Assyria (XXIII,3,5). Julian dispatched the troops hurriedly because of a cavalry raid, but Ammianus does not 'imply that only a chance Persian attack on Roman territory produced the division of the army.'<sup>800</sup> Julian had planned this before: ut ante cogitaverat (XXIII,3,5). Libanius assigns the same two duties to Procopius and has no word of the cavalry raid (Or. XVIII,214). Zosimus gives more importance to the necessity of protecting against such attacks and he exaggerates the alarm of the troops (συνταραχθῆναι) in order to provide a sharper contrast to Julian who was equal to the situation (III,12,4). Zosimus says nothing here of the intended rendezvous with the main army, but he notes it later when he narrates Procopius' revolt against Valens (IV,4,2). Thus Eunapius was aware of Julian's strategy and, like Libanius and Ammianus, he must have spoken of both duties at the time of the division at Carrhae: the omission may be attributed to Zosimus. The size of the diversionary force varies greatly from one author to another, but Zosimus' figure of eighteen thousand is reasonable.<sup>801</sup> Finally, Zosimus takes the opportunity to show that Julian was a good field commander by describing the order of march (III,12,5); in Eunapius, this may have complemented the picture of Julian the good strategist.

Chapter 13 has little of note. Zosimus is the only source to give the strength of the main army: sixty-five thousand (III,13,1). In his

description of the fleet, he carelessly mentions the transports twice, but his first figure of eleven hundred (III,13,2) is very close to Ammianus' (XXIII,3,9).<sup>802</sup> Julian is said to have given a donative and to have addressed the troops (III,13,3); Eunapius probably included the speech, but Zosimus customarily omits suchlike. There is one minor geographical error: Carrhae was not on the frontier in the fourth century (III,13,1).<sup>803</sup>

Zosimus' chapter 14 is in close agreement with Ammianus. Both describe the order of march in the same way and for the same reason: to demonstrate Julian's ability as field commander (III,14,1 and XXIV,1,2). Ammianus says that the army extended nearly ten miles (XXIV,1,3), and Zosimus says seventy stades (III,14,1); both put the number of the advance party under Lucillianus at fifteen hundred (XXIV,1,2 and III,14,1). Zosimus locates the tomb of Gordian at Dura (III,14,2), and Ammianus relates that it was visible from a distance when the army was at Zaitha (XXIII,5,7). Since Zaitha was only sixty stades from Dura (III,14,2), these two statements may not be irreconcilable. The description of the capture of Phathusae (Ammianus' Anatha) is similar in both authors, even to the person fetching water, except that Zosimus (III,14,2 ff.) omits all mention of the decisive part played by Hormisda in persuading the fortress to surrender (XXIV,1,8). The neglect of Hormisda is likely the work of Eunapius who thus gave Julian all the credit. Zosimus has earlier recorded the fact that Hormisda was with Julian's army (III,13,4) and it is doubtful that he would have passed over him now if he had appeared in Eunapius. Given the precision of Zosimus' account to this point, the omission of Hormisda looks deliberate.

Zosimus' narrative of the march continues to be in general agreement with Ammianus' although he omits the hurricane and flood (XXIV,1,11) and the

place names differ as far as Dacira. Zosimus' Megia may be a doublet of  $\pi\eta\gamma\eta'$  (III,15,3).<sup>804</sup> Both give similar descriptions of Dacira (III,15,2 and XXIV,2,3) and Zaragardia (III,15,3; Ammianus' Ozogardana, XXIV,2,3-4) where there was a monument called Trajan's Mound and where the army rested for two days. On leaving there, Julian the cautious commander sent Hormisda ahead with a scouting party which routed a Persian detachment after escaping an ambush (III,15,4 ff.; cf. Ammianus XXIV, 2,4-5). The incident is neutral as far as Julian is concerned, although it may have had enough intrinsic interest for Eunapius to have dilated upon it.

The next major episode is the crossing of the Naarmalcha which is very significant for Eunapius' treatment of Julian (III,16,1 - 17,3). The crossing is also described by Libanius (Or. XVIII, 223-6), for whom it is equally important, and by Ammianus (XXIV,2,7-8) who does not mention Julian at all in connexion with it. Ammianus gives the bare facts as follows. When the army came to the Naarmalcha, the infantry crossed on bridges and the cavalry swam, some being lost in the process. The crossing was opposed by the Persians, but they were driven off when they were attacked in the rear by a detachment of nimble auxiliaries.

The purpose of Zosimus' account is to demonstrate Julian's great ability as a commander and thus it begins by emphasizing the difficulty which he faced. Flooding and mud were the initial problem, from which the cavalry especially suffered (III,16,1). Ammianus says nothing of this mud and water, although flooding is the basic element in Libanius' account. There may have been a genuine tradition about flooding at this point - erroneous or ignored by Ammianus - but Julian's panegyrists may have borrowed it from a later episode in the campaign near Maiozamalcha (Ammianus XXIV,3,10; Zosimus III,19,3 ff.). Zosimus asserts that the

mud and the depth of the channel prevented fording, ignores the possibility of bridges, and states that the Persians held the other bank in force. Only Julian, because of his ἀγχινοία τῆ περὶ πάντα καὶ ἐμπειρία πολέμου was clever enough to order Lucillianus to fall upon the Persian rear (III,16,2). Having established the impossibility of traversing the Naarmalcha, Eunapius was left with the difficulty of explaining the attack on the Persian rear. Hence he conjures up Lucillianus to replace the auxiliaries who crossed in the heat of battle, and says that he was on reconnaissance (as he was earlier [III,14,1]) in the hope that this would prevent awkward questions as to how Lucillianus happened to be on that side of the canal. Julian then had to wait until dark so that Victor could take the order to Lucillianus without being seen by the Persians (III,16,3). Unfortunately for the verisimilitude, Eunapius has Victor shout and blow a trumpet (in enemy territory) to attract Lucillianus' attention (III,17,1).<sup>805</sup> Ammianus says nothing of Victor and Libanius is unaware even of the attack by the auxiliaries; neither, of course, has the night long delay, for that is a fabrication of Eunapius. Eunapius is consistent to the end since in Zosimus' account the victorious Romans cross in boats; not even then does he allow the possibility of swimming or bridges, let alone Libanius' causeway (III,17,2). This is one of the better examples of the way Eunapius can re-work a few basic facts to further his own purposes.

The next event is the successful siege of Bersabora (III,17,3 - 18,6). Zosimus begins with a detailed description of the defences which justly emphasizes the strength of the city, and hence Julian's achievement in taking it. Both Zosimus (III,18,1) and Ammianus (XXIV,2,11) tell how Hormisda was insulted by his fellow countrymen, but only Zosimus specifically states that Hormisda failed to negotiate peace terms before

the assault began. The course of the siege is the same in both Ammianus and Zosimus, except that Zosimus says nothing of Julian's heroic failure to break in one of the gates (XXIV,2,14-17) and gives much more importance to Julian's employment of the helepolis (III,18,2-4; cf. XXIV, 18-19). Libanius, too, is silent about Julian's personal assault, although he attributes victory to the erection of mounds, by which he must mean the helepolis (Or. XVIII, 228). According to Ammianus, the negotiations for surrender were conducted by Hormisda (XXIV,2,20), while Zosimus says that Momosirus capitulated directly to Julian (II,18,4). This is one more example of the way in which Eunapius consistently minimizes Hormisda's positive contributions in order not to diminish Julian's glory. There are two more divergences which contribute a little to Julian's lustre and may be deliberate distortions. Zosimus says that five thousand prisoners were taken (III,18,4); Ammianus' figure is two thousand five hundred (XXIV,2,22). Zosimus claims that the city was captured *ἐν δύο μόναις ἡμέραις* (III,18,6), but an examination of Ammianus' narrative yields a time of three days.<sup>806</sup>

According to Zosimus, Julian immediately praised the army for its good work and gave each man one hundred denarii (III,18,6), while Ammianus puts this speech after the attack by the Surena (XXIV,3,1-3). The inversion is of little moment, but Zosimus conceals the fact that Julian's tiny donative angered the troops<sup>807</sup> so much that he had to convince them that the state was too poor to pay more (XXIV,3,4-7). No doubt it was Eunapius who suppressed this evidence of Julian's unpopularity and the wavering loyalty of the soldiers. Eunapius has also altered the aftermath of the Persian attack. Ammianus (XXIV,3,2) and Libanius (Or. XVIII, 229) both record that Julian executed some of the Roman cavalry who had been defeated. Zosimus' account tones this down considerably: the

officer in charge was held ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ along with the rest of those who had fled (III,19,2). Eunapius found the truth too harsh to fit the picture of the Julian who punished cowardice in Gaul by dressing the offenders in women's garb (III,3,4-5).

After Bersabora, the army had to cross land which the Persians had flooded (III,19,3-4). Zosimus describes in detail Julian's part in leading the army through the morass, but his account is very little more laudatory than Ammianus' (XXIV,3,10-11) and Libanius, too, relates that the Persians had thought that the flooding would make further progress ἀδύνατον (Or. XVIII, 234). The army then traversed an area of date palms until it came to Maiozamalcha, the siege of which 'may be regarded as the centrepiece of Zosimus' account of the campaign.'<sup>808</sup> Zosimus generally accords with Ammianus, but there are some noteworthy divergences.

Zosimus says that Julian attacked the city because he was set upon by a Persian when he was close to the walls (III,20,3-4).<sup>809</sup> Ammianus emphasizes much more than Zosimus Julian's prowess in defending himself (XXIV,4,5), but he does not make the attack upon Julian the motive for the siege, for he knows that it happened while the emperor civitatis situm diligenti inquisitione exploraturus (XXIV,4,3). However, the psychological causality of Eunapius' rhetorical history is shared by Libanius who says that the strength of the place argued against an assault, but that the ambush drove them to besiege it θυμῶ (Or. XVIII,236). Eunapius was not unaware of the military reasons for capturing Maiozamalcha, for Zosimus says a bit later that it was near a populous city, Besuchis, and other fortresses (III,20,5). It seems unnecessary to postulate that Eunapius incorporated an incident which survives only in Ammianus (XXIV,5,6-7) when Julian attacked a fortress near Ctesiphon because he was assailed unexpectedly by missiles from the walls.

Chapters 21 and 22 narrate the siege in detail, emphasizing the courage of the Roman soldiers and Julian's generalship. The high point is the emergence of Exsuperius, Magnus, and Jovianus from the mine (III, 22,4; cf. Ammianus XXIV,4,23). At this point, some of Zosimus' circumstantial details are of dubious value, but they do seem to be variations of a genuine tradition and not pure fiction. Zosimus says that there was a woman miller grinding flour in the room into which the tunnelers emerged (III,22,4); Libanius relates that there was an old woman sleeping there with a child (Or. XVIII,239). Zosimus tells how the unsuspecting Persians were singing the praises of their king and boasting that the Romans would capture Zeus' palace more easily than the citadel (III,22,5). Ammianus vouches for the songs about the king (XXIV,4,23), and Libanius records a Persian statement about storming heaven earlier in the action (Or. XVIII,236). A final indication of the accuracy of Zosimus' information about the siege is that both he and Ammianus say that eighty prisoners surrendered along with the commander, Anabdates (III,22,6; XXIV,4,26).

After destroying Maiozamalcha, Julian came to the King's Chase and a Roman palace which he left untouched out of respect for its builders (III,23,1-2; similarly, Ammianus XXIV,5,1-2). The next part of the chapter is badly confused, probably as a result of careless abbreviation by Zosimus, for the errors do not affect the picture of Julian. After the King's Chase, the army arrived at Meinas Sabath, which Ammianus does not record,<sup>810</sup> then Seleucia (III,23,3; Ammianus XXIV,5,3). Zosimus says that the city was taken by a scouting party, but the scouts are those with which, according to Ammianus, Julian went to view the place which Carus had captured. This is clear since Zosimus speaks of Julian seeing the bodies of the relatives of the man who had betrayed a city to

Carus; these were really the corpses of kinsmen of the commander who had surrendered Pirisabora (Ammianus XXIV,5,3).

At this point, Anabdates was tried and executed. Zosimus appears to give a more honest account than Ammianus who claims that Julian had granted Anabdates a pardon which he forfeited by insulting Hormisda (XXIV,5,4). Zosimus escapes the problem since he did not give Julian the role of magnanimous victor on that occasion.<sup>811</sup> Both Zosimus and Ammianus relate how the Persians successfully attacked the Roman baggage train (III,24,1; XXIV,5,5), but, as noted above, Zosimus omits the siege of the fortress near Ctesiphon which Julian attacked in retaliation for being shot at (XXIV,5,7). During this siege, Julian degraded some cavalymen to the infantry for cowardice in the field (XXIV,5,10) and this may be the origin of Zosimus' account at III,19,2 where he differs from Ammianus as to the severity of the punishment meted out (cf. above). It is not impossible that Eunapius suppressed the real context to conceal his borrowings, but neither seems important enough for such drastic action.

After the attack on the baggage train, the army came to Trajan's Canal which was dredged so that the fleet could sail into the Tigris and on to Ctesiphon (III,24,2). Thereupon the army had to cross the Tigris in the face of Persian resistance and this stirring episode is dealt with in basically the same manner by Zosimus (III,25) and Ammianus (XXIV,6,4 ff.). Zosimus speaks as if the crossing were over the canal,<sup>812</sup> but this error doubtless arises from careless compression. According to Libanius, Julian, who had no choice but to force the crossing, gave horse races to divert his troops and to distract the attention of the Persians from his preparations (Or. XVIII, 248-9).<sup>813</sup> Ammianus and Zosimus say nothing of the games, but Eunapius refers to them in fr. 22.2<sup>814</sup> and they may have fallen victim along with the Tigris at the beginning of Zosimus' chapter 25. Both

Ammianus and Zosimus agree with Julian's generals that he was wrong to order the passage. Ammianus considers it propius temeritatem (XXIV,6,4); Zosimus says that Julian gave the command to his generals *σὺν ὀργῇ* and calls the act a *δυσμαρτίων* (III,25,1 and 3). However, the reaction of the two historians is different to Julian's pretending that the burning ships were the signal of success. Eunapius does not have Ammianus' tragic conception of Julian and Zosimus thus describes the action as *καταστρατηγίας* (III,25,3). Ammianus sees it as a further manifestation of Julian's fury: veloci vigore pectoris excitus imperator (XXV,6,5).

There are some factual matters worth noting.<sup>815</sup> Zosimus says that initially two boats crossed (III,25,2) while Ammianus says five (XXIV,6,5), but this is of little importance. Zosimus describes the battle as lasting from midnight until midday (III,25,5) and Ammianus as ad usque diei finem a lucis ortu (XXIV,6,12): Zosimus simply fails to distinguish two engagements in his brevity. Both agree on the number of casualties: two thousand five hundred Persian as against seventy-five Roman (III,25,7 ; seventy Roman, Ammianus XXIV,6,15). More important, Zosimus must be correct when he tells that the rest of the Roman army crossed the next day after the battle and it is wrong to dismiss him on this point.<sup>816</sup> Libanius gives the same order of events as Zosimus (Or. XVIII,255) and, in any case, an army as large as Julian's could not have been brought over such an obstacle in darkness. It is Ammianus, for once, who is guilty of omission.

The Romans then spent five days at a place called Abuzatha, not mentioned by Ammianus, which must have been near Ctesiphon (III,26,1). Zosimus does not name Ctesiphon at this time, but Eunapius did (fr. 22,2-3). Consistent with usual practice, Julian's unsuccessful sacrifice to Mars Ultor, at which nine bulls dropped dead and the tenth gave bad signs (Ammianus XXIV,6,17), is omitted. Zosimus gives the decisions of the

conferences at Abuzatha to strike inland and to burn the boats for which there was no longer any need, but he never actually says that the Romans chose not to besiege Ctesiphon (III,26,2-3). Hence Eunapius may have tried to conceal the fact that the Romans were unable to achieve their original objective, just as omission of the debates at Ctesiphon conceals the considerable opposition to Julian's orders, especially to burn the boats (cf. Ammianus XXIV,7,1-6). Yet the silence may be caused by Zosimus' epitomizing rather than Eunapius' bias since Eunapius does record the debate over whether or not to return the way they had come. Those who disagreed with Julian are roundly condemned by the use of such words as *ψευδίας* (fr. 22.4)<sup>817</sup> and Eunapius could certainly have dealt with earlier opposition in the same way. Zosimus does admit that the burning of the boats was regretted when the army had come to Tummara, but Julian is spared any recrimination. He is not mentioned as being either responsible for it, or a focus of resentment, and the matter is generalized: *μεταμέλεια πάντας εἰσηλθε* (III,28,3). Moreover, the burning is not held to have been wrong in principle, but only because the pack animals were too wearied by travelling through enemy territory to carry sufficient supplies. However, Zosimus is right not to speak of a retreat, for Julian still intended to continue the offensive. Corduene was Persian territory and east of the Tigris; this particular area was chosen because it offered the best hope of meeting Procopius and Sebastianus.<sup>818</sup>

From this point, Zosimus is concise and obscure, but although he shares few place names with Ammianus, the two accounts are roughly parallel. His difficulties do not affect Julian, and there are only two incidents worthy of comment here. The first (III,26,5) is one of those Homeric combats which Eunapius likes and which might be questioned if Ammianus did not tell it, too (XXV,1,2). The detail about Machameus rushing at the

enemy *ῥυμνός* and killing four of them is not found in Ammianus, but Ammianus does say that Maurus killed the Persian who had struck down his brother. Indeed, Ammianus is considerably more poetical than Zosimus in his description of the condition of Machameus when he was rescued: pallescentem morte propinqua as against *ἐμπύου ἐτι*.

The second incident prefigures the way in which Julian was killed (III, 27,1-2). When near Barsaphthae the Persians seemed about to attack the baggage train, Julian was the first to put on his cuirass and outran the rest of the army, whereupon the Persians fled. Ammianus appears to record the same event, but he does not exploit it; about Julian he says only: viso imperatore ... reverterunt (XXV,1,3).

Zosimus' account of Julian's death is brief and neutral in tone (III,29,1). Unlike Ammianus (XXV,3), he says only that Julian was struck by a sword (*ξίφει*) and carried to his tent where he died about midnight. When Julian's death became known, many came to the tent where his body lay (III,29,2), but nothing is said of the death-bed conversation with the philosophers (Ammianus XXV,3,15 ff.). More surprising is the absence of any attempt to blame the Christians, even of any discussion of possible culprits: the bare fact stands alone. Eunapius must have furnished many details which Zosimus has excised, but the absence of bias can be traced to him. In the Lives (478), Eunapius mentions Julian's death, but never the manner of it. The strongest evidence of Eunapius' fairness is fr. 23 where he says only that there were various guesses and that no one knew for certain: *Τὸ μὲν γὰρ γεγενημένον ἦν φανερόν, τὸ δὲ ὅπως εἴκαθεν ἄλλος ἄλλως, ἠπίστατο δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς*.

Other accounts are less open-minded. In one place, Ammianus says that Julian was pierced by a cavalryman's spear which came incertum unde (XXV,3,6). In another, he says that there was an unfounded rumour that

Julian had been killed by a Roman weapon (XXV,6,6). It is Libanius who has the expected pagan reaction. After establishing to his own satisfaction that no Persian had killed Julian, he puts the question cui bono and accuses the Christians in all but name (Or. XVIII, 274-5). Elsewhere he specifically says that the assassin was a Saracen and accuses the Saracen chief of having been hired by those who were keen to have Julian killed, meaning the Christians (Or. XXIV,6). Oration XVIII was written in 365 and XXIV in 378/9<sup>819</sup> so that such accusations were certainly current at the time when Eunapius was writing.

Among the Church historians, Socrates says that the perpetrator was unknown, but that of the two theories that Julian was killed either by a Persian or by a Roman soldier, the latter was the more popular (H.E. III,21). Philostorgius tells that Julian was killed by a Saracen who was himself killed soon after; he does not inquire into the motivation (H.E. VII,15). Sozomen is the most remarkable, for after quoting the relevant passage of Libanius' Oratio XVIII (274 f.) he agrees that it is ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀληθές to assume that a Christian was responsible (H.E. VI,2,1). For him it is a meritorious act in the tradition of the celebrated tyrannicides of yore. Because Sozomen chooses to quote Libanius, it is probable that his accusation was the strongest and best known.

However, Eunapius' bias is evident in his selection of oracles and omens and he attempts to meet criticism on this score by saying that not all were worthy of a place in a history (fr. 26). Ammianus records two which Eunapius may have suppressed. At night in his tent just before his death, Julian saw the Genius publicus who had foretold his greatness in Gaul velata cum capite Cornucopia per aulaea tristius discedentem (XXV,2,3). This vision was immediately followed by a falling star which the Etruscan soothsayers interpreted as a warning against joining battle (XXV,2,7).

Two oracles do survive in the fragments. The one was given to Julian when he was at Ctesiphon and compares his battles against the Persians and Alamanni to Zeus' against the Giants (fr. 27). The other concerns Julian's death, saying that when he had conquered Persia as far as Seleucia he would be carried in a fiery chariot up to Olympus, his paternal home which he had left to assume a human body (fr. 26). It appears that Eunapius consoled himself and his readers with the theory that Julian became a god. In the Lives (474), Eunapius applies the epithet **θειότατος** to Julian and hints that he became divine: **εἰ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τοὺς πλείονας οὕτως ἀπῆλθε** (478). Yet it is clear from Eunapius' comments on Julian's statements in his letters that he was the son of Helios that Eunapius took a sophisticated view of Julian's divinity. Julian meant this in the way that Socrates spoke of Zeus, not in the literal way in which Alexander claimed to be the son of Zeus (fr. 24). Julian himself puts a speech into the mouth of Helios in which the god tells him that he has an immortal soul which is the offspring of Helios, and that if he is a faithful follower, he will himself attain divine status (Or. VII, 234C). Libanius makes the strongest claims for Julian's divinity, for he says that the emperor's image had been placed alongside those of other gods in the temples, and even that he had answered prayers (Or. XVIII, 304). Libanius even promised Theodosius that Julian would aid the Roman military recovery if he were avenged (Or. XXIV, 40). Libanius - and Eunapius, too - may have been attempting to counter the Christian martyr-cult.<sup>820</sup> Possibly, Eunapius' failure to accuse the Christians of killing Julian is intended to make his apotheosis more convincing.

Julian overshadows the reign of Jovian - a reign which does little more than testify to Julian's greatness. After Jovian's accession, the difficulties faced by the Roman army are described in detail and summed up in the

last sentence of chapter 30. In chapter 31, Zosimus gives the terms of the treaty between Rome and Persia, and then launches into a long digression which demonstrates that this was the first time that Rome had ceded territory to an enemy (III,32) (above, pp. 198 ff.). This disaster is attributed to Julian's death and hence points up his greatness: *μόνη δὲ ἡ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τελευτὴ πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀπώλειαν ἤρκεσε* (III,32,6). Ammianus has a similar digression upon this theme (XXV, 9,9 ff.). The effect of the shameful treaty is driven home by the long and pathetic account of the handing over of Nisibis to the Persians against the wishes of its inhabitants (III,33 and 34). Then Zosimus once more declares the importance of Julian's demise: *τοσαύτην ἴσχυσεν ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς τελευτὴ τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιποιῆσαι μεταβολὴν* (III,34,2). This is reinforced on three subsequent occasions. Valentinian was beseeched by the army and his court to take a colleague lest they should suffer similar things again (IV,1,2). Zosimus twice says that the German tribes across the Rhine dared to invade now that Julian was gone (IV,3,4; 9,1).

The people of Carrhae expressed their grief by stoning to death the messenger who brought word of Julian's death (III,34,2).<sup>821</sup> Even better for Eunapius is the fact that at Sirmium the Batavi killed Lucillianus, one of three messengers who brought the bad tidings. Zosimus points out that they slew Lucillianus despite the fact that he was Jovian's father-in-law and that they spared Procopius because he was Julian's relation; the future emperor Valentinian saved himself by flight (III,35,2). Later, Procopius is said to have attracted followers for his rebellion because of his kinship with Julian and his having taken part in his campaigns (IV,7,1).

Julian's body was brought back in state from Persia: Jovian was

accompanied by his bodyguard; ὁ στρατὸς ἴππας followed Julian's remains. The implication is clear that Julian dead was of more account than Jovian alive. Julian's corpse was laid to rest in a royal tomb at Tarsus and Zosimus quotes the inscription thereon (III,30,3-4).

Eunapius amply fulfilled Oribasius' mandate to write the Hellenic version of Julian's life. After Diocletian, Julian was the only 'good' emperor in the Histories and he set a standard against which the Christian emperors were, at least implicitly, to be measured. Julian was a god-like ruler, protected by Providence throughout his life and apotheosized on his death. Ammianus felt similarly except that for him Julian became a tragic hero; Eunapius reserved the disasters of the Persian Expedition for Jovian. On the human level, Julian was portrayed as the ideal emperor. Learned, philosophical, pious, and ascetic, he had such great literary gifts that his own works were the best record of his deeds. Julian was a brave and brilliant general who dealt firmly with barbarians, but he was also a conscientious and merciful administrator who chastised his (infrequently) errant subjects with words, not rods.

Julian was a good emperor, but not that good and, although a comparison with Ammianus shows that Eunapius had and passed on excellent information, he did have to use his customary historiographical techniques. Fabrications like the trip to Edessa are few, but things which would tarnish Julian's image are frequently suppressed. Events may be altered, or telescoped as in the story of Julian's proclamation at Paris, both to heighten the drama and to make plausible Eunapius' interpretation of motive. Eunapius, of course, takes full licence to impute the best motives to Julian and the worst to his opponents like Constantius. Photius was certainly not wrong to describe Eunapius' Histories as an encomium of Julian.

## XVII Theodosius

Theodosius largely completed what Constantine began and Eunapius dealt with him accordingly. Historiographically, Theodosius is perhaps the most interesting of Eunapius' emperors. Because Theodosius was contemporary, Eunapius was not bound by a literary tradition and thus had more freedom to exercise his talents. At the same time, however, he had to be much more subtle in his distortions of historical fact. It is interesting also to have Eunapius' opinions on such pressing problems as the imperial policy towards the barbarians, and to see how he handled the difficulties which the Battle of the Frigidus posed for one who believed in a pagan Providence.

Zosimus' treatment of Theodosius begins in a succinct and matter of fact way with his appointment by Gratian. He says that Theodosius came from Cauca in Gallaecia, and sums up his qualifications thus: *ὄντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπόλεμον οὐδὲ ἀρχῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἀξιότιμον* (IV,24,4). Eunapius thought that Theodosius was made emperor because of his military merits: he could not deny the obvious. In this chapter, Zosimus describes the perilous military situation after Adrianople and says that Gratian realised that he was unable to handle it on his own (24,4). Zosimus has earlier stated that Theodosius was raised to the purple because of the reputation which he earned as dux Moesiae primae (IV,16,6).<sup>822</sup> There is an error in Zosimus' account, for he thinks that Theodosius was created co-emperor at once (*τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνόν* [24,4]), whereas his original appointment was probably as magister militum<sup>823</sup> and he was not proclaimed Augustus until January 19, 379.

The next two chapters, 25 and 26, are mainly concerned with the destruction of a band of Goths by the magister militum per Thraciam, Modares, and the massacre of Goths settled in the eastern provinces on the orders of the magister militum per Orientem, Julius 2. Julius' action is firmly dated to 378, for

Ammianus says that it was prompted by news of the defeat at Adrianople (XXXI,16,8). Modares' victory is usually dated later, even as late as 380, because chapter 25 begins with the statement that Theodosius was performing civil administration in Thessalonica.<sup>824</sup> However, it can be shown that the Modares episode must also have occurred in 378.

The mention of Theodosius in 25,1 should not be tied to the rest of the chapter because it is a doublet of 27,1 which introduces Theodosius' military reforms. Zosimus makes the same sort of lapse here as he later does in his two renderings of Promotus' defeat of the Gothic attempt to cross the Danube (35,1 and 38-9). He seems to have begun to synopsise Theodosius' reforms and administration, but changed his mind and decided that these two episodes were worth including.

There is more evidence to be found in Zosimus' text (he is the only source except for Eunapius fr. 51 which is no help with the dating). The description of the extent of the barbarian incursions (25,1-2) suits the period immediately after Adrianople better than 379 or 380, for by then Theodosius had conducted a number of successful campaigns.<sup>825</sup> Most important is the statement that the Goths in the eastern provinces were plotting an uprising because of what had happened to their fellow tribesmen in Thrace: τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θράκην συμβάντα τοῖς αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλοις (26,3). This clearly refers to the slaughter inflicted by Modares which was certainly of sufficient magnitude to have reached their ears: he captured four thousand waggons (25,3). Moreover, the two episodes are spoken of as nearly contemporary in the first sentence of chapter 27: τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἑῶαν καὶ Θράκην συμπηγόντα ἔλαττώματα ....

These chapters are of more than chronological interest. Theodosius' civil administration is dealt with favourably, if briefly, in 25,1 and 27,1.

Zosimus may seem to damn with faint praise, but Theodosius does not suffer worse than Julian whose civil administration Zosimus vigorously condensed, as a comparison between III,11,1 and fr. 15 and 16 readily demonstrates. There is less honesty in the military sphere, for nothing is said of Theodosius' campaigns of 378 and 379 except that he prepared for war *πανστρατιῶ* (25,2). Thrace was saved because Modares made use of the gifts of fortune (25,4) and Julius and the citizens of the east freed themselves from fear (26,9). Both these points are driven home in the sentence which concludes these two narratives: Thrace and the east were preserved not by Theodosius, but by *τῆ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρχινοῖ* (27,1).

Although Modares is known to have been a Christian,<sup>826</sup> he is one of Eunapius' good barbarians and he was given his high military command because of his trustworthiness (25,2). He led a surprise attack upon a band of Goths who were in a torpid state from having consumed too much looted food and drink (25,2). Attacks upon armies in this sort of state are one of Eunapius' favourite literary exercises,<sup>827</sup> and the details must be treated with caution. In the original, Eunapius gave an even more elaborate description of how silence was maintained than survives in Zosimus' epitome (fr. 51).

The second episode is introduced by an explanation of how the Goths happened to be scattered through the cities of the east. Valens had settled them there as surety for the good behaviour of their elders when he received the Goths who were flying from the Huns. (When Eunapius told about the immigration in the Histories, he compared the reception of the barbarian youth to the sowing of the dragon's teeth (fr. 42), for he disapproved strongly of Valens' well-intentioned error.) The theme of Julius' shrewdness is introduced now because it is in virtue of this quality that he is said to have been put in charge of the guarding and rearing of the young Goths (26,2). This episode lacks the dramatic intensity of the preceding one, but Eunapius was

able to indulge his taste for the picturesque, and to exemplify Julius' cleverness, by telling how he sent his secret request for guidance to the Senate at Constantinople (fr. 52). Zosimus says simply that he wrote to the Senate *ἐν παραβύστῳ* (26,6).

Julius' sending to Constantinople for advice rather than to Theodosius seemed to Eunapius to require an explanation, and he takes licence to manufacture Julius' reasons. Theodosius was in Thrace, Julius had received his command from Valens, and he was not known to the new emperor (26,5). In reality, since Theodosius was not yet emperor, Julius had no need to consult him. The error does indicate that Eunapius was probably genuinely unaware that Theodosius was not emperor from the first, and that he, not Zosimus, is responsible for the same mistake at 24,4. Since Eunapius lived in the east, he cannot have been ignorant of the fact that Julius' purge took place in 378, and the misapprehension about Theodosius' status is too organic a component of the Julius episode for it to be solely attributable to Zosimus.

Zosimus returns to Theodosius in chapter 27 and begins a discussion of his reforms which is similar in several respects to what he said about Constantine's innovations. When Theodosius' generals had retrieved the military situation, he lapsed into luxury and disregarded the empire:

*τρυφήν δὲ καὶ ἐκμέλειαν τῆς βασιλείας προοίμια ποιησάμενος* (27,1). Zosimus

levies a similar charge against Constantine just before launching his attack on the reform of the praetorian prefecture: *Μείνης δὲ ἀπόλεμος καὶ τρυφῆ*

*τὸν βίον ἐκδοῦς* (II,32,1). Almost any emperor would appear to be luxurious

in comparison with Julian (cf. Ammianus XXII,4,1-9 and XXV,4,4) and Eunapius' disgust is honestly felt, although he exaggerates the ill effects of high living.

Zosimus introduces Theodosius' reorganization of the *magistri militum*

in terms like those he uses of Constantine and the praetorian prefects, and in both cases he believes that the existing arrangement was preferable. By increasing the number of *magistri militum* from two to five, Theodosius

τὰς μὲν προεστύσας ἀρχὰς συνετάραξε (27,1); Constantine συνετάραξεν δὲ καὶ τὰς πάλαι καθεσταμένους ἀρχὰς (II,32,1). As far as it goes, Zosimus'

account is correct, for Theodosius made permanent the three posts of *magister militum per Orientem*, *per Thracias*, and *per Illyricum*.<sup>828</sup> Two at least of

these are attested earlier, but they were temporary appointments and, in any case, Zosimus and Eunapius are not interested in that type of evolution

(above, p.312). W. Ensslin dates the reform to 387/8 because Timasius' title changed from *magister equitum* to *magister equitum et peditum*.<sup>829</sup>

However, very little weight can be given to the change in title and the reform is best left where Zosimus puts it, in 380<sup>830</sup>, when it can be explained by

the need to regroup after Adrianople. Zosimus also says that Theodosius doubled the number of officers in command of the tactical units of the army (27,3), and there does appear to have been an increase in the officer corps.<sup>831</sup>

These expansions are not criticized in strictly military terms, but on the grounds that they meant heavier costs for the state and more profiteering at the expense of the common soldiers (27,2-3). The troops are said to have suffered similar exploitation by their generals and officers as a result of Constantine's reforms (II,33,5).

Chapter 28 begins by blaming the parlous state of the empire on Theodosius' ἐκμέλεια καὶ ἡ ἀλόγος τῶν χρημάτων ἐσιθυμία. Theodosius' lavish way of life was a leitmotiv of Eunapius' treatment of him (cf. fr. 48 and 49). A more extravagant variation on the hyperbole about how it would have required a huge account book to keep note of all the cooks and cup-bearers is used later to emphasize the number of Arbazacius' mistresses (fr. 84). These are stock charges, but Theodosius' military expenditures were very high,

and the Gothic invasions caused a loss of revenue.<sup>832</sup> Hence taxation may well have been extortionate on the untouched parts of the empire (cf. fr. 49). Pacatus (Pan., 13) goes to the other extreme from Zosimus and praises Theodosius for his frugality and abstemiousness, but A.H.M. Jones gives some credence to the charges of luxury, saying that Theodosius may have lived differently at Constantinople from when on campaign.<sup>833</sup> Moreover, the contemporary Epitome de Caesaribus commends Theodosius for the sort of things for which Zosimus condemns him: largiri magno animo magna... eosque honoribus pecunia beneficiis ceteris munerare (48,9).

Zosimus then complains of the great power which the court eunuchs held and the influence which they exercised over Theodosius (28,2). This type of censure is frequent in both secular and ecclesiastical writing of the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires.<sup>834</sup> Eunuchs did have real power and the chief ones attained higher rank than most of the nobles - whom Zosimus says they were able to call to account. Their authority rested in the fact that they both had and controlled access to the emperor, and as long as a eunuch held the emperor's favour, he was secure.<sup>835</sup> Zosimus cuts short his attack to outline the bad effects which the eunuchs had upon the empire (28,3-4): Theodosius' misguided generosity led to a shortage of money which was then supplied by the sale of provincial governorships. Theodosius' liberality is described in the same pejorative terms as was Constantine's (cf.

καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀναξίους, τὰ δημόσια δαπανῶν (28,3) with ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀναξίους καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς φόρους ἐκδαπανῶν (II,38,1)), and need not

have been the major drain upon the treasury. However, there is evidence for the sale of offices from the time of Constantine and Theodosius made the formal compact (sponsio), whereby money or land was pledged in return for suffragium, legally enforceable. Julian had attempted to curb this abuse by

making a sponsio legally unenforceable. Zosimus is probably wrong when he says that Theodosius himself sold offices; it is more likely that he only allowed his chief ministers to do so.<sup>836</sup>

As a result of this state of affairs, the armed forces decreased in number and effectiveness, and the cities were impoverished (29,1). Zosimus is probably right about the state of the army in the early years of Theodosius' reign, although the cause would have been Adrianople and the subsequent campaigns. This statement precedes the enlistment of barbarians and helps to set the scene for it (30,1). Theodosius did reinforce the *comitatus* with more than twenty new regiments, although many of these may have replaced losses sustained in the Gothic wars. The frontier garrisons of Armenia, Mesopotamia, Osrhoene, Egypt and the Thebaid were strengthened with new units, but these were perhaps to make up for those transferred to the *comitatus*.<sup>837</sup> The impoverishment of the cities is a standard way to discredit a 'bad' emperor (cf. Constantine [II,38,4]), but Theodosius' taxation was heavy enough to cause the Riot of the Statues at Antioch in 387.<sup>838</sup> The cities also suffered greatly from the rapacity of the provincial governors who had to recover the cost of their suffragium (29,1). Zosimus exaggerates the effects, but the abuse was constant and real and the governors did, as he says, make most of their money from corrupt judicial decisions: τοῖς ἐκ συκοφαντίας πράγμασι περιέβαλλον (29,1).<sup>839</sup> This grisly account ends on a note of pagan propaganda: as bad as conditions were, the oppressed were still able to go to the temples and pray to the gods in the ancestral way (29,2).

Because of the shortage of soldiers, Theodosius decided to enrol barbarians who, according to Zosimus (30,1), agreed to join in hopes of overthrowing the empire. It is a favourite technique of Eunapius to impute motives, but it must be admitted that this one is not implausible, given that

the Visigoths had sworn an oath of enmity to Rome in 376 (cf. fr. 60).<sup>840</sup> Realizing the threat, Theodosius diluted the barbarians by arranging a transfer with an Egyptian unit, and this provides the framework for one of Eunapius' vivid episodes. The fracas between the Egyptians and the barbarians happened at Philadelphia in Lydia in 380 (30,4)<sup>841</sup> and Eunapius must have had first-hand information about it. The effect of the incident is to discredit Theodosius' barbarian policy by showing the Goths to be treacherous and ill-disciplined, an effect which is heightened by the severe contrast with the patriotism and good behaviour of the regular troops from Egypt (30,4).

The Egyptians provide continuity and a focus of interest as the account follows them to Macedonia (31,1). Here the defects of Theodosius' barbarian policy are further exemplified. There was no order in the army, for those who had enlisted in the Roman forces were allowed to take furlough among their people and this state of affairs culminated in a spectacular night attack upon Theodosius' camp (31,1-3). The deserters conceived of the attack, allowed their countrymen to cross the river unhindered, and confirmed that the great fire belonged to Theodosius' army. The night attack is exploited not only for spectacle, but also for a good measure of pathos since these same Egyptians were wiped out when only they and the Roman troops stood to fight the Goths (31,4). The episode ends with a rhetorical flourish which proclaims that the barbarians could have carried all before them if they had not been content with Macedonia and Thessaly (31,5). The Goths did push as far as Thessalonica at this time.<sup>842</sup>

Faced with this situation, Theodosius took defensive measures and wrote to Gratian for aid, then set out for Constantinople (32,1). There follows one of the most severe and rhetorical condemnations of Theodosius' tax-collecting. The tribute was exacted from the ravaged provinces with such

ruthlessness that women were forced to sell their jewellery and clothing, and the people called upon the barbarians for aid (32,2-3; cf. fr. 49). The barbarians had at least left the cities untouched (31,5), even if this was because of a desire for tribute, and not philanthropy. Although the exaggeration is patent, it was not until 384 that Theodosius remitted the collatio glebalis to senators of the Macedonian and Thracian dioceses, and abolished the capitatio in Thrace.<sup>843</sup>

Zosimus puts Theodosius' arrival in Constantinople in c. July/August, 380 (33,1) which is several months before the correct date of December 24, 380.<sup>844</sup> Thus on his reckoning, it comes before the arrival of Bauto and Arbogast and he chastizes Theodosius for staging a triumphal entry while Thrace and Macedonia were in the disastrous state which he has described in the previous chapter (33,1). Gratian then sent Bauto and Arbogast to help Theodosius since he was alarmed by the reports which he had received. By placing this statement immediately after describing Theodosius' τροπή, the impression is given that Theodosius' conduct helped to prompt Gratian's action. In reality, Theodosius fought in the northern campaigns with Bauto and Arbogast after he had conferred with Gratian at Sirmium.<sup>845</sup> Much of the chapter is a tirade against Theodosius' loose-living (33,1 and 4) which is strengthened by the contrasting praise of Bauto and Arbogast, not only for their loyalty and generalship, but also because they contemned money (33,2 and cf. 53,1).

Completely ignoring Theodosius' part in the campaigns, Zosimus says that the barbarians fled when they learned that Bauto and Arbogast were come against them (33,2). Once more, the Goths saved themselves by taking advantage of Theodosius' stupidity (ἡλιθιότητα [33,3]), and joined the Roman forces. The underlying cause of the barbarians' success is held to be Theodosius' τροπή which was taken as a model by his subjects and led to the διαφθορὰν τοῦ πολιτεύματος (33,4). The causality, ridiculous though it is, derives from Eunapius (cf.fr. 48)

The context of the general condemnation of society - and perhaps the reason for it - is found in the postscript to this chapter where Zosimus says that the temples were being attacked and that pagan worshippers were in danger. This situation must have been the result of popular fury (cf. Libanius, Pro Templis), for Theodosius' first law against paganism (C.Th. XVI,10,7) is dated to December 21, 381,<sup>846</sup> nor does Zosimus give any indication that it was an official persecution.

In 380, Gratian was forced to allow Alatheus and Safrax to cross into Roman territory and settle,<sup>847</sup> perhaps because of the incompetence of the comes rei militaris in Illyricum, Vitalianus 3 (34,1-2; cf. Ammianus XXV,10,9). Alatheus and Safrax feared to leave the pro-Roman Athanaric behind them so they drove him out and he was received with great honour by Theodosius at Constantinople on January 11, 381 (34,3 ff.; cf. Ammianus XXVII,5,10).<sup>848</sup> When Athanarich died a fortnight later, Theodosius gave him a magnificent funeral which so impressed the late king's followers that they remained loyal allies of the Romans (34,5). Zosimus' chronology is sound, for he says that Theodosius had recently recovered from a dangerous illness (34,4), and this is known to have afflicted him in the autumn of 380.<sup>849</sup> Zosimus does not make the vain attempt to disguise the fact of Theodosius' success with Athanarich, or of his subsequent victories over the Scyri and Carpodacae, and the chapter ends with the idyllic and unwonted picture of farmers tilling their land and pasturing their animals in peace. However, all these blessings are said to be τύχης πλεονεκτήματα (34,6).

The next two chapters, 35 and 36, are mainly concerned with the overthrow of Gratian by Maximus and Gratian's repudiation of the title of Pontifex Maximus. Gratian was killed on August 25, 383,<sup>850</sup> and thus Zosimus' account preserves a basically correct chronology. However, in 35,1 there is a brief account of how Promotus defeated Oidotheus' attempt to cross the Danube in 386.<sup>851</sup> This is a doublet of the longer description of the same

battle which comes in its proper place in chapters 38 and 39.<sup>852</sup> The interpolation of Promotus into 35,1 probably resulted from a change of mind by Zosimus. He concluded his section on the barbarian wars quite nicely with the idyllic scene in 34,6 and the statement at the beginning of 35,1 that Theodosius ἐδόξεν ἴσθαι τὰ ἐλαττώματα . The section on Gratian starts with the words τῶν δὲ κατὰ Θράκην ἐν τούτοις ὄντων (35,2) which obviously connect it to 35,6. Therefore Zosimus must have inserted the Promotus episode into 35,1 after he had written the rest of 35 and 36, and then forgot to remove it when he gave the fuller version in 38 and 39. There do not appear to have been any serious barbarian attacks on the northern frontier between 382 and that of Oidotheus in 386 (Athanasius's followers are said to have prevented incursions ἐπὶ πολὺ [34,5]).

As usual in such matters, Eunapius seems to have ascribed the overthrow of Gratian to psychological reasons. Firstly, Gratian's troops became jealous of the favour which he showed to his Alan bodyguard (35,2-3). They were encouraged in this by Maximus who was himself jealous of the preferment shown to Theodosius, for they had served together under Theodosius' father in Britain c. 368/9 (35,3-4).<sup>853</sup> Thus Theodosius is indirectly the cause of Gratian's overthrow and death, and some doubt is cast upon his worthiness to rule. The other point of interest in this chapter is the site of Gratian's death, for Eunapius or his source confused Lugdunum with Singidunum and indulged his imagination in inventing Gratian's flight through Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Upper Moesia.<sup>854</sup>

Zosimus returns to Theodosius in chapter 37 and tells about the embassy which Maximus sent in 383 to offer alliance or war. Theodosius chose alliance (37,1-3).<sup>855</sup> Zosimus gives the impression that Theodosius agreed in order to lull Maximus into a false sense of security. In fact, Theodosius had little

choice because he could not yet be sure of his settlement with the Visigoths, and the eastern frontier was not safe until 387 when he concluded negotiations with the new Persian king, Shapur III, over the partition of Armenia. One small point is worth noting. Zosimus emphatically states that Maximus' praepositus sacri cubiculi - who headed the embassy - was not a eunuch, thus making a strong contrast with Theodosius' court (cf. 28,2).

Chapter 37 is highly compressed, for Maximus' embassy is followed directly by Cynegius' tour of Egypt in 386/7 (37,3). The text reads as if the open recognition of Maximus by Cynegius was an immediate result of the embassy of 383. Theodosius was forced to make these concessions by the dangerous situation caused by the invasion of Thrace by the Greuthungi in 386. He even went so far as to recognize the consulship in 386 of Maximus' praetorian prefect, Fl. Euodius - a fact not noted by Zosimus.<sup>856</sup> Much remains in Zosimus of the anti-pagan measures which Cynegius carried out in Egypt, and some of the pathos which Eunapius felt. The tale of Cynegius' temple smashing is rounded off by one of Zosimus' Decline and Fall statements in which he promises to detail what happened to the Roman empire as a result of these impious actions, a promise which is not immediately fulfilled (38,1). Given Eunapius' general ignorance of affairs in the west, it is perhaps not surprising that nothing is said of the internal history of Maximus' reign and of the intercourse with the court of Valentinian II in which Ambrose played a large part. It is odd, however, that there is no mention of Theodosius' expedition to the west in 384, for this would seem to be a golden opportunity for attributing a failure to Theodosius.

The next two chapters, 38 and 39, give the fuller description of how Promotus prevented the Greuthungi from crossing the Danube. This is some of the most detailed and entertaining writing in Zosimus, for there is the

complicated intrigue by which the Greuthungi were lured across the river (38), as well as the scenic effects of a river battle by night (39). Zosimus clearly and correctly indicates that this occurred at about the same time as Cynegius' tour of Egypt by the introductory words: ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους (38,1).

Theodosius receives no credit for the victory, being summoned only to view the spoils and the multitude of captives (39,5). Thereupon Theodosius freed the prisoners and plied them with gifts. For once, Zosimus seems to approve and allows Theodosius good reasons for doing so: the barbarians would be encouraged to revolt and, moreover, he wanted to use them against Maximus (39,5). It has been conjectured that these prisoners were settled in Phrygia and that they are identical with the Ostrogoths whom Tribigild led in revolt in 401,<sup>857</sup> but there is nothing in Eunapius or Zosimus to support this.

Episodes are sometimes paired in Zosimus and the river battle is followed by the contemporaneous heroism of Gerontius 4 (39,5).<sup>858</sup> The main purpose of chapter 40 is to discredit Theodosius' barbarian policy. What Zosimus says about the granting of privileges and subsidies is generally true, for Theodosius did try to win over the Goths, and especially their leaders, in this way. He could not afford to let his wider aims be destroyed by any retaliatory action by a subordinate commander like Gerontius, and once he even chastized the whole population of Constantinople for hostilities towards the Visigoths.<sup>859</sup>

Zosimus does not rail against the favouritism shown to the Goths, but tries to arouse antipathy somewhat more subtly. First of all, Gerontius is portrayed as strong in body and skilled in warfare (40,1). The Goths are then shown to be ingrates, for despite getting larger rations and more gifts

than the regular troops, whom they contemned, they intended to molest Tomi and take control (40,2). It will be remembered that the Goths at Philadelphia in Lydia behaved in a similar way (30,4). The climax of the piece is the single combat between Gerontius and the Gothic champion (40,4-5): single combats seem to have been a speciality of Eunapius (cf. e.g. II,52 and III,26,5). Inspired by Gerontius' example, his troops regained their courage and slaughtered Goths until they took asylum in a Christian church (40,5). The regulars are said to have been too cowardly to fight, and the scorn which Eunapius feels for them is evident in Zosimus' statement that when Gerontius went out to fight, some of them were *καθευδόντων ἔτι* (40,3). Instead of praising Gerontius for his brave deed, the wrathful emperor accused him of coveting the barbarians' grants and he had to bribe the hated eunuchs in order to escape the charge (40,6-8). The animus is patent: against the Goths, the Roman soldiers, Theodosius, and Christianity; however, there is no need to doubt either Theodosius' anger or the role played by the eunuchs. Yet the claim that Gerontius saved Scythia from impending dangers is somewhat extravagant (40,6), and when judging Theodosius it is worth noting that Zosimus does not say that the Goths had actually committed mayhem, only that they *ἐγχειρήσασθαι διανοοῦνται τῇ πόλει* ... (40,2).

Chapter 41 opens with Zosimus' final word on the Gerontius episode, a general statement that under Theodosius virtue went unrewarded and vice flourished. It deals mostly with the Riot of the Statues at Antioch in February 387. The people rose because of the oppressive taxation and the town council was afraid that Theodosius would exact retribution (41,1-2). This is to be compared with Zosimus' narrative of what happened when Julian wintered in Antioch (III,11,4-5). The Antiochenes were unhappy with Julian's *σωφροσύνη* and raised *φωνὰς ἀλλοκότους* against him. Julian did not punish

the citizens, but replied with a *λόγον δὲ ἀστειότατον*, his Misopogon. In 387, Zosimus insists that the complaints of the Antiochenes did not lack *τῆς συνήθους αὐτοῖς ἀστειότητος* (41,1). It is instructive to see how Zosimus' attitude towards the Antiochenes depends upon what emperor is involved. Not surprisingly, his account follows the pagan tradition in giving Libanius and Hilarius the credit for turning aside Theodosius' wrath (41,2-3); the Christians claimed that it was their bishop, Flavianus.<sup>860</sup> Eunapius allowed himself to be misled by Libanius' speech, for Zosimus says that Libanius spoke before the emperor and Senate. It is known from Libanius' Autobiography that he did not leave Antioch (Or. I,253),<sup>861</sup> although Hilarius may have gone to Constantinople since he was made governor of Palestine as a result of the impression which he made at this time.<sup>862</sup>

The first sentence of chapter 42 makes the transition to contemporaneous western events: Maximus' ouster of Valentinian II who fled from Milan to the east shortly after May 19, 387.<sup>863</sup> Valentinian, his mother Justina, and his sister Galla, went to Thessalonica whence they sent to Theodosius. Zosimus does not deny Theodosius' quick response, but he tries to lessen the effect by saying that the news shocked him out of his customary passion for *τρυφή* and *ἡδονή* (43,2). Theodosius, as Zosimus relates, went to Thessalonica in the autumn of 387.<sup>864</sup> Here, a council was held which decided upon war with Maximus (43,3).

At this point, serious defamation of Theodosius begins. Theodosius vetoed the decision of the council and Zosimus attributes his reluctance to fight Maximus to the usual cause: *διὰ τε τὴν ἔμφυτον μαλακίαν* (44,1). Theodosius is alleged to have offered as an excuse the evils of civil war (cf. Constantius II,51,1) and to have sent an embassy to Maximus offering peace if he would restore Valentinian (44,1). Theodosius may well have wished to reach an accommodation with Maximus;<sup>865</sup> Maximus did send a delegation to

Theodosius,<sup>866</sup> so at worst the provenance of the embassy has been reversed. Yet Theodosius did wage war upon Maximus and Zosimus must account for this. The explanation is that Valentinian's mother aroused in Theodosius erotic desire for her beautiful daughter, Galla, and made marriage conditional upon his avenging her family upon Maximus (44,2 ff.). The scene is described with considerable verisimilitude, the crowning touch being the way in which Theodosius betrayed that he was smitten (τῷ βλέμματι [44,3]). Emperors were normally as impassive as statues.<sup>867</sup> Finally, Theodosius' thorough preparations are attributed to the demands of necessity and Justina's nagging (44,4).

Again, the bias is found mainly in the hostile interpretation of real events. Theodosius may have tried to talk his way out of fighting a civil war, or at least to buy time. The unreliability of his barbarian federates, many of whom were bribed to desert by Maximus,<sup>868</sup> and the Armenian problem provided ample cause. The romantic scenario with Justina and Galla does have some basis in fact, for Theodosius married Galla in Thessalonica in 387<sup>869</sup> and, while this marriage is not needed to explain Theodosius' attack on Maximus,<sup>870</sup> the infatuation has been considered consistent with the emperor's character.<sup>871</sup> However, the awakening of passion appears to have been a favourite of Eunapius and one must be cautious about accepting circumstantial details. The vestige of another such scene may be preserved in John of Antioch where he relates the parentage of Valentinian II: the phrase δία κάλλους ὑπερβολὴν ἐρασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς is noteworthy (fr. 187). Zosimus completes his record of Theodosius' preparations by warmly praising the choice of Tatianus 5 as praetorian prefect and his son, Proculus 6, as prefect of Constantinople (45,1-2). The fact that both were pagans is significant.

The campaign and Maximus' death repay examination, for there are fictional elements which are the product of Eunapius' lack of knowledge of

of western events and his sense of the dramatic (46,1-3). Zosimus is to be measured against Otto Seeck's reconstruction.<sup>872</sup> What Zosimus says of the voyage of Justina and Valentinian across the Ionian Sea is correct; they eluded Andragathius by going, not to Brundisium as he expected, but to Rome via Sicily. There is no mention of Theodosius' victories at Siscia and Poetovio, but this omission might be caused by Zosimus' brevity rather than Eunapius' ignorance. Theodosius' cavalry did find the Alpine passes unguarded, as Zosimus says. At this point, Eunapius' penchant for the dramatic seems to have taken charge of his narrative. Theodosius' troops are said to have broken into Aquileia and to have seized Maximus on his throne just as he was about to distribute money to his own forces. They stripped the purple from his shoulders and took him to Theodosius who charged him with his crimes and handed him over to the public executioner. This rendition is exciting, but neutral in tone, for from Eunapius' point of view there was little to choose between Theodosius and Maximus. The usurper was no less devoutly orthodox than the emperor, as his execution of Priscillian and his associates proves.<sup>873</sup>

In reality, Maximus had considered fleeing to Gaul, but decided to return to Aquileia where he surrendered to Theodosius' officers who then took him to the emperor. According to Pacatus (Pan. 44,2) whom Seeck follows, Theodosius deliberated about sparing Maximus, but the soldiers seized and killed the usurper. Whether Theodosius would have spared Maximus is a moot point. He sent Arbogast to Gaul to dispose of Maximus' son and co-emperor, Victor (47,1), but his mother and daughters - who represented very little threat to Theodosius' regime - were not only spared but pensioned.<sup>874</sup> Zosimus ignores this kindness. Thus it seems clear that the details of the end of Maximus were unknown to Eunapius. He would not have failed to make

capital from Maximus' surrender in the same way as he did from Licinius' capitulation to Constantine (II,28,1-2) because he was certainly not disposed to portray Theodosius as a gracious and merciful victor. Andragathius is said to have preferred drowning to what he would have suffered if he had been taken by his enemies (37,1; cf. Arbogast, 58,6).

Zosimus' account of how Theodosius settled the affairs of Valentinian II after the victory is cursory, but accurate, and he correctly implies that it was a token restoration (47,2). Formally, Valentinian was given his father's old territory, but in reality his authority was confined to the Gallic prefecture and even there he was under the thumb of Arbogast whom Theodosius gave him as his magister militum.<sup>875</sup> Zosimus' use of the word ἐδόξευ shows an awareness of the realities of the situation. Valentinian did not even share in Theodosius' triumph, but was immediately sent off to Trier.<sup>876</sup> Zosimus notes that Theodosius took the best of Maximus' soldiers for his own army, which may be intended to imply a certain amount of selfishness. Finally, Zosimus says that Valentinian's mother made up for whatever her son lacked in wisdom. This raises the problem of when Justina died, which according to Zosimus must be after Valentinian had been established in Gaul. This is accepted by Seeck,<sup>877</sup> and confirmed by Sozomen (VII,14,7) who reads as if Justina died at the time of Theodosius' triumph in Rome (pace PLRE s.v. Iustina). Rufinus (H.E. II,17) is vague, and only the Chronica Gallica specifically states: Iustina, quae ecclesias vexaverat, ne regnum cum filio reciperet, morte praeventa est.<sup>878</sup>

This detailed knowledge about the settlement of the west makes all the more remarkable the way in which Zosimus passes immediately to Theodosius' journey to Thessalonica on his way back to Constantinople in 391 (48,1). There is total silence about his visit to Rome (see below). The barbarians whom

Theodosius had put down on his trip to the west were again troublesome and this unrest supplies the context for one of the strangest episodes in the History. (48,1-7). Theodosius who took five troopers and went looking for the marauders himself eventually found one in an old woman's hut and extracted the necessary information from him. Both Piganiol and Lippold accept the historicity of Theodosius' taking personal action,<sup>879</sup> but most, if not all, of the circumstances as narrated by Zosimus must be fictional. The incognito visit of Theodosius to the old woman smacks of the folk-tale. The whole episode is entirely to Theodosius' credit and quite out of character: once again Eunapius did not let principle stand in the way of telling a good story.<sup>880</sup>

Theodosius' lustre is tarnished a little in the next chapter. The fact that it contains one of Eunapius' set-pieces, and that the set-piece depends upon the knight errantry, indicates that Zosimus found chapter 48 in Eunapius' Histories and not elsewhere. When the Roman soldiers had exhausted themselves with killing the barbarians whom Theodosius had discovered, they over-indulged in food and drink and fell into a deep sleep (49,1-2; cf. 25,2-3). From this point, there is multiple parallelism with the night attack on Theodosius' camp in chapter 31. In each case (1) the barbarians attack by surprise; (2) Theodosius escapes in the nick of time; (3) the attackers very nearly achieve total victory, but (4) are frustrated (a) by the Egyptians and Romans (31,4) and (b) by Promotus (49,3). Promotus is the hero of the piece who not only saves Theodosius, but exterminates all or most of the barbarians. The fact of this battle is not in doubt,<sup>881</sup> but the formulaic presentation renders the particulars suspect.

The next event is Theodosius' entry into Constantinople which occurred on November 10, 391.<sup>882</sup> Hereupon Zosimus takes the licence to read Theodosius' mind, saying that he μέγα ἐφρονεί because of his victory over Maximus, but

that he was downcast because of his defeat in the marshes (50,1). Being more downcast than elated, he decided to eschew wars and battles and to leave such matters to Promotus. This causality is dubious even on its own merits, but even more so when it is remembered that Constantine similarly retired to a life of luxury after his defeat by the Taifali (II,31/32). An apostrophe to the reader follows in which Zosimus repeats Eunapius' wonderment at how Theodosius was able to put aside his natural indolence and luxuriousness (ψύσει γὰρ ὦν ἐκμελής etc.) when the established order was in danger (50,1/2). This is the strongest denunciation of Theodosius' character, and his vices, while different from Constantine's, are similarly held to the causes of his actions (e.g. 28,1). An indication of the contempt which Eunapius the Neoplatonist felt for Theodosius can be seen in Zosimus' concluding statement that the emperor was a slave to his passions: *ταῖς αὐτῷ ψύσει προσούσαις ἐκμελείας ἐδούλευε*.

Chapter 51 is principally an attack upon Rufinus 18, although Theodosius comes in for some reflected censure. Rufinus is briefly and accurately introduced as a Celt, i.e. a Gaul, and magister officiorum, a post which he held from 388 to 392. Theodosius is said to have placed all his confidence in Rufinus to the detriment of his other courtiers. This aroused Timasius and Promotus to jealousy which Rufinus' ambition<sup>883</sup> and airs did nothing to alleviate (51,1). Thus the basis is laid for the dramatic scene at the council meeting when Promotus struck Rufinus. Theodosius' angry statement of support for the injured Rufinus is rendered as an indirect quotation in order to give an air of verisimilitude. All this is preparation for the accusation that Rufinus maliciously persuaded Theodosius to send Promotus to Thrace and that Rufinus arranged the ambush in which he lost his life (51,2-3). The death of Promotus is true enough, having occurred late in 391, but the revenge motive ought to be discarded, for the military situation in Thrace required

Promotus' presence.<sup>884</sup>

The obituary notice on Promotus is unique (51,3). He receives the standard accolade of being *πλούτου μὲν κρείττονα* and he is said to have served the state and the emperors *εὐλικρινῶς*. However, Zosimus says that Promotus got what he deserved for having deliberately chosen to serve those who ruled *οὕτως ἐκμαλῶς καὶ ἀσεβῶς*. These harsh words are not just another way to condemn the Christian emperors, but, on a deeper level, they represent Eunapius' own feelings on imperial service (above, p. 50 ff.).

This momentary criticism of Promotus is quickly forgotten and the final comments on his demise are a good example of Eunapius' interested writing (52,1). Promotus' death is said to have been on everyone's lips, and every good man (*σωφρονούντος*) is said to have inveighed bitterly against this outrage. The vocabulary is loaded and the assertions are exaggerated. Rufinus' designation as consul (for 392) is tied to Promotus' decease as if he were being rewarded for having done away with Promotus. This reinforces the idea that Rufinus was responsible for the ambush and reflects badly upon Theodosius who appointed Rufinus consul. There is even a touch of irony since it was from an ambush that Promotus had saved Theodosius (49,3).

The rest of chapter 52 relates the overthrow of Tatian and Proculus by Rufinus. This takes the History up to December 6, 393 when Proculus was executed.<sup>885</sup> The tale is not only exciting and suspenseful, but also permits Eunapius to deliver a brief homily on one of his favourite themes, that *τιμὴ* is more dangerous than *συμφορὰ* (fr. 59). The partiality for the blameless and incorruptible Tatian and Proculus is to be expected, given Eunapius' hatred of Rufinus and the fact that Tatian, a pagan, tried to correct some Christian abuses while he was praetorian prefect.<sup>886</sup> On the other hand, Rufinus is the complete villain, so depraved that he hated Tatian and Proculus simply because

they were good (52,1). It must be admitted that Libanius did not share Eunapius' opinion of Proculus, but his criticisms are essentially petty and peevish and Proculus seems on the whole to have been a good administrator.<sup>887</sup> Theodosius emerges virtually unscathed as a result of the concentration of effort upon Rufinus, and indeed he appears to have favoured Tatian and Proculus. According to Zosimus, Rufinus persuaded Theodosius to promise honours to Tatian who then coaxed his son to come out of hiding (52,3). Thus Theodosius is Rufinus' dupe, nothing worse, and basically well-disposed towards Tatian. In fr. 59, Theodosius is even farther removed from guilt, for the courtiers make the promises in his name and he is not directly involved. The final act of the drama again puts Theodosius in a good light since he sent a stay of execution which, however, Rufinus was able to retard until Proculus was dead (52,4).<sup>888</sup>

Zosimus then turns his attention to the West and relates the overthrow and death of Valentinian II.<sup>889</sup> He begins by noting, correctly, that these events were contemporary with Rufinus' machinations. Valentinian II was found dead on May 15, 392. Chapters 53 and 54 scarcely mention Theodosius, yet they are important for the way in which they build up Arbogast and Eugenius as worthy alternatives to him. Arbogast is the military strongman who possessed three cardinal virtues: courage, military skill, and contempt for money (53,1). Eugenius was worthy of being emperor because of his great learning and the dignity (σεμνότητά) of his way of life (54,2). Eugenius was a Christian and dignity had to take the place of piety. Taken together Eugenius and Arbogast are so formidable a combination that Theodosius is said to have considered them *ἀμάχοις* *διὰ τε τὴν Ἀρβογαστοῦ θρασύτητι κρηγμένην ἀνδρείου καὶ τῆς Ἐυγενίου προδοῦσας μετὰ παιδείας ἀρετῆς* (55,1). Having established their invincibility, Eunapius has given himself the difficult problem of explaining how they lost the Battle of the Frigidus (see below).

These two chapters have several good examples of Eunapius' historiography and one suspects that he depended more than usual upon his powers of imagination. There is the very dramatic scene when Arbogast ripped up the rescript with which Valentinian tried to dismiss him from office (53,2-3). John of Antioch preserves even more particulars than Zosimus (fr. 187). However, Eunapius appears to be following the eastern propaganda line<sup>890</sup> both with respect to the contents of Valentinian's letters to Theodosius and in saying that Arbogast murdered Valentinian (suicide is more probable).<sup>891</sup> Zosimus' account tells of a long-standing desire on the part of Arbogast to make Eugenius emperor - doubtless Theodosius' propaganda - but Eunapius' hand may be detected in the way in which he saves both Eugenius' honour, and chronology, by having Eugenius demur until after Valentinian's death. Even so, there is some compression in Zosimus and John of Antioch (Eugenius was not proclaimed emperor until August 22, 392). More serious is the murder of Valentinian which Eunapius embroidered with pathos although it may never have occurred (54,3-4). The description is not only fictional, but also inept, for if πάντων δὲ σωτηρῆ τὸ τοῦ μηδέν ἐνεγκόντων (54,4), how did Eunapius obtain such specific details? The reasons which are given for why the bystanders kept silence do not convince, being merely a repetition of what was earlier said of Arbogast's good qualities.

Theodosius receives different treatment in chapter 55 from what he did at the equivalent stage of Maximus' revolt. He is allowed to feel genuine grief at Valentinian's death (55,1) and, although he is made out to be overawed by the opposition, he begins effective preparations for war, notably in choosing the tried and true Richomer to command the cavalry (55,2). Yet Eunapius had much less scope for impugning Theodosius since he refused to recognize Eugenius and cannot have given the same impression of indecision and procrastination.

Zosimus interrupts his description of Theodosius' preparations for war in order to narrate the conflict between Fravitta and Eriulphus which took place at this time (55,4), probably as a result of tensions caused by Theodosius' calling up barbarian contingents.<sup>892</sup> Here, one must abandon Zosimus and turn to fr. 60 where it is clear that Eunapius was prompted by this incident to launch a full discussion of the barbarian problem. He begins by outlining Theodosius' tactics of winning over the chiefs of the Goths<sup>893</sup> and passes on to the dissension which arose between those who wished to keep their oath to conquer Rome and those who wanted to Romanize. (Zosimus misunderstands the oath, thinking it to have been one of loyalty to Rome.) Eunapius uses as a focus the leader of the pro-Roman faction, Fravitta, and the head of the nationalists, Eriulphus. Both are characterized in extravagant terms, Fravitta as the ideal Hellenized Goth, and Eriulphus as an ἀνὴρ ἡμιμαυῆς etc. The climax is the killing of Eriulphus by Fravitta in a drunken brawl following a banquet given by Theodosius. The whole of this is implicitly critical of Theodosius' barbarian policy. Eunapius makes it clear that the Goths cannot be trusted, for not only is there the oath of enmity to Rome, but the pro-Roman faction is in a definite minority. The emphasis upon in vino veritas is one of several examples of Eunapius' interest in the effects of alcohol, but it points up how dangerously imperceptive Theodosius was in not knowing of the disloyalty of most of the Goths.

Chapter 57 returns to the mobilization against Eugenius. After the brawl, Theodosius allowed the Goths to fight it out among themselves and, as he had done with Maximus (37,3), he deceived Eugenius' ambassadors with words and gifts (57,1).<sup>894</sup> Eunapius had much fuller information about Theodosius' army than about Eugenius', for Zosimus lists the general staff. There is also the precise detail that the empress Galla 2 died in childbirth

just as Theodosius was setting out from Constantinople (cf. fr. 61). Zosimus preserves three Eunapian touches: the quip that Bacurius was a good general despite being Armenian (cf. fr. 84), the note that Theodosius mourned for one day 'in Homeric fashion' (fr. 61), and the sententious bit of military theorizing about the importance of choosing good generals (57,2). The chapter ends with the information that Arcadius was left at Constantinople under the supervision of Rufinus. The tone of this part is neutral in both Zosimus and John of Antioch and may have been so in the original.

Chapter 58 is one of the most interesting in Zosimus, for it is a mixture of fact and fiction blended by tendenz. Eunapius was generally ill-informed about events in the west and it is not too surprising that he should not know Eugenius' order of battle. However, he must have encountered some old soldiers who had taken part in the Battle of the Frigidus and he can scarcely have been as ignorant of the truth as is the account in Zosimus.<sup>895</sup> Eunapius can have been writing only for an eastern audience, and long enough after the event that their memories of it had grown dim. Seeck and Veith are surely correct in seeing an attempt on Eunapius' part to save the honour of the pagan gods by both ignoring the conflict of paganism and Christianity and blaming the defeat on Eugenius and Arbogast.<sup>896</sup>

Nothing is said about the pagan revival at Rome and Nicomachus Flavianus is never mentioned by either Zosimus or John of Antioch. The omission of Nicomachus Flavianus may be due to ignorance, but Eunapius must have known of the revival in general terms. After describing Theodosius' preparations, Zosimus says, wrongly, that he took Honorius with him to the west<sup>897</sup> - a small slip in itself, but important in the context of Theodosius' visit to Rome (58,1). The first real distortion is the claim that Theodosius surprised Eugenius by the speed of his advance (58,1-2): something like this is necessary if Eunapius

is to explain the defeat of the 'invincible' Eugenius and Arbogast without resorting to divine intervention. Eunapius tries to make this fiction more plausible by focussing on the rhetor Eugenius who was ἀπειρος πολέμου καὶ σάλπιγγος (John fr. 187) and neglecting Arbogast. Moreover, surprise is one of Eunapius' favourite devices and was used similarly in the case of Valentinian II (43,1). In reality, Theodosius' attack was long anticipated: the Battle of the Frigidus began on September 5, while Nicomachus Flavianus had gone north to help plan the campaign in late May or early June.<sup>898</sup> So good was the plan that Theodosius found his army trapped in the pass and might have suffered extinction if he had not persuaded Arbitio, who blocked his rear, to desert after the first day's fighting.<sup>899</sup>

Eunapius' description of the battle is almost completely fictional, although he knows the main outlines since he retains the two days of fighting. He omits completely not only the statues of Jupiter and Hercules, but also the Bora. The first day's fighting is described, rightly, as a great victory for Eugenius and the glorious death of Bacurius may have received special treatment in the original (58,3): the praises of him in the preceding chapter would have laid the groundwork. Although he omits the Bora, Eunapius may have felt that the memory of a great natural phenomenon was still too strong to be suppressed entirely. Therefore he substitutes an eclipse of the sun and deliberately puts it during the first day's fighting. Since Eugenius won this day, the eclipse is therefore theologically neutral. One suspects that Eunapius did not neglect the opportunity to indulge his literary fancies in a description of the νυκτομαχούνητα (58,3). However, Eunapius is doing a little less violence to history than might appear, for there was a total eclipse of the sun on November 20, 393,<sup>900</sup> less than a year before the battle. Eunapius seldom invents; here he hoped that his readers would

accept his assimilation of a dimly remembered eclipse with the dimly remembered Bora.

For the second day's fighting, Eunapius reworks one of his set-pieces (58,4-5; cf. 49). After the first day's victory, Eugenius thought that the fighting was over and allowed his troops to eat and drink. Theodosius attacked them just before dawn while they were still sodden, and Eugenius had no Promotus to save him. There is no need to emphasize that this rendition is fictional. Eugenius' head was paraded around on a pike, although Theodosius is not held personally responsible for his death. Zosimus freely admits that Theodosius pardoned Eugenius' soldiers, but he is careful to take the edge off this magnanimity by telling how Arbogast preferred suicide to being taken by his enemies (58,6. cf. Andragathius, 47,1).

Chapter 59 is the last in the part of the History devoted to Theodosius. Zosimus tells how Theodosius visited Rome after defeating Eugenius and abolished the state subsidies for pagan religious ceremonies following a debate in the Senate. W. Ensslin argues that there was no visit in 394 and that Zosimus has transferred it from 389.<sup>901</sup> Alan Cameron maintains that Theodosius twice came to Rome and that Zosimus is correct in placing the second in 394.<sup>902</sup> Neither really grasps the significance of this chapter which is one of Eunapius' major statements on paganism, Christianity, and the decline of Rome.<sup>903</sup> Eunapius believed that since the state no longer paid for the ancestral rites, the pax deorum was broken and the gods no longer protected Rome. The empire was over-run by barbarians, and even the sites of what had once been cities were obliterated (59,3). Eunapius lived to see the destruction of the Western Empire and his thesis is an organic part of his whole account: Zosimus was not the first historian to treat the Decline and Fall.

Theodosius did not visit Rome in 394 (see below), but neither is it a simple case of misplacing the visit of 389, for there are too many items which do not fit the context of 389, notably the state subsidies.<sup>904</sup> Eunapius suppressed the triumph of 389 in order to write a fitting climax for the end of paganism at Rome - one which would coincide with the end of Theodosius' reign. He produced a deft blend of fact and fiction which may have been plausible enough to convince his eastern audience - as it has convinced some modern scholars. His action is deliberate since the account is correct about enough minor details that it is unlikely that Eunapius was ignorant about something as important as Theodosius' trip to Rome.

First, it is necessary to affirm that Theodosius did not go to Rome in 394. There is no need to review all the arguments, for Ensslin is still conclusive against Cameron whose evidence is indecisive and mostly eastern, as he himself admits.<sup>905</sup> The most recent survey of the evidence also concludes against the visit.<sup>906</sup> However, there are two points which repay further scrutiny. One of Cameron's strongest pieces of evidence is Prudentius Contra Symmachum I, 408 ff.<sup>907</sup> which he rightly puts in the context of 394, not of 389 as does Ensslin.<sup>908</sup> Yet both are wrong to think that this poem describes an actual visit - quite the contrary.<sup>909</sup> Prudentius never says that Theodosius entered Rome, but only that he pulchra triumphali respexit moenia vultu (l. 411). He gazes from afar upon a Rome obscured by highly metaphorical nubibus... nigrantibus (l. 412). Moreover, Theodosius addresses Rome personified, not the Senate (l. 415 ff.). Prudentius does describe a meeting of the Senate which debated and voted upon a sententia of the emperor that pagan worship be banned from the City (ll. 608-12). It may be that Theodosius sent a rescript to the Senate at Rome and that this is the basis of Zosimus' account in chapter 59.<sup>910</sup> Possibly, a delegation of senators

went to Milan to placate Theodosius; it is not very probable that the victor of the Frigidus travelled to Rome and politely asked the senators to give up their pagan rites and subsidies.<sup>911</sup> Prudentius very much wishes that Theodosius had gone to Rome in 394, but he knows better and so did his western audience.

Secondly, Cameron argues that when Zosimus again mentions this visit of Theodosius to Rome (V,38,2) that he gets his information from Olympiodorus and that thus there is confirmation independent of Eunapius.<sup>912</sup> His most cogent reason is that it would be contrary to Zosimus' practice for him to supplement his main source. Yet this cannot be utterly ruled out, especially since Zosimus would be looking backwards to an old familiar source, not forward to a new one. Also, Zosimus may be announcing the departure from his 'background' source when he says *ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἔρχομαι λέξω* (V,38,2).<sup>913</sup> Cameron feels that Olympiodorus would not have described the execution of Serena without giving the reason, but V,38 is a unified whole and could derive from Eunapius in toto. Lastly, even if Olympiodorus is the source, he might himself depend upon Eunapius and, in any case, it cannot be assumed that he was well informed about western events in the period before that which he narrated.

Mendelssohn thinks that Zosimus took the chapter from Eunapius directly<sup>914</sup> and this is the most reasonable hypothesis. The whole episode could be a proleptic digression (like fr. 87 on Pulcheria) which Zosimus omitted from book IV, but remembered when he got to its natural place in his narrative. The summary of Theodosius' measures is a precis of IV,59 and the vehemence is characteristic of Eunapius. The story of Serena and the necklace is consistent with Eunapius' taste and the fact that it was the statue of Rhea recalls Eunapius' interest in Constantine's abuse of another statue of that

goddess (II,31,2). The curse, the visions, and the retribution by Dike are of the same nature as the death of Festus, following a vision, in the Temple of Nemesis (V.S. 481). Stilicho's stripping of the doors of the Capitol is another example of Eunapius' favourite theme of impiety punished.<sup>915</sup> Generally speaking, the strongest indication that V,38 comes directly from Eunapius is the fact that it is anti-Serena and anti-Stilicho. It is very doubtful, given Olympiodorus' laudatory obituary of Stilicho (V,35,5 ff.), that he would have said such things. One may conclude that Olympiodorus does not support the fiction of a visit in 394. This leaves Zosimus the only real authority for the visit.<sup>916</sup>

It is worth examining some particulars of Zosimus' account. Theodosius did not, of course, crown Honorius Augustus in Rome in 394 (59,1): Honorius did not even arrive in Italy until shortly before the end of the year.<sup>917</sup> However, Theodosius did proclaim Honorius Caesar at Rome in 389<sup>918</sup> and it looks as if this has been transferred to 394. It is not an honest mistake, for Honorius was created Augustus on the Hebdomon at Constantinople in 393<sup>919</sup> and Eunapius surely knew this. Once again, he seems to have relied upon the short memories of his readers.

Zosimus then states that Stilicho was made *στρατηγόν... τῶν αὐτόθι ταγμάτων* (59,1), i.e. magister militum per Occidentem, a fact which is correct for 394, but not for 389.<sup>920</sup> Similarly, Zosimus is right when he says that Stilicho was left regent of Honorius alone: *ἐπίτροπου καταλιπὼν τῷ παιδί* (59,1). It is not until Zosimus begins to follow Olympiodorus that Stilicho is regent of Arcadius and Honorius (e.g. V,34,6). Eunapius was aware of Stilicho's claim to exercise a dual tutelage, but he was not deceived by it (V,4,3).<sup>921</sup> Yet it is wrong to credit Eunapius with too deep a knowledge of western affairs since he is merely repeating the eastern propaganda line,

correct though it was on this point.

The question of the state subsidies must belong to 394 since there had been no publicly funded celebrations from 382 to 389.<sup>922</sup> The confrontation with the Senate is underlain by either a debate over an imperial rescript or an embassy to Milan, as is clear from Prudentius (see above). Again, Eunapius seems to be inserting an element from 389 into 394: Theodosius attended the Senate and addressed the People from the Rostra in 389.<sup>923</sup> The arguments in Theodosius' rebuttal of the Senate's objections (59,2) may well echo the rescript, but the emperor's reasons for urging the Senators to become Christian (because that religion could forgive *παντός ἀμαρτήματος καὶ πάσης ἀσεβείας*) sound enough like the reasons for Constantine's conversion (cf. II,29,3) to be Eunapius' own malicious contribution. The excuses which the Senators make for refusing to recant are the common property of all pagans, but the claim that none of them lapsed can only be wishful thinking - not that Prudentius' picture need be much more true.<sup>924</sup>

Just before he died, Theodosius divided the empire between his two sons. Zosimus says that Honorius received Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Africa (59,4). This is now known to be true, for Arcadius originally ruled the whole of Illyricum, although by 396 Western Illyricum had been ceded to Honorius.<sup>925</sup> This accuracy reflects Eunapius' keen awareness of the rivalry between East and West during the reigns of Theodosius' sons (e.g. fr. 62). Finally, it remains to point out that Zosimus does not mistakenly say that Theodosius died in Constantinople,<sup>926</sup> but on the way (*ἐπιπνιὼν* [59,4]). Cameron is probably right in detecting the compression of a statement of intent to return,<sup>927</sup> and in a later passage (not adduced by Cameron) Zosimus says that Theodosius died in Italy (V,4,2).

Eunapius' treatment of Theodosius was somewhat more subtle, but no

less deeply biassed, than what he wrote about the more remote Constantine. He criticized his character for its vices and his policies for their faults. Like Constantine, Theodosius was a prey to luxuria and under both emperors the cities waned. Tacit comparisons with Julian abound: his frugality, his tough line with barbarians, the urban prosperity which he fostered. Zosimus' description of the death of Maximus shows that Eunapius' knowledge of western affairs was far from perfect, but it was good enough for it to be certain that Theodosius' visit to Rome in 394 was a deliberate fiction aimed at an eastern audience. The final disestablishment of the Roman state religion was of no less moment than Constantine's conversion and, like it, required the proper setting. Eunapius' loyalty to the Hellenic faith is nowhere more evident than in the account of the Battle of the Frigidus, for he preferred to suppress the pagan revival and to sacrifice the military reputation of Eugenius and Arbogast (while enhancing that of Theodosius) rather than admit that the God of the Christians had triumphed over Zeus and Heracles. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge and (perhaps) the death of Julian were earlier manifestations of this attitude. Eunapius' final consolation may have been, as in the case of Stilicho and Serena, to portray the death of Theodosius a few short months after his victory as the vengeance of Nemesis.<sup>928</sup>

To conclude Part IV, it is appropriate to turn to Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who has left the earliest general assessment of Eunapius' Histories. He says that Eunapius was a keen and impious Hellene who insulted and criticized the Christian emperors in every way and without restraint, especially Constantine the Great. On the other hand, he praised the pagans and most of all Julian the Apostate (cod. 77). This is what one would expect to be said about the canonical pagan Greek history of the fourth century A.D. The Histories were a major contribution to the eastern intellectual reaction against Christianity and were written in the milieu of the surviving followers of Julian. Neoplatonist that he was, Eunapius believed in and did his best to demonstrate the workings of pagan Providence; he also sought to account for the decline of the Roman empire.

Eunapius chose an effective and congenial form in which to express his interpretation of the fourth century. Regnal history was not only the taste of the age, but it permitted a conveniently loose chronology and allowed Eunapius to focus upon individual emperors. Thus he could give full rein to his rhetorical gifts in the portrayal of character and the imputation of motive, good and bad. Nor did Eunapius fail to entertain his readers, for the Histories were graced with both speeches and stirring episodes. Eunapius had good sources of information, especially for the east, and he could write accurate history when he wished. Occasionally he did not so wish and he distorted or suppressed facts to fit his concept of Providence: Constantine's conversion, the Battle of the Frigidus, and Julian's ill omens are major cases in point.

It is in the nature of regnal history that Eunapius' anti-Christian bias should be most evident in his treatment of the emperors. Constantine and Theodosius are the two main objects of his censure. Constantine was the first

emperor who began the destruction of the empire which Diocletian had restored. Theodosius not only banned paganism, but by removing the subsidies from the state religion he alienated the favour of the gods from the empire and ensured its decline. Gratian was less deleterious than these two, although his repudiation of the office of pontifex maximus may have been considered the mid-point of the process.<sup>929</sup> The other Christian emperors did not campaign as actively against paganism, but they suffer nevertheless at Eunapius' hands. Since Constantius is necessarily vilified as Julian's opponent, Valens is a better illustration of Eunapius' practice. Valens is actually praised for his quick and effective handling of a serious Gothic threat on the Danube in 366 (fr. 37 and Zosimus, IV,10-11). Yet Eunapius does say that the Gothic danger roused Valens from *ἡσυχίᾳ* (fr. 37) and all this happened before the treason trials at Antioch in 371/2 and Valens' sending Festus to Asia to eliminate dissident intellectuals like Maximus of Ephesus. The fact that Valens perished at Adrianople without benefit of burial or a tomb (Lives, 480 and IV,24,2) would not have appeared gratuitous to Eunapius. Moreover, Eunapius' anti-Christian bias was pervasive. The monks are one of his constant targets and the long list of Christians who drew his ire includes John Chrysostom, Theophilus of Alexandria, Ablabius, Festus, Stilicho and Serena. In the Histories, all the Christian emperors and many of these lesser lights paid the penalty to Nemesis for their impiety and misdeeds.

Yet Eunapius also believed in Providence and in the positive value of Hellenic culture and religion. Fravitta is proof that not even a Goth was beyond redemption in Eunapius' eyes. Fravitta, who led the pro-Roman faction of the Goths, excelled in *ἀρετή* and *ἀληθεία* and worshipped the gods in the old way (fr. 60); the one reward which he requested for his good service was

the right to practise his religion (fr. 82). Eunapius commends him for suppressing brigandage and adds in his continual attempt to associate paganism with good government: ἦν δὲ Ἕλληγν τὴν θρησκείαν. Not surprisingly, many of the other imperial servants whom Eunapius praises were also pagan: such men as Tatian and his son Proculus, and Anatolius 3 (490-1).

Photius was right to describe the Histories as an encomium on Julian the Apostate. Eunapius portrayed Julian as the perfect example of the divinely favoured ruler, for he was protected by Providence throughout his life and apotheosized on his death. Julian is also the perfect philosopher-king whose character, motives, and deeds serve as the standard by which the Christian emperors are implicitly judged. But Eunapius' belief in a pagan Providence went beyond Julian, even to the extent that he refused to accept that the God of the Christians had triumphed over the old gods at the Battle of the Frigidus. Finally, Eunapius chose to end the Histories in 404 so that he could point to at least three acts of Providence and offer some hope that there would be better times in the future. The Histories were a vigorous statement of the Hellenic alternative to the Christian interpretation of the fourth century A.D.

## General Conclusions

Eunapius was a native of Sardis, a city which, to judge from its public building, was enjoying a period of prosperity in the late fourth century. Sardis was an important Christian centre, but it also had a well integrated Jewish community and a considerable pagan element. Very little is known about Eunapius' family, but they were probably of the curial class. Eunapius himself was a professional rhetor who had studied at Athens and he also possessed a good amateur knowledge of medicine. More important is the fact that he was a Neoplatonist and a member of the Pergamene school which traced its descent from Iamblichus. In his later life, Eunapius seems to have been a gentleman sophist and historian who mingled with the upper echelons of the provincial government. Like most men of his background, he felt that a sophist's first loyalty was to his own city and he strongly deprecated Imperial service, particularly by philosophers.

His Lives of the Sophists was written c. 400 and is one of the chief sources for late antique education. Eunapius write the Lives partly with a didactic purpose, but more to commemorate his two principal teachers, Chrysanthius and Prohaeresius, and to counter Christian hagiography. Yet the Lives are firmly within the pagan literary tradition and betray no Christian influence on form or content. On the formal level, the Lives combine the features of Sotion's Succession and Philostratus' Lives; on the spiritual level, the Lives are most clearly indebted to Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana.

Eunapius' major work was the Histories which covered the years from A.D. 270 to 404 in fourteen books. He was still at work on the second edition as late as 414. The Histories have perished and must be reconstructed from fragments and from later histories which used them. The two most important

sources are the Constantinian Eclogues and Zosimus' New History. The latter depended upon Eunapius from Book I,47 to Book V,25 and even those passages which some scholars have thought to be interpolations most probably derive from Eunapius. The Histories were regnal in structure and Eunapius' closest model appears to be Herodian. Eunapius continued Dexippus and was himself continued by Olympiodorus, but in neither case was there an attempt at imitation.

Eunapius is conventional in what he says about his historiography and he seems to have had adequate sources of information, though worse for the west than for the east where he was well placed to gather material at first hand. He follows the pagan literary tradition about earlier emperors like Constantine and Julian, but the Histories are his own work and there is no reason to assume that he depended upon an Historia adversus Christianos. The Histories were written to demonstrate the workings of pagan Providence and were an important component of the Hellenic reaction against Christianity. Eunapius employed all his skills, distorting and suppressing facts where necessary, and produced a work which vilified the Christian emperors, especially Constantine and Theodosius, and had Julian the Apostate as its hero.

Eunapius was a sincere and committed pagan whose spirit was captivated by Julian and who mourned the passing of his way of life. He did his literary best for the cause, but he was realist enough to approve Chrysanthius' caution during the pagan revival under Julian. Yet Eunapius was not entirely devoid of hope, for he believed that individual pagans would be rewarded for their piety (and impious Christians punished) and he ended his Histories in 404 so that he could offer the promise of better times to come.

## Appendix I - Some Authors known to Eunapius

- Amerius: his writings (457).
- Apsines: wrote on rhetoric (482).
- Aquilinus: writings (457).
- Aristeides: a saying (488), perhaps via Philostratus (Lives, 583).
- Aristophanes: an allusion to Clouds, 144 (462) (Wright, p. 381).
- Carneades the Cynic: writings (454).
- Chrysanthius: wrote many books (502).
- Demetrius: writings (454).
- Demosthenes: an allusion to On the False Embassy, 421 (482) (Wright, p. 464).
- Dexippus: the Chronica (457 and fr. 1 and 8).
- Dionysius of Caria (i.e. Halicarnassus): critical writings (456).
- Diophantus: speeches (494).
- Eupolis: an allusion to the Demoi (496), perhaps via Plutarch, Quaestiones, 712A (Wright, p. 525).
- Herodian: e.g. II,10,5 (492). See above, pp. 245-6.
- Herodotus: the Royal Scyths (IV,20) (Zosimus, IV,20,3). See above, p. 259.
- Hesiod: Eoiae (471).
- Himerius: writings (491); compared to Aristeides (494).
- Homer: Iliad e.g. VI,202 and X,515 (456) (Wright, p. 356)  
                   VIII,19 (457) (Wright, p. 358)  
                   V,83 (464) (Wright, p. 391)  
                   I,218 (477) (Wright, p. 443)  
                   IX,184 (477) (Wright, p. 444)  
                   I,313 (486) (Wright, p. 482)  
                   Hermes escorted Priam to Achilles (488)  
                   XXII,373 (fr. 75,6).
- Odyssey e.g. XVII,485 (468) (Wright, p. 407)  
                   VII,59 (472) (Wright, p. 421)  
                   Odysseus' return home (488).

- Iamblichus: writings in general (458)  
Life of Alypius (460).
- Innocentius: legal works (500).
- Julian: the monograph on the Gallic campaigns (fr. 9)  
 letters, including one to Cyllenius (fr. 14,7)  
Or. VII to the Cynic Heracleios (fr. 18,3)  
 a letter about the Gothic situation (fr. 22)  
 letters about the cult of the sun (fr. 24)
- Libanius: letters and discourses (496).
- Longinus: books (456).
- Lucian: Life of Demonax and other books (454).
- Menippus: writings (454).
- Musonius: writings (454).
- Oribasius: the Euporista  
 the memoir on Julian's Persian expedition (fr. 8).
- Origen: writings (457).
- Pindar: Ol. 10,64 (fr. 74).
- Philostratus: the Lives of the Sophists and the Life of Apollonius of Tyana (454).
- Plato: e.g. dialogues (455)  
 a saying about Xenocrates (458) (see Wright, n. 3, p. 363)  
 an echo of Phaedo 64B (458) (Wright, p. 366)  
Timaeus 36 (460) (Wright, p. 372)  
 perhaps an echo of Symposium 194B (460) (Wright, p. 373)  
Phaedrus 247A (466) (Wright, p. 399)  
Euthyphro init. (471) (Wright, p. 416)  
Phaedo 81D (472) (Wright, p. 425)  
Laws 730B (486) Also quoted by Julian, Or. VI,188B (Wright, p.484)  
Phaedrus 241B (488) (Wright, p. 490)  
Symposium 220A,B (492) See above, pp. 245-6  
Phaedrus 246E (500) (Wright, p. 542)  
Phaedrus 246B (504) (Wright, p. 559).
- Plotinus: books (455 and 456).

- Plutarch: Parallel Lives and other works (454)  
 an imitation of On the Familiar Spirit of Socrates 580 (459)  
 (Wright, p. 366)  
Pericles 8 (498) misquoted (Wright, p. 531).
- Porphyry: History of Philosophy (454)  
Life of Plotinus (455)  
 commentaries (?) on Plotinus' works (455)  
 a book about oracles (457)  
 discourses, doctrines, and a book addressed to his wife,  
 Marcella (457).
- Sopater: writings (458).
- Sotion: Lives of the Philosophers (454).
- Strabo: III,220, gold-digging women of the Artabri (478) (Wright, p. 450).
- Thucydides: an echo of IV,24 (456) (Wright, p. 355).  
 IV,122 (fr. 1).
- Xenophon: discourses and historical commentaries (453).

## Appendix II - The Contents of Sotion and Diogenes Laertius

Aram M. Frenkian, 'Analecta Laertiana', Studi Classice, III, 1961;

the table is from p. 397 following Roeper and Panzerbieter

	Sotion	Diogenes Laertios	
Bk. I	{ Thales, VII Sapientes Physici	Thales, VII Sapientes Physici	Bk. I
Bk. II	{ Socrates <u>Aristippus</u> (DL II,74.85)	Socrates Aristippus	Bk. II
Bk. III	Socratici	Socratici	
Bk. IV	<u>Plato</u> (DL VI,26)	Plato	Bk. III
Bk. V	Academici	Academici	Bk. IV
Bk. VI	{ Aristoteles et discipuli	Aristoteles et discipuli	Bk. V
Bk. VII	<u>Cynici</u> (DL VI,80)	Cynici	Bk. VI
Bk. VIII	<u>Stoici</u> (DL VII,183)	Stoici	Bk. VII
Bk. IX	Pythagoras	Pythagoras	Bk. VIII
Bk. X	{ Eleatici Democritus	Eleatici Democritus	Bk. IX
Bk. XI	<u>Pyrrhonii</u> (DL 110.112)	Pyrrhonii	
Bk. XII	Epicurus	Epicurus	Bk. X
Bk. XIII	Barbari	Barbari	proem

The underlined names are attested by Laertius as belonging to that particular book of Sotion.

## Appendix III (a) - References to Sotion in Diogenes Laertius

- I,1 barbarian philosophy in Book XXIII (sic)
- I,7 marriage customs of the Magi in Book XXIII (sic)
- I,98 the two Perianders
- II,12 the trial of Anaxagoras
- II,74 Aristippus and Laïs in Book II
- II,85 a list of Aristippus' writings in Book II
- V,79 Demetrius' advice to Ptolemy quoted from the epitome of Sotion by Heracleides
- V,86 Heraclides became a pupil of Aristotle
- VI,26 Diogenes' remark to Plato in Book IV
- VI,80 the genuine writings of Diogenes in Book VII
- VII,183 Chrysippus joined Arcesilaus and Lacydes in Book VIII
- VIII,7 false writings of Pythagoras in the epitome by Heracleides
- VIII,86 Eudoxus was also a pupil of Plato
- IX,5
- 1) Heraclitus was a pupil of Xenophanes
  - 2) Ariston in his book On Heraclitus declares that Heraclitus was cured of dropsy and died of another disease
- IX,18 Xenophanes was a contemporary of Anaximander
- IX,20 Xenophanes on cognition
- IX,21 Parmenides associated with Ameinias the Pythagorean
- IX,110 the elder son of Timon was a man of high repute in Book XI
- IX,112 Timon died at age of nearly ninety in Book XI
- IX,115 the names of Timon's pupils
- X,1 birthplace of Epicurus and date of his coming to Athens in the epitome by Heracleides
- X,4 scandalous letters assigned to Epicurus in Book XII of the Dioclean Refutations

## Appendix III (b) - References to Sotion in Athanaeus

- IV,162e Persaeus a slave of Zeno in the Succession
- VIII,336d,e,f a quotation from The Teacher of Profligacy by Alexis in the book on Timon's Satires
- VIII,343 Plato reproached Aristippus for his love of dainties
- XI,505b Alexamenus of Teos, not Plato, invented imitative dialogues

## Appendix IV - The Composition of Laertius' Lives

Paul Moraux, 'La Composition de la "Vie d'Aristote" chez Diogène Laërce',  
R.É.G., LXVIII, 1955, p. 154. See page 74 of this text.

	A.*	T.*	S.*	L.*	D.*	H.*
BIOGRAPHIE						
État civil (nom, père, patrie)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Parents	X	X			X	
Maîtres	X	X			X	X
Portrait intellectuel		X	X	X		X
Portrait physique	X			X		X
Relations avec les rois	X	X	X	X	X	?
Mort	X	X	X	X	X	X
Epigramme de Diogène	X	X	X	X	X	X
Indications chronologiques	X	X	X	X	X	
LISTE DES OUVRAGES	X	X	X		X	X
TESTAMENT	X	X	X	X		
APOPHTHEGMES	X	X			X	
HOMONYMES	X		X	X	X	X

A.\*: Aristote

T.\*: Théophraste

S.\*: Straton

L.\*: Lycon

D.\*: Démétrius

H.\*: Héraclide

Appendix V - The Structure of the Lausiac History

On page liii of the introduction to the second volume of his edition of the Lausiac History<sup>930</sup>, Dom Cuthbert Butler says: 'At times I have been disposed to imagine that in the order of  $\beta$ 1 may be discerned a dim general correspondence with the outlines of Palladius' career...' However, Butler discounts this possibility with the words: 'The idea here suggested must not be pressed to the point of an argument, and obvious difficulties in detail can be urged against it.' Yet the order of the chapters in the manuscript tradition  $\beta$ 1, which Butler adopts<sup>931</sup>, is something more than 'the perhaps unconscious reproduction of shadowy reminiscences of the course of events long past.' This paper attempts both to demonstrate that Palladius constructed the Lausiac History upon an autobiographical framework, and to elucidate the chronology of his life.

In the Prologue, Palladius gives an indication that he has based the History upon the events of his own life: *ἄνωθεν ἐκδέσθαι σοι ἐν διηγήματος εἶδει τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο* (p. 10, 11.8-9). Here, the key word is *διήγημα*. This word has the same basic meaning as *διήγησις*, the distinction between them being equivalent to that between *ποίησις* and *ποίημα*<sup>932</sup>. The term *διήγησις* is applied to a narrative which tells *ὅλον τὸ σύγγραμμα*, such as the Iliad or Odyssey, while *διήγημα* is used of a particular incident like the single combat of Hector or Ajax<sup>933</sup>. Palladius may have chosen *διήγημα* either out of modesty (compare his apology for his poor literary style [Prologue, p. 10, 11.23-5], and his use of the diminutive *βιβλίον* [ibid. 1.9]), or because he is relating events from only a part of his own life. It is possible to assimilate Palladius' use of *διήγημα* to the use of *διήγησις* by Gregory of Nazianzus and Athanasius for whom it means a biography in which the events are arranged chronologically, not

topically. Gregory draws this distinction between διήγησις and εὐφημία in his discussion of Athanasius' Life of Antony<sup>934</sup>. The word ἀνωθεν is also significant, for it indicates that Palladius is starting from the beginning, not in medias res as Butler and others would have him do<sup>935</sup>.

Apart from hints as to the structure of the History, the Prologue (pp. 9-10) provides some important information on Palladius' life. Palladius tells Lausus that now, at the time of writing, he is in the thirty-third year of his being a monk, the twentieth of his bishopric, and the fifty-sixth of his life. These are three very useful facts, but unfortunately the first and third depend upon the date of composition of the History which in turn depends upon the date of Palladius' elevation - such is the nature of the evidence. The terminus ante quem of his elevation is fixed by the statement in the Dial. de Vita Chrys. (pp. 131-2) that Palladius took part as bishop of Helenopolis in the synod convened by Chrysostom at Constantinople in the spring or summer of 400. He was one of the three bishops assigned to investigate the bishop of Ephesus<sup>936</sup>. Traditionally, it has been assumed that Palladius was present at the death of Evagrius in Cellia in 399 or 400, at which point he was not yet a bishop<sup>937</sup>. Unfortunately, as will be demonstrated in the discussion of chapter XXXVIII, it is probable that Palladius was not with Evagrius when he died and hence this 'fact' cannot be used. There is, however, other evidence that 400 is the date of his elevation.

In chapter LV, Palladius tells how he travelled from Jerusalem to Egypt in company with Silvia<sup>938</sup>, the sister-in-law of Rufinus, the ex-prefect, and Melania the Elder. Since Palladius was ordained in Bithynia (XXXV, p. 105, ll. 8-9) and presumably his episcopal duties would keep him at Helenopolis, it is highly unlikely that he would have been travelling in

Palestine after his elevation. The date of this trip must be within a year of Melania's voyage to Rome, for in her reproof of Jovinus for washing his feet, Melania declares that she is sixty years old (p. 149, 1.6). Palladius says that Melania was sixty years of age when she sailed to Rome (LIV, p. 146, 1.20) and Butler places this trip in 399<sup>939</sup>. The traditional chronology of Melania's life would invalidate this synchronism, for according to it she would have been some fifty, not sixty, years old in 399/400<sup>940</sup>. However, F. X. Murphy<sup>941</sup>, following the lead of E. Schwartz<sup>942</sup>, fixes Melania's birthdate ten years earlier and upholds Palladius' veracity.

The following reconstruction of events appears plausible. At the time of the conflict with Theophilus in 399/400 (Schwartz and Murphy favour the latter year), Palladius and Melania accompanied Silvia from Jerusalem to Alexandria, or at least as far as Pelusium. Palladius then sailed to Constantinople - probably from Alexandria - and Melania went to Rome from the port of Caesarea<sup>943</sup>. E. D. Hunt has recently attempted to show that the journey with Silvia took place in 394, but his evidence is circumstantial and cannot overturn Melania's statement that she was sixty years old when she made the journey<sup>944</sup>. Thus it is possible to avoid using the death of Evagrius as the terminus post quem and still retain the ordination in the year 400. From this it follows that 420 remains the date when the Lausiaca History was composed.

The retention of the chronological points 400 and 420 has an important result. Butler thinks that Palladius lived as a monk with Innocent on the Mount of Olives from 386 to 388<sup>945</sup>. This is arithmetically impossible, for in the Prologue Palladius says that he is in his thirty-third year of monastic life. When thirty-two years - for he had not yet completed his thirty-third year - are subtracted from 420, the result is 388. Thus Palladius

first became a monk when he went to Alexandria in the second consulship of Theodosius the Great. If Palladius did spend three years with Innocent before 388, he did so as a layman. The arithmetic is reinforced by other considerations. When Palladius came to Alexandria he was obviously a novice, for Isidore sent him into the desert to Dorotheus for three years of rigorous training in asceticism (I, p. 16, 11.15 ff.). By contrast, an incident in the life of Innocent leads to the conclusion that Palladius was by then an experienced monk; he dared to reprimand a woman for bringing to Innocent what he (wrongly) considered to be an incurable idiot (XLIV). Assuming that the Lausiac History is autobiographical in structure, the life of Innocent is badly displaced if Palladius really did stay with him in the 380's. Finally, it is possible to invoke the authority of Schwartz who assumes that Palladius only began his monastic career with Isidore: kam er zum erstenmal nach Alexandrien zu dem Presbyter Isidoros, ..., mit dem ausgesprochenen Wunsch, in das Eremitenleben eingeführt zu werden<sup>946</sup>.

The History proper commences with Palladius' statement that he first came to Alexandria in the second consulship of Theodosius the Great, that is in the year 388. The phrase about the second consulship is absent from the extant G manuscripts (the foundation of Butler's text), but after a long discussion Butler concludes that it is genuine<sup>947</sup>. This conclusion is confirmed by Palladius who says in the same chapter that Isidore the Hospitaller died fifteen years after he first met him. Isidore probably died in 403<sup>948</sup>.

Until chapter XXXV, Palladius remains in the same general area of Egypt. Although a detailed picture of his life cannot be reconstructed from geographical indications, there is enough evidence to show that the first half of the History has an autobiographical framework. Isidore sent Palladius

to Dorotheus for three years of training, although illness forced Palladius to quit before his time had fully elapsed (I/II). Not surprisingly, the life of Dorotheus follows the life of Isidore. Palladius discussed Alexandrian monks until chapter VII wherein he relates that after spending three years in the vicinity of Alexandria, he went to the Mount of Nitria for a year and then into the Inner Desert. Chapters VII to XXXIX deal with the monks of Nitria and Cellia. The section concerned with those monks who dwelt in the more remote deserts of Scete and Cellia appears to begin with the life of Macarius of Egypt (XVII).

From the point of view of chronology, one of the most crucial chapters in the Lausiatic History is the one devoted to John of Lycopolis, for here Palladius says that he became ill and left the desert three years after his visit to this monk (XXXV, p. 105, ll. 3 ff.). All authorities agree that this visit must have taken place in 394<sup>949</sup>; thus, by simple and natural reckoning, Palladius left the wilderness in 397. This is a full three years before the traditional date of c. 400 which is based upon Palladius' own statement that he spent nine years in Cellia (XVIII) - and his supposed attendance at the death of Evagrius. Paul Peeters most strongly puts the case for Palladius' leaving the desert in 397, but his arguments are somewhat weakened by his theory that Palladius did not see John in person<sup>950</sup>. A fictional visit would be an insecure basis upon which to found a date, but in all likelihood it did take place, for Peeter's main objections arise from misinterpretations of Palladius' words.

Peeters declares that Palladius would not have been in charge of pots and pans if he were living with Evagrius in Cellia<sup>951</sup>. It is doubtful that even in Cellia the asceticism was so vigorous as to dispense with such items, and, moreover, the conversation between Palladius and John in which this reference to kitchenware occurs is not to be taken seriously. Palladius has

a fondness for puns, and here he is playing upon *ἐπίσκοπος*<sup>952</sup>. Similarly, Peeters literally interprets *θόλος* to mean the type of vaulted hut built by the people who lived in the Nile plain, and that therefore Palladius never saw John's dwelling place - which must have been a cavern. This objection vanishes before René Draguet's discovery that *θόλος* is used as the equivalent of *κέλλα, κελλίον*<sup>953</sup>. Peeters seizes upon the apparent inconsistency in Palladius' statements that John was walled up in his cell (p. 100, l.14) and that he ran (*προσδραμῶν*) to meet the local commander (p. 102, l.12), declaring that by this se trahit un narrateur écrivain d'imagination<sup>954</sup>. Surely it is preferable to assume that this expression is chosen for its dramatic effect. The most recent English translation says (perhaps too) simply: 'He joined Alypius and broke off speaking to me'<sup>955</sup>.

Before passing on to the attempts to reconcile these two departure dates of 397 and 400, it is worth briefly outlining another problem concerning the year 394. St. Epiphanius wrote a letter to John, the bishop of Jerusalem, warning him about a Palladius from Galatia who was supporting the Origenist cause in the vicinity of Jerusalem<sup>956</sup>. Assuming that this letter was written in 394, Peeters sees Palladius' desire to conceal his Origenist proselytizing as a possible motive for composing the allegedly fictional chapter on John of Lycopolis<sup>957</sup>. Even if chapter XXXV is authentic, it is entirely consistent with Palladius' practice for him to omit any mention of such a 'political' journey as the one to Jerusalem in 394<sup>958</sup>. It is certainly possible for Palladius to have visited both Jerusalem and Lycopolis in the same year, and the prima facie case is to identify the two Palladii<sup>959</sup>. That Palladius made both trips is even more possible if Epiphanius' letter dates from 393 and not 394<sup>960</sup>. Yet whatever the decision

about the trip to Jerusalem, it can have little or no material effect on the present hypothesis about the structure of the Lausiac History.

Various attempts have been made to reconcile Palladius' falling ill in 397 with his leaving the desert in c. 400. Butler, influenced by Tillemont, considers that Palladius became ill a full three years after the visit to John of Lycopolis, and struggled against the malady until 399 when he left the wilderness<sup>961</sup>. Tillemont conjectures that Palladius spent 395, 6 and 7 in Cellia, fell sick in 398, and finally went to Alexandria in 399<sup>962</sup>. This scheme still leaves the difficulty of finding the nine years which Palladius spent in Cellia. Tillemont chooses to follow Bollandus in counting amongst the nine years in Cellia the one spent in Nitria. This makes the most commodious arrangement for the addition; moreover, Tillemont notes that Palladius says that he was in Nitria (he must have been in Cellia) when he visited John of Lycopolis, and concludes that Palladius does not always distinguish between the two regions<sup>963</sup>.

Serious difficulties remain. Even if Palladius left Cellia in 399, it is not easy to find time for all the events between then and his ordination, especially if, as it must, the year with Posidonius at Bethlehem comes between these two points<sup>964</sup>. In addition, Evagrius' death must be brought forward to 399, although Butler, while doing this, admits that it can 'hardly be placed before 400'<sup>965</sup>. The obvious solution is that Palladius was not present at the death of Evagrius. The statement that Palladius stayed nine years in Cellia can be explained by extending the hypothesis of Tillemont and Bollandus so that the two years spent in the desert suburbs of Alexandria are also counted among those spent in Cellia. One might also invoke a lapsus styli or a memory obscured by the passage of almost thirty years. The last suggestion is a favourite of those who work with Palladius' chronology<sup>966</sup>.

Despite the fact that almost all authorities declare that Palladius was present at the death of Evagrius<sup>967</sup>, there is no firm evidence that this is true. The only indication is the statement near the end of chapter XXXVIII that Evagrius εφηγεῖτο οὖν [ἡμῖν] περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὅτι ... (p. 122, ll. 15-16). Butler admits that the ἡμῖν is textually insecure<sup>968</sup>. It would be preferable to excise it, and in his translation of this chapter R. T. Meyer has done so, without, however, remarking on this in his notes. Even if the ἡμῖν is retained, this conversation precedes Evagrius' death by an unspecified and perhaps considerable length of time, for surely this is the force of περὶ<sup>969</sup>. Butler's claim that the ἡμῖν is supported by 'the very precise knowledge manifested concerning Evagrius' last years and the circumstances of his death, ...'<sup>970</sup> is untenable. Evagrius' actual death is not described at all, and Palladius omits other customary hagiographical elements such as the master's last address to his disciples. The life ends very curiously with what Evagrius said when the death of his father was announced to him. The omissions can be explained by postulating the scissors of an editor or Palladius' concealment of Evagrius' Origenist politics, but on the internal evidence of the life as it exists, Palladius was absent when Evagrius rendered up his soul. In general, the life of Evagrius is far from being the complete study which one would expect of Palladius' principal teacher<sup>971</sup>. The external evidence of Palladius' trip with the Elder Melania in 399/400 is confirmation that he was absent.

The life of Posidonius follows the chapter on John of Lycopolis. Palladius says that he spent a year with Posidonius at Bethlehem (XXXVI, p. 107, l. 1) and because of Posidonius' criticisms of St. Jerome and his prophecy about the death of Paula, this stay must fall between the years 392 when the quarrel with Jerome began, and 404 when Paula died. The most convenient year is 399/400<sup>972</sup>, or perhaps a bit earlier, depending upon how soon after 397 Palladius left the desert. On this reckoning, the chapter may

seem to come earlier in the History than it should. This problem can be overcome by introducing the concept of dramatic setting, for the major anecdote in this life happened when Posidonius was living at Porphyrites, between the Nile and the Red Sea. Hence the main interest lies in the period before the stay at Bethlehem, perhaps close to the year 394. In any case, the desert location of the anecdote is naturally suited to this portion of the History.

The desert fathers told Palladius about the subject of the next chapter (XXXVII), Sarapion Sindonita (p. 109, l.11). It is this which determines the position of the life in the History, for Sarapion himself died long before Palladius entered the wilderness and may even have been a contemporary of St. Antony<sup>973</sup>. Moreover, Sarapion, despite his extensive travels, was primarily a desert dweller and that is probably where he died<sup>974</sup>.

The life of Evagrius has been treated above; here it is enough to note that it forms the proper conclusion to the Egyptian section of the History. Hence Evagrius is given the pride of place which he deserves as Palladius' chief teacher. Having the break here also helps the balance of the History, for Palladius spent three years in the desert after the journey to John of Lycopolis, and by this means he is able to give the impression that this time has elapsed.

The Egyptian section is followed by a transitional passage before Palladius again picks up the chronological thread in the life of Adolius (XLIII). With the exception of the Holy Women (XLI), all the people treated in the transitional part lived before the time of Palladius, although he probably learned of them while he was in the desert. Palladius was told one of the stories about Pior (XXXIX) by an unnamed source, the other by Moses the Libyan. Pior likely died c. 360 and certainly by 374 since he

is not mentioned in connexion with Melania's visit to Nitria or the persecution by Lucius<sup>975</sup>. Ephraim of Edessa (XL) was the greatest writer of the Syrian Church and lived from c. 306 to 373<sup>976</sup>. Julian of Edessa (XLII) belongs to the mid-fourth century; his life was written by Ephraim, whence may derive Palladius' knowledge of him<sup>977</sup>. The chapter on the Holy Women does not fit this pattern because Palladius claims to have known most of them personally, and many of these in Rome. Yet it is worth remembering that much of the text may not be secure since Butler had to construct it out of B with the help of 1<sup>978</sup>. Perhaps the anomalous position of this chapter can be accounted for by its anomalous, that is omnibus, content. Here it is unobtrusively encapsulated in the gerontology.

Palladius says that he knew Adolius from Tarsus who dwelt at Jerusalem and describes his rigorous ascetic regime (XLIII). Very likely, this acquaintance dates from during or near the year which Palladius spent with Posidonius at Bethlehem. However, at what period Palladius sojourned for three years with Innocent on the Mount of Olives (XLIV) remains undecided. The dramatic setting of the life of Innocent may be the same as that implied by its position in the History: Innocent may well have performed the miracle of curing the child c. 399, and Palladius could have paid him a visit then. This incident need not have occurred during the three year stint.

It is possible to locate the long stay with Innocent in three different periods. Tillemont thinks that the best choice is after 413 when Palladius had been released from confinement, but before his translation to Aspuna in 417<sup>979</sup>. If Palladius left the desert in 397, there is just enough time for him to have been with Innocent from 397 to 400; this best accords with the autobiographical structure which has been postulated for the History.

However, this arrangement is as cramped as Butler's reconstruction of these years and is impossible if one insists on three full years with Innocent and a full year with Posidonius. Butler favoured the period from 386 to 388<sup>980</sup>, and this may well be the most convenient slot, although Palladius could not yet have been a monk (above, pp. 4-5). One of the latter two hypotheses must be true if J. Wittig's identification of this Innocent with Pope Innocent I is accepted<sup>981</sup>, for he was elevated to the Holy See on December 21, 402<sup>982</sup>. This identification has found its supporters, but remains unprovable<sup>983</sup>.

The chapter on Philoromus (XLV) follows next and raises some similar difficulties. Philoromus is otherwise unknown, nor does the life occur in the G manuscripts; Butler justifies including it by citing stylistic evidence<sup>984</sup>. If the life is retained - as subsequent editors have done - the problem is to find a period when Palladius could have lived with Philoromus *μακρῷ χρόνῳ* (XLV, p. 132, l. 16). Tillemont prefers to place this 'long time' during Palladius' youth before he left Galatia, but recognizes that Palladius had learned things about Philoromus which can only have happened c. 400 or later<sup>985</sup>. Indeed, Palladius speaks of Philoromus as if he is still alive at the time of writing, and it is quite possible for Philoromus to have been eighty years of age in 420 since he became a monk in the time of Julian the Apostate. Butler's choice of the period between Palladius' return from exile and his translation to Aspuna is also reasonable, although this would practically forbid assigning the stay with Innocent to this time<sup>986</sup>. It is difficult to justify Palladius' placing the life here; there is no anecdote which can be used to define a dramatic setting of c. 399, but Palladius may possibly be recalling one of Philoromus' two trips to Jerusalem (p. 133, l. 22). Philoromus could have come during Palladius' time with Posidonius or Innocent. As will be seen in the discussion of chapters

LXIII to LXV, the structure of the Lausiac History is sometimes determined by Palladius' train of thought.

After Philoromus, Palladius gives the first part of the life of the Elder Melania (XLVI). Palladius intended the life to be so divided, for he remarks upon the separation at the beginning of the second part (LIV). The reason for this split may lie in the fact that the first life relates incidents which happened before Palladius can have known Melania. The main anecdote concerns her caring for the Egyptian bishops and monks who were banished to Diocaesarea, probably in 374<sup>987</sup>. Palladius likely obtained this information during his stay in the Jerusalem area c. 399, perhaps from Melania herself, perhaps from Innocent or Posidonius.

Chapter XLVII on Chronius and Paphnutius occupies an anomalous position. Strictly speaking, it should come much earlier than it does, for it deals mostly with a visit which Palladius, Evagrius, and Albanus made to these monks. Even to adopt the place which it has in the G manuscripts would be no improvement because there it falls between chapters XXXIX and XL, after the death of Evagrius in chapter XXXVIII. The explanation may lie in the purpose of the chapter which is to provide the setting for a long diatribe on free will and the perils of pride. The latter theme is a leitmotiv of the Lausiac History,<sup>and</sup> the moralistic and didactic aims of this life obviously much outweigh mere chronological considerations. Here, this long discourse is nicely set off by the two series of relatively short lives which precede and follow it.

The next section comprises the lives of five monks whom Palladius knew in the region of Jericho and the Jordan River. Palladius himself stayed with Elpidius, probably shortly after the year with Posidonius, but he does not say for how long (XLVIII, p. 142, l. 21). The following chapter, XLIX, deals

with a disciple of Elpidius who was called Sisinnius. Gaddanas (L) and Elias (LI) both inhabited the area near the Jordan River, while the last one, Sabas (LII), was a native of Jericho and ministered to the monks who lived along the Jordan River. Chapter LIII deals with another of those monks who were led astray by pride in their asceticism, an Egyptian by the name of Abramius. Palladius does not name his source, nor does he give any firm notice of the locality other than to say that it was in the desert. The life is very short and because of its gnostic nature and purpose could come almost anywhere in the History. Here it is conveniently appended to a series of equally short lives. This period of Palladius' own life ends with his journey to Alexandria (and thence to Constantinople) with the Elder Melania and Silvia in 400 (above, p. 401-2)

After Melania the Elder, Palladius treats one of her followers, Olympias (LVI). Her deeds are discussed in general terms, no chronological indications are given except that she is dead by the time of writing <sup>988</sup>, and Palladius does not claim to have known her personally. She is dealt with here primarily because she is a disciple of Melania, but it may also be significant that she lived in Constantinople whither Palladius went after leaving Melania. Candida and Gelasia, both followers of Melania, are given the next chapter in the History (LVII). Palladius says that he observed Candida's ascetic way of life and doubtless he also knew Gelasia who was her companion.

There follows the section on the monks and nuns who lived in the region of Antinoë in the Thebaid (LVIII - LX). Palladius introduces this part in chapter LVIII, in the first sentence of which he says that he spent four years here. This cannot be placed exactly, but it must have fallen during the period of his exile to Syene which began in 406. It cannot have occurred during his first stay in Egypt because Melania the Younger gave that large

sum of money to Dorotheus, one of the Antinoite monks (LVIII, p. 151, l. 20 ff.), in 404-5<sup>989</sup>. Tillemont suggests that the sojourn began c. 410, but does not elaborate his reasons for choosing this particular year<sup>990</sup>. In chapter LVIII, Palladius says that he saw Dorotheus, Diocles, Capito, and a vainglorious monk whom he does not name. Palladius deals with Amatalis, the mother superior of one of the twelve nunneries in Antinoe who so excelled in *παιδεία* that she placed her hands on his shoulders, and with one of her flock, the recluse Taor (LIX). The last chapter is devoted to a nun whom Palladius did not see, but who lived near him (LX). It has long been thought that the bishop to whom she bequeathed Clement's commentary on Amos is Palladius himself<sup>991</sup>. Palladius could have learned of the premonitory visit which the local martyr, Colluthus, paid to this nun before her death from the mother superior who was charged with handing over the book.

In chapter LXI, Palladius treats the Younger Melania, and remarks that he is thus fulfilling the promise which he made earlier (LVIII, p. 151, l. 21). This life is set in the year 410, coming in its proper place after the section on Antinoë. Much of it tells how Melania disposed of her property: snatching it, in effect, from the jaws of Alaric, 'the lion'. Indeed, Palladius' information about Melania the Younger and her group does not seem to proceed much beyond the year 410, for he is unaware that they settled in Bethlehem in 414<sup>992</sup>. Palladius does remark upon the generous hospitality which Pinian and the others showed to his party when they went to Rome in behalf of 'blessed John, the bishop', one of the few references to the years between 400 and 406. As usual in the Lausiac History, Palladius says very little about his part in the controversy over Chrysostom. Like the Elder Melania, the Younger also has her followers. Chapter LXII deals mostly with her relative, Pammachius, and how he gave away his property.

Palladius mentions two other nobles and former office holders, Macarius and Constantius, who he thinks are still alive and living the good life.

In the next chapter, LXIII, Palladius says that at Alexandria he met the virgin who had sheltered Athanasius when he fled into exile in 356<sup>993</sup>. At the very beginning of the life, Palladius states that this woman was seventy years old when he knew her: the local clergy told him that she was twenty years of age when she gave refuge to the patriarch. From these figures, it is clear that Palladius met her in 406, very likely when he passed through Alexandria on his way to exile in Syene. This minor chronological displacement is easily explained. In the preceding chapter and at the end of the life of the Younger Melania, Palladius dealt with his trip to Rome and it is a function of his natural train of thought to recollect and include here an incident which happened immediately upon his return to the East after that journey.

The succeeding chapter (LXIV) records an event which Palladius read in an old book, one which bore the autograph of Origen. Again, this chapter is to be explained in terms of Palladius' train of thought, for it concerns a virgin who hid Origen when, like Athanasius, he was being pursued. In a similar way, the next chapter (LXV) is connected by this new theme of old books; the story of Hippolytus was written in a 'very old' book.

The last section of the History is set in Ancyra in Galatia, probably subsequent to the year 417 since it was then that Palladius was given the see of Aspuna. This town is on the main road to Ancyra, the nearest major centre, so that Palladius would have met or heard first hand accounts of the subjects of these chapters. In the first sentence of each of chapters LXVI, LXVII, and LXVIII, Palladius says that the person concerned lived either in Ancyra or in 'the same city'. Chapter LXIX also belongs to Ancyra, for the

virgin therein discussed is said to have lived *σὺν ἄλλαις* (p. 164, 1.22), and at the start of chapter LXVII Palladius remarks that there are some two thousand or more virgins and *ἐπίσημοι γυναῖκες* in Ancyra.

The penultimate life concerns a lector of Caesarea in Palestine whom a girl falsely accused of getting her with child. The topographical displacement is easily over-ridden by the avowed moralistic purpose of describing her suffering and repentance, and demonstrating that one must persist in prayer and that prayers are efficacious. Moreover, this is probably a very old story, for the lector may be Eustathius the martyr<sup>994</sup>, and hence it is placed where it will have the greatest didactic effect almost at the end of the History. Palladius concludes the Lausiac History by masquerading as 'the brother who has always been with him' in order to give some autobiographical details without showing lack of modesty<sup>995</sup>.

Although thematic considerations sometimes override strict autobiography, in its broad outline the structure of the Lausiac History is based upon the course of Palladius' life from his introduction to monasticism at Alexandria to his bishopric at Aspuna. Upon this basis, it is possible to reconsider the chronology of Palladius' life and, although some problems remain, some conclusions appear certain. Palladius first became a monk in 388 and visited John of Lycopolis in 394 before leaving the desert in 397. Hence he was not present at the death of Evagrius, but he did journey to Egypt with Melania the Elder and Silvia in 400, the same year in which he was made a bishop.

Appendix VI - References to the Histories in the Lives

- 464 Constantine's punishment for favouring Ablabius is described in the account of his life.  
The division of the empire is described in the account of Julian.
- 472 Monks are described in his Universal History.
- 473 Constantius' elimination of Julian's relatives is related in the account of Julian.
- 476 Alaric's invasion of Greece is described in the Histories.  
The life of Julian describes the plots against him in Gaul.  
Julian's rebellion against Constantius is found in his work on Julian.
- 478 Julian's Persian expedition is related in his life.
- 480 The conspiracy involving Maximus is found in the Universal History.
- 482 He will write more fully about the invasion of Greece in the Universal History.
- 483 He spoke of Tuscianus in his account of Julian.
- 485 He gave the life of Prohaeresius in his historical commentaries.
- 486 He will give a fuller account of his student initiation at Athens when he discusses the times in which Prohaeresius lived.
- 493 He wrote about Musonius in the Universal History.
- 495 He described the career of Libanius in the books on Julian.
- 498 He described Cribasius' making Julian emperor in the account of the latter's reign.

## Appendix VII - Note A πολυ -compounds

Histories

- fr. 1 πολυμνητον  
 fr. 11 [c] (anon.) πολυπλοκώτεροι  
 fr. 14,7 πολυτρόπου  
 fr. 37 πολυτρόπων  
 fr. 42 πολυμνητος + πολυάνθρωπον  
 fr. 54 πολυάνθρωπον  
 fr. 57 πολυπραγμονούντι + πολυμόρφους  
 fr. 60 [a] πολυτελεστέρου  
 fr. 60 [b] πολυτελεστέρου  
 fr. 67 (anon.) πολυπραγμονῶν  
 fr. 73 πολυπλωέστερα  
 fr. 79 [b] (anon.) πολυάνδριον καὶ πολυτελή

A Sample from the Lives (page and line of Giangrande's edition)

- 480 (p. 55, 1.3) πολυτρόπον  
 491 (p. 74, 1.27) πολυμνήτου  
 493 (p. 80, 1.1) πολυκρατούσει  
 497 (p. 86, 1.16) πολυμνητον

Suda

- s.v. Καταδύει (III,44,27) πολυπλοκον  
 s.v. Οὐδέν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον (III,579,13) πολυτρόπον

Note B βαρύ and its Cognates

Histories

- fr. 4 βαρύτερα  
 fr. 12 βαρύ

- fr. 26 βάρος  
 fr. 53 (anon.) βάρος  
 fr. 54 βαρύτης + ἐβαρύνετο  
 fr. 70 (anon.) βαρύν  
 fr. 88 βαρύτερον  
 fr. 107 βαρύτερα

A Sample from the Lives (page and line of Giangrande's edition)

- 477 (p. 48, 1.22) βαρύν  
 483 (p. 60, 1.16) βαρύν  
 486 (p. 65, 1.14) βαρέως  
 489 (p. 71, 1.25) βαρύτερον  
 490 (p. 74, 1.1) βάρος  
 491 (p. 74, 1.26) βαρύτερα  
 491 (p. 75, 1.6) βαρύν  
 501 (p. 93, 1.22) βαρύν  
 503 (p. 97, 1.20) βαρύν

Suda

σ.ν. Σπάρδων (IV, 414, 18) βαρύτητα

Note C Διαφερόντως

On the frequency of Διαφερόντως in Eunapius, see: W. R. Chalmers, 'Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition', C.Q. n.s. X, 1960, p. 152 and Alan Cameron, C.Q. n.s. XIII, 1963, p. 235 (who does not cite fr. 23.).

Histories

- fr. 17 (anon.) (twice)  
 fr. 23 (Excerpta de Sententiis)

fr. 25 [a] (anon.)

fr. 47 [a] (anon.)

A Sample from the Lives (page and line of Giangrande's edition)

470 (p. 35, 1.5)

490 (p. 74, 1.7)

491 (p. 75, 1.23)

500 (p. 90, 1.25)

Appendix VIII - The Second Edition of the Lives

The fact that there was a second edition of the Histories led V. Lundström to suspect that Eunapius had produced a similar second edition of the Lives. As a result of his work on the manuscript tradition of the Lives, he thinks that the several codices which contain only the life of Libanius are the only ones not to derive from the codex Laurentianus 86,7. He identifies these examples of the life with that appended by Georgios Lacapenus in the middle of the fourteenth century to his selection of Libanius' letters. For Lundström, the Lacapenus recension is the only remaining vestige of the second edition of the Lives<sup>996</sup>. He concludes that it is from the second because of the excisions, the change of ὁ θεωτότατος to ὁ βαρκεύς as applied to Julian, and the final sentence which is missing from the Laurentian tradition. These differences exist and are consonant with what Photius says about the second edition of the Histories (cod. 77), but Lundström's greatest weakness is that he cannot prove that Eunapius and not Lacapenus made these changes.

Lundström's theory has not met with whole-hearted acceptance. W. Kroll was the first to comment upon it<sup>997</sup>. He makes some small criticisms of Lundström's comparative methods and by pointing out that one of the omissions contained a complicated simile and another a cross-reference to the Histories which would have little point in a detached life, raises the possibility that Lacapenus altered some of the text. Although Kroll refuses to pass a verdict on the general hypothesis of a second edition of the Lives, he does not appear to be greatly in favour of it.

R. Foerster agrees with Kroll that Lundström has not provided sufficient evidence to prove that there was a second edition of the Lives and thinks that some alterations were probably made by Lacapenus, for

example ὁ θεϊότατος to ὁ βασιλεύς. However, Foerster does accept that the last sentence is genuine and that this recension is not dependent upon the Laurentian. He even prefers some of Lacapenus' variants <sup>998</sup>.

This matter was next considered by Kurt Latte who criticizes both Lundström's method and conclusions <sup>999</sup>. It seems to him that Lundström is straining the evidence since gaps and omissions cannot prove much about a second edition. However, he does attempt to show that traces remain of the author's revision of the manuscript <sup>1000</sup>. He bases his theory upon the passage about the sons of Sosipatra (470-3) in which the two appearances of Antoninus are separated by a digression on the pseudo-philosopher parasites of Sosipatra's school. Because of their similarity with the rest of the Lives, both versions are by Eunapius; because the one is more anti-Christian than the other, the conditions described by Photius are met. Latte adduces what he considers to be other indications of the unfinished state of the Lives, and concludes that the Doppelfassung occurred when one of Eunapius' marginal notes was written into the text.

J. C. Vollebregt has disposed of Latte's main argument by showing that the reiteration of Antoninus is for the sake of clarity following the digression <sup>1001</sup>. In fact, there is no duplication, for the first account is an introduction to the family of Sosipatra, while the second is a detailed treatment of Antoninus himself. Moreover, Eunapius is aware of the digression (471). The validity of Latte's arguments for the unfinished state of the Lives largely depends upon the interpretation of Eunapius' style. In some authors, postponing the mention of Alypius' birthplace to the end of his life (461) might indicate lack of completion, but variation is not uncommon in the Succession, especially in Eunapius' model, Philostratus (above, pp. 82-3). In any case, this point is far from decisive. As for

Latte's theory of the marginal note, he cites only one parallel from Galen. Vollebregt also disagrees with Lundström, for he considers that the differences in Lacapenus' life could be explained as the work of someone editing for educational purposes and that the last sentence could easily have fallen out of the Laurentianus. His impression of the style of the Lacapenus version is that it could not be by Eunapius himself <sup>1002</sup>.

G. Giangrande is the latest to discuss the question of the second edition of the Lives <sup>1003</sup>. He agrees with Vollebregt that the alterations in the text were the work of Lacapenus and not Eunapius, but, unlike his predecessors, he does not accept that the last sentence is genuine, or that Lacapenus used a manuscript independent of Laurentianus 86,7. He has three reasons for denying this. It is highly improbable that, if in the mid-fourteenth century this other tradition had existed, it would have vanished so completely as to leave only this minute trace. The *δέ* placed after *τούτω* in the sentence in question is completely at variance with Eunapius' normal stylistic practice. Finally, Giangrande thinks that it is unlikely that Eunapius would consider it a misfortune not to have met Libanius who was the arch-rival of the Prohaeresius to whom he was so devoted. It is far more probable, says Giangrande, that Lacapenus, influenced by his own great admiration for Libanius, wrote this last sentence and added the *ὅ ταῦτα γράψων* for persuasive effect. This last argument is the weakest of the three, for Giangrande makes too much of Eunapius' far from universal hostility to Libanius; indeed Eunapius praises Libanius' writings and his devotion to his profession (496). Eunapius may well have regretted not meeting the greatest sophist of his generation.

Although Giangrande's argument that the last sentence is not authentic fails to be totally convincing, Lundström's hypothesis has been sufficiently

discredited and it may be stated with confidence that Eunapius produced only one edition of the Lives of the Sophists.

## I 1 Notes (pp. 1 - 2)

- 1 George M.A. Hanfmann, Letters from Sardis, Cambridge, Mass., 1972 has a sketch of the history of Sardis on pp. 1-5 and a tabular chronology on pp. 15-18.  
Cf. Bürchner, 'Sardeis', P-W, I A, 1914, col. 2478.  
John Griffiths Pedley, Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis, Cambridge, Mass., 1972 is a florilegium of literary and historical references to Sardis until the time of Diocletian.
- 2 Tacitus, Annales, II,47.
- 3 (a) An inscription from the base of a statue of Lucius Verus was found in the gymnasium.  
Sherman E. Johnson, B.A.S.O.R., no. 158, 1960, pp. 7-10.  
Cf. L. Robert, 'Bulletin Épigraphique', R.É.G., LXXV, 1962, no. 290, pp. 200-201.  
  
(b) An inscription in Hebrew, possibly a transliteration of Beros, i.e. Verus. See B.A.S.O.R., no. 187, 1967, p. 25.  
  
(c) Melito, bishop of Sardis, may have presented his Apology to Marcus' colleague, Verus. Cf. Eusebius, H.E., IV,26,5-11, and see  
A.T. Kraabel, 'Melito the Bishop and the Synagogue at Sardis: Text and Context', Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann, Mainz, 1971, pp. 77-85 and especially p. 79 and n. 13.
- 4 A.H.M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,<sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1971, pp. 80-82; C.Habicht, J.R.S., LXV (1975), pp. 66 and 77.
- 5 W.M. Ramsay, The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, London, 1904, p. 368.
- 6 The most useful maps of the site are those in Hanfmann, op. cit., pp. 19-21. Map 3 is the master urban plan as of January 1970.  
Howard Crosby Butler, Sardis, vol. I, part I, Leyden, 1922 describes the appearance of the site before the Princeton excavations began in 1910 (pp. 15 ff.) and gives an account of previous exploration (pp. 4 ff.).
- 7 Sherman E. Johnson, 'IX Christianity in Sardis', Early Christian Origins, Chicago, 1961, p. 85.
- 8 Bürchner, loc. cit.
- 9 Butler, op. cit., pp. 17-25.
- 10 Ibid., pp. 29-31.
- 11 Ibid., p. 29: 'they seem hardly worthy of the name of city walls....'

- I 1 Notes (pp. 2 - 7.)
- 12 B.A.S.O.R., no. 157, 1960, pp. 20-21.
- 13 B.A.S.O.R., no. 186, 1967, p. 25.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 27-8.
- 15 B.A.S.O.R., no. 191, 1968, p. 38.
- 16 B.A.S.O.R., no. 206, 1972, p. 31.
- 17 B.A.S.O.R., no. 166, 1962, pp. 40-45.
- 18 B.A.S.O.R., no. 177, 1965, p. 14.
- 19 Roland Martin in A.J. Festugière, Antioche Païenne et Chrétienne, Paris, 1959, p. 39.
- 20 Cf. G.W. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1969, pp. 27-8.
- 21 R. Martin, ad loc., op. cit., p. 48 for further references.
- 22 Butler, op. cit., p. 31.  
Ekrem Akurgal, Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey,<sup>2</sup> Istanbul, 1970, p. 126.
- 23 B.A.S.O.R., no. 157, 1960, p. 40.
- 24 Ibid., p. 43.
- 25 Butler, op. cit., pp. 35-6. His promise to give a fuller exposition of the aqueducts and water system of Sardis 'elsewhere in these Publications' does not seem to have been fulfilled.
- 26 Akurgal, op. cit., pp. 127-31, based largely upon Gottfried Gruben, 'Beobachtung zum Artemis-Tempel von Sardis', MDAI(A), LXXVI, 1961, pp. 155-196.
- 27 B.A.S.O.R., no. 166, 1962, pp. 34-5.
- 28 Butler, op. cit., p. 102.
- 29 Butler, op. cit., p. 113. Cf. B.A.S.O.R., no. 166, 1962, p. 54.
30. Butler, Sardis, II, I, p. 12.
31. B.A.S.O.R., no. 215, 1974, pp. 33-8.
- 32 B.A.S.O.R., no. 206, 1972, fig. 12, p. 24 for the overall plan and pp. 25 ff. for plans and photographs giving an indication of the original appearance of the Marble Court.

I 1, 2 Notes (pp. 7 - 14)

33 Kraabel, op. cit., p. 77 [n.3].

34 B.A.S.O.R., no. 203, 1971, pp. 15-17 (with plans).

35 B.A.S.O.R., no. 206, 1972, p. 25.

36 Ibid., pp. 37-9.

37 Photius, Bibliothèque, ed. René Henry, I, Paris, 1959. For Eunapius see cod. 77, pp. 158-60; for Photius pp. iv ff.; for the date of the Bibliotheca, p. xx.

38 Oribasius, Libri ad Eunapium (the Euporista), ed. Raeder, C.M.G., VI,3, pp. 317 ff.

39 Cf. W. Schmid, 'Eunapios 2', P-W, VI, col. 1121.

40 PLRE s.v. Himerius 2.

41 Cf. PLRE s.v. Themistius 1.

F. Bouchery, Themistius in Libanius' Brieven, Antwerp and Paris, 1936, p. 125, thinks that ep. 241 was probably written in the summer of 359.

42 Alan Cameron, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens', P.C.P.S. n.s. XV, 1969, pp. 11 and 20.

43 Marinus, Life of Proclus, ix and xvii, respectively.

44 Damascius, Life of Isidore, (ed. Clemens Zintzen, Hildesheim, 1967), fr. 124 Suda and Epitoma Photiana 125-7.

45 Ibid., Epit. Phot., 59.

46 Schmid, loc. cit.

47 Libanius, Libanius' Autobiography (Oration I), ed., A.F. Norman, London, 1965, section 26 and note ad loc. p. 154.

48 Cf. Paul Petit, Les Étudiants de Libanius, Paris, 1957, pp. 65-6.

49 Two large houses have been found south of the Agora - as well as other contemporary buildings south of the Acropolis - with apsidal apartments which may be the lecture theatres mentioned by Eunapius. Niches for sculptures are let into the walls of the apses: Homer A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600', J.R.S., XLIX, 1959, p. 68.

50 Petit, op. cit., App. II on the social origins of Libanius' pupils bears this out.

51 A.H.M. Jones, L.R.E., II, pp. 997-8.

I.2 and II Notes (pp. 14 - 20)

- 52 Petit, op. cit., pp. 144-5, with special reference to epp. 466, 23 and 24.
- 53 John W.H. Walden, The Universities of Ancient Greece, London, 1912, pp. 182-3 has more examples.
- 54 J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, Antioch, Oxford, 1972, pp. 43-44.
- 55 Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo, London, 1967, p. 38 with reference to Conf. II,iii,5.  
Cf. Alan Cameron, Claudian, Oxford, 1970, pp. 21-22.
- 56 Bowersock, op. cit. [n. 20], pp. 21-22.
- 57 Jones, op. cit., p. 997.
- 58 Cf. LSJ s.v. Πᾶσις II citing Xenophon, H.G. 5,4,25, and especially s.v. ἕκ II,2 citing Xenophon An. 4,6,21 and Thucydides I,120.
- 59 Petit, op. cit., pp. 139-40.
- 60 As does Wright (Loeb), p. 322: 'He was, as far as we can judge, among the least erudite of the fourth-century sophists.'
- 61 G. Giangrande, B.P.E.C., n.s. IV, 1956, pp. 59-70 [for Philostratus].  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Herodianismen bei Eunapios', Hermes, LXXXIV, 1956, pp. 320-31, and cf. below pp.259 f.
- 62 Cameron, op. cit., p. 348.
- 63 Norman, op. cit. [n. 47], p. xxviii.
- 64 Ibid., pp. xxv - xxviii, and, more fully, Rh.M., n.f. CVII, 1964, pp. 158-75.
- 65 Norman, Rh.M., CVII, pp. 172-3.  
Julian: the Misopogon is fundamental for Or. XV, and the Ep. ad S.P.Q. Ath. for Or. XVIII.  
Himerius: likely per se and cf. ep. 469.  
Themistius: cf. epp. 368, 434, 818, 1430, and 1495.
- 66 Cameron, op. cit., chpt. XI passim.
- 67 Homer A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600', J.R.S., XLIX, 1959, pp. 64-5.
- 68 Alison Frantz, 'From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens', D.O.P., XIX, 1965, pp. 194-5.
- 69 Ibid., p. 200.
- 70 Christian Lacombrade, Synésios de Cyrène, Paris, 1951, pp. 74-5.

## II Notes (pp. 20 - 27)

71 Frantz, op. cit., p. 190.

72 Alan Cameron, 'The End of the Ancient Universities', C.H.M., X, 1967, p. 663.

73 Wright (Loeb) n. 1, p. 478.

74 Ilona Opelt, Wiener Studien, n.f. III, 1969, pp. 29-30.

75 Cf. Eunapius, V.S. 495.

Norman, Autobiography, note ad loc.

Walden, op. cit. p. 296 ff. on recruitment and initiation, and cf. the detailed account in Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XLIII, (P.G. 36), 15 and 16.

76 Petit, op. cit. [n. 48], p. 103 f.

77 Walden, op. cit., p. 305.

78 It is probable that Chrysanthius was being bled to relieve gout, for it was customary to do this once a year in the spring in the case of people who lived a temperate life. (Euporista, IV, 116). Chrysanthius' diet was plain and he seldom ate meat; he wrote so many books that the ends of his fingers became crooked and curved (502).

79 Cf. Wright (Loeb), n. 3, pp. 356-7, and Chpt. VIII, p. 135 f.

80 In general, Walden, op. cit., pp. 307 ff.

81 Petit, op. cit., p. 137.

82 Ibid., p. 138.

83 Ibid., p. 139.

84 Ibid., pp. 149-51.

85 Ibid., pp. 154 ff.

86 Ibid., p. 160 and generally pp. 158-65.

87 For the deleterious effect of feuding on the quality of teaching etc., see Norman, Autobiography, pp. xxi-xxii.

88 On the powers of the proconsul, see Walden, op. cit., pp. 139-40. He could appoint and dismiss (cf. Libanius, Or. I, 25), but in general respected the independence of the council.

89 Ibid., pp. 153 ff. and n. 3, p. 142.

90 Cameron, loc. cit. [n. 72].

91 H.-I. Marrou, Histoire de L'Éducation dans L'Antiquité,<sup>6</sup> Paris, 1965, p. 440 with reference to C.J. X, 53, 2.

- II Notes (pp. 27 - 32)
- 92 Ibid., p. 441.
- 93 Cf. Walden, op. cit., pp. 152 ff.
- 94 Norman, op. cit., note to paragraph 44.
- 95 W. Ensslin, 'Proairesios', P-W, XXIII.1, col. 32.
- 96 Cf. Norman, op. cit., note ad loc. This could degenerate into defection, against which Libanius persuaded the Antiochene sophists to form a pact. See Walden, op. cit., p. 326 and Libanius, Or. XLIII.
- 97 LSJ s.v. 1.
- 98 Cf. Libanius, Or. I, 104 and Norman's note ad loc. Walden, op. cit., pp. 278-9.
- 99 Wright (Loeb) p. 379 supplies 'of pupilage' in the English translation, but this is unnecessary.
- 100 Cf. Norman op. cit., p. xxvii, and Walden, op. cit., p. 201.
- 101 Even Libanius was attacked on charges of magic. See Or. I, 43, 62 ff., 98, 194, and 249.
- 102 H.-I. Marrou, 'Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism', The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, ed. A. Momigliano, Oxford, 1963, n. 1, p. 133.
- 103 Marrou, Histoire de l'Education, pp. 314-16.
- 104 On this conflict see:  
H. von Arnim, Dio von Prusa, Berlin, 1898, pp. 4-114, and  
A. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide, Paris, 1923, pp. 210-65.
- 105 C. A. Behr, ed., Aristides, (Loeb) vol. I, Or. 2.
- 106 Liebeschuetz, op. cit. [n. 54], p. 8.
- 107 Norman, op. cit., p. xxvii, and above, p. 18.
- 108 Liebeschuetz, op. cit., p. 9.
- 109 Ibid., p. 8.
- 110 W. Stegemann, 'Themistios 2', P-W, Va, col. 1643.
- 111 For a sympathetic treatment of Themistius' barbarian policy, see G. Dagron, 'L'empire romain d'Orient au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle ...', Travaux & Mémoires, III, 1967, pp. 100-112.
- 112 Norman, Rh.M., CVII, p. 169.

II and III 1 Notes (pp. 32 - 38)

113 Walden, op. cit. [n. 53], p. 201.

114 See Cameron, op. cit. [n. 72], p. 658.

Gratian's enactment did not provide for a chair of philosophy in Gaul and only one was established in Constantinople in the foundation of 425. Presumably there was still one at Athens, but there is no direct evidence; the Academy was financially independent and the scholar appointed his successor. Only one chair is known at Alexandria. Only one incumbent is attested for Rome, an otherwise unknown Priscian who found difficulty in getting his salary (Symmachus, ep. I, 79 (73)).

115 J. M. Rist, 'Hypatia', Phoenix, XIX, 1965, pp. 215-7.

116 Cf. Marrou, op. cit. [n. 91], p. 288.

117 PLRE s.v. Magnus 7 with reference to Libanius ep. 1208 (364) and ep. 843 (388).

118 E.g. Wright (Loeb), p. 321 calls the iatrosophists 'absurd charlatans'.

119 Marrou, op. cit., pp. 330-31.

120 Plutarch, Moralia, II, ed. F.C. Babbitt (Loeb), 1928, pp. 214 ff.

121 Bowersock, op. cit. [n. 20], pp. 68-9.

Cf. Owsei Temkin, 'Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism', D.O.P., XVI, 1962, 97-115 for Galen's philosophical interests.

122 Aelius Aristides, Or., II, 8, (Keil), and PIR,<sup>2</sup> IV.

123 Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia, I, ed. D.C.G. Kühn, Lipsiae, 1821, pp. 53 ff.

124 M. N. Tod, 'Sidelights on Greek Philosophers', J.H.S., LXXVII (Part I), 1957, pp. 138-9.

125 OCD,<sup>2</sup> s.v. Asclepiades 3.

126 In addition to Tod, ibid., see Bowersock, op. cit., pp. 67-8, and especially J.H. Oliver, 'Two Athenian Poets', Hesperia, Supp. VIII, 1949, pp. 243-6.

127 Diogenes Laertius, IX, 116 and OCD,<sup>2</sup> s.v. Sextus 2.

128 Julian ep. 17 (Wright (Loeb) vol. III).

129 PLRE s.v. Zenon 2.

130 For more references, see PLRE s.v. Magnus 7.

131 Governor, 363-4, PLRE s.v. Marius 1.

132 PLRE s.v. Chrysogonus 2.

133 Anth. Gr. XVI, 270.

- III 1,2 Notes (pp. 38 - 49)
- 134 Anth. Gr. XI, 281.
- 135 Bowersock, op. cit., p. 74, citing Galen, XVI, 222 (Kühn); see also pp. 69 ff. for the cult of Asclepius.
- 136 PLRE s.v. Oribasius,  
Schröder, 'Oreibasios', P-W, Suppl. VII, cols. 797-812.
- 137 Schröder, op. cit., cols. 800 ff.
- 138 E.g. Lives, 494 and 498; Histories, fr. 33.  
For the study of mathematics and science in general, see  
Walden, op. cit. [n. 53], p. 197.
- 139 Oribasius, op. cit. [n. 38].
- 140 W. M. Ramsay, 'A Noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century,' C.R.,  
XXXIII, 1919, pp. 1-9.
- 141 Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XLIII, 23.
- 142 Wright, loc. cit. [n. 118].
- 143 Cameron, Claudian [n. 55], pp. 344-5.
- 144 Cameron, 'Notes on Claudian's Invectives', C.Q., n.s. XVIII, 1968,  
pp. 406-7.
- 145 Norman, Autobiography [n. 47], p. xxvii.
- 146 Temkin, op. cit. [n. 121], p. 102 and passim.
- 147 L. G. Westerink, 'Philosophy and Medicine in Late Antiquity', Janus,  
LI, 1964, pp. 169-77, and especially 175 ff. Cf. n. 114 above.
- 148 Dr. J.F. Matthews points out that this date of 378 gives Festus an  
unusually long tenure as proconsul of Asia (372-378). However, these  
dates are accepted by PLRE (s.v. Festus 3) and the relevant passage  
of Eunapius reads as if Festus went to see the new emperor, Theodosius,  
soon after being dismissed from office: παραλυθείς τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ  
ἀποδημήσας πρὸς τὸν νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα Θεοδοσίον, ... (481).
- 149 PLRE s.v. Festus 3.
- 150 Wright (Loeb), n. 1, p. 460 remarks that Smyrna was the special centre  
in Asia for the worship of Nemesis.
- 151 Liebeschuetz, op. cit. [n. 54], pp. 24-30 is a useful summary, and is  
sometimes more cautious than PLRE s.v. Libanius 1.
- 152 Ibid., pp. 26-7.
- 153 Norman, op. cit., note to paragraph 221.

## III 2 and IV Notes (pp. 49 - 59)

- 154 PLRE s.v. Aristophanes.
- 155 Norman, op. cit., note to paragraph 253.
- 156 Liebeschuetz, op. cit., p. 30.
- 157 Cf. Ammianus XVII,5,15 and XVII,14,1, and Chpt. VIII, p. 141 f.
- 158 Norman, op. cit., note to paragraph 219.
- 159 Fergus Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: the Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions', J.R.S., LIX, 1969, pp. 19-21.
- 160 J. & L. Robert, 'Bulletin Épigraphique', no. 155, R.E.G., LXXVIII, 1965, pp. 104-6.  
A. E. Raubitschek, Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, 63-8.
- 161 Frantz, op. cit. [n. 68], pp. 191-2.
- 162 Dagron, op. cit. [n. 111], pp. 40-41.
- 163 Liebeschuetz, op. cit., p. 10.
- 164 For examples of the δύσπαις leitmotiv, see epp. 1455, 1495, 1193, and 70.
- 165 Lacombrade, op. cit. [n. 70], pp. 84 ff.
- 166 Lacombrade, Le Discours sur la royauté de Synésios de Cyrène à l'empereur Arcadius, Paris, 1951.
- 167 Dagron, op. cit., pp. 43-4.
- 168 PLRE s.v. Themistius 1 for a summary of his career.
- 169 Dagron, op. cit., pp. 44-54.
- 170 Ibid., p. 48; for Dagron's arguments against the proconsulship, see Note II, pp. 213-7.
- 171 Anth. Gr. XI, 292.
- 172 Walden, op. cit. [n. 53], n. 1, p. 248 gives the following examples of ages at death: Prohaeresius, 91; Priscus, 90 plus; Chrysanthius, 80; Libanius, approx. 80; Himerius, 70 plus; Themistius, 75-80.
- 173 Io. Fr. Boissonade, ed., Eunapii Sardiani Vitae Sophistarum et Fragmenta Historiarum, Amsterdam, 1822, note ad loc. p. 319, and D. Wyttenbach, Annotatio in Eunapium, ad loc. p. 217 follow Valesius.
- 174 C. Müller, F.H.G., IV, p. 8. F. Paschoud, Cinq Études sur Zosime, Paris, 1975, p. 171.
- 175 Wyttenbach, op. cit., p. 16.

'Eunapii aetate, aut nullus fuit liber, in quo Vitae Philosophorum inter Sotionem et Porphyrium interjectorum continerentur: aut fuit, sed ab Eunapio ignorabatur. Atque hoc postremum quamquam re et facto demonstrare non possumus, tamen credibilis est; si et

## IV Notes (pp. 59 - 63)

studia illius aetatis, et Eunapii in hac Historiae parte ignorantiam, cogitemus. Et in illo medio temporis spatio fuerunt certe, qui de Philosophorum sectis, successionibus, vitis, libros emitterent complures, vel à Jo. Jonsio enumerati, Satyrus, Panaetius, Clitomachus, Apollodorus, Amphicrates, Demetrius Magnes, Philodemus, Jason, Seleucus, Plutarchus, Favorinus, Phlegon, Nicagoras, Diogenes Laertius: quorum plerosque verisimile est hoc argumentum ad sua usque tempora deduxisse.'

- 176 Chr.-Schm.-St., II,<sup>6</sup> p. 83 ff.
- 177 Ibid., p. 345.
- 178 v. Arnim, 'Kleitomachos', P-W, XI.1, col. 658 and Diogenes Laertius, IV,67 and II,92.
- 179 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 397.
- 180 Felix Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik, Berlin, 1902, pp. 29-30.
- 181 Franz Susemihl, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit, Leipzig, vol. II, 1892, p. 372.
- 182 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 433, n. 8.
- 183 Ibid., p. 429.
- 184 Aram M. Frenkian, 'Analecta Laertiana', Studii Clasice, III, 1961, p. 399.
- 185 Chr.-Schm.-St., pp. 371-3.
- 186 Robert Philippson, P-W, XIX, 'Philodemos' 5, cols. 2444-2482 and especially 2463-5.
- 187 Alfred Gercke, 'War der Schwiegersohn des Poseidonios ein Schüler Aristarchs?', Rh.M., LXII, 1907, p. 117.
- 188 Chr.-Schm.-St., pp. 355-6.
- 189 Ibid., p. 269 and n. 1.
- 190 Ibid., p. 516.
- 191 Ibid., p. 764 and ff. For his life see Philostratus, V.S., 489 ff.
- 192 Ibid., p. 761.
- 193 Ibid., p. 771.
- 194 Richard Hope, The Book of Diogenes Laertius, New York, 1930, chpt. I.

## IV Notes (pp. 63 - 7)

- 195 The passages are cited by R. D. Hicks in his Loeb translation: Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, William Heinemann, London, 1925, pp. xlvi ff.
- 196 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 71.
- 197 Ibid., pp. 73 ff.
- 198 Heibges, 'Hermippos 6', P-W VIII.1, cols. 845 ff.  
Cf. Susemihl, op. cit. vol. I [n. 181], p. 492.
- 199 Jacoby, F.Gr.H., IIIb., no. 508, p. 427.  
Cf. Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 85, and Susemihl, op. cit., vol. I, p. 500.
- 200 Susemihl, op. cit., vol. I, p. 505.
- 201 Ibid., p. 506.
- 202 Ibid., p. 509.
- 203 Ibid., p. 512
- 204 H. v. Arnim, 'Hippobotos', P-W, VII, cols. 1722-3 who dates him before Sotion at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.
- 205 Arnaldo Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, p. 55.
- 206 Cf. H. Diels, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, Berlin, 1935, vol. II, pp. 375-6.
- 207 N. Bach, Critiae tyranni carminum aliorumque ingenii monumentorum quae supersunt, 1827. Cited by Diehl, 'Kritias' 5, P-W, XI, col. 1911; cf. col. 1905 ff.
- 208 Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Aristoteles und Athen, Berlin, 1893, vol. I, p. 175, n. 78.
- 209 Wilhelm Schmid, Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur, (Handbuch ...), München, 1940, VII, I, 3, pp. 175-6.
- 210 Ibid., p. 182, and Diels, op. cit., p. 395.
- 211 Panzerbieter, 'Kleinigkeiten', '1. Sotion', Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik, Suppl. V, 1, 1837, p. 211.
- 212 Momigliano, op. cit., p. 81.
- 213 Stenzel, 'Sotion' 1, P-W, II, 5, cols. 1235-7.
- 214 A Hecker, 'Alfonsi Heckeri Epistolae criticae ad F. G. Schneidewinum V. Cl. pars secunda', Philologus V, 1850, pp. 432-3.

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- 215 Susemihl, op. cit. [n. 181], vol. I, p. 496.
- 216 Friedrich Leo, Die Griechisch - Römische Biographie, Leipzig, 1901, p. 128.
- 217 Momigliano, loc. cit.
- 218 Panzerbieter, op. cit., pp. 214-18.
- 219 Gottlieb Roeper, 'Conjecturen zu Diogenes Laertius', Philologus, III, 1848, pp. 22-5; and  
'Zu Laertios Diogenes I', Philologus, XXX, 1870, pp. 557-60.
- 220 H. Diels, Doxographi Graeci, Berolini, 1879, p. 147.
- 221 Panzerbieter, op. cit., p. 218.
- 222 Roeper, Philologus, III, p. 25.
- 223 Hecker, op. cit., p. 433.
- 224 Roeper, Philologus, XXX, p. 560.
- 225 F. Nietzsche, 'Analecta Laertiana', Rh.M., n.f. XXV, 1870, pp. 217-8.
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- 227 Diels, loc. cit.
- 228 Leo, op. cit., [n. 216], pp. 128-9.
- 229 Jacoby, op. cit., [n. 180], p. 356, n. 5.
- 230 Frenkian, op. cit. [n. 184], p. 398.
- 231 Leo, op. cit., p. 129. Cf. Susemihl, op. cit. vol. I [n. 181], p. 498.
- 232 Leo, loc. cit.
- 233 F. Kudlien, 'Die Datierung des Sextus Empiricus und des Diogenes Laertius', Rh.M., n.f. CVI, 1963, pp. 251-4. Cf. Hope, op. cit. [n. 194], p. 4.
- 234 Kudlien, loc. cit.
- 235 Hope, op. cit., p. 144.
- 236 Leo, op. cit., p. 36, n. 2.
- 237 Frenkian, op. cit., p. 402.
- 238 Paul Moraux, 'La Composition de la "Vie d'Aristote" chez Diogene Laërce', R.E.G., LXVIII, 1955, pp. 154-7.

## IV and V 1 Notes (pp. 74 - 86)

- 239 Ibid., p. 157.
- 240 Ibid., p. 155.
- 241 Ibid., pp. 126-7.
- 242 Leo, op. cit., p. 46. For the citations see pp. 47-8.
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- 247 Hicks, op. cit., [n. 195], who gives more examples.
- 248 Hope, op. cit., pp. 59-60 for source counts.
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- 250 Bowersock, op. cit., [n. 20], pp.2-6 for the family of the Philostrati; but see M. Griffin, J.R.S., LXI, 1971, p. 278 for Philostratus of Lemnos (Ph. 627-8).
- 251 F. Solmsen, 'Philostratus', P-W, XX.1, cols. 169-70.
- 252 Bowersock, op. cit., pp. 6-8. V. Nutton, 'Herodes and Gordian', Latomus, XXIX, 1970 pp. 719-28, and K.D. Grasby, 'The Age, Ancestry, and Career of Gordian I', C.Q., n.s. XXV, 1975, pp. 123-30 offer novel reasons for choosing Gordian I.
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- 255 Bowersock, op. cit., pp. 4-6. Cf. Solmsen, op. cit., col. 172 for comment on the use of contemporary sources.
- 256 Solmsen, op. cit., col. 170.
- 257 Griffin, op. cit., p. 279.
- 258 Leo, op. cit., pp. 254-9.
- 259 Ibid., p. 254.
- 260 Cf. ibid., pp. 254-5 on sources and chronology.
- 261 Ibid., p. 262.
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V 2 and VI 1 .Notes (pp. 87 - 97)

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- 264 Ibid., col. 287.
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- 269 J. A. Philip, 'The Biographical Tradition - Pythagoras', T.A.Ph.A., XC, 1959, pp. 185-94.
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- 271 Ibid., pp. 185-91 for Philip's refutation of E. Rohde, 'Die Quellen des Iamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras', Rh.M., XXVI, 1871, 554 ff. and XXVII, 1872, 23 ff.
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- 282 Leo, op. cit., pp. 260-1.
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- 294 L.W. Barnard, 'The Date of S. Athanasius' Vita Antonii' V. Chr., XXVIII, 1974, pp. 169-75.
- 295 The following sketch is based upon Quasten, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
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- 318 For these two reff. see C. Butler, The Lausiaca History of Palladius (Texts and Studies, VI, 1898-1904), II, p. 248.
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- 320 Butler, op. cit., p. 248.
- 321 Richard Reitzenstein, Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca, Göttingen, 1916, chpt. 7 and 8.
- 322 Wilhelm Bousset, 'Komposition und Charakter der Historia Lausiaca,' N.A.W.G., 1917, p. 205.
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- 325 Paul Peeters, 'Une Vie Copte de S. Jean de Lycopolis', A.B., LIV, 1936, p. 376, argues that Palladius did, but see Appendix V, pp. 404 ff.
- 326 Draguet, ibid., pp. 53-145 and LVIII, 1945, pp. 15-19 and esp. pp. 74 ff.
- 327 Cf. René Draguet, '« L'Histoire Lausiaque », Une Oeuvre écrite dans l'Esprit d'Evagre', Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XLI, 1946, p. 321, and Ibid., XLII, 1947, pp. 37 ff.
- 328 Appendix V, passim.
- 329 Draguet, op. cit., pp. 57-60.
- 330 Chapters V 1 and VI 1.
- 331 Appendix V, pp. 414-5
- 332 Appendix V, passim.
- 333 Butler, Lausiaca History, I, p. 276 from the Prologue and chpt. I on John of Lycopolis.
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- 335 Butler's conjecture, ibid., p. 277.
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- 337 Ibid., p. 11 ff.

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- 339 Ibid., p. 14 ff.
- 340 Ernest Honigmann, Patristic Studies, XIX, 'Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Basil of Seleucia (The Time of their Death)', p. 174 (Studi e Testi, 173, Città del Vaticano, 1953).
- 341 Paul Peeters, 'Un Saint Hellenisé par Annexion: Syméon Stylite', Le Tréfonds Oriental de l'Hagiographie Byzantine, Bruxelles, 1950, p. 102. (Subsidia Hagiographia 26) (= A.B., LXI, 1943, pp. 29-71).
- 342 Honigmann, op. cit., pp. 174 ff. and 178 ff. respectively.
- 343 H. Lietzmann, Das Leben des Heiligen Symeon Stylites, Leipzig, 1908, p. 238 (Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXII, 4).
- 344 H.G. Opitz, 'Theodoretos 1', P-W, II, 5, col. 1799.
- 345 Alice Leroy-Molinghen, 'À propos de la « Vie » de Syméon Stylite', Byzantion, XXXIV, 1964, pp. 381-3.
- 346 Canivet, op. cit. [n. 336], pp. 12-14. Cf. Canivet, 'Le Περὶ Ἀσκήσεως ...', Studia Patristica VII, 1966, p. 149.
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- 348 Cf. P-W, s.v. 'Zeugma 1'.
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- 350 Stephan Schiwietz, Das morgenländische Mönchtum vol. III, Das Mönchtum in Syrien und Mesopotamien und das Aszetentum in Persien, Mödling bei Wien, 1938, pp. 31-2.
- 351 Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.', Conflict..., p. 87.
- 352 Ibid., p. 88.
- 353 Ibid., pp. 80-1.
- 354 H.R. Schwyzer, 'Plotinos', P-W XXI.1, col. 583.
- 355 Libanius, Epitaphios, 304. Cf. A.D. Nock, 'Deification and Julian', J.R.S., XLVII, 1957, esp. pp. 121-3.
- 356 D. Wyttenbach, Annotatio [n. 173], ad loc., p. 32.
- 357 R.T. Wallis, Neoplatonism, London, 1972, p. 9.
- 358 Cf., ibid.

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- 360 Boissonade (1822) [n. 173], ad loc.
- 361 Boissonade and Wyttenbach ad loc.
- 362 Photius, Bibliotheca, cod. 77.
- 363 Plutarch, De Genio Socrat., 580 D,E., Wyttenbach, ad loc.
- 364 K.J. Dover, Aristophanes Clouds, Oxford, 1968, p. xvii.
- 365 Wyttenbach ad loc. Aelian, Varia Historia, IX, 33b (Teubner).
- 366 Wright (p. 399) disastrously mistranslates 'After this'.
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- 368 Vollebregt, op. cit., [n. 280] pp. 85-6. I. Giangrande, ed., Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum, Rome, 1956, ad loc. conjectures περιληπτόν.
- 369 Epp. 34 and 35 Bidez-Cumont (43 and 44 Wright).
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- 373 Ibid., p. 203.
- 374 Ibid., pp. 203-4.
- 375 Vita Isidori, fr. 102 (Zintzen).
- 376 Giangrande ad loc. transposes the negative, but this is plainly wrong, for Antoninus is one of the prime examples in the Lives of a man who achieves divine happiness.
- 377 Vollebregt, p. 90 f. It is unlikely that Vollebregt is right in thinking that part of Sosipatra's prophecy has been lost from the text, for Eunapius says that he thinks only Antoninus worthy of mention (470).
- 378 J. Schwartz, 'La fin du Sérapéum d'Alexandrie', Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles, New Haven, 1966, p. 109.
- 379 Cf. T. Orlandi, 'Uno scritto di Teofilo di Alessandria sulla distruzione del Serapeum?', P.P., XXII, 1968, n. 21, p. 303.
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- 382 Ibid., p. 100.
- 383 Orlandi, op. cit., p. 302.
- 384 Julian, Against the Galilaeans, 43B.
- 385 Julian, Or. VII, 228C (To the Cynic Heracleios), and Misopogon, 344A.
- 386 Wyttenbach, ad loc., p. 157: 'significationem malae artis et magiae.' Cf. LSJ s.v. III.
- 387 Julian, Against the Galilaeans, 339E f.
- 388 Ambrose, Ep. 41,27: Monachi multa scelera faciunt. Monks had burnt a synagogue and a Valentinian church.
- 389 Boissonade, ad loc., pp. 285-6.
- 390 E.R. Dodds, 'Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism', J.R.S., XXXVII, 1947, p. 59.
- 391 PLRE s.v. Festus 3.
- 392 Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.', Conflict..., p. 87.
- 393 Ibid., p. 95.
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- 395 Ibid., pp. 186-8.
- 396 E.R. Dodds, Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety, Cambridge, 1965.
- 397 Wallis, op. cit., [n. 357], pp. 100 ff. and 154/5.
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- 399 Cf. Festugière, op. cit., [n. 308], pp. 490-2.
- 400 List, op. cit., [n. 288], p. 50.
- 401 Cohn, 'Constantinus VII Porphyrogennetus', s.v. Constantinus 16, P-W, IV, cols. 1033 and 1037-1040.
- 402 C. de Boor, Excerpta de Legationibus, pars II, Berlin, 1903, pp. 591-9.
- 403 U.P. Boissevain, Excerpta de Sententiis, Berlin, 1906, pp. 71-103.

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- 404 A. Adler, 'Suidas', P-W, II, 7, cols. 675-717, and especially 678-9.
- 405 L. Mendelssohn, ed., Zosimi Historia Nova, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
- 406 Cf. Schmid, op. cit. [n. 39], col. 1126.
- 407 Photius cod. 98. Cf. Cameron, Claudian, p. 475: 'Zosimus, who regularly tones down Eunapius' notoriously exuberant style,...' and Mendelssohn, op. cit., note to line 12, p. 121: ex qua simul disci potest quem ad modum putidam rhetoris Sardiani ubertatem Zosimus ad exile compendium redegerit.
- 408 Cf. Quasten, op. cit. [n. 290], p. 532.
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- 410 Ibid., p. 129.
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- 418 Ibid.
- 419 See Chpt. VIII.
- 420 Schoo, loc. cit.
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- 423 Ibid., p. cxxxii.

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- 426 Bidez, op. cit., pp. cxxxvii-cxxxix citing as sceptics P. Batiffol, Quaest. Philostorg. p. 18 f. and Mendelssohn, op. cit., p. xxxvi.
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- 435 Th. Mommsen, 'Ueber die dem Cassius Dio Beigelegten Theile der Planudischen und der Constantinischen Excerpte', Hermes, VI, 1872, pp. 89-91.
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- 438 Cf. Cameron, Claudian, p. 475.
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- 444 The most convenient edition of the fragments is Müller, F.H.G. IV, pp. 538-622 who arranges them chronologically.
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- 449 Mendelssohn, op. cit., n. 2 p. xxxv f.
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- 456 Paschoud, Cinq Études [n. 174], pp. 177-9, and Zosime, I, p. lvi.
- 457 E.A. Thompson, The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus, Cambridge, 1947, pp. 134-7.
- 458 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 459 W.R. Chalmers, 'Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition; C.Q., n.s. X, 1960, p. 157.
- 460 I am indebted to Professor Alan Cameron for drawing these to my attention. They are conveniently printed in: I. Bidez et F. Cumont, Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae Leges Poemata Fragmenta Varia, London and Paris, 1922, pp. 223-4.
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- 470 See note 407, and cf. R.T. Ridley, 'Eunapius and Zosimus,' Helikon, IX - X, 1969-70, pp. 582 ff.
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- 480 F. Paschoud, 'Influence et écho des conceptions historiographiques de Polybe dans l'Antiquité tardive', Polybe (Fondation Hardt, XX, 1973), p. 315 ff.
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- 482 Chalmers, loc. cit.
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- 485 Ibid., n. 49, p. 109.
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- 493 K. Praechter, 'Syrianos 1', P-W, II 8, col. 1728.
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- 499 Mendelssohn, op. cit., pp. xxxix-xlvii. But see Chpt. IX for the relationship of Ammianus and Eunapius.

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- 501 Ammianus XXIV,4,24 and Zosimus, III,22,8.  
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- 505 A.F. Norman, 'Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus: New Evidence', C.Q., n.s. VII, 1957, p. 132.  
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- 522 N.H. Baynes, Byzantion, II, 1925, p. 149.
- 523 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 59, p. 254 (pace Paschoud, Baynes does not suggest that Zosimus invented tout ce développement, but rather 'the unknown poet' (p. 151)).
- 524 Olivetti, op. cit., p. 323 f.
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- 539 F. Préchac, 'Un Fragment de Critique d'Art dans Suidas?', Revue de Philologie, n.s. XLII, 1918, pp. 52-54.
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- 544 Ibid., p. 520.
- 545 Ibid., p. 523.
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- 547 Hemsterhusius is quoted throughout from Gaisford who states on p. xlviij of his preface: Hemsterhusii et Valckenaerii notulas ineditas ex autographis hodie Leidae adservatis descripsi.
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- 550 C. de Boor, 'Die Chronik des Georgius Monachus als Quelle des Suidas', Hermes, XXI, 1886, note 1, p. 15.
- 551 A. Koecher, op. cit. [n. 440], and above, Chpt. IX, pp. 174 ff.
- 552 Paschoud, Zosime, p. lvii, and above pp. 194-5.
- 553 C. de Boor, 'Zu Iohannes Antiochenus', Hermes, XX, 1885, pp. 328-9.
- 554 Boissonade op. cit., no. 44, p. 525.
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- 563 De Boor, Hermes, XX, p. 330.
- 564 Asmus, Byz. Zeits., XVIII, p. 453 and XIX, p. 270.  
Zintzen, op. cit., note to no. 93, p. 71.
- 565 Alan Cameron, 'A New Fragment of Eunapius', C.R. n.s. XVII, 1967, pp. 10-11.
- 566 C. de Boor, 'Suidas und die Konstantinsche Excerptsammlung I', Byz. Zeits., XXI, 1913, p. 419.  
Adler, ad loc. and s.v. παρωδούμενος (II, 62).
- 567 See Adler ad loc. and cf. de Boor, op. cit., p. 419. Hemsterhusius is not quoted by Gaisford here.
- 568 LSJ and Stephanus s.v.
- 569 Boissonade, no. 68, p. 537.
- 570 A. G. Roos, Studia Arrianea, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 9-10.
- 571 A. F. Norman, 'Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus: New Evidence', C.Q., n.s. VII, 1957, pp. 129 ff.
- 572 Chalmers, C.Q., n.s. XIII [n. 459], pp. 152 ff.
- 573 Cameron, C.Q., n.s. XIII [n. 538], pp. 232-6.
- 574 Otto J. Maenchen - Helfen. The World of the Huns, Los Angeles and London, 1973, p. 207.
- 575 De Boor, op. cit., p. 418 and ff.
- 576 Ibid., pp. 382, 420, 394 and 415, respectively.
- 577 Cameron, op. cit., p. 236.
- 578 This is affirmed by the most recent editor of Photius: R. Henry, Photius Bibliothèque, Paris, I, 1959, pp. xxi-xxii.
- 579 Cf. eg. W. R. Chalmers, 'The ΝΕΑ ἘΚΔΟΣΙΣ of Eunapius' Histories', C.Q. n.s. III, 1953, pp. 166-7.

## XII Notes (pp. 237 - 245)

- 580 On this digression, see Muller's note to fr. 87.
- 581 B. G. Niebuhr, C.S.H.B. I, Bonn, 1829, p. xix.
- 582 Chalmers, op. cit., p. 170.
- 583 C. de Boor, 'Die νέα ἐκδόσεις des Eunapios', Rh.M. n.f. XLVII, 1892, pp. 321-3.
- 584 A. Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, Rome, 1827, II, n. 3, p. 247.
- 585 V. Lundstrom, Prolegomena in Eunapii Vitas Philosophorum et Sophistarum, Upsala-Leipzig, 1897, p. 34.
- 586 U. P. Boissevain, Excerpta de Sententiis, n. 2, p. xiv.
- 587 W. Schmid, 'Eunapios 2', P-W VI, col. 1124.
- 588 Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 166-7.
- 589 Ibid., p. 166.
- 590 Ibid., p. 166.
- 591 Ibid., pp. 168-9.
- 592 Ibid., p. 169.
- 593 Ibid., pp. 169-70.
- 594 LSJ s.v. καθολικός I citing Damascius Pr. 3,10 and Polybius 8,2,11 (under the meaning 'general', but with reference to history).
- 595 LSJ s.v. διεξοδικός II citing: λόγος Plb. 12,25<sup>b</sup>4 and ἱστορία Plu. Fab. 16.
- 596 Chalmers, op. cit., p. 170.
- 597 T. D. Barnes, C. Ph., LXXI, 1976, pp. 266-7.
- 598 This was certainly the view of contemporary pagans. Cf. Libanius, Pro Templis.
- 599 Müller, note to fr. 55.  
Cf. Stein-Palanque, Histoire du Bas-Empire, I, 1959, pp. 193-4.
- 600 Vollebregt, Symbola, pp. 104-5.
- 601 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 170-5.
- 602 R. C. Blockley, 'Dexippus of Athens and Eunapius of Sardis', Latomus, XXX, 1971, p. 714. Blockley's treatment of the second edition is vitiated by its dependence upon a mistaken conception of Dexippus' Chronica and Scythica and of the relationship of Eunapius' Histories to these works (below, Chpt. XIII, pp. 265 ff.).

## XII and XIII Notes (pp. 246 - 255)

- 603 Chalmers, op. cit., p. 170.
- 604 PLRE s.v. Fl. Val. Constantinus 4.
- 605 Cf. Chalmers, loc. cit.
- 606 Müller, F.H.G. IV, p. 8.
- 607 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, p. 175.
- 608 Christa Samberger, 'Die "Kaiserbiographie" in den Res Gestae des Ammianus Marcellinus', Klio, LI, 1969, p. 478.
- 609 Ibid., p. 390.
- 610 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, n. 3, pp. 176-7 for his scheme of reconstruction.
- 611 Ibid., pp. 175-6.
- 612 See Mendelssohn's apparatus ad locc.
- 613 I am indebted to Dr. Oswyn Murray for helpful discussion of this point.
- 614 C. Wachsmuth, 'Timagenes and Trogus', Rh.M. n.f. XLVI, 1891, pp. 465-6.
- 615 Theodore Mommsen, 'Ammians Geographica', Hermes, XVI, 1881, p. 619.
- 616 F. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II, no. 88.
- 617 Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 471 ff.
- 618 Ibid., p. 477.
- 619 Ibid., pp. 470-1.
- 620 Richard Laqueur, 'Timagenes 2', P-W II, 11, col. 1065.
- 621 Wachsmuth, op. cit., p. 475.
- 622 Ibid., p. 468.
- 623 Laqueur, op. cit.
- 624 Cf. Mommsen, op. cit., pp. 619 ff.
- 625 Chr.-Schm.-St., II<sup>2</sup>, p. 761.
- 626 Jacoby, IIIB, p. 741 for an additional and more up to date note.
- 627 Christian Habicht, 'Zwei neue Inschriften aus Pergamon', Istanbuler Mitteilungen, IX/X, 1959-60, pp. 109-27.

## XIII Notes (pp. 256 - 262)

- 628 Ibid., pp. 110-111.
- 629 Jacoby, notes to no. 103, p. 313.
- 630 Chr.-Schm.-St., pp. 751-2.
- 631 Ibid., p. 746.
- 632 Fergus Millar, Cassius Dio, Oxford, 1964, p. 5; on structure pp. 38-40; on style pp. 40 ff. Cf. Chr.-Schm.-St., pp. 795-9.
- 633 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 801.
- 634 C. R. Whittaker, ed. and trans., Herodian, vol. I, London, 1969 p. xvii.
- Schwartz, P-W II, 'Asinius 31', cols. 1603-4.
- 635 Millar, op. cit., p. 62
- 636 Géza Alföldy, 'Herodian über den Tod Mark Aurels', Latomus, XXXII, 1973, pp. 345-53.
- 637 Whittaker, op. cit., pp. ix ff. and especially pp. xv ff.
- 638 Ibid., pp. xix-xxiv.
- 639 Giuseppe Giangrande, 'Herodianismen bei Eunapios: ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Imitatio in der späteren Gräzität', Hermes, LXXXIV, 1956, p. 321.
- 640 Ibid., pp. 322-3.
- 641 Ibid., p. 324.
- 642 Ibid., p. 330.
- 643 Ibid., pp. 329-30. It must be noted, however, that the precise passage of Herodian in question has been thought to be an interpolation (see Whittaker's note ad loc.). The similarity with Eunapius would tend to support its authenticity.
- 644 For a thorough treatment of Herodian's debt to Thucydides and other earlier historians, notably Josephus, see: Franz Joseph Stein, Dexippus et Herodianus rerum scriptores quatenus Thucydidem secuti sint, Diss. Bonn, 1957, pp. 76 ff.
- 645 Whittaker, op. cit., pp. xxxix ff. and especially p. xliii.
- 646 Fergus Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: the Greek World and the Third-century Invasions', J.R.S., LIX, 1969, sections 5 and 6, pp. 19-21.

## XIII Notes (pp. 262 - 268)

- 647 Cf. ibid., section 9, pp. 26-8.
- 648 Ibid., p. 14 and sections 7 and 8, pp. 21-26.  
Photius cod. 82 is the most complete authority.
- 649 Ibid., p. 23 with reference to the H.A. vita Max. et Balb. 16,3 (T20).
- 650 T. D. Barnes, 'Some Persons in the Historia Augusta', Phoenix, XXVI, 1972: Callicrates (213) p. 151; Theoclius (214) p. 173; Nicomachus (215) p. 165; Onesimus (216) p. 165; Fabius Ceryllianus (217) p. 154; Claudius Eusthenius (218) p. 156.
- 651 Alfred von Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften, V, Leipzig, 1894, 'Aus Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit', '4 Eusebios', pp. 562-4.
- 652 Stein, op. cit., p. 71.
- 653 R. C. Blockley, 'Dexippus and Priscus and the Thucydidean Account of the Siege of Plataea', Phoenix, XXVI, 1972, pp. 18-27.
- 654 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 801.
- 655 R. C. Blockley, 'Dexippus of Athens and Eunapius of Sardis', Latomus, XXX, 1971, p. 710. Millar, op. cit., p. 24 describes the Scythica, not the Chronica. Millar does not argue for the Chronica being a bare chronicle.
- 656 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 179-80 also disputes Blockley's hypothesis.
- 657 Jacoby, II C, p. 305.
- 658 Ibid.
- 659 Blockley, op. cit., p. 711.
- 660 A. Busse, 'Der Historiker und der Philosoph Dexippus', Hermes, XXIII, 1888, p. 408-9: δυνάμειος λογικῆς is not logic or dialectic, but compositione et facultate dicendi.
- 661 Millar, op. cit., p. 23.
- 662 Ibid., pp. 24-5.
- 663 Jacoby ad loc. who suggests the comparison with Dexippus.
- 664 Blockley, op. cit., p. 712.
- 665 J. F. Matthews, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407-425)', J.R.S., LX, 1970, p. 79. Fragments as in Müller, F.H.G. IV.
- 666 Alan Cameron, 'Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', Historia, XIV, 1965, pp. 470-509.  
-----, Claudian, chpt. I, especially pp. 1-6.

## XIII Notes (pp. 268 - 272)

- 667 Matthews, loc. cit.
- 668 E. A. Thompson, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes', C.Q., XXXVIII, 1944, p. 52.
- 669 Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Some Observations on the "Origo Gentis Romanae"', Secondo Contributo, Roma, 1960, pp. 145-76.  
( = J.R.S., XLVIII, 1958, pp. 56-73).
- 670 Matthews, op. cit., p. 87.  
Walter Haedicke, 'Olympiodoros II', P-W, XVIII, col. 202.
- 671 Thompson, op. cit., n. 7, p. 45.
- 672 Matthews, op. cit., pp. 81-2.
- 673 It was one of the mainsprings of the propaganda of the (like Olympiodorus [cf. Matthews, op. cit., p. 90]) pro-Stilicho Claudian. See Cameron, Claudian, pp. 38 ff.
- 674 For Concordia with reference to Rufinus and Stilicho, see Cameron, op. cit., pp. 51-2.
- 675 Matthews, op. cit., p. 80.
- 676 Thompson, op. cit., p. 44.
- 677 Ibid., p. 47.
- 678 Matthews, op. cit., p. 87.
- 679 Haedicke, op. cit., col. 204.
- 680 Olympiodorus' stylistic aberrations are compiled by Matthews, op. cit., pp. 85-7 and by Thompson, op. cit., pp. 47-9.
- 681 E. A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns, Oxford, 1948, p. 103.
- 682 Theodorus Mommsen, ed., Iordanis Romana et Getica, Berlin, 1882, (M.G.H.) p. xxxv.
- 683 Josephus Kuranc, De Prisco Panita, Rerum Scriptore Quaestiones Selectae, Lublin, 1958, p. 8 ff.
- 684 Niebuhr in Müller, F.H.G. IV, p. 69
- 685 Gyula Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica<sup>2</sup> I, Berlin, 1958, p. 480.
- 686 Thompson, op. cit., p. 13.
- 687 For the date of Zosimus' History, see above p. 183.
- 688 Chr.-Schm.-St., p. 1036.

## XIII and XIV Notes (pp. 272 - 290)

- 689 Thompson, op. cit., p. 12, and similarly p. 9.
- 690 Moravcsik, op. cit., p. 482.
- 691 Blockley, Phoenix XXVI [n. 653], pp. 22-6 vs. A. E. Thompson, 'Priscus of Panium, Fragment Ib', C.Q., XXXIX, 1945, pp. 92-4.
- 692 Thompson, Attila, pp. 10 and 194-5, respectively.
- 693 Cf. Thompson, The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus, [n. 504], pp. 72-3.
- 694 Cf. Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 158-63.
- 695 These references are from J. C. Rolfe, ed., Ammianus Marcellinus, I, London, 1950, pp. xviii-xix.
- 696 For the way in which this rigorous selection sometimes leads to confusion and the telescoping of events, see Whittaker, op. cit. pp. xli-xliii.
- 697 Cf. Schmid, 'Eunapios 1', P-W, VI, col. 1124.
- 698 Paul Petit, 'Libanius et la «Vita Constantini»', Historia, I, 1950, pp. 562-82.  
Cf. Norman, Rh.M., CVII, 1964, p. 173.
- 699 Paschoud, Zosime, p. lv, citing W. Hartke, Klio, XLV, 1940, pp. 74-81 and Römische Kinderkaiser, Berlin, 1951, pp. 329-34.  
Vs. Paschoud and Hartke, see Barnes, C.Ph., LXXI, 1976, pp. 267-8.
- 700 Thompson, op. cit., p. 134.
- 701 Seeck, Hermes, XLI, 1906, p. 531.  
Chalmers, C.Q., n.s. X, 1960, p. 156.
- 702 E.g. Lives (467) for the superiority of Greek hospitality and food.  
Lellia Cracco Ruggini, 'Pubblicistica e Storiografia Bizantine di fronte alla Crisi dell'Impero Romano', Athenaeum, n.s. LI, 1973, pp. 146-83, deals with eastern awareness of the West. On fr. 74, see n. 79, p. 163.
- 703 Cf. Cameron, Claudian, pp. 246-7, and C.Th. VII,16,1.
- 704 On the inability of merchants to make valuable observations, cf. e.g. Strabo XV,1,4 and Polybius IV,39,11; on their untrustworthiness, e.g. Polybius, IV,42,7. I am indebted to Mr. Richard Stones, Exeter College, for these references.

## XIV and XV Notes (pp. 292 - 301)

- 705 Thompson, op. cit., chpt. II.  
Theodor Mommsen, 'Ammians Geographica', *Hermes*, XVI, 1881, pp. 602-36 (= Gesammelte Schriften, VII, pp. 393-425), shows the wide range of sources, both Greek and Latin, from which Ammianus compiled his geographical digressions.
- 706 Whittaker, op. cit., pp. lxi-lxxi outlines Herodian's sources. For Herodian's use of Dio, see pp. lxiv-lxviii.
- 707 A. F. Norman, ed., Libanius Selected Works, I, London, 1969, p. xxxiv who cites epp. 1220, 1434, and 1508.
- 708 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 164-9.
- 709 Alan Cameron, Fondation Hardt, 1976, argues that Augustine and Orosius were not replying to a written work at all, let alone a history. (I am grateful to Professor Cameron for giving me a draft of his paper.)
- 710 Ibid.
- 711 Paschoud, op. cit., pp. 79 ff.
- 712 Ibid., pp. 88-93.
- 713 Paschoud ibid., p. 90 neglects to consider the sources of Socrates and Sozomen.
- 714 Ibid., pp. 149-50.
- 715 Paschoud's attempt does not convince, ibid., pp. 166-7.
- 716 Julian, Caesares (336B) and cf. chpt. XV.
- 717 P. Guthrie, 'The Execution of Crispus', Phoenix, XX, 1966, pp. 325-31.
- 718 Sozomen, H.E., II, 2,1-5.
- 719 C.Th., IX, 7,1 (Feb. 3, 326).
- 720 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 13, p. 193.
- 721 Ibid., p. 194.
- 722 Ibid., n. 14, p. 194.
- 723 Ibid.
- 724 Panegyric XII, 3 ,3 (Mynors) says that Constantine left three-quarters of them.  
Jones, L.R.E., n. 45, p. 1084 puts Constantine's army at 'well under 40,000'.

XV Notes (pp. 301 - 310)

- 725 Seeck, Untergangs, I, pp. 125-31.
- 726 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 26, p. 206.
- 727 E.g. T. D. Barnes, J.R.S., LXIII, 1973, p. 44.
- 728 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 28, p. 208.
- 729 Ibid., n. 31, p. 93.
- 730 Ibid., n. 32, pp. 214-15.
- 731 For the sources, see Ibid., n. 38, pp. 101-2.
- 732 Apollonius of Tyana declared that neither he nor God could wash off the guilt of murder (Vit. Apoll., VIII,7).
- 733 Cf. Paschoud, Zosime, n. 39, pp. 219 ff, and, more fully, Historia, XX, 1971, pp. 334-353 (= Cinq Etudes, pp. 24-62).
- 734 Guthrie, op. cit.
- 735 Anonymus Valesianus, I, 23.  
Seeck, op. cit., I. p. 178 allows a nominal command only.
- 736 Jones, L.R.E., p. 962.  
Cf. C.Th., IX, 16, 1-3 and Paneg. XII, 2, 4 (Mynors): contra haruspicum monita (A.D. 313).
- 737 Paschoud, Zosime, p. 224.
- 738 G. Dagron, Naissance d'une capitale, Paris, 1974, p. 23.  
A. Alföldi, The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome, Oxford, 1948, pp. 102-103 gives some credence to Zosimus' explanation.
- 739 Cf. J. F. Matthews, Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, Oxford, 1975, pp. 101-2.
- 740 Jones, L.R.E., p. 83 citing C.Th., XIII, 5,7.
- 741 Ibid., n. 12, p. 1081.
- 742 Paschoud, Zosime, p. 225.
- 743 Dagron, op. cit., pp. 29 ff.
- 744 E.g. Paschoud, Zosime, n. 43, p. 229.  
The following account is based on Stein-Palanque, Histoire du Bas-Empire, I<sup>2</sup>, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 128 ff.

## XV and XVI Notes (pp. 311 - 324)

- 745 Cf. Jones' summation of Constantine, L.R.E., p. 111: 'But he set a standard of extravagant expenditure and reckless fiscality, which undermined the economic stability of the empire.'
- 746 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 46, p. 231.
- 747 Ibid., n. 47, p. 235.
- 748 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 9, p. 131 citing I, 37,3; II, 38,4; and IV, 59,3.
- 749 Jones, L.R.E., pp. 97 ff. accepts that Constantine created the field army, but says that he 'does not seem to have neglected the frontier ....' Most of the comitatenses were new units.
- 750 Cf. ibid., p. 688.
- 751 Paschoud, Zosime, n. 49, p. 109.
- 752 Ibid., n. 44, p. 229.  
Cf. Anon. Val. 30 and the famous remark of Ammianus (XVI, 8,12): proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus, ...
- 753 Julian, Ep. ad Ath., 279A  
Stein-Palanque, op. cit., p. 143 accept the number forty-five.  
The source of Zosimus' error may be Ep. ad Ath., 280D where Julian in his summary of his achievements as Caesar says that he had recovered almost forty cities.
- 754 Ammianus, XV,8,1 and XVI,11,8.  
Libanius, Or. XVIII, 31 ff.
- 755 W. R. Chalmers, C.Q., n.s. X, 1960, p. 154.  
Above, Chpt. X, pp. 197-8.
- 756 A. Piganiol, L'Empire Chrétien<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1972, p. 128.
- 757 Ibid.
- 758 R. C. Blockley, Latomus, XXXI, 1972, pp. 433-68, esp. 455 ff.
- 759 Ibid., p. 447 and citing for Cologne, Ep. ad Ath., 279B.
- 760 Piganiol, op. cit., pp. 108-113.
- 761 Blockley, op. cit., p. 453.
- 762 Mendelssohn follows Valesius in altering 60,000 to 6,000 to accord with Ammianus, XVI,12,63.
- 763 Mendelssohn, note ad loc.

## XVI Notes (pp. 325 - 335)

- 764 Ammianus, XXI,4,1 ff.
- 765 Ammianus may give an abbreviated version of the negotiations at XVIII,2,18-9 They took place in 359, and Muller puts fr. 13 in the same year.
- 766 Piganiol, op. cit., p. 136.  
Stein-Palanque, op. cit., p. 144.
- 767 Seeck, Untergangs, IV, p. 267, and esp.  
C. Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule, VII, n. 2, p. 198.
- 768 PLRE s.v. Iulianus 29.
- 769 PLRE s.v. Secundus 3.
- 770 Piganiol, op. cit., p. 135.
- 771 Ibid., pp. 135-6.
- 772 Pace Mendelssohn (note ad loc.) Ammianus' source does not appear to be deteriore than Eunapius'.
- 773 R. C. Blockley, Ammianus Marcellinus (Collection Latomus, vol. 141), 1975, p. 83.
- 774 Cf. J. Kuranc, Roczniki Humanistyczne, XIX, 1971, pp. 63-71.
- 775 Piganiol, op. cit., p. 113 and pp. 118-9 for 360 when the situation did not improve.
- 776 Mendelssohn, ad loc.
- 777 Cf. Ammianus, XX,4,2 and Julian, Ep. ad Ath., 282C-D.
- 778 Cf. Ammianus, XX,4,4 and Libanius, Or. XVIII, 94.
- 779 J. Bidez, La Vie de l'empereur Julien, Paris, 1930, pp. 177-8.  
K. Rosen, Acta Classica, XII, 1969, pp. 143-6.
- 780 Piganiol, op. cit., p. 139, citing Greg. Naz. Or. IV, 46.  
Cf. Ammianus, XXI,2,5.
- 781 Stein-Palanque, op. cit., p. 155.  
K. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 146-9 discusses the sort of accommodation with Constantius which Julian may have hoped to achieve.
- 782 Ammianus, XXI,3,4-5. Julian complains that Constantius bribed the barbarians to attack him in Gaul (Ep. ad Ath., 286A).

## XVI Notes (pp. 337 - 343)

- 783 For the strategic implications, cf. Seeck, op. cit., p. 299.
- 784 But cf. E. A. Thompson, The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus, Cambridge, 1947, pp. 73-9.
- 785 Cf. Zosimus II,30 where he devotes a full chapter to the topography of Constantinople.
- 786 G. Dagron, op. cit. [n. 738], p. 120.
- 787 Piganiol, op. cit., pp. 143 and 146, respectively.
- 788 W. Ensslin, Klio, Beiheft XVI, 1923, p. 5.
- 789 Cf. F. Paschoud, Polybe (Fondation Hardt, XX, 1974), pp. 330-1.
- 790 XXIII,1,5-7; 2,6 and 8; 3,3.
- 791 D. Conduché, Latomus, XXIV, 1965, pp. 359-80.  
K. Rosen, Studien zur Darstellungskunst und Glaubwürdigkeit des Ammianus Marcellinus, Mannheim, 1968.
- 792 R. T. Ridley, Historia, XXII, 1973, p. 318.
- 793 L. Dillemann, Syria, XXXVIII, 1961, p. 144.
- 794 Ibid., p. 95.
- 795 A. F. Norman, ed., Libanius Selected Works, I, London, 1969.
- 796 Cf. J. Bidez, L'Empereur Julien, Oeuvres Complètes, I 2, Paris, 1960, p. 127 (commentary to ep. 115).
- 797 Ridley, op. cit., p. 318.
- 798 Pace ibid.
- 799 Cf. Ammianus, XXIII,2,2 and Libanius, Or. XVIII, 213.
- 800 Ridley, op. cit., p. 319.  
N.J.E. Austin, Athenaeum, L, 1972, p. 308 also defends Ammianus on this point.
- 801 R. Andreotti, Historia, IV, 1930, p. 253.
- 802 Ridley, op. cit., p. 319.
- 803 Dillemann, op. cit., p. 144.
- 804 Ibid., p. 145.

## XVI and XVII Notes (pp. 344 - 357)

- 805 Cf. W. Klein, Klio, Beiheft XIII, 1914, n. 1, p. 92.
- 806 Ridley, op. cit., p. 324.
- 807 Ibid., n. 54.
- 808 Ibid., p. 320.
- 809 Pace ibid., the reason is probably not 'over-compression'.
- 810 Dillemann, op. cit., p. 145 thinks that Meinas Sabath is the unnamed fortress in Ammianus which is taken after the attack on the baggage train (XXIV,5,6 ff.).
- 811 Blockley, Ammianus, p. 83.
- 812 Ridley, op. cit., p. 321.
- 813 Cf. Orr. I, 133 and XXIV, 37; Sozomen VI,1,6.
- 814 Dillemann's attempt to reduce Eunapius fr. 22.2 to allegory fails to convince, op. cit., p. 148.
- 815 Cf. Ridley, loc. cit.
- 816 As does Ridley, ibid. Zosimus' scheme is accepted by Seeck, op. cit., p. 349.
- 817 For the context, see Dillemann, op. cit., p. 149 who cites Ammianus XXIV, 8,2 as being parallel.
- 818 Austin, op. cit., p. 305.
- 819 Norman, op. cit., p. li.
- 820 A. D. Nock. J.R.S., XLVII, 1957, pp. 122-3.
- 821 Cf. Libanius, Or. XVIII, 304.
- 822 PLRE s.v. Theodosius 4. This was in 373/4.  
See J. F. Matthews, Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, Oxford, 1975, p. 91f. for possible supporters of Theodosius.
- 823 PLRE s.v. Theodosius 4.  
Cf. A. Lippold, P-W Suppl. XIII, s.v. Theodosius I, col. 840.
- 824 PLRE s.v. Modares.  
Cf. Lippold, col. 842 for Theodosius' presence in Thessalonica in 379/80.

## XVII Notes (pp. 357 - 366)

- 825 Lippold, col. 844.
- 826 Gregory of Nazianzus, ep. 136.
- 827 E.g. III,7,2; IV,49,1; IV,58,4-5.
- 828 A. Hoepffner, Byzantion, XI, 1936, p. 496.
- 829 W. Ensslin, Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp. 144/5.
- 830 Hoepffner, op. cit., n.2, p. 498.
- 831 R. Grosse, Römische Militärgeschichte, Berlin, 1920, n.3, p. 253.
- 832 A.H.M. Jones, L.R.E., pp. 162-3.
- 833 Ibid.
- 834 M. K. Hopkins, P.C.P.S., n.s. IX, 1963, p. 63.
- 835 Ibid., p. 66.
- 836 Jones, op. cit., pp. 393-4. On Julian's law, see now T. D. Barnes, C.Ph., LXIX, 1974, pp. 288-91.
- 837 Ibid., p. 160.
- 838 Cf. ibid., pp. 162-3.
- 839 Ibid., p. 399.
- 840 E. A. Thompson, Historia, XII, 1963, p. 106.
- 841 Lippold, col. 849.
- 842 Lippold, col. 850.
- 843 Jones, op. cit., p. 162.
- 844 Lippold, col. 851.
- 845 Lippold, col. 850.
- 846 Lippold, col. 857.
- 847 Lippold, col. 850.
- 848 Lippold, col. 858.
- 849 Lippold, col. 846
- 850 Lippold, col. 863.
- 851 Jones, op. cit., p. 158.
- 852 Seeck, Untergang, V, p. 519. Seeck wrongly thinks that Zosimus has used two different sources.

## XVII Notes (pp. 366 - 372)

- 853 PLRE s.v. Theodosius 4.  
See Matthews, op. cit., p. 175 for concrete reasons for Maximus' revolt.
- 854 Seeck, op. cit., pp. 167-8 and 500. See now Paschoud, Cing Etudes, pp. 83-8.
- 855 For the following, see Matthews, op. cit., pp. 176-9.
- 856 Matthews, op. cit., p. 179.
- 857 Lippold, col. 870.
- 858 Ibid.
- 859 Seeck, op. cit., pp. 129/30, and especially Thompson, op. cit. [n. 840], pp. 107/8.
- 860 John Chrysostom, De Anna, I,1, (P.G. 54, 634).
- 861 A. F. Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, London, 1965, pp. 221-2.
- 862 PLRE s.v. Hilarius 8.
- 863 Lippold, col. 874.  
Seeck, op. cit., p. 519: Maximus crossed the Alps no later than summer 387.
- 864 Lippold, col. 875.
- 865 Lippold, col. 874.
- 866 Lippold, col. 875. Sozomen, VII,14,1 says nothing of an embassy from Theodosius.
- 867 See Ammianus, XVI,10,10 for the famous description of Constantius.
- 868 Zosimus, IV,45,3; Eunapius fr. 58; and Thompson, op. cit., p. 109 and n. 15.
- 869 Lippold, col. 875.
- 870 Matthews, op. cit., p. 224.
- 871 Seeck, op. cit., p. 521.
- 872 Ibid., pp. 213-16.
- 873 Matthews, op. cit., 165-7.
- 874 Ibid., p. 225, citing Ambrose, ep. 40,32.

## XVII Notes (pp. 373 - 379)

- 875 Lippold, cols. 880/1.
- 876 Seeck, op. cit., p. 227; p. 530: Sozomen VII,14,7 is misled by the plural in Socrates (V,14,2) into thinking that Valentinian participated.
- 877 Seeck. op. cit., p. 530.
- 878 Chronica Gallica, s.a. 388 (MGH AA, IX, p. 648).
- 879 A. Piganiol, L'Empire Chrétien<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1972, p. 286.  
Lippold, col. 893.
- 880 Cf. Constantine's charge with 12 cavalrymen (II,22,6).
- 881 Lippold, col. 893.
- 882 Ibid.
- 883 Rufinus appears to have got a rise in precedence for the magister officiorum vis à vis the QSP. See PLRE s.v. Flavius Rufinus 18.
- 884 Lippold, col. 893-4.
- 885 Chron. Pasch., s.a. 393.
- 886 E.g. C.Th. XVI,2,27 against legacy-hunting by clerics; IX,40,15 against protecting condemned criminals; XVI, 3,1 expelling monks from towns.
- 887 Libanius, Or. I, 221-4 with Norman's notes ad loc. For the harshness of Tatian's administration, see Lippold, col. 897.
- 888 Rufinus rather than Theodosius is thought to have been responsible for the decree forbidding any Lycian henceforth to hold office (known from C.Th., IX, 38,9). See Alan Cameron, Claudian, Oxford, 1970, p. 81.
- 889 Matthews, op. cit., pp. 238 ff.  
J. Straub, 'Eugenius', R.A.C., VI, 1966, cols. 860 ff.
- 890 As Matthews suggests, op. cit., n. 3, p. 238.
- 891 Brian Croke, Historia, XXV, 1976, pp. 235-44.
- 892 Lippold, col. 900.
- 893 Thompson, op. cit., pp. 107 ff.
- 894 Zosimus carelessly confuses the Gothic leaders with the ambassadors, for surely it was the Goths who τὸ μέτρον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχει δοκοῦσιν.  
John of Antioch (fr. 187) describes the deceiving of the ambassadors.

## XVII Notes (pp. 380 - 385)

- 895 O. Seeck and G. Veith, Klio, XIII, 1913, p. 456.
- 896 Ibid., pp. 456-7.
- 897 Alan Cameron, H.S.C.P., LXXIII, 1969, p. 248.
- 898 Matthews, op. cit., p. 245.
- 899 Seeck and Veith, op. cit., pp. 464-5.
- 900 Boll, P-W, VI, s.v. 'Finsternisse', col. 2363.
- 901 W. Ensslin, Hermes, LXXXI, 1953, pp. 500 ff.
- 902 Cameron, op. cit., pp. 247 ff.
- 903 Cf. Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 135-6.
- 904 Cameron, op. cit., p. 249.
- 905 Ibid., p. 261.
- 906 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 100-124.
- 907 Cameron, op. cit., pp. 256-7.
- 908 Ensslin, op. cit., p. 506.
- 909 Cf. Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, p. 113.
- 910 As conjectured by Ensslin, op. cit., p. 503.
- 911 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 111 and 122.
- 912 Cameron, op. cit., p. 259.
- 913 I am grateful to Dr. J. F. Matthews for this suggestion.
- 914 Mendelssohn, note ad loc.
- 915 Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 140 ff. finds many of these similarities, but (wrongly) thinks that the ultimate source is his Ignotus.
- 916 Ibid., p. 116.
- 917 Cameron, op. cit., p. 248.
- 918 Ibid., n. 25, p. 260.
- 919 Ensslin, op. cit., p. 500.
- 920 Cameron, op. cit., p. 249.
- 921 Pace ibid., p. 268.

## XVII and Appendix V Notes (pp. 386 - 402)

- 922 Ibid., p. 251.
- 923 Ensslin, op. cit., p. 500, citing Pacatus, Pan. 47,3.
- 924 Contra Symmachum I, 544 ff.
- 925 Cameron, op. cit., pp. 270-1, citing Claudian, In Rufinum II, 153-4.
- 926 E.g. Ensslin, op. cit., p. 501.
- 927 Cameron, op. cit., p. 269.
- 928 Cf. Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, p. 136.
- 929 Cf. Paschoud, Cinq Etudes, pp. 129-30.
- 930 C. Butler, The Lausiaca History of Palladius (Texts and Studies VI), Cambridge, vol. I (1898), vol. II (1904).
- 931 Butler, vol. II, pp. xlvi - lvi. His choice survives the attack of E. Schwartz, 'Palladiana', ZNTW, XXXVI, 1937, pp. 193 ff.
- 932 Ammonius, Ammonii qui dicitur Liber de Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentia, ed., K. Nickau, Lipsiae, 1966, no. 139, p. 37.
- 933 Thomas Magister, Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli Monachi Ecloga Vocum Atticarum, ed. F. Ritschl, Halis Saxonum, 1832, p. 96.  
Cf. Stephanus, Thesaurus, III, cols. 4080-1.
- 934 Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio XXI, In Laudem Athanasii, P.G. 35, 1085D - 1088A.  
Cf. J. List, 'Das Antoniusleben des Hl. Athanasius D. Gr.', Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, no. 11, 1930, pp. 7 ff.
- 935 LSJ, s.v. <sup>3'</sup> σιωδεν II i.
- 936 Butler, vol. II, p. 243.
- 937 Cf. ibid., p. 245 and vol. I, p. 181.
- 938 The preferred form is now 'Silvia', not 'Silvania'.  
Cf. E. D. Hunt, 'St. Silvia of Aquitaine', J.T.S. n.s. XXIII, 1972, n. 2, p. 351.
- 939 Butler, vol. II, addition to n. 94, p. 277.
- 940 Ibid., n. 94, p. 227.
- 941 F. X. Murphy, 'Melania the Elder: a Biographical Note' Traditio, V, 1947, pp. 62-3.
- 942 Schwartz, op. cit., esp. n. 10, pp. 166-7.

## Appendix V Notes (pp. 402 - 406)

- 943 Lausiac History, LIV.  
Cf. Hunt, op. cit., p. 356.
- 944 Ibid., pp. 354-360.  
P. Devos, 'Silvie la sainte pèlerine', A.B., XCI, 1973, pp. 113-4  
in a critique of Hunt's paper reaffirms the necessity of accepting  
the evidence of Melania's age and dates the trip with Silvia to the  
end of 399 or the beginning of 400.
- 945 Butler, vol. II, pp. 244-5.
- 946 Schwartz, op. cit., p. 161 (and n. 62, p. 192).
- 947 Butler, vol. II, pp. 237-40.
- 948 Ibid., p. 240.
- 949 Cf. Butler, vol. I, p. 182.
- 950 P. Peeters, 'Une Vie Copte de S. Jean de Lycopolis', A.B., LIV, 1936,  
pp. 369 ff. and esp. p. 377.
- 951 Ibid., pp. 374-5.
- 952 R. T. Meyer, 'Proverbs and Puns in Palladius' Historia Lausiaca,  
Studia Patristica VIII, Berlin, 1966, p. 422.
- 953 Peeters, op. cit., pp. 378-9.  
R. Draguet, 'Une Nouvelle Source Copte de Pallade: Le Ch. VIII (Amoun)'  
Le Muséon, LX, 1947, pp. 244 ff.
- 954 Peeters, op. cit., p. 380.
- 955 R. T. Meyer, trans., Palladius: The Lausiac History, Westminster,  
Maryland, 1965, p. 100.
- 956 Ep. LI inter Epp. S. Hieronymi, P.L., XXII, 527.
- 957 Peeters, op. cit., pp. 380-1.
- 958 Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 197 ff.
- 959 Cf. Hunt, op. cit., p. 357.
- 960 Cf. Butler, vol. II, p. 242
- 961 Butler, vol. I, p. 182 and vol. II, p. 244
- 962 Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique ..., vol. X,  
Paris, 1705, n. 3, p. 719.
- 963 Ibid., vol. XI, n. 3, p. 639.
- 964 Cf. Butler, vol. II, p. 244, and Peeters, op. cit., p. 377.

## Appendix V Notes (pp. 406 - 413)

- 965 Butler, vol. II, n. 3, p. 244-5.
- 966 Cf. Butler, vol. I, p. 184.
- 967 Cf. Tillemont, loc. cit., and Butler, e.g. vol. II, n. 3, p. 245.
- 968 Butler, vol. II, p. 237.
- 969 LSJ s.v. C II.
- 970 Butler, loc. cit.
- 971 For a contrary view, cf. R. Draguet, 'L' "Histoire Lausiaque", Une Oeuvre écrite dans l'Esprit d'Evagre', Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XLI, 1946, p. 321.
- 972 Butler, vol. II, p. 244.
- 973 Butler, vol. II, n. 68, p. 214.
- 974 See Butler, vol. II, n. 69 p. 215 f. for the possibility that his tomb has been found at Antinoë.
- 975 H. G. Evelyn White, The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis, New York, 1932, pp. 51-2.
- 976 Meyer, Lausiaca History, note ad loc.
- 977 Butler, vol. II, n. 79, p. 219; Sozomen, III, 14, 29.
- 978 Butler, note ad loc.
- 979 Tillemont, vol. XI, p. 518.
- 980 Butler, vol. II, p. 245
- 981 J. Wittig, 'Studien zur Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz I. und der Papstwahlen des 5. Jahrhunderts', Theologische Quartalschrift, LXXXIV, 1902, pp. 388-439.
- 982 Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 1960, s.n. Innocenz I, col. 685.
- 983 Butler, vol. II, n. 80, pp. 219 ff.
- 984 Butler, vol. II, n. 84, pp. 221-2.
- 985 Tillemont, vol. XI, p. 521.
- 986 Butler, vol. II, p. 245.
- 987 Butler, vol. II, n. 86, p. 223.
- 988 But cf. PLRE 'Olympias 2'.
- 989 Butler, vol. II, p. 244.

Appendices V and VIII Notes (pp. 413 - 422)

- 990 Tillemont, vol. XI, p. 517.
- 991 Butler, loc. cit.
- 992 Butler, vol. II, n. 109, p. 233.
- 993 Butler, vol. II, n. 112, pp. 223-4.
- 994 Meyer, Lausiac History, n. 569 refers to Eustathius 48, Dictionary of Christian Biography, II, p. 391.
- 995 Butler, vol. II, n. 115, p. 235.
- 996 Lundström, op. cit., [n. 585], p. 32.
- 997 W. Kroll, Phil. Woch., no. 30, 1898, pp. 932-4.
- 998 R. Foerster, 'Vita Libanii Conscripta ab Eunapio', Libanii Opera, I, 1, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 1-3.
- 999 K. Latte, 'Eine Doppelfassung in den Sophistenbiographien des Eunapios', Hermes, LVIII, 1923, pp. 441-7.
- 1000 Ibid., p. 444 ff.
- 1001 J. C. Vollebregt, Symbola in novam Eunapii Vitarum editionem, Amsterdam, 1929, p. 93.
- 1002 Ibid., pp. 6-48.
- 1003 G. Giangrande, ed., Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum, pp. xv-xx.

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## Abstract

Eunapius of Sardis was a pagan Greek sophist and historian who lived from A.D. 345/6 until at least A.D. 414. Two of his works survive. The Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists is complete, but the Histories, which covered the period from A.D. 270 to A.D. 404, are fragmentary. This thesis falls into four parts. The first deals with Eunapius' family, education, and role as a sophist and the second examines the Lives in relation to other pagan and Christian biographies of this type. Part III is concerned with the reconstruction and formal characteristics of the Histories and Part IV demonstrates Eunapius' practice as an historian.

Sardis was the metropolis of Lydia and prosperous enough to undertake an extensive re-building programme c. A.D. 400 when the defences were strengthened and the two main streets were paved and colonnaded with marble. It was a major Christian centre, but there were also an important Jewish community and a considerable pagan element. From the evidence of Eunapius' education and later life, his family seems to have belonged to the curial class and to have had at least moderate means. Eunapius was taught first at Sardis by Chrysanthius and went to Athens in his sixteenth year where he studied under Prohaeresius for five years. He then returned to Sardis and studied philosophy with Chrysanthius, for he was a Neoplatonist and a member of the school of Pergamon which traced its descent from Iamblichus. Eunapius also possessed a good enough knowledge of medicine to be regarded as a iatrosophist. In his later life, he appears to have been a gentleman sophist and historian who was familiar with the upper echelons of the provincial government, although he believed that a sophist's first loyalty was to his native city and he disapproved of

imperial service, particularly by philosophers.

Eunapius wrote the Lives c. 400, partly for didactic purposes, but more to commemorate Chrysanthius and Prohaeresius and to counter Christian hagiography. However, an examination of pertinent works shows that Eunapius owed nothing to Christian hagiography. On the formal level, the Lives combine the features of Sotion's Succession and Philostratus' Lives of the Sophists; on the spiritual level, Eunapius is most clearly indebted to Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana.

Part III is largely concerned with the reconstruction of the Histories. The most important fragments are found in the Constantinian Eclogues de Sententiis and de Legationibus and these are dealt with first along with later historians for whom Eunapius was a source. (Such evidence as there is indicates that Ammianus Marcellinus used Eunapius.) Zosimus is the most important guide to the bias and content of the Histories since his New History from I,47 to V,25 depends exclusively upon Eunapius. A number of anonymous fragments in the Suda have been attributed to Eunapius and these are discussed in some detail. An outline reconstruction of the Histories on a regnal basis is then attempted and a solution for the problem of the second edition is proposed. Eunapius must have written both editions himself and have ended both in 404. Finally, the Histories are put in their formal context: Eunapius continued Dexippus, but his closest model appears to be Herodian.

Eunapius' Histories were the canonical pagan Greek account of the fourth century A.D. and a major component of the Hellenic reaction against Christianity. Eunapius had good information, particularly for the east, and in his statements about his sources and other aspects of historiography he is similar to contemporary historians like Ammianus. However, he often

distorted or suppressed facts in order to protect or to demonstrate his belief in pagan Providence. This is revealed by an examination of how he defamed Constantine and Theodosius (who are held principally responsible for the decline of the Roman empire) and made Julian the Apostate the hero of his Histories. The main feature of the account of Constantine is that it is constructed to fit a date of 326 for the emperor's guilt-ridden conversion to Christianity. Eunapius had to be more subtle in dealing with the contemporary Theodosius, but even so he saecularized the Battle of the Frigidus. Julian, on the other hand, is portrayed as the perfect ruler, a philosopher-king who was protected by Providence throughout his life and apotheosized on his death.

The eight appendices provide detailed information in tabular form, except for Appendices V and VIII. The former elucidates the structure and chronology of Palladius' Lausiaca History and the latter argues that there was no second edition of the Lives.

