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EUNAPIUS AND ZOSIMUS ON THE DECLINE OF ROME

EUNAPIUS AND THE IDEA OF THE DECLINE
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ZOSIMUS

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ABSTRACT

Although Zosimus is recognised as a generally servile epitomator, it has in the past been customary to regard his statements about the baneful influence of Christianity upon the Empire's fortunes as representing his own considered opinions. This dissertation attempts to show that Zosimus copied these ideas directly from his main source, Eunapius, modifying them only in very minor ways.

The first chapter consists in a detailed comparison of the remaining fragments of Eunapius' History with Zosimus. It is shown that in many places Zosimus made only very slight changes in his epitome which were due to the need to condense his source or to his own very different taste in style. He was prone to abridge or omit especially rhetorical or reflective passages and those involving character portrayal. Some minor interpolations he introduced were due either to ignorance on his part or to a consciousness of the changes which the Empire had undergone since the time when his source wrote. The chapter concludes with a study of passages which seem to indicate a major divergence from Eunapius. All of these, it is suggested, conform to the types indicated earlier in the chapter. This part of the study then confirms the impression that Zosimus departed but little, and that rarely enough, from his source.

Chapter two carries the study to parts of Zosimus' work for which there are no remains of Eunapius. Although Zosimus' carelessness and incompetence are abundantly revealed some evidence is produced of a crude attempt on Zosimus' part, from time to time, to dramatise, or rather to heighten the drama of, material taken from Eunapius. Attention is drawn to some passages, notably those on the mime and on the auri lustralis collatio, which have been seen as Zosimus' own contributions to his work, but which on closer investigation seem also to have been copied from Eunapius. In this chapter also the evidence for other sources within the part of the New History that was taken from Eunapius is reviewed and dismissed.

The decline of the Roman Empire is the subject of the third chapter. The various elements in Zosimus' "theory"--the decline of the cities, the rise of Christianity, the abandonment of paganism--are shown to be present in the works of Eunapius and to a lesser extent Olympiodorus. Moreover two of the cardinal passages in Zosimus' work--the digressions on Palmyra and on the Secular Games--are shown to have probably been taken also from Eunapius. This is not to deny Zosimus all originality as in his proem he emphasises the idea of decline in a way that Eunapius did not do. Moreover his work belongs more to the genre of "world history"

like those of the Christian chroniclers rather than of "secular history" like his models Eunapius and Olympiodorus. Nevertheless it seems that he took from Eunapius with minimal modifications the religious and political ideas which give distinction to an otherwise insipid piece of work.

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The submission of this thesis represents the culmination of four and a half pleasant years of work at McMaster University. A few words then are due to express the author's gratitude for the help he has received in this time, especially during the difficult period of preparation of the thesis.

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Dr. Kingston in the Classics Department provided a philologist's understanding with his criticisms. Warmest thanks are due to him and also to his colleagues Drs. Paul and Slater, who were always available for advice and encouragement.

Tribute should be paid here too to Mrs. M. Parker and the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office of the Mills Memorial Library. They never failed in supplying the needs of a bibliography that ranged over many languages and through several centuries of scholarship.

A final tribute to my wife may perhaps be expressed in the words of Zosimus, if these are interpreted differently than their author intended: τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἐν φρονήσει καθ' ὅσον γυναικὶ δυνατόν ἦν ἐκπλήρουσα. To her I dedicate this little book on the decline of the Roman Empire.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>FHG</u> 4	<u>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum.</u> Collected by C. Müller. Volume 4. Paris, 1851.
<u>Historia nova</u>	<u>Zosimi comitis et exadvocati fisci</u> <u>Historia nova.</u> Edited by L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1887; repr. Olms, Hildesheim, 1963.
<u>LSJ</u>	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon.</u> Edited by H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones and others. 9th ed; London: Oxford University Press, 1940.
<u>PG</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus.</u> Edited by J.-P. Migne. <u>Series Graeca.</u>
<u>PL</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus.</u> Edited by J.-P. Migne. <u>Series Latina.</u>
<u>PW</u>	<u>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen</u> <u>Altertumswissenschaft.</u> Edited by G. Wissowa and others. Various publishers, 1894-.
<u>RAC</u>	<u>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.</u> Edited by T. Klauser and others. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-.
<u>Zosime</u> 1	<u>Zosime: Histoire nouvelle.</u> Text and translation by F. Paschoud. Volume 1 (books 1 and 2). Paris: Société d' édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1971.
<u>Zosimus</u>	<u>Zosimus.</u> Edited by I. Bekker. Bonn, 1837.

The abbreviations of the learned journals are those of L'Année philologique, except that the initials RAC are used as indicated above.

INTRODUCTION

Every study of Zosimus must begin with Photius' statement:

Εἴποι δ' ἄν τις οὐ γράψαι αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ
μεταγράψαι τὴν Εὐναπίου, τῷ συντόμῳ μόνον
διαφέρουσιν...¹

Although in this remark Photius does not take into consideration the first² and last parts³ of Zosimus' work, neither of which was derived from Eunapius, his view must command our respect. For Photius, besides being a very talented scholar, had the great advantage, denied us today, of being able to read Eunapius' work in an unabridged form.⁴

No-one nowadays doubts that Zosimus did draw on Eunapius for the greatest part of his work (viz. 1.47-5.25). Whenever we can compare the historians' accounts we see Zosimus following that of Eunapius very closely within these chapters. Hence C. Müller referred to this part of the New History as an epitome Eunapii⁵ and L. Mendelssohn as an exile compendium.⁶ Clearly then in any discussion of ideas expressed by Zosimus in these chapters careful attention must be paid to the work of Eunapius.⁷

Like many ancient historians Zosimus is of interest to us for two reasons. First, he is our main source for some periods--notably for parts of the third and late fourth

centuries. Secondly, he is a source of comment, especially on religious and political matters of the late empire. In modern times, this facet of his work has commanded the greatest amount of scholarly attention. But in the majority of these studies the authors have concerned themselves more with an analysis of what Zosimus says than with the question of whether the sentiments he expresses are original.⁸

In recent years there has been a great increase in scholarly interest in the ideological conflicts of the late empire. Several articles and books have appeared not only on Zosimus himself but also on the broader background of the conflict between pagans and Christians. W.E. Kaegi in Byzantium and the Decline of Rome published a monograph on Byzantine reactions to the decline of the western empire. Zosimus plays a very important part in this book; he is the subject of a chapter entitled "The Climax of Pagan Historical Apologetics", in which Kaegi discusses at length Zosimus' idea of the decline of the empire. However Eunapius receives little attention in this chapter.⁹

In 1971 W. Goffart published an article in the American Historical Review, entitled "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall".¹⁰ With a commanding knowledge of both primary and secondary literature Goffart paints a vivid picture of the intellectual history of the fourth to seventh centuries of our era, and in this picture Zosimus occupies a leading place. Although Goffart tends to stress

the originality of Zosimus' ideas he does pay more attention to the influence of Eunapius on him than many of his predecessors, and so his article marks a step forward.

Two recent specialists on Zosimus have expressed similar views on the problem of Zosimus' religious and political ideas. F. Paschoud in the introduction to his edition of Zosimus devotes very great attention to the historian's sources. His exhaustive survey of the literature leads him to minimise any originality in Zosimus. He asks, "Faut-il donc croire qu'il n'y a absolument aucun ajout personnel de Zosime dans l'Histoire Nouvelle?" And a little below he answers, "ce qui provient sans le moindre doute de lui, ce sont les observations sur la décadence de l'empire romain."¹¹ R.T. Ridley reached a similar conclusion.¹² Since both scholars have carefully examined Eunapius' works¹³ their views have considerable authority.

Yet Photius' comment, cited above, enjoins some reservations. Even a quick reading of Eunapius' works reveals a good many passages that reflect the same kind of religious and political ideas that we find in Zosimus.¹⁴ Might Eunapius not have given Zosimus the interpretation as well as the material for his work? Only a detailed comparison of the historians' works can provide an answer.

This dissertation sets itself the modest task of answering this question. The first two chapters explore the influence of Eunapius' History on the composition of

Zosimus' work. The third is devoted to the origin of Zosimus' idea of the decline of the Roman empire.

Notes

- ¹ Photius, Bibliotheca codex 98 = 2, 66 Henry.
- ² "Ἀρχεται μὲν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας" says Photius Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 158 Henry, of Eunapius. Hence he cannot be Zosimus' source for the first 46 chapters of book 1. Despite exhaustive source-study of these chapters (see F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, xxxvii-xl) no general agreement about their source has been reached.
- ³ J. Rosenstein, "Kritische Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss zwischen Olympiodor, Zosimus und Sozomenus", Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 1(1862), 166-204 showed Zosimus' dependence on Olympiodorus in the last part of the New History (5.26 to the end). Photius reviews and summarises Olympiodorus in Bibliotheca codex 80 = 1, 166-187 Henry. The fact that he does not mention it as a source of Zosimus shows how overwhelming was the influence of Eunapius.
- ⁴ In fact Photius says that he had several manuscripts of Eunapius' History, and that some contained a "new edition". See Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 159 Henry, and below, Appendix 2.
- ⁵ C. Müller, FHG 4, 28 and 40.
- ⁶ Historia nova 121. See also ibid. xxxvi.
- ⁷ So R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65(1972), 281.
- ⁸ I.F. Reitemeier, "Disquisitio in Zosimum eiusque fidem", Zosimus xxii-xl discussed Zosimus' ideas without considering the possible influence of his sources on these. He was generally followed in this approach by nineteenth century scholars, of whom it will suffice to mention three here. G.-E.-J. Guilhem de Sainte-Croix, "Observations sur Zosime", Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 49(1808), 466-500 concentrated largely on the question of Zosimus' reliability, especially in his account of Constantine. He was not unaware of the importance of Eunapius in discussing Zosimus' ideas (e.g. 483), but generally he did not consider the problem of originality

(e.g. 468). L. Feugère, "Zosime", Le Correspondant 36 (25 September 1855), 921-943 wrote an essay dealing mainly with the decline of the empire. He did not mention Eunapius at all. His tendency to regard Zosimus as a primary authority was due to his dating the historian to the early fifth century (see 922-923; cf. Appendix 3, below). L. von Ranke, Weltgeschichte 4, 2 (Leipzig, 1883); 264-284 recognised Eunapius' influence on Zosimus (e.g. 283), but he regarded Zosimus' religious and political ideas as his own (265-266).

⁹ Some recent monographs may be mentioned here. E. Condurachi, "Les idées politiques de Zosime", Revista clasica 13-14 (1941-1942), 115-127 discussed Zosimus' ideas without considering the problem of their origin. While he recognised that Eunapius was a source of Zosimus (117) his comment on "l'indifférence presque totale" of fourth century historians to the political problems of their times surely indicates that he did not look very closely at Eunapius (125). N.N. Rozental, "Religiozno-politicheskaja ideologija Zosima", in Drevnij mir: Sbornik statej (Moscow, 1962), 611-617 considered Zosimus' account up to Constantine. The question of originality was not treated by this writer from whom Eunapius received only a passing mention (611). Z. Petre, "La pensée historique de Zosime", StudClas 7 (1965), 263-272 considered briefly the possibility that Zosimus took over his ideas mechanically from Eunapius, only to dismiss it immediately (265-266); and Eunapius' works played no part in her discussion. Eunapius received no special discussion from S. Mazzarino in The End of the Ancient World, translated by G. Holmes (New York, 1966).

¹⁰ AHR 76 (1971), 412-441.

¹¹ Zosime 1, lxi and lxii. In Roma aeterna. Etudes sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions (Neuchâtel, 1967), 68, note 182, Paschoud explained that Zosimus' awareness of the empire's decline (in contradistinction to the ignorance of Ammianus Marcellinus on this point) was due to his writing at a much later date. In the same breath he asserted that Zosimus reflects the views of Eunapius.

¹² R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian" ByzZ 65 (1972), 281.

¹³ See also R.T. Ridley, "Eunapius and Zosimus", Helikon 9-10 (1969-1970), 574-592.

¹⁴ Some of these passages will be quoted below in chapter 3.

CHAPTER 1

ZOSIMUS AND THE FRAGMENTS OF EUNAPIUS' HISTORY

Introduction

The present chapter comprises a comparison of the remains of Eunapius' History with our text of Zosimus. The purpose of this comparison is twofold. It seeks to test the validity of the now general view that Eunapius was Zosimus' source for the greatest part of his work; and it examines, insofar as the comparison of texts permits, the question of whether Zosimus diverged from Eunapius at any time within this part of his work. The second purpose of this study is to clarify the manner in which Zosimus selected and moulded the material at his disposal. Hopefully a picture will emerge of the historians's method of working, and this will provide a basis for examining the parts of Zosimus' work for which we are without the help of Eunapius' text.

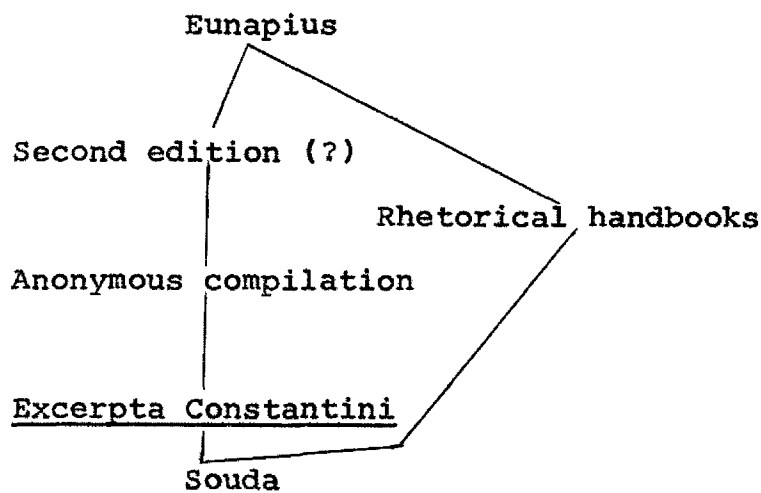
The study begins with some examples of very close correspondence between the historians, then passes to consider successively Zosimus' omissions, the minor changes he made, and finally the evidence for major divergences between the historians.

The Present Text of Eunapius

"Whence did the trolls get them, I wonder?" said Thorin looking at his sword with new interest: "I could not say," said Elrond, "but one may guess that your trolls had plundered other plunderers, or had come on the remnants of old robberies ..."

The Hobbit, p. 61.

Photius had available for his perusal manuscripts of two separate editions of Eunapius' History.¹ Yet, within a hundred years the emperor Constantine's excerpters were compelled to draw upon a truncated version of the second edition made by an anonymous compiler.² The modern scholar must consult what remains of these excerpts, supplementing them with the occasional passage which the compilers of the Souda derived from now lost parts of the Excerpta Constantini. The relationship of these compilations with the original text of the historian may be represented in a diagram:³



The fragments of the History which are preserved in the Excerpta Constantini are three or four times removed from the text which left Eunapius' hand. Nevertheless, despite corruptions and the occasional omission⁴ or insertion⁵ on the part of the excerpter they seem to preserve much of the original both in spirit and in matters of style.⁶ However, the fragments in the Souda are quite a different matter. Some of these are very short, and are obviously truncated.⁷ In some cases the attribution to Eunapius rests on the statement of the lexicographer, and in other cases the perceptiveness of modern scholars. Since neither kind of attribution is infallible, the latter type of fragment must be used with caution. In this study the matter of attribution is dealt with only in crucial cases.

How representative of Eunapius' History are the fragments? Clearly those that are taken from the Souda are a motley assortment. Many are character sketches, and there is a strong admixture of items of a philological interest. On the other hand, the Constantinian collection provides us with a much more useful array of passages. The Excerpta de sententiis yield a good deal of reflective and analytical material as well as some interesting anecdotes. The Excerpta de legationibus offer a few long and detailed narrative passages. Generally it is an impressive variety. With character sketches, anecdotes and with reflective, analytical and narrative passages all well represented there

is every reason to believe that our fragments afford a reasonably faithful sampling of Eunapius' work.

Some Closely Parallel Passages

Any reader of Zosimus who keeps a close eye on the fragments of Eunapius will note the occasional passages suggestive of a very close relationship between the writers. A representative example is provided by the historians' accounts of the downfall of Tatianus and Proclus at the hands of Rufinus:

Fragment 59.⁸

Ὅτι ὀλισθηρόν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
σφαλερώτερον ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τιμὴν
ἢ συμφορὰν. Θεραπεύσαντες γὰρ
τὸν Τατιανὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα
Θεοδόσιον, τιμᾶς τε ὑπερφυεῖς ἐκ
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μεταγνώσεις ἐπὶ
τοῖς γεννημένοις ἐνσπόνδους
ποιησάμενοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
οὐρανομήκεις ἐλπίδας ὑποσπείραντες
τούτον παρέπεισαν ἀναγεῖν τὸν
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πρόκλον τοῦνομα -
ὃν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνέκλεισαν
καὶ τὸν Τατιανὸν ἐπὶ Λυκίας
ἀπέπεμψαν τοῦ παιδὸς
χηρῶσαντες.

Zos. 4.52.3-4.

ὁ Ρουφίνος... μετελθὼν ἀπάτη τὸν
πατέρα καὶ ὄρκοις, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα
πείσας ὑποφῆναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ
παιδί μεγίστας ἐλπίδας, τούτῳ τε
τῷ τρόπῳ μεταγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς
ἀληθοῦς ὑπονοίας εἰς ματαίους
ὄνειρους, ἀναπείθει Τατιανὸν
γράμμασι τὸν παῖδα μετακαλέσασθαι.
Πρόκλον μὲν οὖν ἅμα τῷ φανῆναι
συναρπασθέντα τὸ δεσμωτήριον
δέχεται, Τατιανοῦ δὲ τῇ τῆς
πατρίδος οἰκήσει παραδοθέντος
...

The excerpter has no doubt modified Eunapius' version a little.⁹ The passages correspond quite closely although Zosimus supplies two small details that are not in Eunapius. Eunapius tells us that Tatianus was sent to Lycia and Zosimus that he was sent to his "native country". A little earlier, at 4.45.1, Zosimus had spoken of Tatianus as hailing from Lycia, and this detail was no doubt in Eunapius' narrative at some point also. Secondly, Zosimus says that Proclus was summoned by letter *γράμμασι... μετακλήσασθαι* whereas Eunapius uses the simple verb *ἀγαγεῖν*. Zosimus' version adds a slight touch of colour, and is surely well within the bounds of an epitomator's "license".

Further examples are provided by those passages the attribution of which to Eunapius depends on a resemblance to the words of Zosimus. One example will suffice here while others are relegated to Appendix 1.

Fragment 2.¹⁰

Σελευκίς : ὀρνέον ἔστιν
εὐπεπον καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ
πανούργον . καὶ τὰς ἀκρίδας
χανδὸν λαφύσσον.

Zos.1.57.3.

... Σελευκιάδας παραδιδούς [*sc.*
Apollo]... αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀκρίσιν
συμπεριηπτάμεναι καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν
ταύτας δεχόμεναι...

Eunapius' Rhetoric and Character Portrayal

One of the most striking facets of Zosimus' technique as an epitomator is the way in which he tones down the inflated style of Eunapius. The effect is visible in almost every passage of Zosimus for which we possess the

corresponding fragment of Eunapius. Moreover, this process extends beyond a change of style to matters of character portrayal. Accordingly, the following discussion will begin with three examples of purely stylistic changes, and then proceed to examine changes involving character portrayal.

Both Eunapius and Zosimus highlight the guerilla warfare of the Gallic "headhunter" Charietto who inspired great terror in the barbarians who were ravaging the province while Julian was there.

Fragment 11.¹¹

Τοῦτον δεξάμενος ἐπαῖρον ἔφ'
 ἑαυτῷ συνιστάμενον εἶχεν· εἶπ'
 ἄλλος παρσῆει, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν.
 καὶ καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόριοί φασι,
 μονάδος ἐπὶ δυάδα κινηθείσης
 οὐκέτι τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡρεμεῖν
 φύσιν, ἀλλὰ διαχεῖσθαι καὶ ῥεῖν
 ἐς πολὺ, οὕτω Χαριέττος
 Κερκίωνα προσλαβόντος αἱ τε πράξεις
 ἐπὶ πολὺ προσήεσαν καὶ ὁ τῶν
 συνισταμένων ὄχλος ἀνὰ λόγον

Zos.3.7.3.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 συνεμύγησαν τούτῳ ληστὰι
 καὶ καθ' ἓνα συνιόντες πλῆθος
 γεγόνασιν, τότε δὴ τῷ
 Καίσαρι προσελθὼν ὁ Χαριέττων...

ἠκολούθει ταῖς πράξεσιν.

Fragment 11c.

ἐδόκει γὰρ τό τε σῶμα
 γιγαντώδης εἶναι καὶ τὸν
 θυμὸν Θηριώδης καὶ ἐς
 ἀγχίνου τῶν συλληστευόντων
 ἀπάντων πολυπλοκώτερος.

Zos.3.7.1.

ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν μέγεθος σώματος
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἔχων,
 καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀνάλογον τῷ
 σώματι.

Another passage in the Souda¹² describes Charietto in terms that suggest Eunapius' style- ἀνυπόστατος τῇ τε πλεονάζοντι τοῦ δραστηρίου φοβῶν . In the passages cited above Zosimus' main purpose has been to simplify Eunapius' bombastic and metaphorical style in favour of a more direct mode of expression.

In one fragment Eunapius uses a metaphor from physical science to describe the soothing effect of the general Arbitio on the pusillanimous emperor Valens when he was terrified at the report of the revolt of Procopius. In another passage he waxes eloquent over the downfall of the notary Theodorus who was led to believe that he had hopes of gaining the throne. Zosimus' version of each incident removes all the rhetorical elaboration.¹³

These examples will suffice to show how Zosimus reacted to Eunapius' style. We now pass to the matter of character portrayal where the difference between the historians is more marked and richer in implications.

The Portrayal of Character

The fragments show clearly that the delineation of virtues and vices was a major preoccupation of Eunapius. It is true that the compiler of the Excerpta de sententiis was especially interested in such passages; but many of the fragments that have been drawn from the Souda support the idea that Eunapius appended a detailed character sketch to

his account wherever a new personality appeared. We begin with some examples from the Souda, then consider some people who are mentioned by Eunapius but not Zosimus, and conclude with a comparison of the historians' portraits of the emperor Julian.

A lengthy passage in the Souda preserves Eunapius' view of the emperor Carinus. The corresponding part of Zosimus' account can be supplied from a passage of John of Antioch which was taken over in the Excerpta de virtutibus. Our texts of both Eunapius and Zosimus are thus at least twice removed from the originals and any resemblance is likely to be less now than was originally the case.

Eunapius
|
Excerpta Constantini
|
Souda

Zosimus
|
John of Antioch
|
Excerpta Constantini

Fragment 4.¹⁴

Καρίνος, Κάρου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱός,
γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ βουλήσεως
κύριος, ἀνέδραμε τηλικούτον κακὸν
ἐς τυραννίδα, ὥστε ἀπέδειξε χρυσὸν
τοῖς πειραθείσι τὴν τραγωδομένην
τυραννίδα· οὕτω καὶ τὸν νομα τοῖς
ἔργοις μακρῶς παρήθη, παίδων
μὲν γὰρ οἱ γεγονότων ὕβρει
διὰ τὸ σὺνηθες οὐδὲ ὕβρεις

John of Antioch fragment 162.¹⁵

Ὅτι Καρίνος ὁ τοῦ Κάρου υἱὸς
βασιλεύσας πρᾶγμα μὲν εἰς κοινὸν
ὄφελος φέρον οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο,
τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ ἐκδεδιητημένῳ
βίῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοῦς
παρηνάλωμα τῆς τρυφῆς ἐποιεῖτο
φόνους οὐδὲν ἡδικοτάτων ἀνθρώπων
κατὰ τι προσκεκρακέναι
νομισθέντων αὐτῷ. βαρυνομένων

ἐνομίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐγκύκλιον αὐτῷ	δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ πικρᾷ
καὶ πρόχειρον τοιαῦτα ἡμαρτάνειν. ὃ δὲ	τυραννίδι συναναμιχθείσῃ
ἐγκλήματά τε ἀνέπλαττε καὶ εἰκάδε	νεότητι καὶ πάντα ἐκμελῶς
τοῖς ἀδικοῦμένοις καὶ τῶν δικάζομένων	καὶ δίχα λογισμοῦ πράττοντος...
οὐδεὶς ἐσώζετο. ὅπου γε πολλῇς οὔσης	
καὶ ἀδιηγότητος τῆς φθορᾶς, παραν-	
ηλίσκοντό τινες τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, ὥσπερ	
ἐν κοινοῖς δείπνοις ἀλεκτορίδες ἐς τὴν	
καρίνου τρυφήν. μεμνήσθαι δὲ τῶν	
κατακοπτομένων ἔφασκε, τῶν μὲν ὡς	
οὐκ ἐπῆνεσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος, τῶν δέ,	
ὅτι λέγοντα, ἔτε ἦν μεῖράκιον, οὐκ	
ἐθαύμασαν ὡς ἐβούλετο. ἀπώλλοντο	
δὲ τινες καὶ γελάσαντες ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ	
ποτε, καὶ πάντα ἦν αὐτοῦ βαρύτερα	
δισσημεῖας, καὶ ἐλύττα ἐν μέσοις	
τοῖς ὑπηκόοις,	

Eunapius mentions three specific vices: homo-
sexuality, trials stemming from trumped-up charges and the
arbitrary execution of nobles. Of these Zosimus refers
indirectly to the first and combines the second with the
third. There are several linguistic echoes of Eunapius in
Zosimus' account, and Zosimus uses the verb προσκρούω here
in a sense elsewhere favoured by Eunapius.¹⁶ On the whole,
however, Eunapius' picture of Carinus is not seriously
affected.

The Souda preserves a long tribute to the general Sebastian, 19 lines in Adler's edition, but these are referred to only in passing by Zosimus.¹⁷ Moreover, the fragments 39,¹⁸ 66,¹⁹ 67,²⁰ 69,²¹ 70,²² 76²³ and 84,²⁴ all from the Souda, contain detailed character sketches either glossed over or very substantially reduced by Zosimus. Similarly, fragment 48, from the Excerpta de sententiis,²⁵ seems to be part of a diatribe against Theodosius, apparently at the same point in Eunapius' account as Zosimus' attack on this emperor at 4.27, 28 and 29. Yet none of the specific points mentioned by Eunapius, the corruption of power, the fragility of human nature in the face of good fortune and the metaphor of the prodigal son, recurs in Zosimus.

But the hand of the epitomator did not stop at mere abridgement of rhetoric: some information he omitted altogether. Zosimus did not for example mention Ablabius' role as guardian of Constantine's sons,²⁶ although he did mention the man's execution.²⁷ Both historians report the embassies sent to Julian on his accession:

Fragment 15.²⁸

Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ τῆς
 βασιλείας ἀναγόρευσιν πρεσβέμι
 πανταχόθεν συνέβαινον καὶ
 στέφανοι πολλοὶ χρυσοὶ [οἱ]
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀνεκομίζοντο...

Zos.3.11.1.

Ὅντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ Σίρμιον
 ἐξ ἀπάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ἐστέλλοντο πρέσβεις
 ...

Eunapius goes on to give details about some of the men who

served on these embassies; but Zosimus does not. Similarly Zosimus does not mention either Aelian, who appears in fragment 36,²⁹ or Marcian, of whose character a short note appears in fragment 44.³⁰ On the other hand, Zosimus does speak of the raid of Isaurian bandits in 368, in which Musonius, the vicar of Asia, met a heroic death. Although he says nothing about the man himself, Musonius' virtues are carefully documented by Eunapius.³¹ In like fashion, Subarmachius the drunken soldier³² and Hierax the impudent Alexandrian play no part in Zosimus' account.³³

The emperor Julian fares no better in Zosimus' account. Many laudatory passages about him have survived in the fragments of Eunapius' History, and they are all either omitted or severely curtailed by his epitomator. In view of this emperor's importance in the history of Christian-pagan relations it has seemed worthwhile to examine this matter in some detail.

The eighth fragment,³⁴ the proem of Eunapius' second book, introduces the account of Julian as the centre-piece of Eunapius' work:

φέρειται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ὅνπερ ἐφέρετο
ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

As in the mutilated proem of the first book (fragment 1)³⁵ Eunapius is fulsome in his praise of the Apostate. Zosimus, however, does not introduce Julian in such a way, either in the proem of his first book or at the beginning of his

third, the points which correspond in his work with the first and eighth fragments of Eunapius.

Fragment 10 expatiates on the virtues of Julian as a ruler. The Salian Franks had become the hapless victims in a war between the Roman troops and the Chamavi. Julian, recognising their innocence, forbade his troops to conduct operations against them. For Eunapius the incident provides an opportunity to glorify the Caesar at some length, but Zosimus contents himself with an exposition of the bare facts.³⁶

In fragment 13 Eunapius deals with the chieftain Vadomarius.³⁷ The latter demanded the return to him of his son, given as a hostage to Julian in surety for many Romans held prisoner by the chieftain. Julian returned the boy, remarking that he was in any case inadequate security for the Romans, and threatening dire consequences if the latter were not surrendered. Zosimus passes over all this in silence. Perhaps he was not interested in anecdotes illustrative of the Caesar's "humour", although such speculation is dangerous in view of the garbled state of Zosimus' account of these Gallic campaigns.³⁸

Fragments 16,³⁹ 17,⁴⁰ 18.3⁴¹ and 22.1⁴² deal with various virtues of the emperor: justice, clemency, moderation and foresight. But very little of this encomiastic material finds its way into Zosimus; and neither of the anecdotes in the second and third passages is related by

him. Eunapius' detailed description of the emperor's sense of justice finds in Zosimus only an echo at the corresponding point in his narrative:

πολλὰ καλῶς καὶ δικάίως οἰκονομήσας.⁴³

Fragment 23 treats events immediately after the death of Julian. The introductory sentence finds a verbal echo in Zosimus:

Fragment 23.⁴⁴

Ὡς περ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ
τοσοῦτων ἐπικειμένων
ἄρχοντος δεόμενον τὸ στρατό-
πεδον τὴν αἴρεσιν περιεσκόπει.
...

Zos.3.30.1.

τότε τοίνυν τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων
ἅμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνειλεγμένων
βουλὴ προετίθετο τίνι δέοι
παρὰδοθῆναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων
ἡγεμονίαν, ὥς οὐχ οἴου τε ὄντος
δίχα τοῦ πάντων ἡγησομένου τοὺς
ἐπικειμένους ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
πολεμικῇ κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν.

But the resemblance between the two accounts stops at this point. Zosimus, on the one hand, goes on in the next sentence to refer curtly to the elevation of Jovian:

καὶ ψήφῳ κοινῇ βασιλεὺς Ἰοβιανὸς ἀναδείκνυται, βαρρωνιανοῦ... παῖς.

and then immediately launches the army back onto its path of retreat. Eunapius, on the other hand, follows up the sentence quoted above with a long description of the army's distress at the emperor's death, using the occasion once again to expatiate on the emperor's virtues. So eulogistic is the tone, so unabashedly pagan in its approach, with

its assertion that the emperor could while still a mortal mingle freely with the incorporeal inhabitants of heaven, that an anonymous Christian appended to the passage an ironic rebuttal.⁴⁵ The eulogy, however, appears to continue in the next four extracts that constitute fragment 24,⁴⁶ where Julian's self-control and his special relationship with the sun are mentioned; and also in fragment 26,⁴⁷ where Eunapius produces an oracle of Julian's apotheosis, and refers vaguely to other sacrifices and prayers performed by the emperor. Thus it would seem that Eunapius devoted considerable space in his account to an extended tribute to the emperor; but that Zosimus was not prepared to interrupt his narrative for this purpose, contenting himself with the comment

... μέχρι τε νυκτὸς μέσης ἄρκέσας ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πόρρω τὴν
Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπωλείας καταστήσας ἐσχάτης.⁴⁸

The views of the historians on the emperor Julian have been treated at some length here not only because they illustrate an important difference in approach between the two, but also because it has sometimes been claimed in the past that Julian was Zosimus' idol and that Zosimus went out of his way to distort his account in Julian's favour.⁴⁹ Such a view is most difficult to reconcile with the evidence presented above. Julian was Eunapius' hero' but to Zosimus he was a far less interesting figure.⁵⁰

Some Omissions of Zosimus

Zosimus is also prone to omit in his epitome the occasional historiographical comment of his source. In such passages Eunapius set forth his ideas on history writing in general, and in particular on his own work.

Fragment 1 is the proem to the first book, and fragment 28 looks like the proem to another.⁵¹ In the former Eunapius expounds at great length his view that chronological details are not an important part of a history, while the second speaks of the need to rely on written sources for periods before one's own lifetime, and the obligation to record contemporary events. It would seem that neither passage inspired Zosimus with the desire to copy it.

Zosimus does not reproduce Eunapius' remarks on Julian's account of his campaigns against the Alamanni.⁵² Naturally he also omits the remarks in fragment 41 which introduced Eunapius' account of the Huns; for Eunapius here states that he was supplementing an earlier account of this tribe while the corresponding chapter in Zosimus which corresponds with this fragment presents the Huns for the first time.⁵³

In like manner Zosimus passes over in silence the material of fragments 73⁵⁴ and 74⁵⁵. Of these the former, which may also be the introduction to a new book,⁵⁶ deals with the necessity of treating incredible events for the sake of a truthful narrative; and the latter explains the

difficulty of obtaining correct information about western affairs.

Zosimus was as uninterested in the details of military policy and practice which his source provided as he was in the latter's conception of the historian's task. He omits Eunapius' maxims on the need for experience and secrecy in strategy (fragment 18.1 and 18.2)⁵⁷ and he ignores Eunapius' criticisms of Valens' strategy in meeting the Goths in 378 rather than allowing them to expend themselves and their provisions.⁵⁸ More noteworthy perhaps, in view of how much space he devoted to the Persian expedition, is the fact that there is no certain parallel between this part of Zosimus' history and the remaining fragments of Eunapius' account (fragments 21 and 22). None of the details mentioned by Eunapius--the wicker shields of the "Parthians",⁵⁹ the scenic games at Ctesiphon,⁶⁰ the abundance of food found in the suburbs of the city⁶¹ and the grumblings of the troops on the retreat--⁶²is mentioned by Zosimus.

But far the largest group consists of the fragments in which Eunapius discusses the sorry state of affairs in his own day.

In fragment 42⁶³ Eunapius launches into a long lament on the destruction caused by the Goths in Thrace and the adjacent areas. For once he restrains his tendency to embellish his language excessively, and the result is a splendid piece of Greek, full of noble pathos which still

has the power to move. But Zosimus reduces all this to a

pair of clauses: ἡ Θράκη τε ἅπασα καὶ ἡ Παιονία καὶ... ἐπληροῦντο
 βαρβάρων τὰ προσπεσόντα ληζομένων; ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Οὐάλης
 ληζομένους ἤδη τὴν Θράκην πᾶσαν τοὺς Σκύθας θεώμενος...⁶⁴

Similarly in fragment 50⁶⁵ Eunapius alludes to the people of Nicopolis in Thrace who in the reign of Theodosius saved themselves from depredation by surrendering to the barbarians. Eunapius comments that those who remained loyal to the government suffered for their fidelity. Zosimus does not mention this, nor does he refer to the anecdote about the tragedian in the reign of Nero whose recitation in a barbarian city was followed by a destructive pestilence (fragment 54).⁶⁶ Eunapius clearly relates the incident to a pestilence in the reign of Theodosius, and while the exact circumstances of this are obscure, it seems possible to conclude from the remark

τὸ δὲ καὶ τινὰς τῶν οὐκ ἀνοήτων πρὸς τοῦτο ὠλισθηκέναι
 οὐκ εἰς φυσικὴν ἄν τις εἰκότως, ἀλλ' εἰς θειοτέρων ἀνεγέγκοι
 κίνησιν, ὥς ποινηλατεῖσθαι σαφῶς τὸ ἄνθρωπινον.

that Eunapius was here speaking of a pestilence sent by heaven as a punishment to men, perhaps for impiety on the part of the government.⁶⁷

Of particular interest are those remarks that reveal the contemporary's pen. Eunapius speaks of the high cost of asses in Theodosius' reign, ending with the assertion that in his own day things had "gone to the

asses".⁶⁸ He tells also how the prefect of Rome, Perses, exhibited tablets in public mocking the ineffectual piety of the emperors.⁶⁹ Finally, in fragment 87⁷⁰ he interrupts his account to digress to the time of Pulcheria's regency and tell how Hierax, the killer of Fravitta, met his end. At the same time he describes at length the prevailing corruption of the day, the simony, peculation and extortion of the provincial governors and the complaisance of the central government. None of these passages finds its way into Zosimus' work.

Zosimus and Eunapius' Narrative

Very few of the fragments give much idea of Eunapius' narrative, and it is accordingly difficult to form a clear impression of Zosimus' manner of dealing with this. The few examples we have, however, show Zosimus substantially abridging his source and sometimes doing so quite incompetently. In the following discussion examples of both good and bad technique will be given.

Fragment 37 tells of the Gothic war that erupted in 366 after the usurper Procopius had requested help from the king of the Goths in his effort to seize the throne from the emperor Valens. The latter managed to surround the barbarians that were sent to Procopius, and after disarming them he had them held under guard. The king's requests for their return met with a decisive rebuff from the emperor.

The fragment which is from the Excerpta de legationibus represents a substantial extract from Eunapius, and Zosimus' version affords some idea of his narrative technique.⁷¹

Zosimus' version of this sequence of events forms an admirable epitome of Eunapius', presenting a similar structure with the same introduction and conclusion. There are several minor divergences which are not difficult to explain. Eunapius says that Valens cut off the Goths' retreat, whereas Zosimus says that he prevented them from advancing; and Zosimus supplies also the detail that the prisoners were distributed to the cities *παρὰ τὸν ἡστρον*. The first divergence seems to be a slip on Zosimus' part, while the second was no doubt an inference from Eunapius' text. The main difference is the pruning away of Eunapius' comments on the high-spiritedness of the Goths, and the omission of comment on the reaction of the Roman people to the physical characteristics of the Gothic prisoners. Apart from these few points Zosimus' epitome is accurate enough.

Fragment 42,⁷² the most substantial part of the History that has survived, describes the flight of the Goths from the Huns, their milling on the far bank of the Danube, their reception into the empire and subsequent treachery and Valens' preparations to meet them in battle. Zosimus preserves the same order of treatment as Eunapius, omitting some of the details such as the discussions at court, the disciplining of the Roman commanders who repelled an initial attack

of the Goths and the long lament on the destruction they caused in the Danubian provinces. Zosimus echoes Eunapius at some points, varying his language slightly:

Fragment 42.⁷³

... καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπιστάντες
χειράς τε ὥρεγον...

... δεχθῆναι κελεύει τοὺς
ἄνδρας τὰ ὅπλα καταθεμένους
...

Zos.4.20.5-6.

... αὐτοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην διαβῆναι τοῦ
Ἰστροῦ καὶ τὰς χειράς ἀνατείναντες...

... δέχεσθαι τούτους Οὐάλης
ἐπέτρεπε πρότερον ἀποθεμένους
τὰ ὅπλα.

Again, his epitome is accurate enough.

Although capable at times of producing a satisfactory epitome of Eunapius, Zosimus did not always manage to do so. Sometimes his version displays serious errors, and often he omits important detail. These points are illustrated by the following passages.

The twelfth fragment deals with the surrender of the Chamavi to Julian.⁷⁴ Eunapius' narrative is very long and involved. It contains several speeches and a great deal of moral comment. Zosimus omits not only the moralisation and speeches⁷⁵ but also the important fact that Julian had a clear, strategic motive in granting the peace treaty, namely to maintain the supply of grain from Britain. Zosimus also calls the Chamavi "Quadi" a most serious lapse on his part. He mentions that it was Charietto who captured the king's

son and thus provided Julian with an ace in the deliberations. Since this detail is not mentioned by Eunapius in this fragment Zosimus may have introduced it from another point in Eunapius' narrative; for it is known that Charietto played a part in Eunapius' account. There is a further divergence from Eunapius here too, in the matter of hostages. According to Eunapius Julian asked only to retain the king's son and "the mother of Nebisgastus", while Zosimus says that he kept the king's son and took also some nobles. Such a minor difference is possibly a mere oversight: it is hardly sufficient to suppose the use of a supplementary source, especially as Zosimus' account of Julian's campaigns is one of the most slipshod sections of his work.⁷⁶

Eunapius describes how Valentinian received embassies sent him on his accession at Nicea. Zosimus, on the other hand omits all reference to Valentinian's dealings with these legations, implying that the emperor stayed in the city only long enough to take command of the army.

Fragment 29.⁷⁷

Ὅτι Βαλεντινιανοῦ ἀνάρρησις
ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας γίνεται
πρεσβεῖαι ὅσαι συνεπεφοιτῇ-
κεσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον...

Zos.3.36.3

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβε τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἐν Νικαίᾳ πόλει τῆς
Βιθυνίας, ἐκέισε παραλαβῶν τὴν
βασιλείαν εἶχετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω προέας.

Near the end of the reign of Valens, at the point where he was turning his attention to the movements of the Goths and the Huns, Eunapius digressed to recall Isaurian

depredations in Asia Minor which, some years before, had resulted in the death of the vicar Musonius. But while Eunapius clearly indicates that the events of this digression took place some years earlier, Zosimus in his epitome merely inserts the story at the same point as Eunapius without comment on the chronology.⁷⁸

Minor Changes and Additions Made by Zosimus

Some of the fragments that have been taken from the Souda are undoubtedly truncated versions of what Eunapius wrote, and this presents a problem to those who attempt to identify Zosimus' additions. The dilemma is evident when one compares the historians' statements about Fravitta.

In fragment 80⁷⁹ Eunapius introduces Fravitta to his account. He mentions first the man's self-discipline which enabled him to master physical infirmity; he then speaks of his successful suppression of banditry, and concludes with the observation that the man was a pagan. Zosimus, in the corresponding part of his account, omits Fravitta's illness and self-discipline but mentions his operations against the bandits and his paganism:

Fragment 80.

ἦν δὲ Ἕλληνας τὴν θρησκείαν.

Zos.5.20.1.

... Ἕλληνα δὲ ἄλλως οὐ
τρόπῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προ-
αίρέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα
θρησκείᾳ.

If the Souda's version is not truncated here then we are faced with a rare case of verbosity on Zosimus' part! But even so, Zosimus' words represent no more than a development of what we read in the lexicon.

Like this, many of the changes which Zosimus can be shown to have made are of a very minor character. His account of the demise of Bargus the sausage-seller agrees closely with that of Eunapius, except that there is a slight difference in the moral drawn:

Fragment 71.⁸⁰

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτὸν μανικώτατον
καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον φρονιμώτατον
<ἀποδείξας> ἔκειτο
μαρτυρῶν ἡλικὸν εἶναι τὸ
τῆς ἀχαριστίας παρὰ θεῶ
ἐγκλήμα.

Zos.5.10.3.

... μεθ' ἧν ἅπαντες θαυμάζοντες
ἄμα καὶ ἀνομνοῦντες τὸν τῆς
Ἀδραστείας ὀφθαλμὸν διέτε-
λεσαν, ὃν οὐχ οἶόν τέ τινα
τῶν ἡσεβηκότων κατὰ τι
λαθεῖν.

A further minor change occurs in Zosimus' version of the quarrel between Eriulphus and Fravitta. The scene is an imperial banquet at which the two men are guests. When violence erupts between them the banquet breaks up. While Eunapius refers to this in the passive:

... διαλύεται μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον ἀτάκτως...

Zosimus attributes it to the emperor.⁸¹

Zosimus also applies a remark that Eunapius intended to refer to one person only, to two. Eunapius seems to have considered only Marcellus as Constantius' henchman in

Gaul, while Zosimus states that both he and Salustius were sent to keep an eye on Julian.

Fragment 8a.⁸²

ὁ οὖν Μάρκελλος κύριος ἦν
τῶν πραγμάτων, ὀνόματος
μόνου καὶ σχήματος τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ
ἔξιστάμενος, τὴν δὲ ἄληθεστ-
έραν αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν μεταχειρισόμενος

Zos.3.2.2.

ὁ Κωνστάντιος... συνεκπέμπει
Μάρκελλον αὐτῷ καὶ Σαλούστιον,
αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν
αὐτόθι καταπιστεύσας διοίκησιν.

Similarly Zosimus seems to have included Bauto in the laudatory remarks which Eunapius reserved for Arbogast.⁸³

In several cases Zosimus appears to add exegetical comments which provide interesting insights into his mind. An example is provided by the historians' comment on the death of the empress Galla:

Fragment 61.⁸⁴

ὁ δὲ Θεοδοσίος τὴν βασίλισσαν
θανοῦσαν ἐπ' ἡματι σχεδόν τι
ἐδάκρυεν· ἀνάγκη γάρ, καὶ
ὁ προκείμενος πόλεμος συν-
εσκίαζεν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τὴν
γυναῖκα πάθος.

Zos.4.57.3-4.

... συμβέβηκε Γάλλαν τὴν
γαμετὴν ἐν ταῖς ὥδισιν αὐταῖς
τελευτῆσαι, σὺν τῷ βρέφει
καὶ τὸν βίον ἀποθεμένην.
ταύτην μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν
νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' ἡματι δακρύσας...

It seems that Zosimus himself saw the allusion since the fact that Eunapius elsewhere quotes Homer without acknowledgement makes it unlikely that the poet's name was mentioned here;⁸⁵ and it is by no means unlikely that Zosimus knew his Homer. It is, however, interesting that the later

historian was moved to explain a reference that was dropped more or less unselfconsciously into the narrative by his source. It may reflect a lower intellectual level on the part of the historian or a difference in the intended reading public.

Two such "notes" of Zosimus on geography are revealing. In fragment 29 Eunapius refers to the city of Nicea as *Νίκαια τῆς Βιθυνίας*.⁸⁶ The phrase is worded in a way that is intended to differentiate between homonymous cities located in different provinces;⁸⁷ for in Eunapius' day there were Niceas also in Corsica and Liguria. In the corresponding passage of Zosimus⁸⁸ we read *Νίκαια πόλις τῆς Βιθυνίας*, "Nicea, a city in Bithynia". In the later writer the differentiating character of the original is lost probably because it is no longer needed. Another geographical explanatory note reveals Zosimus' ignorance.

Fragment 42.⁸⁹

ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θράκη πάσα καὶ
ἡ συνεχὴς αὐτῇ χώρᾳ Μακεδονία
καὶ Θεσσαλία...

Zos.4.20.7.

... ἀλλ' ἡ Θράκη τε ἅπασα
καὶ ἡ Παιονία καὶ τὰ μέχρι
Μακεδονίας καὶ Θετταλίας...

Zosimus regularly uses *Παιονία* for the Roman provinces of the Pannonias whereas in this passage he appears to have in mind the older Greek connotation of the word.⁹⁰ Such confusion is not surprising in one who wrote at a time when Roman control in the Danube provinces had become quite tenuous.

In some quite subtle ways the difference in

terminology between the historians reflects their difference in epochs. In two fragments for which Zosimus provides close parallels Eunapius uses the term βασιλεύς of barbarian kings. In each case Zosimus substitutes the word ἡγούμενος.⁹¹ Zosimus elsewhere uses βασιλεύς for barbarian leaders but he may have felt less happy to do so than his source.⁹²

At one point Zosimus appears to add a comment to a historiographical passage which he copied from Eunapius:

Fragment 9.⁹³

τῆς δὲ στρατείας ταύτης σφοδρότατης
τε ἅμα καὶ κλεινοτάτης τῶν πρὸ
αὐτῆς γενομένων τὴν διήγησιν ἐς
τῆςδε τὴν γραφὴν ἐντείνοντες οὐ
πεισόμεθα ταῦτόν τοις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
δᾶδαι ἀνασχούσιν, ἵνα τι κρυπτόμενον
ἀνεύρωσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἓν ἱκανῶς ἅμα
καὶ συνενθουσιῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καλοῦ
βιβλίδιον ὅλον τῆςδε ἀναθεῖς τῇ
μάχῃ διήλθεν ὁ βασιλικώτατος καὶ
ἐν λόγοις Ἰουλιανός, αὐτοὶ παραβαλ-
ούμεθα καὶ συνεκθήσομεν ἑτέραν
γραφὴν τὰ αὐτὰ σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ
τοῦ μὲν βουλευμένοις τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
ἐκείνου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀνασκο-
εῖν τὸ περὶ τούτων βιβλίον <ἀνα-
γνώσκειν> ἐπιτάξομεν...

Zos.3.2.4.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἄχρι παντὸς
[τέλους Mend.] τοῦ βίου Ἰουλιανῶ
πραχθέντα συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ποιηταῖ
ἐν πολυστίχοις γέγραπται βίβλοις,
εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν συγγεγραφότων
τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἔργων ἐφίκετο·
πάρεστι δὲ τῷ βυλομένῳ συλ-
λαβεῖν ἅπαντα τοῖς λόγοις ἐν-
τυχάνοντι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς
ἐπιστολαῖς, ἀφ' ὧν ἔνεστι μάλιστα
τὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα
τὴν οἰκουμένην περιλαβεῖν. ἐπεὶ
δὲ προσήκει τὴν τάξιν ἡμᾶς μὴ
διασπάσαι τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰρήσεται
καὶ ἡμῖν συντόμως ἕκαστα
κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς, καὶ
μάλιστα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις

αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅσον οὐ πρὸς ἄλληλων | παραλελείφθαι δοκεῖ.
 μειρακιώδη καὶ σοφιστικὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς
 ἱστορικὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀναστήσαι καὶ
 διαπλάσαι τὸν λόγον, ἐπιδραμούμεθα
 τὰ γεγεννημένα, συνάπτοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ ἔχόμενα.

Since each idea that Zosimus expresses here is contained in Eunapius' words also, the final clause καὶ μαλίστα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παραλελείφθαι δοκεῖ must also be taken as an interpretation of what Eunapius was saying when he professed an aim different from other writers, who were concerned with petty details, and different from that of the emperor in his own account. It is surely not a statement of Zosimus' own purpose in writing.⁹⁴

Some "Eunapian" Changes

In this section are discussed those passages into which Zosimus has introduced material which is not found in the corresponding fragment of Eunapius, but which nevertheless appears to have been inspired by what Eunapius said elsewhere.

Eunapius describes in fragment 7a⁹⁵ the hatred of Constantius for Julian when the latter was in Gaul. Since the main account of Julian began in book 2, and since fragment 7a is from the first book, Eunapius must have included an account of Constantius' reign in book 1 and then, at the beginning of the second book covered some of the same

material again when he started to speak of Julian. It appears that he twice dealt with the subject of Constantius' hatred of the Caesar's successes in Gaul, as this subject recurs also in the fourteenth fragment.⁹⁶ Zosimus did not follow this arrangement: he gave only the one account of Constantius and Julian. However, it is interesting to note that Zosimus' words on Constantius' jealousy of the Caesar, which occur at a point in his account which corresponds with Eunapius' second treatment of this subject (viz. fragment 14) in his, bear a very close resemblance to what Eunapius had said in his first book, that is in fragment 7a:

Fragment 7a.

... σχεδὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
ξένα καὶ ποικίλα φερούσῃ τῷ
βασιλεῖ διηγήματα· ἐφ' οἷς
ὁ Κωνσταντῖος δακνόμενος
ἤδη καὶ δυσφορῶν ὑπὸ
φθόνου...

Zos.3.8.3.

... καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος κατορθ-
ωμάτων <ἐν> τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν
ὄντων, δεινῶς ὁ Κωνσταντῖος
συνεστάλη τῷ φθόνῳ. τῇ δὲ
τῶν... πραγμάτων εὐημερία
δακνόμενος...

It may be that Eunapius repeated himself, using similar words; but since such artlessness is unlikely in Eunapius it seems that Zosimus recalled the passage in Eunapius' first book when he was composing his third.⁹⁷

Zosimus' willingness to rearrange the material of his source in minor ways and to introduce thoughts and phrases of a Eunapian character into his epitome at points where Eunapius himself had not used them are demonstrated by

a comparison of the passages devoted by the historians to the rivalry between Rufinus and Stilicho.

Fragment 63.⁹⁸

οὗτος ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου ἦν, βαθυγνώμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ κρυφίνους. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ Στελίων ἐπίτροποι τῶν Θεοδοσίου παίδων. ἄμφω τὰ πάντα συνήρπασον, ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ τὸ κράτος τιθέμενοι, καὶ οὐδεὶς εἶχεν ἴδιον οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ τούτοις ἔδοξε. δίκαι τε ἅπαντα πρὸς τούτοις ἐδικάζοντο, καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ὄχλος τῶν περιθεόντων, εἴ ποῦ τινι χωρίον ὑπάρχει παντομιγῆς τε καὶ εὐκαρπῶν καὶ ὁ δεσπότης εὐθὺς συνήρπαστο, κατηγορίας πεπρασμένης εὐλόγου διὰ τινων ὑφειμένων ἐνηδρευμένης. καὶ ὁ ἀδικούμενος ἠδικοῖτο, τοῦ ἀδικούντος κρίνεντος. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Ρουφίνος ἐχώρησεν ἀμετροκάκου πλεονεξίας, ὥστε καὶ ἀνδράποδα δημόσια ἀπημπολεῖ, καὶ ὅσα δημόσια δικαστήρια Ρουφίνῳ πάντες ἐδικάζον, καὶ ὁ τῶν κολάκων περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος ἦν πολὺς. οἱ δὲ κόλακες χθὲς μὲν καὶ πρῶην δεδρακότες τοῦ καπηλείου καὶ τοῦ τὰ βάρη καλλύνειν καὶ τοῦδαφος κορεῖν, ἄρτι δὲ χλαμύδας τάς τε εὐπαρύφους ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ περόναις χρυσαῖς διαπεπερονημένοι καὶ σφραγίσαι χρυσοδέτοις διεσφιγμένοι. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ Ρουφίνου εὖροι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σαρδικανοῦ Εὐναπίου Χρονογραφίᾳ.

Zos.5.1.1-3.

... δίκαι τε πάντα παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκρίνοντο, καὶ ἀπῆει κεκρατηκῶς ὁ χρημάτων τὴν ψῆφον ὠνούμενος ἢ ἄλλως οἰκειότητι τὴν τοῦ δικάζοντος ἐπισπώμενος εὐνοίαν. κτήματα δὲ ὅσα τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ἐποίει στόμασιν εὐδαίμονας ὀνομάζεσθαι, μετρήει πρὸς τούτους, τῶν μὲν δωρεαῖς θεραπευόντων καὶ τούτῳ τὸ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διαφευγόντων, ἑτέρων δὲ τὰ οἰκεία προεξιμένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἀρχῆς ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ πρίσθαι τῶν πόλεων ὀλεθρον. πάντος δὲ εἰδούς πονηρίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιπολάζοντος, ὁ μὲν ἅπαντα χόθεν πλούτος εἰς τὴν Ρουφίνου καὶ Στελίωνος οἰκίαν εἰσέρρει...

There are two points to be made about the above passages. Firstly, while Eunapius mentions the use of sycophants to spy on the wealthy and trump up charges against them, Zosimus dismisses these in a pair of phrases: τῶν μὲν δωρεαῖς θεραιπυρόντων καὶ τούτῳ τὸ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διαφευγόντων.

But he returns at a later point, when he is dealing with the enmity between Eutropius and Stilicho to make the same charges in a similar way as Eunapius above:

εἴτε γὰρ κτήμα περίβλεπτον ἦν τινὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων, εἰς θατέρου τούτων μετετίθετο δεσποτεῖαν, καὶ χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄργυρου ἅπας ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἔχόντων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔρρει.⁹⁹

It is of course possible that Eunapius simply repeated the charge; but that seems unlikely. The second observation to make on the above passages is that the phrase τῶν πόλεων ὄλεθρος does not occur in Eunapius, although the lexicographer points out that much more abuse of Rufinus was to be found in Eunapius. In any case the idea of the destruction of the cities occurs elsewhere in Eunapius.¹⁰⁰ Finally, it might be noted that Eunapius here makes both Rufinus and Stilicho guardians of the young emperors whereas Zosimus at 5.4.3 makes Stilicho claim this distinction for himself alone. But there is naturally no difficulty in supposing that Eunapius mentioned both claims--one his own, the other that of his subject.

In fragment 47¹⁰¹ Eunapius speaks of the general Sebastian who requested of Valens only two thousand troops

for training, when asked to take over operations against the Visigoths. Both historians describe the scene in much the same terms, but each attributes a slightly different metaphor to Sebastian: Eunapius says: πλήθος δὲ μετακαλεῖν ἔξ ἀναγωγίας δύσκολον· ὀλίγων δὲ ἀρχομένων ἐς τὸ κλόν...

while Zosimus has: παιδαγωγῆσαι δὲ ὀλίγους καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θήλεος ἀναγαγεῖν οὐ σφόδρα δύσκολον...

The metaphor used by Zosimus does not occur in Eunapius here, although Eunapius does use the adjective "masculine" of Valentinian II.¹⁰² This raises an interesting point. Zosimus makes a number of rather depreciatory remarks about women at various points in his work,¹⁰³ and these were considered by one modern scholar as "foreign to a man like Eunapius".¹⁰⁴ But we read in the Vitae sophistarum of Chrysanthius' wife that she τὴν γυναικείαν ὑπερήνευκε φύσιν.¹⁰⁵ It seems likely then that Zosimus' remarks about women as well as his metaphorical use of terms describing the sexes were taken from Eunapius.

A similar minor point may bring this discussion to an end. Eunapius speaks of the quality of mercy in a ruler in a fragment that seems to have formed a part of his account of the punishment of Procopius' followers.¹⁰⁶ He speaks of the ὄγκος of the throne, and although this idea does not enter into Zosimus' discussion of these punishments (4.8) Zosimus uses it a few chapters before of Valens (4.4.1).

Some Apparent Points of Disagreement

This discussion of Zosimus' manner of drawing material from Eunapius concludes with several cases in which Zosimus appears to be at odds with his source.

Both historians tell of Magnus Maximus' use of barbarians in his campaign against Theodosius:

Fragment 58.¹⁰⁷

“Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Μαξίμου
στασιάσαντος καὶ βαρβάρων κατὰ
Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντων φήμη
κατέσχε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὥς οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι στρατὸν ὅτι πλείστον
συλλέγουσι καὶ συλλογισάμενοι
τὸ δεινὸν οἱ βαρβάροι ἐπὶ τὸ
σύνηθες ἀνδράμον σόφισμα, καὶ
κατέδυσαν ἐπὶ τὰς Μακεδονικὰς
λίμνας...

Zos.4.45.3.

...λόγος ἐνέπεσε ταῖς βασιλέως
ἀκοαῖς ὥς οἱ τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς τέλεσιν
ἀναμεμιγμένοι βαρβάροι δωρεῶν
ὑποσχέσει μεγάλων παρὰ Μαξίμου
περὶ προδοσίας ἐδέξαντο λόγους,
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ὥς περίπυστον
γένονε, περὶ τὰ τέλματα καὶ τὰς
ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ λίμνας συνέφυγον,
τοῦ αὐτόθι δάσεσιν ἑαυτοὺς
ἀποκρύπτοντες.

A major difference occurs in what follows. Zosimus goes on to state curtly that διὰ πάσης ἀνάζητούμενοι μηχανῆς κατὰ τὸ πολὺ διεφθάρησαν μέρος, and then proceeds to describe Theodosius' preparations for the campaign against Magnus. When he takes up the subject of the emperor's drive against these barbarians (in chapters 48 and 49) his account centres around a romantic anecdote which highlights the emperor's personal bravery. Eunapius on the other hand launches into a lamentation on the slackness and corruption

of the times and with this the fragment comes to an end. Since Eunapius begins this lamentation with the statement that the empire would have been invincible if the government had opted for war instead of *τροπή*, one is driven to conclude that his version of events differed from that of Zosimus.¹⁰⁸

Zosimus' account consists of two parts, bisected by the story of Maximus' downfall. The first expedition against these bandits occurred at the time of Theodosius' preparations for the war against Maximus in 388, and the second expedition on Theodosius' return from Italy in 391.¹⁰⁹

Zosimus himself implies that the remnants of the bands that survived the first Roman attack utilised Theodosius' absence to harass the people of Macedonia and Thessaly,¹¹⁰ but one would not infer from his narrative a lapse of three years between the two campaigns. But in Eunapius' fuller account of events much may have been made of the sufferings that resulted from these protracted depredations.

Zosimus seems guilty here then of anticipating events. In his brief account it was convenient to portray the two expeditions almost as if they were a single, successful campaign, interrupted by the drive against Magnus Maximus. For Eunapius, however, who lived through these times, the failure of the emperor's first campaign in 388, and the consequent sufferings of Roman subjects, provided a suitable subject for moralising comment.

Eunapius and Zosimus appear at first sight to offer differing versions of the fate of the general Timasius, a victim of the eunuch Eutropius. In fragment 72 Eunapius begins: "Ὅτι ὁ εὐνοῦχος τοῦτον τοσοῦτον ὄντα καὶ τηλικούτον ἐκβαλὼν τοῦ βίου ... and goes on to speak of the demise of the general Abundantius.¹¹¹ It seems very likely that the phrase τοῦτον τοσοῦτον ὄντα refers to Timasius because in Zosimus' account of Eutropius' victims the downfall of Timasius (5.8) preceded that of Abundantius (5.10.5).

Eunapius then seems to say that Timasius was killed while Zosimus says that he was exiled to the Oasis. But the apparent contradiction is not difficult to resolve. As J.B. Bury pointed out, exile to the Oasis was a penalty equivalent to death;¹¹² and Zosimus alleges that neither Timasius nor his son, who endeavoured to rescue him, was ever heard from again.¹¹³ In the light of Zosimus' account Eunapius' ἐκβαλὼν τοῦ βίου has a rather different connotation from what it would have if it stood alone.¹¹⁴

There is no contradiction between the statements of the two historians.

Eunapius says that the first instalment of his History contained a partial account of Alaric's invasion of Greece. The Visigoths were admitted through Thermopylae by:

ἢ τε τῶν τὰ φαῖα ἱμάτια ἔχόντων ἀκωλύτως προσπαρεῖσθόντων
 ἀσέβεια, καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱεροφαντικῶν θεσμῶν παρρηραγεῖς νόμος
 καὶ σύνδεσμος.¹¹⁵

Zosimus attributes the Goths' ability to slip through the pass to complicity on the part of the commander stationed there, Gerontius, and of the proconsul Antiochus.¹¹⁶

Apropos of this passage of Zosimus L. Mendelssohn commented videtur Eunapius quae de monachis Thermopylas aperientibus scripserat /sc. Vitae sophistarum loc. cit./ in Historiarum parte altera...correxisse.¹¹⁷ But there is not necessarily any inconsistency between the two historians. To be sure, Zosimus says nothing about monkish impiety or the breach of hierophantic law. But he mentions the passage through Thermopylae only briefly; and it is quite possible that in condensing a longer narrative in his source he omitted some facts which were of less interest to him than to Eunapius.

This consideration will explain some other cases where inconsistency has been seen between the historians.¹¹⁸ In narrating Julian's revolt against Constantius Eunapius seems to have devoted much attention to the part played by individual conspirators,¹¹⁹ while Zosimus on the other hand speaks vaguely of τῶν ταξιάρχων τινές.¹²⁰ Eunapius seems also to have portrayed Constantine's death, in the History, as divine retribution for his promoting Ablabius,¹²¹ while Zosimus says nothing of this and in fact barely mentions

the emperor's passing.¹²² In neither case, however, does Zosimus' version run counter to what remains of Eunapius' account, and there is therefore no real inconsistency.

Conclusion

The detailed comparison of passages undertaken in the pages above allows some conclusions about the relationship between the two histories. Zosimus' primary aim was to condense Eunapius' material, and in condensing he omitted a great variety of details. He curtailed narrative and reflective passages, he pruned character sketches, he toned down style. Sometimes he abridged well, at other times his epitome was quite incompetent. Zosimus did allow himself to make minor modifications from time to time in the material that he took from Eunapius, and occasionally he introduces to his epitome comments that were not directly suggested to him by the passage which he had before him. But almost all of the changes he made were either inspired by what he had read elsewhere in Eunapius, or they are in the nature of passing comments of the most trivial kind, readily explicable in terms of the difference in time between the two men.

Hence two factors will suffice to explain the majority of variations between the historians: a difference in taste and a difference in time. The former explains Zosimus' simpler style; the latter his lack of interest in people, his lack of involvement with events, as, for

example, the reign of Julian. On the whole it is surprising how few and how slight are the changes that the passage of time moved Zosimus to introduce into his epitome of Eunapius.

Certainly this study provides a strong warning against any tendency to attribute originality to Zosimus. Powerful arguments will be needed to exclude Eunapius as the source of any passages of Zosimus for which we do not have Eunapius' version.

Notes

- ¹ Photius, Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 159-160 Henry.

- ² This is shown by the anonymous note introducing the excerpts from Eunapius in the Excerpta de sententiis (71, 3-11 Boissevain). This seems to be the statement of a man compiling a world history based on excerpts from previous writers. See C. de Boor, "Die νέα ἐκδόσις des Eunapios", RhM 47(1892), 321-323. W.R. Chalmers, "The NEA ἘΚΔΟΣΙΣ of Eunapius' Histories", CQ N. S. 3(1953), 165-170, rejects de Boor's idea that the second edition was not from Eunapius, but accepts de Boor's argument that the selections of Eunapius in the Excerpta were based on a late compilation which included Eunapius among other historians. See also below, Appendix 2.

- ³ The basic study of the relationship between the Souda and the Excerpta was made by C. de Boor, "Suidas und die Konstantinische Exzerptsammlung. I", ByzZ 21(1912), 381-424 and "II", ByzZ 23(1914-1919), 1-127.

- ⁴ On the excerpter's excisions see C. de Boor, "Suidas und die Konstantinische Exzerptsammlung. I", ByzZ 21(1912), 384-386.

- ⁵ For an example of this see below note 9 of this chapter.

- ⁶ It should be noted too that the excerpts in the Excerpta de sententiis seem to preserve the order of treatment in Eunapius' original.

- ⁷ For some examples of this see below Appendix 4, note 11, and below pp.28 ff.

- ⁸ Excerpta de sententiis 91, 10-17 Boissevain.

- ⁹ Since Rufinus would surely have been as much the villain in Eunapius' version as he was in Zosimus', it seems possible that the phrase οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα Θεοδοσίον is a periphrasis designed to obviate the need to introduce yet another proper name into the extract. Moreover, since the aim of the plot was to ensnare Proclus it seems unlikely that mention of his name was reserved for this point in Eunapius' narrative. The phrase Πρόκλον τούτῳ must then be an exegetical note inserted by the excerpter.

- ¹⁰ Souda s.v. Σελευκίς = 4, 337, 3-4 Adler.

This is the only fragment of Eunapius in the Souda which does not, according to Adler, derive from the Excerpta Constantini. The first portion was apparently taken from the Synagoge (cf. Anecdota Graeca edited by L. Bachmann, 1, 363, 11, and other testimonia cited by Adler). The second part is regarded by Adler as a gloss. Now the locust-eating propensities of the Seleucis were commonly remarked upon in antiquity (see, for example, Photius, Bibliotheca codex 223 = 4, 28 Henry, and Hesychius s.v. σελευκίς = 4, 19 Schmidt), and it might therefore be thought dangerous to speculate on the provenance of either part of the Souda's statement. But the phrase χανδὸν λαφύσσον looks very much like Eunapius, for as W.C. Wright said in Philostratus and Eunapius: The Lives of the Sophists (Cambridge, Mass., 1921, repr. 1961), 322, "He...uses poetical and grandiloquent words for the simplest actions, such as eating and drinking." Typical examples are: χανδὸν... ἐνεφορεῖτο τῆς τοιαύτης σοφίας at Vitae sophistarum 91, 14-15 Giangrande and σοφίας ἀρυσσάμενος χανδὸν ibid. 46, 13 Giangrande. The adverb is a favourite one of Eunapius (Vitae sophistarum 42, 15 Giangrande, and locc. citt., and History fg. 16 = Souda s.v. Ἰουλιανός = 2, 643, 8 Adler and fg. 67 = Souda s.v. Χανδόν = 4, 785, 27 Adler) and the verb was in vogue in late prose; see LSJ s.v.

- ¹¹ Excerpta de sententiis 78, 6-11 Boissevain and Souda s.v. Γίγαντῶδης = 1, 524, 28-30 Adler.

- ¹² Souda s.v. Ἀνεῖχεν = 1, 214, 22-24 Adler.

- ¹³ See Appendix 1 below.

- ¹⁴ Souda s.v. Καρίνος = 3, 33, 11-24 Adler.

¹⁵ Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis 1, 195, 22-196, 2 Büttner-Wobst. A parallel version is found in the Excerpta de insidiis 112, 30-31 de Boor. John of Antioch drew heavily on the later chapters of Zosimus' first book, as a comparison of the historians shows. See the remarks of L. Mendelssohn, who gives these passages as chapters 72 and 73 in his edition of Zosimus: Historia nova 53-54.

- ¹⁶ Fg. 47 = Souda s.v. Σεβαστιανός = 4, 332, 20 Adler.

- 17 Fg. 47 = Souda s.v. Σεβαστιανός = 4, 332, 4-22
Adler. Cf. Zosimus 4.23.1.
- 18 See Appendix 1 below.
- 19 Fg. 66 = Souda s.v. Εὐτρόπιος = 2, 475, 26-476, 6 Adler.
- 20 Fg. 67 = Souda s.v. Χανδόν = 4, 785, 27-786, 3 Adler.
- 21 Fg. 69 = Souda s.v. Περισπειραθείς = 4, 108, 29-32 Adler. The last three fragments deal with Eutropius; so also Souda s.v. Δειμαίνει = 2, 30, 26-27 Adler, and perhaps also Souda s.v. Σπάδων = 4, 414, 16-24 Adler. On the last passage see Adler's note *ad loc.*, and C. de Boor, "Georgius Monachus als Quelle des Suidas", Hermes 21(1886), 15, note 1. On Zosimus' account of Eutropius see below pp. 64-67.
- 22 Fg. 70 = Souda s.v. Τιμάσιος = 4, 551, 1-12 Adler.
- 23 Fg. 76 = Souda s.vv. Λέων = 3, 249, 1-5 Adler; Ἀπεστάται = 1, 275, 6-8 Adler; Διηυχενίσετο = 2, 91, 15-17 Adler. Cf. Zosimus 5.14.2.
- 24 Fg. 84 = Souda s.v. Ἀρβαζάκιος = 1, 339, 2-15 Adler. Cf. Zosimus 5.25.3.
- 25 Excerpta de sententiis 87, 1-10 Boissevain.
- 26 Eunapius says in the Vitae sophistarum 22, 18-19 Giangrande that he had treated this matter in the History.
- 27 Zosimus 2.40.3.
- 28 Excerpta de legationibus 593, 32-594, 5 de Boor.
- 29 Souda s.v. Αἰλιανός = 2, 168, 26-169, 3 Adler.

³⁰ Excerpta de sententiis 85, 13-14 Boissevain. The Souda s.v. Μαρκκιανός = 3, 326, 23 Adler gives the added information that he was with Musonius.

³¹ Fg. 45 = Souda s.v. Μουσώνιος = 3, 416, 21-29 Adler; and Excerpta de sententiis 85, 15-86, 4 Boissevain. Cf. Zosimus 4.20.

³² Fg. 77 = Souda s.v. Σουβαρμάχιος = 4, 398, 22-399, 3 Adler.

³³ Fg. 83 = Excerpta de sententiis 99, 17-100, 2 Boissevain.

³⁴ Excerpta de sententiis 76, 14-77, 7 Boissevain.

³⁵ Excerpta de sententiis 71-75 Boissevain.

³⁶ Excerpta de sententiis 77, 24-78, 5 Boissevain.

³⁷ Excerpta de legationibus 593, 20-31 de Boor.

³⁸ See my discussion, below pp. 57-60.

³⁹ Souda s.v. Ίουλιανός = 2, 643, 7-20 Adler.

⁴⁰ Eunapius, History fg. 17 = Souda s.v. Σαλούστιος = 4, 316, 22-29 Adler. This passage confuses information about Salustius and Julian, providing a good example of the conflation of different texts in the lexicon.

⁴¹ Excerpta de sententiis 80, 3-10 Boissevain.

⁴² Excerpta de sententiis 80, 11-16 Boissevain.

⁴³ Zosimus 3.11.5.

⁴⁴ Excerpta de sententiis 80, 30-81, 15 Boissevain.

45 Excerpta de sententiis 81, 16-82, 3 Boissevain.

46 Excerpta de sententiis 82, 4-19 Boissevain.

47 Excerpta de sententiis 82, 20-26 Boissevain. The Souda s.v. Ἰουλιανός = 2, 643, 20-25 Adler introduces the same oracle with the note that this foretold the death of the "sinner" Julian.

48 Zosimus 3.29.1.

49 Two examples will suffice: G. Reinhardt, "Der Perserkrieg des Kaisers Julian", X Jahresbericht des herzoglichen Friedrichs-Realgymnasiums und der Vorschule des Fridericianum für das Schuljahr 1891-1892 (Dessau, 1892), 3 and 9; and L. Dillemann, "Ammien Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre", Syria 38(1961), 121, "Le désir de ne pas ternir la gloire de son héros..." This was an error that I. Reitemeier did not make. See his "Disquisitio in Zosimum eiusque fidem" in Zosimus xxxvii.

50 Zosimus' account of Julian is of course favourable. Some of the fictions no doubt reflect Eunapius' eulogistic pen: the founding of the Constantinopolitan senate (3.11.3); the invention of the helepolis (3.18.2); and the statement that the whole army accompanied the body after his death (3.34.3).

51 Fg. 28 = Excerpta de sententiis 83, 5-9 Boissevain seems to begin a new book, as Mai observed (ap. C. Müller, FHG 4, 26). Fg. 29, which refers to events at the very end of Zosimus' third book, is from the Excerpta de legationibus, hence its position in the order of Eunapius' fragments is debatable. It looks probable that Zosimus began his fourth book where Eunapius also began a new one.

52 Fg. 9 = Excerpta de sententiis 77, 8-23 Boissevain. Zosimus does however refer to Julian's writings, and it may be, as L. Mendelssohn claimed (Historia nova 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 16 and passim) that he had himself looked at some of Julian's writings. Clearly it was Eunapius who inspired him to do so.

53 Excerpta de sententiis 84, 23-85, 12 Boissevain. Cf. Zosimus 4.20.3. See also Appendix 2, below.

- 54 Excerpta de sententiis 93 Boissevain.
- 55 Excerpta de sententiis 94, 1-16 Boissevain.
- 56 So C. Müller, FHG 4, 46.
- 57 Excerpta de sententiis 79, 24-80, 2 Boissevain.
- 58 Fg. 46 = Excerpta de sententiis 86, 5-18 Boissevain.
- 59 Souda s.v. Οἰουίναις = 4, 629, 22-23 Adler. Two other passages in the lexicon referring to Parthian military equipment may be from Eunapius. Souda s.v. Τυλοῦται = 4, 605, 4-5 Adler refers to iron clubs; and Souda s.v. Χάσμασιγ = 4, 792, 18-19 Adler refers to the use of animals' skulls as helmets. The latter may contain a reminiscence of Euripides, Rhesus 209.
- 60 Excerpta de sententiis 80, 17-20 Boissevain. H. Sudhaus, De ratione quae intercedat inter Zosimi et Ammiani de bello a Iuliano imperatore cum Persis gesto relationes (Diss. Bonn, 1870), 83 invites us to compare Zosimus' statement (3.26.1) that Julian halted for five days at Abuzatha. Adler relates two other passages in the Souda to these games: s.v. Ἐθηκεν = 2, 210, 25-26 Adler, and s.v. Πυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες = 1, 547, 9-10 Adler.
- 61 Zosimus 3.27.2-3 refers to the τροφὴ ἄφθονος found by the Romans at Symbra after their withdrawal from Ctesiphon. W.R. Chalmers, "Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition", CQ N. S. 10(1960), 155 plausibly suggests that Eunapius, History fg. 22.3 = Excerpta de sententiis 80, 21-23 Boissevain (ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις κτησιφῶντος ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἦν...) refers to the same incident, and that the topographical difficulty has been caused by the excerpter's interfering with the text.
- 62 Excerpta de sententiis 80, 24-29 Boissevain.
- 63 Excerpta de legationibus 595, 9-597, 28 de Boor. See especially 596, 27ff. for Eunapius' remarks on the ravages of the Goths.

⁶⁴ Zosimus 4.20.7 and 4.22.1.

⁶⁵ Excerpta de sententiis 87, 12-18 Boissevain.

⁶⁶ Excerpta de sententiis 87, 21-89, 4. It is interesting to note that another version of the story refers it to quite a different time (Lucian, Hist. conscr. 1). In the Vitae sophistarum 25, 16-21 Giangrande Eunapius dates an attack on the theatre at Antioch to the time of Constantius, while Ammianus Marcellinus 23.5 relates the same story of Gallienus' reign. On the date see F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, 149-150.

⁶⁷ Cf. Vitae sophistarum 40, 18 Giangrande, where οἱ τοῦτον ἑχόντες = "pagans". Similarly, Zosimus does not refer to the flaunting of their Christianity by barbarian immigrants as a pretext for gaining admission to the empire, as described by Eunapius, History fg. 55 = Excerpta de sententiis 89, 5-29 Boissevain.

⁶⁸ Fg. 56 = Excerpta de sententiis 89, 30-90, 7 Boissevain.

⁶⁹ Fg. 78 = Excerpta de sententiis 96, 20-97, 2 Boissevain.

⁷⁰ Fg. 87 = Excerpta de sententiis 100, 27-102, 18 Boissevain.

⁷¹ Fg. 37 = Excerpta de legationibus 594, 11-595, 8 de Boor. Cf. Zosimus 4.10.1-2.

⁷² Fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 595, 9-597, 28 de Boor. Cf. Zosimus 4.20.5-4.21.1.

⁷³ Ibid. 595, 14-15 and 27.

⁷⁴ Fg. 12 = Excerpta de legationibus 591, 7-593, 19 de Boor.

⁷⁵ D.C. Scavone, "Zosimus and his Historical Models", GRBS 11(1970), 64-67 discusses Zosimus' use of speeches.

⁷⁶ See below pp. 57-60.

⁷⁷ Fg. 29 = Excerpta de legationibus 594, 6-10 de Boor.

⁷⁸ Eunapius, History fg. 45 = Souda s.v. Μουσώνιος = 3, 416, 21-29 Adler and Excerpta de sententiis 85, 15-86, 4 Boissevain. Cf. Zosimus 4.20. These passages will be discussed below pp. 60-63.

⁷⁹ Fg. 80 = Souda s.v. Φράβιθος = 4, 758, 28-759, 6 Adler.

⁸⁰ Excerpta de sententiis 92, 8-23 Boissevain, especially 21ff.

⁸¹ Fg. 60 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 29-599, 7 de Boor and Excerpta de sententiis 91, 18-24 Boissevain. Cf. Zosimus 4.56.3. R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 21 noted a further slight discrepancy at this point. Eunapius attributes the dissension among the Goths to oaths taken before they entered the Roman service (Excerpta de legationibus 598, 2-7 de Boor), while Zosimus speaks of oaths given to the Romans themselves (4.56.2).

⁸² Fg. 8a = Souda s.v. Ἐξιστάμενος = 2, 315, 26-28 Adler.

⁸³ Fg. 53 = Souda s.v. Ἀρβογαστης = 1, 12, 3-11 Adler. Cf. Zosimus 4.33.1-2. Zosimus' eulogy of Arbogast is inserted at an earlier point in the man's career than that of Eunapius.

⁸⁴ Fg. 61 = Souda s.v. Ἐπ' ἡματι = 2, 346, 11-13 Adler.

⁸⁵ For example Vitae sophistarum 7, 18; 7, 19-20; 20, 17-18; 23, 12 Giangrande etc.

86 Fg. 29 = Excerpta de legationibus 594, 6 de Boor.

87 Similarly in the Vitae sophistarum 86, 23-24
Giangrande Eunapius distinguishes from the Antioch in
Syria Ἀντιόχεια... ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἣν νῦν Νίσιβιν
ὀνομάζουσιν.

88 Zosimus 3.36.3.

89 Excerpta de legationibus 597, 4-5 de Boor.

90 R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 20-21 notes Zosimus' error without trying to explain it. I note that in 4.24.3-4 Zosimus also links Macedonia, Thessaly, Moesia and Pannonia as a single geographical area. A similarly ignorant use of the word "Pannonia" seems to occur at 2.45.3. See L. Mendelssohn, Historia nova 102.

91 Eunapius, History fg. 12 = Excerpta de legationibus 591, 9; 21 and passim. Cf. Zosimus who uses ἡγουμένος once (3.7.6) and βασιλεύς once (3.7.7). Eunapius, History 37 = Excerpta de legationibus 594, 14; 27. Cf. Zosimus 4.10.1.

92 Zosimus 3.6.3; 3.13.4; 3.22.5; 3.25.5. It should be noted that in the passages cited in the previous note Eunapius generally qualifies the word βασιλεύς when applied to a barbarian leader; the simple ὁ βασιλεύς is reserved for the emperor. The difference between the historians then is a matter of degree.

93 Excerpta de sententiis 77, 9-23 Boissevain.

94 The connection between these passages was seen by R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 22, and was examined by E. von Borries, "Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians des Abtrünnigen gegen die Germanen", Hermes 27(1892), 203-204. See more recently M.F.A. Brok, De perzische Expeditie van Keizer Julian (Groningen, 1959), 14-15.

95 Fg. 7a = Excerpta de sententiis 75, 30-76, 13 Boissevain.

⁹⁶ Fg. 14.4 = Excerpta de sententiis 78, 28-79, 3
Boissevain.

⁹⁷ On Eunapius' striving for variation see W.R. Chalmers, "The ΝΕΑ 'ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ of Eunapius' Histories", CQ N. S. 3(1953), 169, note 1.

⁹⁸ Fg. 63 = Souda s.v. Ρουφῖνος = 4, 300, 29-301, 15
Adler. Cf. Zosimus 5.1.1.

⁹⁹ Zosimus 5.12.2.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Eunapius, History fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 16-18 de Boor.

¹⁰¹ Fg. 47 = Souda s.v. Σεβαστιανός = 4, 332, 4-22
Adler; Excerpta de sententiis 86, 22-31 Boissevain. Cf.
Zosimus 4.23.2.

¹⁰² History fg. 53 = Souda s.v. Ἀβρογάζης =
1, 12, 9 Adler.

¹⁰³ Zosimus speaks of Zenobia's "manly spirit" (1.39.2); he says that Eusebia surpassed the female φύσις (3.1.2); and he casts doubt on the intellectual level of women (4.47.2, cf. 5.24.2).

¹⁰⁴ R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65 (1972), 283.

¹⁰⁵ 99, 18-19 Giangrande.

¹⁰⁶ History fg. 35 = Excerpta de sententiis 83, 26-32
Boissevain.

¹⁰⁷ Fg. 58 = Excerpta de sententiis 90, 28-91, 9
Boissevain.

108 It was probably this divergence that led L. Mendelssohn to doubt that Eunapius referred here to the same events as Zosimus. See Historia nova 203. Eunapius' testimony has been sometimes overlooked, as for example by E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, Histoire du Bas-Empire 1(Paris etc., 1959), 521.

109 E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, Histoire du Bas-Empire 1(Paris etc., 1959), 194.

110 4.48.1

111 Fg. 72 = Excerpta de sententiis 92, 24-28 Boissevain.

112 J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire 1(2nd ed; London, 1923), 118.

113 5.9.7.

114 But R.T. Ridley, "Eunapius and Zosimus", Helikon 9-10(1969-1970), 591 is not favourable to the idea that Eunapius' phrase is metaphorical.

115 Vitae sophistarum 46, 7-9 Giangrande.

116 5.5.5.

117 Historia nova 222.

118 Cf. R.T. Ridley, "Eunapius and Zosimus", Helikon 9-10(1969-1970), 590-591.

119 History fg. 14.5 = Excerpta de sententiis 79, 4-8 Boissevain; Vitae sophistarum 46-47 Giangrande.

120 Zosimus 3.9. The phrase is at 3.9.1.

121 Vitae sophistarum 22, 13-19 Giangrande.

122 Zosimus 2.39.1.

CHAPTER 2

THE INFLUENCE OF EUNAPIUS ON OTHER PARTS OF ZOSIMUS' NEW HISTORY

nonnulla male omissa, alia
perturbate ac confuse dicta,
passim aliena intermixta, id
quod in iis maxime locis
accidit ubi in religionis
suae superstitiones inciderat.

Reitemeier, Disquisitio xxviii

Introduction

The passages discussed in the previous chapter revealed Zosimus as almost wholly dependent on Eunapius, and suggested that many of the variations that he made from time to time in the material he drew from Eunapius reflected ideas already present in his source. The present chapter will consider how far these conclusions seem to be borne out in those parts of the History where Eunapius was the source, but for which his account fails.

Since this dissertation is concerned above all with the problem of originality on Zosimus' part, this chapter will concentrate on possible changes made by Zosimus in his epitome of Eunapius. First some examples of minor changes will be given, and an effort made to account for these. Then the study will consider the evidence for major divergences from Eunapius. It should be noted here that the passages particularly concerned with the idea of decline are reserved for the next chapter.

Julian's Gallic Campaigns

Some light is thrown on Zosimus' method of epitomising Eunapius by a comparison of the historians' accounts of Julian's Gallic campaigns. The relevant sections are in Zosimus 3.3.1-3.8.2, and Eunapius, History, fragments 9-13. Although little has survived of Eunapius' account, there are several points of contact with Zosimus' narrative. These, together with an analysis of each historian's account, indicate some of the ways in which Zosimus used the material he drew from Eunapius.

Eunapius res ordine narrasse videtur said Mendelssohn, with some justification.¹ The tenth fragment refers to the campaign in 358 against the Salian Franks (and the Chamavi).² Fragment 12 deals with Julian's negotiations with the Chamavi, and the Caesar's need to grant peace for the sake of the grain supply from Britain. Although this fragment is from the Excerpta de legationibus its insertion at this point by C. Müller seems justified.³ Fragment 13 relates an otherwise unknown incident involving the Alamannic king Vadamarius and his son. This should probably, as Müller saw, be dated to 359.⁴

On the other hand, Zosimus' account of the Gallic campaigns is highly condensed and confused. Into his fourth chapter are compressed all of Julian's campaigns against the Alamanni after the battle of Argentoratum, those of 357, 358 and 359. It is probably a telescoping of material,

taken from different parts of Eunapius' narrative, that has caused Zosimus to confuse the chieftains Chnodomarius and Vadomarius, and partly to conflate the capture of the former with the incident involving the son of the latter. It is also interesting to note that this part of Zosimus' narrative is dominated by an anecdote telling how the Caesar disciplined cowardly soldiers in his army.⁵

Immediately after this account of the Alamannic campaigns Zosimus mentions Julian's arrangements for the transport of grain from Britain to Gaul.⁶ Eunapius had referred to this in connection with the negotiations with the Chamavi, who do not enter into Zosimus' account until a later point. This is a further product of careless abridgement. A chronological error in the fifth chapter likewise shows how far Zosimus was unaware of the damage done to his narrative by his casual telescoping of events. In 5.3 he says that when Julian reorganised the grain fleet he had just turned 24. Now at this time Julian was 27.⁷ Since it is surely unlikely that Eunapius did not know the real age of his hero, one must conclude that Zosimus inserted the comment in the wrong context.

The sixth and seventh chapters deal with events of 358. In his account, which seems to agree in general with fragments 10, 11 and 12 of Eunapius, Zosimus has mistakenly substituted the name "Quadi" for "Chamavi". The origin of this confusion, which certainly did not occur in Eunapius,

is to be attributed to careless epitomising of a long section of Eunapius in which would have occurred some references to Constantius' drive against the Quadi and Sarmatae on the Danube, inserted into his account of Julian in Gaul.⁸

Chapter 8, which concludes this part of Zosimus' account, contains some astonishing anachronisms. He begins by referring to the Batavian regiment as ἡ καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δοκεῖ περισώζεσθαι. The statement has obviously been copied directly from Eunapius without any concern about its applicability to Zosimus' own day, when Roman control in Gaul had long since come to an end.⁹ After alluding to the fears of the barbarians who lived beyond the Danube, that Julian might march against them, Zosimus goes on to mention Sapor's attacks on the eastern provinces in 359, but he wrongly dates the siege of Nisibis to this campaign.¹⁰ Did the same error occur in Eunapius? That possibility cannot be excluded. But one can perhaps see a motive for this distortion. The account of the successful defence of Nisibis, coming immediately after that of Julian's pacification of the western provinces, sets the stage for the introduction of the jealous Constantius and his campaign to isolate the young Caesar:

Δοκούντων δὲ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑώραν ἔν ἡσυχίᾳ,
καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος κατορθωμάτων ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων
στόμασιν ὄντων, δεινῶς ὁ Κωνσταντίος συνεστάλη τῷ
φθόνῳ.

The fact that the chronological distortion has a part to play in Zosimus' account, and further the fact that Zosimus has already been seen in these chapters to have committed several errors that did not occur in Eunapius, may tend to favour the view that Zosimus erred here also.

Finally, at 3.8.4 Zosimus repeats what he had already said in 3.5.4 about Constantius' plan to remove troops from Julian's force.

It seems that in this section of his work Zosimus partly abandoned Eunapius' order of events and rearranged his material in a very condensed form. This part of Julian's career was spent in the western provinces which had been lost in Zosimus' day and were thus of less interest to him than to Eunapius.¹²

Musonius

Zosimus seems to have been generally content to adopt the sequence of events he found in Eunapius. Hence the extracts from his work in the Excerpta de sententiis present essentially the same sequence of treatment as Zosimus. The later historian made no effort to rearrange his account when confronted with a digression in which Eunapius introduced something out of strict chronological order. More than this, he sometimes wantonly disregarded the chronology.

Zosimus describes Isaurian depredations as occurring late in the reign of Valens, at about the same time as the

appearance of the Visigoths (ca. 376). Eunapius also speaks of trouble with the Isaurians in his account of this emperor's reign, but he makes it quite clear that the events are dealt with out of chronological sequence.¹³ Eunapius' account seems to refer to an Isaurian inroad dated by Ammianus Marcellinus to 368.¹⁴ The suspicion arises then that all three historians dealt with the same events: Ammianus at the correct point, Eunapius out of sequence, but with a note on the chronology, and Zosimus, like Eunapius, out of sequence but without an explanatory note. Although there are no real points of contact between Eunapius and Zosimus here, the latter, like Ammianus mentions the feebleness of the troops as a factor in the success of the Isaurians:

Ammianus 27.9.6.

... luxurque adiumento militari
marcente...

Zosimus 4.20.2.

... οὕτε διώξει τῶν στρατιωτῶν
δι' ἐκμέλειαν συναμένων...

Is it possible that Zosimus merely overlooked Eunapius' clear note that the incident was treated out of sequence? Such an error would not seem improbable in a historian like Zosimus.¹⁵ But a comparison of the surrounding narratives of Eunapius and Zosimus suggest that more than a simple oversight is present here.

Zosimus 4.20.1-2 (Isaurian troubles) = Eunapius,

History fg. 44 and 45 = Excerpta de sententiis 85, 13-

86, 4 Boissevain. Zosimus 4.20.4-21.1 (Appearance of

Huns and Goths) = Eunapius, History fg. 41 = Excerpta de sententiis 84, 23-85, 12 Boissevain and fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 595, 9-597, 28 de Boor.

Since Zosimus proceeds directly from a discussion of the Huns (Eunapius fg. 41) to the admission of the Goths into the empire (Eunapius fg. 42), it would seem that Müller's arrangement of the fragments is correct. However that may be, the order in the Excerpta de sententiis itself, where the first mention of the Huns and Goths precedes the account of the Isaurian troubles is the reverse of Zosimus' treatment. Now there is no reason to suspect that the excerpter has reversed the order of events. This reversal of treatment was made by Zosimus. It should be noted too that Zosimus' words, in particular the quite tight construction of the narrative, point to design rather than carelessness:

4.20.1 Οὐάλεντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πολλὰὶ πολλαχόθεν περι-
 ειστήκεσαν πολέμων ἐπιφοραί. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἰσαυροί...
 4.20.3 τούτων δὲ ὄντων ἐν τούτοις, φῦλόν τι βάρβαρον τοῦ
 ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεσιν ἐπανέστη...

Zosimus seems to have deliberately rearranged Eunapius' material. The paragraphing in Mendelssohn's text underlines the clear flow of ideas in Zosimus' narrative: chapter 20 flows quite naturally into chapters 21 and 22. Chapter 20 presents the emperor as beset on all sides by military difficulties; chapter 21 narrates a horrid omen that boded ill for the empire, and chapter 22 shows

the empire gaining a slight respite after some initial successful skirmishes with the Goths.

It may well be that in this distortion of events Zosimus was merely taking to its logical conclusion a tendency already visible in Eunapius' narrative at this point. Eunapius implies that there was some common denominator between his account of Musonius and the Isaurian troubles, and the main part of his narrative, which dealt with the Goths:

ἐνταῦθά που τῆς συγγραφῆς ἀφώρισται τὸ πρᾶχθέν, ὅτι τοῖς χρόνοις παρέτεινε καὶ συγκατέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα, ὥστε τοῖς καιροῦ μὴ πολὺ παραλλάττειν ἐς τὸ τέλος τὴν γραφήν.

It would seem then that in describing the depredations of the Goths Eunapius was reminded of earlier troubles with the Isaurians. He was moved to include an account of the latter at this point although he warned the reader that these events were not contemporaneous with those of his main account. Zosimus rearranged the material he took from Eunapius, working it up into a single narrative without indication of the difference in time involved. Zosimus' twentieth chapter maximises the effect of chapter 21 which contains the omen revealing the empire's coming demise.¹⁶

Eutropius

The comparison of Zosimus' account of the eunuch Eutropius with the relevant fragments of Eunapius showed Zosimus to be less interested in abuse of him, although, like his source, he imputes base motives and designs to him.¹⁷ Part of the reason for this difference consists in the differing tastes of the historians; but an analysis of each account suggests that another factor may also be operating here.

It will be convenient to begin with Zosimus. Eutropius is introduced as εἰς τῶν περὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν θεραπείαν εὐνούχων (5.3.2) when his aborting of Rufinus' plot to arrange a marriage for Arcadius is described. The plot is related in a non-committal way, and Eutropius disappears for a few chapters to reemerge as the focal point of chapters 8-12, which recount the story of his eminence. Then, in chapter 18, his downfall is described.

Eutropius enters chapter 8 on a fairly positive note. He was instrumental, Zosimus says, in the demise of Rufinus, κακῶν ἀφορήτων... αἴτιος, and while he used his enemy's fall for personal aggrandizement he honoured his pledge to the man's wife and daughter that they be permitted to go to Jerusalem (8.2). From 8.3 to the end of 10 Zosimus narrates Eutropius' ruthless elimination of rivals at Constantinople: Timasius, Bargus and Abundantius. Although the occasional comment expresses censure of Eutropius here: Εὐτρόπιος δὲ

πάντας... ἐκποδῶν καταστῆσαι βουλόμενος, it is not until 10.4 that Zosimus pauses to condemn him with real vigour:

Μεθύων δὲ ἤδη τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ νέφη τῇ
φαντασίᾳ φέρεσθαι δοκῶν ὁ Εὐτρόπιος... καὶ οὐδὲν
ᾧν καθάπαξ ὁ μὴ χρημάτων αὐτῷ κέρδος ἐπήγεν
ἄγει τοίνυν αὐτὸν... φθόνος τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πλεονεξία.

Chapters 11 and 12 show Eutropius at the peak of his career. His clash with Stilicho produces open enmity between the men, and this provides the subject matter for chapter 12. After this Eutropius drops from sight. His greed is given as the cause of Gainas' resentment, and this gives rise to the account of Gainas which dominates chapters 13 to 22. Eutropius appears only once more, in chapter 18, where his abrupt fall is described. Zosimus' final assessment pays no small tribute to the eunuch:

Εὐτροπίῳ μὲν οὖν ἡ τύχη κατ' ἀμφοτέρω παραλόγως
ἐχρήσατο, πρὸς ὕψος ἄρασα τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον οὐδὲ
εἰς πώποτε τῶν εὐνοούχων ἀνεβιβάσθη, θάνατόν τε
ἐπαγαγούσα διὰ τὸ μῖσος ὃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ πολιτείᾳ
πολεμοῦντες ἔλεγον ἔχειν.

The circumstances surrounding his death, especially the violation of oath on the part of his enemies, contrast unfavourably with Eutropius' own conduct earlier.

Thus Zosimus' account falls into three parts: chapter 3 introduces the eunuch; chapters 8-12 describe the peak of his career; and chapter 18 his fall. In this

little drama Eutropius enters and leaves on a more or less favourable note, while most of the censorious comment is contained in the middle section. While this is admittedly the longest section, it is not necessarily the part of the story that will most affect the reader's view of the man.

There are several indications that Zosimus' account of the eunuch is rather different from that of Eunapius. The fragments of Eunapius give the impression of a very violent picture of the man. The Souda states that πολλὸν καταχέει δαδυσμὸν ὁ ἱστορικὸς τούτου τοῦ εὐνούχου...¹⁸ If, as is most probable, fragments 66 and 69 correspond with the beginning of Zosimus' eighth chapter,¹⁹ then it would seem that Eunapius' attack on the eunuch began at an early point in his account. Moreover, it was observed above that Zosimus reserves for the climax of his account of Eutropius some comments that he seems to have extracted from Eunapius' account of the enmity between Rufinus and Stilicho.²⁰ This last point may tend to support the idea that in these chapters Zosimus departed a little from the path taken by his predecessor.

The portrait of Eutropius in Zosimus is undoubtedly based entirely on Eunapius' material. Eunapius also is the final tribute to the eunuch who may have seemed preferable, if a choice had to be made, to the enemies of the empire. The difference between the accounts seems to lie in the fact that Zosimus' was more moderate and perhaps a little more

dramatic. Whereas Eunapius seems to have heaped abuse on the eunuch from the beginning, and probably only moderated his stance towards the end, Zosimus who could write with a complete text of Eunapius before him knew how the story would end, and was prepared to be a little more generous to the man. It is the generosity of detachment, of course, and that could scarcely be expected in a contemporary.

The Auri Lustralis Collatio

One of the few remarks that Zosimus makes that beyond doubt do not come from Eunapius occurs in the second book, where he is speaking of Constantine. In a chapter devoted to Constantine's fiscal policy, Zosimus bewails the introduction by this emperor of three new taxes--the lustralis collatio, the munus of the praetors and the follis senatorius.²¹ He concludes his remarks on these taxes in this way:

ἐπιμεινέσης γὰρ καὶ μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως
ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἔξαντλουμένου κατὰ βραχὺ τοῦ πλούτου
τῶν πόλεων, ἔρημοι τῶν οἰκούντων αἱ πλείεσται
γεγόνασιν.

The natural interpretation of this passage is to take

ἡ ἀπαίτησις as referring to all three taxes. Hence Zosimus was writing after the abolition of the lustralis collatio, which took place in 498.²²

An attempt has been made to relate Zosimus' remarks on this tax even more closely with this event. F. Paschoud²³ drew attention to a passage in the Panegyricus in imperatorem Anastasium of Procopius of Gaza which treats the deplorable aspects of the tax while praising the emperor for abolishing it:

ἴστε γὰρ... ὡς φόρος τις δυσχερὴς ὥσπερ τι τῶν δεινῶν
ἐκ περιόδου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπετίθετο... Αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
οἰκημάτων γυνάϊκες, ὄνειδος ἀναγκάσιον λαχούσαι τὸν βίον,
οὐδὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν ἐπ' ἀδεΐας ἐκέκτηντο, ἀλλ' ὥνιον
ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕβριν.²⁴

With these comments of Procopius Paschoud compares Zosimus' statement that Constantine did not exempt even whores from the lustralis collatio: οὐδὲ τὰς δυστυχεῖς ἐτάϊρας ἔξω ταύτης ἔσας τῆς εἰσφορᾶς and his view that all three taxes led to the ruin of the cities: ταῖς τοιαύταις εἰσφοραῖς τὰς πόλεις ἐξεδαπάνησεν. The similarity of the first idea is indisputable, of course; but in the case of the second one may doubt whether Procopius' Greek should be taken as implying "que cet impôt est fatal aux villes". Procopius speaks of the tax's "intermittent oppression of the cities", but he does not say anything about ruin or depopulation like Zosimus. The use of the term πόλεις as by Procopius, is in fact a normal manner of referring to the empire in the later Greek writers.²⁵

The reference to the inclusion of the harlots in this tax would be a compelling argument for a close connection between these writers were it not for the fact that it occurs in yet other writers of quite different epochs. Both Cedrenus and Zonaras speak of the tax in terms similar to Procopius and Zosimus.²⁶ Cedrenus was Zonaras' source for this information,²⁷ and his remarks deserve consideration:

Ὁ δὲ χρυσάργυρος τοιοῦτόν τι πρᾶγμα ἦν · πᾶς πενόμενος καὶ...
πᾶσα πόρνη καὶ... συνεισφορὰν ἐποιοῦντο κοινὴν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον...

Cedrenus gives other information, some of it quite mistaken but some facts (notably the embassy of the Jerusalem monks and the *τραγωδία* of Timothy of Gaza which were instrumental in having the tax abolished) which do not occur in either Procopius or Zosimus and therefore represent an independent tradition.

The similarity between the accounts of Procopius and Cedrenus is greater than that between Zosimus' and Procopius'. Both of the former writers mention the tax in connection with its abolition and both praise the emperor for his act.²⁸ Zosimus' remarks on the other hand are motivated by the institution of the levy. Indeed he does not directly mention the abolition; rather he says of all three levies of Constantine that they remained in force "for a long time".

Apart then from the oblique reference to the abolition of the taxes there is nothing in Zosimus 2.38 that might not have come from Eunapius. The latter would surely have dealt with the fiscal policy of an emperor whom he detested. It should be noted also that Libanius, writing at much the same time as Eunapius, mentioned the lustralis collatio.²⁹ The mention of lamentations and instruments of torture is part of the standard stock of *τόποι*, familiar to a rhetorical historian like Eunapius.³⁰ Eunapius also shows concern about the fate of the empire's cities;³¹ and it may be that the mention of whores was customary in connection with the lustralis collatio. It would seem then that the supposition that Eunapius was the source of 2.38 (which would then reflect conventional comment on this tax) provides the most reasonable explanation of the similarity between Zosimus' remarks on the lustralis collatio and those of Procopius and Cedrenus.³²

The Mime and the Pantomime

A.D.E. Cameron and W. Goffart independently came to the conclusion that Zosimus' comments on the theatre constituted an allusion to contemporary events.³³ Zosimus cites the pantomime dance as an example of the evils introduced by the monarchy.³⁴ Twice he alludes to Theodosius' addiction to mimes, and he attributes Stilicho's failure against Alaric to the same cause.³⁵ Both Goffart and Cameron

saw these remarks as referring to the bloody riots that attended the obscure festival τῶν λεγομένων Βρυῶν and had led to the exile of the dancers in 502.³⁶

Goffart comments that "the mime was a live issue in this [scil. Anastasius'] reign." But the mimes had been a live issue throughout the whole empire. In the first and second centuries virtually every emperor had had a hand in exiling or recalling them; some emperors had done both.³⁷ The Historia Augusta and Herodian testify to the interest of such third century emperors as Elagabalus, Aurelian and Carinus.³⁸ In the late empire a considerable literary controversy developed which crossed the lines between Christians and Hellenes.³⁹ Christian sophists from the same city spoke both for and against the mime.⁴⁰

It is quite possible that Zosimus took some of his references to the mime and the theatre from Eunapius. Eunapius is known to have disliked both Theodosius and Stilicho, who, as pointed out above, are singled out by Zosimus for special criticism for their addiction to mimes. The mime had certainly been an issue in Theodosius' day. After disturbances at Antioch this emperor was moved to close the theatre there,⁴¹ and at least one of Theodosius' great contemporaries, the Christian John Chrysostom, inveighed repeatedly against the theatre. It is by no means unlikely then that Eunapius also expressed disapproval of the mimes and pantomime. He is known to have disliked the

theatre. In the Vitae sophistarum he launches into a violent attack on the Dionysia which he held responsible for the death of Socrates. "The Athenians" he says, "would not have condemned him--

... εἰ μὴ μέθη καὶ παραφροσύνη καὶ τὸ τῶν Διονυσίων
τῆς ἐορτῆς καὶ παννυχίδος ἀνειμένον, ὑπὸ γέλωτος καὶ
ὀλιγωρίας καὶ τῶν εὐκόλων καὶ σφαλερῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξευρημένων, πρῶτος Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπὶ
διεφθαρμέναις ψυχαῖς τὸν γέλωτα ἐπεισαγαγὼν καὶ
τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κινήσας ὑπορχήματα, τότε
θέατρον ἀνέπεισεν, ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ σοφίᾳ ψυλλῶν
πηδήματα καταμωκώμενος καὶ νεφελῶν διαγράφων
εἶδη καὶ σχήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κωμῳδίᾳ ληρεῖν
εἶωθεν εἰς γέλωτος κίνησιν.⁴²

The censorious attitude to mirth may remind the reader of Zosimus' *μῆμοι γελοίων*.⁴³

While the comments on Stilicho and Theodosius occur in parts of his account where Eunapius was Zosimus' main source, there is another passage on this subject which is situated near the beginning of the first book where Zosimus may not have been excerpting any particular source. Zosimus is talking about the results of Augustus' introduction of the monarchy which had led to strife lasting up to his own day (μέχρι τοῦδε):

... ὥστε ἐκ τούτου τὰς μὲν πόλεις στάσεων πληροῦσθαι
καὶ ταραχῶν... ἥ τε γὰρ παντόμιμος ὀρχησις ἐν

ἐκείνοις εἰσέχθη τοῖς χρόνοις...⁴⁴

Here may be an original sentiment on Zosimus' part. But is that likely in a historian of such noted lack of originality? Compare the following passages--

Οἱ γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι λυμαινόμενοι ἐκ τούτων [sc. θεάτρα] εἰσὶν· ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν στάσεις καὶ ταραχαί. Οἱ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρχουμένων τρεφόμενοι... οὗτοι μάλιστα εἰσὶν οἱ τοὺς δήμους ἀναρρίπτοντες, οἱ τὰς ταραχὰς ἐμποιοῦντες ταῖς πόλεσι.⁴⁵

μῆμοι δὲ τέρψιν ἀπράγμονα καὶ στάσεως ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιδείκνυνται...⁴⁶

Clearly the view of the mimes as the bringers of στάσεις and ταραχαί to the cities is a recurring theme in rhetorical literature. It may well have occurred also in the writings of Eunapius who was, after all, a most rhetorical historian.

The point has already been made that Zosimus was prepared to copy a phrase like μέχρι τοῦδε without thought as to its applicability to his own day.⁴⁷ Thus its use with reference to factional strife by him will not help to date his work.⁴⁸ It would seem then that Zosimus' references to the mime and the pantomime were taken over from Eunapius.

Constantine

In chapters 30, 31, 32 and 35 of the second book

Zosimus describes the foundation of Constantinople and Constantine's building programme in the new city. At several points he makes comments that appear to bridge the gap between Constantine's time and his own day. Do these comments represent his own additions?

Referring to Constantine's attempt to found a new city near the old site of Troy, Zosimus says that a part of a wall was built--

... ὅπερ ἄχρι τοῦδε ὁρᾶν ἔνεστι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν
ἑλλησπόντον πλέουσιν.⁴⁹

But Sozomen makes a similar comment at a point in his history where he was drawing on Eunapius,⁵⁰ and therefore Zosimus' remark will also have been taken at second hand from this same source.

Zosimus refers to the marble passageways that led out of the old city of Byzantium,⁵¹ the statues of the Dioscuri in the Hippodrome and the grain dole as if with the pen of a contemporary (μέχρι νῦν, ἄχρι τοῦδε).⁵² He also refers to the walls of Theodosius II and the rapid growth of the city in the fourth century which led to the building of houses on piers in the water.⁵³ Now while corroborating information is lacking on the first two, topographical features mentioned above,⁵⁴ it would seem that the only information here that cannot have come from Eunapius is the reference to the city walls. These were begun in 413,⁵⁵ some years after the completion of Eunapius'

first book. Otherwise Eunapius seems a likely source. He writes about Constantinople in several places in the Vitae sophistarum, not always favourably.⁵⁶ The depreciatory tone then of the latter part of chapter 35, with the reference to buildings on piers,⁵⁷ may indicate his acerbic rhetoric.

More interesting in some ways is the section dealing with Constantine's administrative reforms (2.32.2-2.33.2). Zosimus attributes to Constantine a system of four praetorian prefectures whereas in fact the number fluctuated during this emperor's reign. Now in Eunapius' day there operated a three-prefect system, and it seems a priori most unlikely that Eunapius would in his work have described any other system than this. W. Ensslin suggested that Zosimus' account was coloured by the theoretical division of the empire into two in his own day.⁵⁸ Developing this view of Ensslin, F. Paschoud has recently conjectured that Zosimus modified Eunapius' account by splitting the Illyrian prefecture into two, thus arriving at a quadruple division overall.⁵⁹ There is a difficulty with this view, as Paschoud saw, in that Zosimus gives the Pannonias to the East, when they in fact belonged to the West in the later system. This might be due, he thought, to ignorance, or to territorial pretences on the part of the eastern empire.⁶⁰ A greater problem with this view, however, is that it involves supposing an independent development of ideas in a historian who elsewhere consistently refrains from attempting more than a

summary of his source. A plausible alternative is available.

A. Chastagnol pointed out that at the end of the reign of Constantius and at the beginning of that of Julian there existed a system just like that described by Zosimus.⁶¹

It is possible that Eunapius recalled while he was writing about Constantine a system that operated while he was very young, and which he mistakenly believed to have been a legacy of this emperor.

W. Goffart saw a similarity between Zosimus' remarks on the decline of the praetorian prefecture and those of John Lydus.⁶² The latter devoted the third book of his De magistratibus to an account of this magistracy, in the service of which he passed his career. Like Zosimus Lydus saw Constantine as weakening the praetorian prefecture, but except in this very broad sense there is no real similarity between their remarks. Lydus, for example, says nothing about Zosimus' quadruple division of territory, and unlike Zosimus he continues his account of the office's decline down to the time of Justinian.⁶³ He felt that the prefecture was still strong until Arcadius, and that it was not till the time of the emperor Anastasius that the final degradation of this once proud institution took place.⁶⁴ One might ask why Zosimus confined himself to speaking of Constantine if he had sixth century developments in mind. The answer is surely that his remarks on the prefecture like almost everything else in the longest section

of his work were taken over from Eunapius.

The account of Constantine presents the same familiar aspect: it is basically an epitome of Eunapius containing the same kind of anachronistic detail, transcribed from Eunapius, and the same kind of minor and erroneous changes that are visible in other parts of his account.⁶⁵ The only certain insertion on Zosimus' part is the reference to Theodosius' walls, although some other topographical details may also be from Zosimus himself. It may be objected that Zosimus' copious account of Constantine could not have been taken entirely from Eunapius' first book which covered all the emperors from Aurelian to the accession of Julian. The reply to this must be that we do not know how long Eunapius' individual books were; and in any case Eunapius may be suspected of having devoted considerable attention to this emperor whose reign was so significant for the religious history of the later empire.⁶⁶

Julian's Persian Expedition

Mendelssohn's claim that Zosimus' account of Julian's Persian expedition (3.12-3.34) was taken from Magnus of Carrhae has been to date probably the most successful attempt to find evidence of a change of source within the epitome of Eunapius (i.e. Zosimus 1.47-5.25).⁶⁷ Mendelssohn was an extraordinarily gifted scholar, and since his edition of Zosimus is still the standard text, the

praefatio, in which this and other views are proposed, was bound to command great attention. In many ways, however, his theory about these chapters illustrates the great scholar's strengths and weaknesses.

Mendelssohn was led by the similarity between the account of this campaign in Ammianus Marcellinus and that in Zosimus to conclude that both drew on the same source. He rejected the idea of a direct connection between Eunapius and Ammianus on the grounds that the two men were very different in spirit and taste.⁶⁸ And he pointed out that there is no visible connection between the fragments of Eunapius relating to the campaign and the narrative of either Ammianus or Zosimus. He suggested that the common source of the latter two was the account of Magnus of Carrhae, an extract from which, describing the campaign, occurs in Malalas.⁶⁹ The fact that a large part of this extract diverges markedly from the accounts of Zosimus and Ammianus he explained by claiming that Malalas had mistakenly attributed this section to Magnus when in fact it had come from some ecclesiastical writer.⁷⁰ Finally, Mendelssohn declared that Zosimus had already, at an earlier point in chapter three, signaled his intention of changing source (at 3.2.4).

The argument is certainly seductive, and it enjoyed a wide acceptance at one time.⁷¹ But the sophistry whereby Mendelssohn sought to excise much of the extract attributed to Magnus by Malalas,⁷² the dearth of fragments of Eunapius

pertaining to this campaign and the undeniable connection between Zosimus 3.2.4 and Eunapius, History fragment 9,⁷³ are all fatal flaws in the theory, and there does not seem to be anyone nowadays who has written on this problem and who accepts Mendelssohn's theory. The most complete recent survey of the matter concludes that Eunapius was here also Zosimus' source.⁷⁴

Conclusion

What kind of historian was Zosimus? He is the kind of man who convicts himself of total subservience to his sources. His account of Stilicho is uniformly derogatory up to 5.25. Thereafter it takes on a more positive tone, culminating in a subdued tribute in 5.34. At 5.26 Zosimus changed his source and with it his judgement of one of the leading figures in the later part of his history.

This impression of Zosimus as an historian is supported by the passages discussed above which indicate that the conclusions reached in the first chapter of this dissertation will hold good for the whole of Zosimus' epitome of Eunapius. The divergences that have been found here between the historians are all of familiar kinds. There are first of all those which are to be attributed to Zosimus' incompetence. The comparison of the historians' accounts of Julian in Gaul provides abundant evidence of sheer carelessness on Zosimus' part, especially in chronology and in the confusion of names and the telescoping of events. At

another point, however, Zosimus may be suspected of a certain disingenuousness in a chronological error he makes. By dating to Valens' reign Isaurian inroads which had really occurred earlier he heightens the drama of the emperor's military predicament, faced as he was with trouble from the Visigoths in the north. Similarly, Zosimus' account of the eunuch Eutropius seems to have been a little more moderate and dramatic than that of his predecessor. In neither case, however, does Zosimus' account represent more than a minor change in the intensity of Eunapius' interpretation.

None of the passages which have been regarded in the past as wholly or largely Zosimus' own work--the account of the lustralis collatio, of Constantine's building programme and administrative changes, of Julian's Persian expedition--was found to contain more than the odd phrase that cannot have come from Eunapius.

In the words of R. Martin ... statuendum est Zosimum a cap. XLVII lib. I usque ad cap. XXV lib. V praeter Eunapium alium scriptorem non secutum esse.⁷⁵

Notes

- ¹ Historia nova 115.

- ² Excerpta de sententiis 77, 24-78, 4 Boissevain.

- ³ Excerpta de legationibus 591, 7-593, 19 de Boor.
See C. Müller, FHG 4, 17-19. Fg. 11 = Excerpta de sententiis 78, 6-11 Boissevain treats the career of Charietto whose capture of the king's son was decisive in these negotiations (Zosimus 3.7.6).

- ⁴ Excerpta de legationibus 593, 20-31 de Boor. See C. Müller, FHG 4, 19, and O. Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt 4 (Berlin, 1911), 269 and 481.

- ⁵ Zosimus 3.3.4. At 4.9 Zosimus appears to have compressed all of Valentinian's campaigns on the Danube between 365 and 374 into a single campaign. Here again the account is dominated by an anecdote of how the emperor disciplined cowardly soldiers. Eunapius' moralistic purpose is certainly reflected in these stories, but one may doubt if in his account so little attention was paid to other details.

- ⁶ Zosimus 3.5.1-2.

- ⁷ On Julian's age see R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65(1972), 288, note 58.

- ⁸ Perhaps Zosimus' error was due to the fact that Eunapius seems to have treated Constantius' reign twice. See above pp. 33-34.

- ⁹ Perhaps it could be offered in Zosimus' defense that the $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ seems to indicate some reservation about the statement. It should be noted also that at 3.7.2 Zosimus referring to Trier says that "it is the biggest city beyond the Alps".

- ¹⁰ Cf. Zosimus 2.45.2.

¹¹ H. Hecker, "Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Julianus: eine Quellenstudie", Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Kreuznach (1886), 40 proposed to change ἑώαν to ἐσπέραν (a change accepted in principle by L. Mendelssohn, Historia nova 122). This seems to me to miss the point of Zosimus' Greek. Zosimus has just been discussing eastern affairs in chapter 7. The point of the phrase δοκούστων δὲ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑώαν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ is that Constantius' mind was now free from worries about his own sphere of command, and able to develop his jealousy of Julian.

¹² The point is made by H. Hecker, ibid. 17.

¹³ The documentation is given above in chapter 1, note 78.

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 27.9.6-9. See C. Müller, FHG 4, 34. See also note 14a, below p.88.

¹⁵ On Zosimus' chronological inexactitude see R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65(1972), 288-289 and 297-299.

¹⁶ On this omen see below pp. 99-102.

¹⁷ For documentation see above chapter 1, notes 19, 20 and 21.

¹⁸ The lexicographer's remark appears at the end of fragment 66 = Souda s.v. Εὐτρόπιος = 2, 476, 5-6 Adler.

¹⁹ Both fragments of Eunapius appear to correspond to the first sentence of Zosimus 5.8. The first sentence of fg. 66 = Souda s.v. Εὐτρόπιος = 2, 475, 27-30 Adler compares Eutropius with Rufinus, like Zosimus 5.8.1; and fg. 69 = Souda s.v. Περισπειραθεὶς = 4, 108, 29-32 Adler refers to the eunuch's new power, κατεκράτει τῶν βασιλείων, cf. Zosimus loc. cit. τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πραττομένων κύριος ἦν.

20 See above p. 36.

21 Zosimus 2.38.

22 See Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle 22 Wright and T. Nöldecke, "Die Aufhebung des Chrysargyrum durch Anastasius", ByzZ 13(1904), 135.

23 F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, xvi-xvii.

24 Procopius of Gaza, Panegyricus in imperatorem Anastasium 13.

25 I note that Malchus also speaks of the destruction of parts of the empire in terms of the destruction of the cities. See fg. 11 = Excerpta de legationibus 571, 33 de Boor, and fg. 16 = Excerpta de legationibus 574, 32 de Boor. For πόλεις = "the empire" see Zosimus 4.26.9.

26 Cedrenus 1, 627 Bekker; Zonaras 14.3.11-14.

27 See P. Sauerbrei, "De fontibus Zonarae quaestiones selectae", Commentationes philologicae Ienenses 1(1881), 37. A. Chastagnol, "Zosime 2.38 et l'Histoire Auguste", Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964-1965 (Bonn, 1966), 75, note 108 omits Cedrenus from his list of authorities on the raising of the tax.

28 Their source was probably a declamation, perhaps the πραγμῶδία of Timotheus of Gaza. Dionysius of Halicarnasus, De Thucydide 5, 351, 22 Usener-Radermacher refers to Pericles' Epitaphios as a πραγμῶδία.

29 Orationes 46.22 = 3, 389-390 Förster. A Chastagnol, "Zosime 2.38 et l'Histoire Auguste", Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964-1965 (Bonn, 1966), 43 considered Eunapius the source of Zosimus' material, but he felt that Zosimus was influenced by Anastasius' lifting of the tax (ibid. 75-76).

30 Zosimus' remark on the grief caused by this tax ἦν ἰδεῖν... θρήνους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ ὁδουμούς 2.38.2 is similar to the comment he makes on the effects of Theodosius' taxation ἦν ἰδεῖν, εἴ τι διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλικὴν θρωπύαν περι-λελειμμένον ἦν, ἐκφορούμενον... ἦν πᾶσα πόλις καὶ πᾶς ἀγρὸς οἰμωγῆς καὶ θρήνων ἀνάμειστος... 4.32.2-3. The "eye-witness" element probably comes from Eunapius the only one of the two historians who saw the effects of all these taxes.

31 Cf. Eunapius, History fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 16-18 de Boor.

32 It may be convenient to mention here the view of W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 424-426 that Zosimus' attack in this chapter on Constantine for fixing a minimum outlay for the praetorship (2.38.3) reflects his remoteness from the circumstances of the fourth century when aristocrats gladly undertook such burdens. But in the Scriptores Historiae Augustae Aurel. 15.4-6 and Car. 20.4-21.1, the author of which was a contemporary of Eunapius, occur complaints similar to those of Zosimus. On the date of the Scriptores see R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta (London, 1968).

33 A.D.E. Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History", Philologus 113(1969), 108-110; W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 422-423.

34 Zosimus 1.5.4-1.6.1.

35 Zosimus 4.33.4; 4.50.1 (Theodosius); 5.7.2 (Stilicho).

36 The Bryta (or Brytae) are known only from the Excerpta de insidiis 168, 26-34 de Boor (= Malalas fg. 39), and 142, 29-143, 4 de Boor (= John of Antioch fg. 101), and from an entry in the Souda s.v. Μαῖουμας = 3, 308, 31-309, 5 Adler.

37 See E. Wüst, "Mimos", PW 15(1932), 1749-1760, and "Pantomimus", PW 18, 2(1949), 864-869.

38 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aurel. 50, Car. 16, 19; Herodian 5.7.6-7.

39 On this controversy see H. Reich, Der Mimus 1 (Berlin, 1903), 204ff.

40 Choricus of Gaza delivered a still extant speech in defense of the mimes, while his great teacher Procopius of Gaza praised Anastasius' measure against the dancers. See the latter's Panegyricus in imperatorem Anastasium 16.

41 Libanius, Orationes 20.6-20.7 = 2, 424 Förster, 23.26 = 2, 506 Förster; John Chrysostom, Homilia de statu in PG 49, 176.

42 Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum 19,6-14 Giangrande.

43 Zosimus 4.33.4.

44 Zosimus 1.5.4-1.6.1 Cameron's paraphrase of this passage in "The Date of Zosimus' New History", Philologus 113(1969), 108, involved a misunderstanding of the Greek. Cf. F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, 132-133. It should perhaps also be noted that in the same article he confused the two Syrian chroniclers: ibid. 109 - for "John Malalas" read "John of Antioch" and vice versa.

45 John Chrysostom, In Matthaeum homilia 38 (al. 39) in PG 57, 427.

46 Choricus of Gaza, Apologia mimorum 114.

47 Zosimus 1.6.1. See above p.59.

48 In any case, factional strife was common in the sixth century. Justin I exiled the dancers: see Malalas 416-417 Dindorf. For further arguments on Zosimus' date see below Appendix 3.

49 Zosimus 2.30.1.

50 Sozomen 2.3.2. For Sozomen's use of Eunapius here see G. Schoo, "Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos", Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 11(1911), 81. A. Alföldi, "On the Foundation of Constantinople, a Few Notes", JRS 37(1947), 11 rejected the account as legendary.

51 Zosimus 2.30.4. $\delta\iota' \text{ } \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \text{ } \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\ldots$

52 Zosimus 2.31.1, 2.32.1.

53 Zosimus 2.35.2.

54 See R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine (2nd ed; Paris, 1964), 63 and 194.

55 See R. Janin, ibid. 32-33, 265-283.

56 See for example Vitae sophistarum 19, 22-20, 15 Giangrande.

57 This may well be a rhetorical $\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$. I note that Horace complains in a similar tone at Odes 3.1.33-34. F. Paschoud Zosime 1, 236 looks for a cause in natural history.

58 W. Ensslin, "Praefectus praetorio", PW 22(1954), 2429-2430.

59 Zosime 1, 232-233.

60 L. Varady, "Additional Notes on the Problem of the Late Roman Dalmatian Cunei", AAntHung 11(1963), 395 sees Zosimus as reflecting eastern pretences to Illyricum.

61 A. Chastagnol, Le Bas-Empire. Textes choisis (Paris, 1969), 171, note 3.

62 W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 423-424.

63 John Lydus, De magistratibus 3.40ff.

64 Ibid. 3.45-46 and 49.

65 I cannot accept the view of H. Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen 2 (Leipzig, 1897), 168 that Zosimus' picture of Constantine is neither his own nor that of Eunapius, but that he "scheint nur die allgemeine heidnische Vulgata des Orients wiedergegeben zu haben".

66 Cf. Souda s.v. Κωνσταντίνος = 3, 176, 10-11 Adler:
... περὶ οὗ ἐγγράψεν Εὐνάπιος φληνάφους καὶ παρήκα αὐτὰ αἰδοῦ τοῦ
ἀνδρός.

67 Historia nova xxxix-xlvi.

68 quid enim polito Graeco cum hispido milite?
ibid. xl.

69 Malalas 328-332 Dindorf.

70 qui fortasse Domninus fuit, an interesting but unsupported conjecture.

71 For a summary of the literature see F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, xlv-1. Noteworthy were the attempts of W. Klein, "Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus", Klio Beiheft 13 (1914), 58-134 and A. Klotz, "Die Quellen Ammians in der Darstellung von Julians Perserzug", RhM 71 (1916), 461-506 to reconstruct Magnus' account from a comparison of Ammianus, Zosimus, Libanius and Malalas.

72 A particularly convincing refutation of this part of Mendelssohn's argument was made by L. Dillemann, "Ammien Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre", Syria 38 (1961), 122-125.

73 See above pp. 32-33.

- 74 F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, liv-lvi.

It may be convenient to mention here also Zosimus' account of the campaigns between Constantius and Magnentius. A. Olivetti, "Osservazioni sui capitoli 45-53 del libro II di Zosimo e sulla loro probabile fonte", RFIC 43(1915), 321-333 plausibly suggested that the account was derived from the cento of the poetess Petronia Proba. Olivetti did not, however, consider Eunapius' role in the genesis of this passage. It is most probable that he was the intermediary between Proba and Zosimus. See also N.H. Baynes, "A Note of Interrogation", Byzantion 2(1925), 149-15 .

- 75 R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 30.

Additional Note

14a J. Rougé, "L'Histoire Auguste et l'Isaurie au IV siècle", REA 68(1966), 295-296 argues that Zosimus' implied dating (ie ca. 376) should be accepted. But he appears to have overlooked the evidence of Eunapius. So also R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta (London, 1968), 51.

CHAPTER 3

EUNAPIUS AND ZOSIMUS ON THE DECLINE OF ROME

Introduction

This chapter seeks to establish how far Zosimus' ideas about the decline of the empire were taken from Eunapius. In the following pages the passages in which Zosimus broaches this subject will be discussed with a view to determining whether they are from Eunapius or not. The basic premise, demonstrated in the preceding chapters, is that Zosimus has taken virtually all of his material and interpretation from Eunapius, and that therefore it will be necessary to produce convincing arguments to exclude the possibility of Eunapius' authorship in any passage in which Zosimus was abridging his account. An attempt will also be made to determine how far Zosimus' ideas on the decline of the empire have affected other parts of his history in which he was not epitomising Eunapius.

First to be reviewed are two passages in the first two books which Zosimus links together, and which appear to state his aim in writing. Then the other passages, in which he deals with religion and politics, are grouped according to certain common themes. In the concluding sections of the

chapter the theory of decline in Zosimus' work is discussed, and an attempt made to explain its origin.

Palmyra

A key passage in Zosimus' work seems to occur in chapters 57 and 58 of the first book. Zosimus introduces these chapters as a digression from his main narrative, and in so doing he refers the reader back to the proem:

Ἀξιὸν <δε> τὰ συνενεχθέντα πρὸ τῆς Παλμυρηνῶν
καθαίρεσως ἀφηγήσασθαι, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν
ἐπιδρομῇ φαίνομαι ποιησάμενος <,> διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην
ἐν προοιμίῳ μοι πρόθεσιν.¹

But the digression does more than look back to the promise, contained in the last two sentences of the proem, to reveal the history of the empire's decline. It repeats and clarifies that promise:

Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ῥωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς
ἁγιστείας φυλαττομένης τοιαύτη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους
ἀφίκωμαι τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ
βραχὺ βάρβαρω θείσῃ εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρέν,
περιέστη, τὴνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παράστησω τοῦ δυσ-
τυχήματος, καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὡς ἂν οἴός τε ᾧ
παράθῃσμαι τοὺς τὰ συνενεχθέντα μηνύσαντας.²

The first sentence of this passage clearly anticipates the digression on the Secular Games at the beginning of the second book; for there Zosimus repeats the same idea

in much the same language:

τούτων ἁπάντων /sc. the Secular Games/ κατὰ Θεσμὸν ἐπι-
 τελουμένων ἐφυλάττετο μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή...³
 τούτου δὲ μὴ φυλαχθέντος...⁴

The second sentence promises a discussion not only of causes but also of oracles; hence it anticipates those digressions in the later chapters which deal with this subject. Chapters 57 and 58 of the first book then can be seen as providing the key to Zosimus' work, and when taken with the proem and the digressions on the Secular Games and on oracles, as constituting a kind of structural back-bone to the whole work. Accordingly it is essential to determine how far this "structure" is Zosimus' own production.

It will be noticed that Zosimus introduces the central passage in a way that might, at first sight, seem to indicate a change from his main source: a reason is given for the digression and Zosimus lapses into the first person. But this fact is ^{not} compelling, because the introductory formula occurs in at least one other digression which Zosimus copied directly from the source he was epitomising at that point.⁵

In an earlier chapter mention was made of the fact that a part of the digression in 1.57-58, namely the note on the Seleucis bird, was taken from Eunapius.⁶ These birds, with their ominous appearance and devouring of the locusts, play an integral part in the digression. It is difficult to see that they can have played any other part in Eunapius'

history than this. Hence the material in Zosimus' digression is likely to be from Eunapius and probably also the interpretation.

More difficult to decide is the question of whether the cross-references to the proem and to the subsequent parts of the work were also taken directly from Eunapius. Of these, the proem and the oracles will be discussed below, and attention now focused on the passage about the Secular Games.

The Secular Games and the Pontiffs

The account of the Secular Games, which seems to have marked a digression from Zosimus' main narrative, occurs at the end of the lacuna between the first and second books.⁷

L. Mendelssohn considered that this digression was an insertion on Zosimus' part and that it must have been derived from a source other than Eunapius because of the doctrinae veteris illic conspicuae copia et accurata rerum annorumque notitia, which he regarded as inconsistent with Eunapius' authorship.⁸ The judgement is typical of this scholar's attitude to Eunapius.⁹

Eunapius devotes much attention in his proem to refuting the idea that exact chronological reckonings are essential in an historical work:

οἱ δὲ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων, ὥσπερ ἀκλητοὶ μάρτυρες, αὐτομάτως ἐπεισιόντες ἐς ταῦτα [sc. τέλος

ἱστορίας καὶ σκοπὸς ἄριστος] ὠφελοῦσιν οὐδέν.¹⁰

But in this discussion he deals only with the question of how exact a chronological framework is necessary to draw out the true significance of events:

τίς οὖν λόγος πρὸς ἱστορίᾳ τέλος εἶδέναι καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ Ἕλληνες κυνὰς ἐπιτέλλοντος; τί δ' ὄφελος ἦν... κτλ."

He states his own procedure in the conclusion to this long discussion:

... πρὸς τόδε τὸ ἔργον ὥρμησα, τὸ μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀπροσδιόνυσόν τινα ῥῆσιν παραιτησάμενος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ χρόνους, οἱ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι περιγράφονται, κρίνας ἀληθέστερον.¹²

Eunapius was deeply concerned with moral values, and moralisation seems to have been one of the motivating factors in his work. His main quarrel with the chronologers was that all their calculations did not elucidate moral issues. One may wonder then whether Eunapius would eschew οἱ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοί in a digression where they were an integral part of the argument.¹³ Zosimus gives a number of precise dates in the section of his work which was derived from Eunapius.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Aurelius Victor also deplored the non-celebration of the Secular Games.¹⁵ Now Victor computed from the celebration of Philip the Arab which was not mentioned by Zosimus. Nevertheless the similarity of the historians' interpretation is striking.

Victor says: adeo in dies cura minima Romanae urbis. It should be remembered that he flourished not long before the time when Eunapius was writing. Perhaps the later historian was merely adapting to his own purpose a common-place criticism made by pagans of his time.

Eunapius' first book dealt with events from the close of Dexippus' account until the accession of Julian, a span of more than eighty years.¹⁶ The account must have been rather sketchy, as Eunapius himself seems to admit.¹⁷ Would there be room for such a long digression as that on the Secular Games?¹⁸ The answer to this question is that we do not know how long Eunapius' individual books were. They may have been far longer than those of Zosimus. Moreover, Eunapius can be expected to have treated matters of interest to him in some detail. The proem to the first book for example is quite long. It would plainly be improper to see in the length of the digression a serious impediment in the way of attributing it to Eunapius.

In Zosimus' fourth book a digression occurs on the etymology of the word pontifex and the history of the office of pontifex maximus.¹⁹ The digression is motivated by Zosimus' observation that Gratian was the first of the Roman emperors to refuse the title pontifex maximus.²⁰ Zosimus links this sacrilege with the emperor's subsequent assassination on a bridge by the henchmen of the usurper

Magnus Maximus, and this linking of historical events is made by means of a very fine pun. Zosimus reports that one of the priests, piqued at the emperor's refusal, commented:

" εἰ μὴ βούλεται ποντίφεξ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι,
τῶχιστα γενήσεται ποντίφεξ μᾶξιμος."

Now while the second half of the digression points clearly to the pen of a contemporary like Eunapius who no doubt took the story from a malicious but witty friend, it is less clear that he was the source of the antiquarian material in the digression. Mendelssohn was led to believe that Zosimus got the information from elsewhere because a similar passage occurs in Lydus' De mensibus.²¹

We see in both digressions an interest in Roman lore which L. Mendelssohn denied Eunapius and which he, and more recently W. Goffart²² compared to that of John Lydus. But one may wonder whether either scholar has paid sufficient attention in this case to the writings of Eunapius. The historian knew something about the Roman Republic for he alludes to Marius and Sulla in the History.²³ In the Vitae sophistarum occur a few glosses that indicate also that Eunapius had at least some knowledge of the Latin language.²⁴ Clearly a certain decision cannot be made about the origin of either digression in Zosimus; but the balance of probabilities including the consideration of what has above been demonstrated about Zosimus' method of working seems to favour the view that Eunapius was the author of these passages.²⁵

An Oracle and Some Omens²⁶

Chapters 36 and 37 of book 2 form a digression in which Zosimus produces an old oracle prophesying the future greatness of Constantinople. He begins as follows:

Καί μοι πολλάκις ἐπήλθε θαυμάσαι πῶς εἰς τοσοῦτο τῆς
 Βυζαντίων πόλεως ἡύξημένης... πρόρρησις ἐκ Θεῶν
 οὐδεμία... ἀνθρώποις ἐδόθη... πολλάς τε βίβλους
 ἱστορικὰς καὶ χρησμῶν συναγωγὰς ἀνελίσξας, χρόνον
 τε ἐν τῷ περὶ τούτων ἀπορεῖν διαπανήσας, ἐνέτυχον
 μόλις χρησμῶ τινὶ Σιβύλλης...

In chapter 58 of the first book Zosimus promised to produce oracles in the course of his narrative, but there is some suspicion that this passage was largely copied from Eunapius. In the fragments of Eunapius' History there occur two oracles,²⁷ and these may lead us to believe that Zosimus took over from Eunapius the plan of illustrating his theme with oracles.

Of modern scholars R. Martin thought that 2.36-37 was copied from Eunapius,²⁸ but L. Mendelssohn argued that there was no reason to doubt the truth of Zosimus' assertion that he had researched the digression himself.²⁹ More recently F. Paschoud defended Martin's position. It is most unlikely, he observed, that no-one before Zosimus had advanced a pagan version of the fortunes of Constantinople. He comments, "la fortune de Constantinople était un fait

incontestable et très frappant".³⁰ Paschoud's view undoubtedly carries great weight. Even at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries the city had grown enormously. Eunapius himself, writing in the Vitae sophistarum, makes reference to this fact in a passage that may well indicate a first-hand knowledge of the city:

ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου
πλήθος τῶν ὀλκάδων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐξ Ἀσίας ἀπάσης,
Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν συμ-
φερόμενον πλήθος σίτου, κατὰ ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου,
ἐμπλήσαι καὶ κορέσαι τὸν μεθύοντα δύναται δῆμον,
ὃν Κωνσταντῖνος, τὰς ἄλλας χηρώσας πόλεις
ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετέστησε...³¹

With Zosimus'

... εἰς τοσοῦτο τῆς Βυζαντίων πόλεως ἡύξημένης ὥς
μηδεμίαν ἄλλην εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μέγεθος αὐτῇ
παρεβάλλεσθαι...

may be compared Eunapius'

[Λιβάνιος]... ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν διαβαλὼν
ἄρτι παριούσαν εἰς μέγεθος καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν...³²

These passages may suggest that Zosimus' digression on Constantinople's greatness was probably inspired by Eunapius. The difference between the historians' views of the city, so far as any can be detected, lies perhaps in the greater degree of pre-eminence that Zosimus attributes to

Constantinople. For Eunapius Rome was still ἡ μέγιστη
 ῥώμη.³³

The eighteenth chapter of book four is a digression which recounts some untoward omens that followed the death of the emperor Valentinian. There was a thunderbolt at Sirmium, and earthquakes in Crete and Greece caused the destruction of several cities. But the city of Athens was saved by the hierophant Nestorius who was warned of impending disaster in a dream. Placing a statue of Achilles beneath the Athena Parthenos he carried out rites due to both the hero and the goddess, and in this way the city was saved.

Zosimus cites as his authority for the incident a hymn of the philosopher Syrianus. The one clear date in Syrianus' career is that he became Diadochus of the Neoplatonists at Athens in 431/2:³⁴ but there is no reason to think that he was a young man at that time, nor is there any reason to think that the hymn may not have been written within a decade or so of the event. Now since the part of Eunapius' History dealing with this may have been written at any time up to the first decade of the fifth century,³⁵ it is by no means impossible that Eunapius was the intermediary whereby Zosimus learned of the incident.³⁶ Eunapius is known to have been very interested in the Neoplatonists, and omens abound in the pages of the Vitae sophistarum.³⁷

Another miraculous story involving the city of Athens occurs in a digression in the fifth book.³⁸ Zosimus alleges

here that the Gothic host of Alaric was confronted at the city gates by the awesome sight of Athena Promachos and Achilles, arrayed in battle dress, and prepared to defend the city. So great an effect did this have on the Goths that they offered terms and the city was saved. Zosimus concludes with a reference to his previous account of the salvation of Athens. This, and the reference to the same pair of Athena and Achilles, may lead one to suspect that the source once again was Syrianus, via Eunapius.³⁹

Another miracle is connected with the fire which was lit at Constantinople by the supporters of John Chrysostom.⁴⁰ Zosimus refers to the statues of Jupiter and Athena before the senate-house καθ' ὃ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν αὐτὰ θεάσασθαι σχήματα which escaped the general conflagration:

ὅπερ ἅπασιν τοῖς χαριεστέροις ἀμείνους ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει
 δέδωκεν ἔχειν ἐλπίδας, ὥς εἴ τῶν θεῶν τούτων
 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ βουλομένων προνοίας.
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, πάντα προΐτω.

Since a passage in a later work seems to confirm the survival of these statues to a later date, one cannot convict Zosimus here of the kind of anachronism that he makes elsewhere.⁴¹

But the story must surely be based on contemporary comment and the mention of πρόνοια seems to point to Eunapius.⁴²

The omens and the oracle reviewed thus far seem to have been lifted directly out of Eunapius' text. But there remains one which cannot have been thus taken from Eunapius.

A grisly anecdote is related in the fourth book. The army of the emperor Valens, on its fateful march north to confront the Goths, came upon the mutilated body of a man. The victim's face gave signs of life, but no answer was forthcoming to questions put even by the emperor himself. Eventually the body disappeared, and the portent was interpreted by the experts as meaning that the Roman empire would suffer torture and ultimate destruction.⁴³

A clue to this anecdote is provided by an analysis of the narrative in which it occurs. Zosimus, after describing how word of the Gothic devastations in the north reached Valens at Antioch, continues:

ὁ δὲ τὰ πρὸς Πέρσας ὡς ἐνῆν διαθέμενος, ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἀντιοχείας διαδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἦει,
κάντεϋθεν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐχώρει, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτομόλους
Σκύθας ἀγωνισόμενος πόλεμον. ἐξιόντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τέρας ὤφθη τοιόνδε.
ἀνθρώπου τι σκῆνος ἐφάνη...⁴⁴

He then goes on to narrate the omen as described above, concluding with the promise to reveal the course of the empire's destruction in his narrative. Then, in the very next sentence, he takes the reader back to Valens:

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Οὐάλης ληξομένους ἤδη τὴν Θράκην
πάσαν τοὺς Σκύθας Θεώμενος, ἐγνώ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
ἐώας σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι μεθ'
ἵππων ἐμπειροτάτους τῇ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἵππῳ πρότερον

ἐπιπέμψαι⁴⁵

There is a contradiction between that which introduces the omen and that which follows. In the former passage Valens is portrayed as having left the city, but it is implied that he is still there in the narrative which follows.⁴⁶ That this confusion is Zosimus', and not that of Eunapius, is clear from a comparison with the corresponding fragment of Eunapius. Concluding an account of the Gothic inroad which differs from Zosimus' mainly in its greater elaboration of details, Eunapius says:

βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἐπύθετο τῶν ἀδιηγήτων κακῶν,
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας ἀναγκάϊαν εἰρήνην συνθέμενος,
ἐαυτῷ δὲ πολεμήσας ἐπὶ μεταγνώσει τῆς ὑποδοχῆς,
τῷ θυμῷ τε ὑπερέξεσε καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἐντεινὼν ἑαυτὸν προκαταπέμπει τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἵππικόν
ὡς ἀντισχῆσον τοῖς βαρβάροις. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὴν
κωνσταντινούπολιν κατέτρυχον...⁴⁷

Eunapius was beyond doubt Zosimus' immediate source for all of these events, and the main difference between the two versions is Zosimus' portent, and the confusion of the surrounding narrative. This confusion must be attributed to the fact that the portent was introduced at this point into his epitome of Eunapius.

It remains to decide whether Zosimus found the anecdote in another source, and interpolated it into a narrative mainly drawn from Eunapius, or whether this is not

rather another example of Zosimus' re-arranging material taken from Eunapius. It may well have been that Eunapius mentioned the incident at the appropriate place, some time after the initial skirmish with the Saracens, and that Zosimus telescoped events. In the absence of a compelling reason why the anecdote may not have been from Eunapius, the latter conclusion must prevail.⁴⁸

The fragments of Eunapius' History present no miraculous stories. But marvellous tales abound in the Vitae sophistarum. Iamblichus, for example is said to have conjured two youths from the spring at Gadara in Syria.

Commenting on this story Eunapius says:

ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ δοξότερα καὶ τερατωδέστερα, ἐγὼ δὲ
τούτων ἀνέγραφον οὐδέν, σφαλερόν τι καὶ θεομισῆς πρᾶγμα
ἡγούμενος εἰς συγγραφὴν στάσιμον καὶ πεπηγυῖαν ἐπεισ-
άγειν ἄκοήν διεφθαρμένην καὶ ῥέουσάν.⁴⁹

Eunapius objected in principle only to the more extreme miracle-stories. Hence his History probably provided the source for all of the material treated above.

One modern scholar feels that Zosimus was much less attached to paganism than his predecessors in the fourth century.⁵⁰ One may readily admit Zosimus' almost legalistic insistence on the performance of the traditional ritual, and if one compares the New History with Eunapius' Vitae sophistarum one misses the earlier writer's emotional involvement with the pagan cults. This is of course partly

due to the difference in the times at which the men wrote; for during the sixth century paganism vanished almost completely.⁵¹ One might however ask whether considerations of genre would not have made Eunapius much less ready to mention his own beliefs in his History than in the Vitae sophistarum. It should be noted too that the same scholar who pointed to Zosimus' coolness in religious matters also admitted that some fourth century pagans were, like Zosimus, more interested in "principle than piety".⁵²

Zosimus on the Monks

The mention of the word "monks" in the fifth book produces a short but vitriolic explanatory note:

οὗτοι δὲ γάμοις τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ἀπαγορεύουσι, συστήματα δὲ πολυάνθρωπα κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πληροῦσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀγάμων, οὔτε πρὸς πόλεμον οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ χρεῖαν ἀναγκάζειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πλὴν ὅτι προϊόντες ὁδῷ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὑκείωσαντο, προφάσει τοῦ μεταδιδόναι πάντων πτωχοῖς πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν πτωχοὺς καταστήσαντες.⁵³

At first sight the passage might seem to date to the sixth century, when the orders had attracted large numbers of recruits and secured extensive land grants. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that Eunapius was the source of the outburst. In the Vitae sophistarum he bitterly attacked

the monks, blaming them for Alaric's entry into the southern part of Greece.⁵⁴

The Army

In his long and highly critical account of the reign of Constantine Zosimus devotes a chapter to the emperor's military reforms. He concludes this chapter with the following remarks:

... καὶ ταῖς ἀνειμέναις τῶν πόλεων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ἐπέθηκε λύμην, δὶ' ἣν ἤδη πλείσται
γεγόνασιν ἔρημοι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκδόντας
ἑαυτοὺς Θεάτρους καὶ τρυφαῖς ἐμαλάκισε, καὶ
ἅπλῳς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἄχρι τοῦδε τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀπωλείας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ σπέρματα
δέδωκε.⁵⁵

Of the two ideas expressed here, the destruction of the cities and the corrupting influence of the theatre, the former occurs in the fragments of the History,⁵⁶ and the latter in the Vitae sophistarum.⁵⁷ It may well be then that some such remarks as these occurred also in Eunapius' narrative of Constantine.

In concluding his description of the disastrous Roman retreat from Persia after Julian's death, Zosimus pauses in melancholy reflection. He laments the unprecedented cession of lands to a hostile power, and the words that he uses can recall the remarks made by Ammianus Marcellinus

when he reached the same point in his narrative:

Ammianus 25.9.9.

Numquam enim ab urbis ortu
inveniri potest annalibus replic-
atis (ut arbitror), terrarum
pars ulla nostrarum ab imp-
eratore vel consule hosti concessa

Zosimus 3.32.1.

... ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνωτάτω μοι χρένους
ἐπῆλθεν ἀναδραμεῖν, καὶ ζητῆσαι,
εἴ ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν αὐτοῦ τι
κτηθέντων ἑτέροις ὑπέστησαν παρα-
δοῦναι...

Since a similar passage occurs also in Eutropius,⁵⁸ the ideas involved may be said to reflect contemporary comment, and would surely have occurred also in Eunapius.⁵⁹ Indeed Eunapius' hero-worship of Julian seems reflected in the remark of the normally far cooler Zosimus:

μονὴ δὲ ἡ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τελευταίη πρὸς τὴν
τούτων ἀπώλειαν ἤρκεσεν, ὥστε ἄχρι τοῦδε μηδὲν
δυνήθῃναι τούτων τοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλέας ἀναλαβεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπολέσαι κατὰ βραχὺ τὰ πλείονα τῶν ἔθνων...⁶⁰

The observation that in 3.32 Zosimus was imitating Eunapius may help to explain why his chapters on the Persian expedition, while not from a different source than the rest of his narrative about Julian, do seem to mark a change in his technique as an epitomator in this part of his work. It would seem that Zosimus gave much greater attention proportionally to the account of the Persian expedition than either Ammianus Marcellinus or Eunapius. In Zosimus the expedition dominates his account of Julian, whereas in Ammianus and apparently also in Eunapius it was dwarfed by

the Gallic campaigns. These observations can be shown in a table:⁶¹

	Julian's early career	The Persian campaign
Eunapius	7 pages (Müller)	3½ pages (Müller)
Ammianus	8 books	2 books
Zosimus	11 chapters	21 chapters

Since we are relying on indirect excerpts from Eunapius the figures attributed to him are not exact; but it is surely most unlikely that his account of the last phase of Julian's career was twice as long as that of the early years.

What is the reason for Zosimus' comparatively greater interest in the Persian expedition? That is partly a matter of neglecting the far western provinces, lost in Zosimus' own day. One might also speculate that Zosimus was moved by problems on the eastern frontier in his own day (whenever that was) to show more attention to this campaign. But the lack of certain references to contemporary events makes this idea unattractive. More likely, it was a development of Eunapius' own view that the demise of this expedition marked a decisive turning-point in Roman fortunes. Zosimus may have seen a proportionately more detailed account of this part of Julian's career as a means of emphasising his source's viewpoint.

Perhaps then this is a further example of Zosimus' tendency to improve upon his predecessor. But even here Zosimus exhibits his usual incompetence: and we miss in his account any mention of Julian's deliberations before Ctesiphon.

Religion and Military Debacle

At several points Zosimus connects the abandonment of pagan ritual and the empire's military difficulties,⁶² and this connection of ideas in each case seems responsible for doing damage to his narrative. We begin with an example from the reign of Constantine, and then look at several in the reign of Theodosius.

The connection of sacrilege and military disaster seems responsible for the rather odd sequence of ideas in 2.31. This chapter forms a part of Zosimus' description of the new Rome built by Constantine in the east. From a general description in chapter 30 of the new city's topography Zosimus proceeds to discuss individual buildings in 31, including various cult statues which Constantine set up near these. After expressing his outrage that Constantine would dare to change the pose of the statue of Rhea:

φασὶν δὲ ὡς καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἑλωβήσατο
ῥαθυμίαν...

Zosimus briefly mentions the statue of Tyche and the houses built for senators, and concludes the chapter by asserting:

... διετέλεσεν πόλεμον οὐδένα κατωρθώκως. ἐπελθόντων δὲ Θαιφάλων, Σκυθικοῦ γένους, ἵππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔντετάξατο τούτοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβαλὼν καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος αὐτοῦς ληζομένους ἰδὼν ἀγαπητῶς ἱποδρᾶς διεσώθη. (32) Μείνας δὲ ἀπόλεμος καὶ τρυφῇ τὸν βίον ἐκδούς...

While the material for the chapter was no doubt taken from Eunapius, and perhaps also the ideas, the confused arrangement, and in particular the juxtaposition of ideas and events may well be Zosimus' own work.

Chronological confusion is apparent at many points in the account of Theodosius' reign. Here are some examples corresponding in some ways with the passage on Constantine just discussed.

In 4.25-27 Zosimus introduces the reign of Theodosius, after telling in the last sentence of chapter 24 how Gratian appointed the new emperor. Chapters 25 and 26 describe dangerous military threats which were averted by the cunning of the emperor's commanders. In 25 Zosimus speaks of an invasion of Thrace by Goths and Taifali which was aborted by the stratagem of the Gothic deserter Modares, and in 26 he tells how Gothic hostages stationed in various cities in the east were massacred by the Romans in the aftermath of Adrianople. Both of these events are placed before the accession of Theodosius by Ammianus Marcellinus.⁶³

Beginning chapter 27 with the words:

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἑώραν καὶ Θράκην συμπέσόντα
ἐλαττώματα τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγχινοσίᾳ ταύτην ἔδχε
τὴν τελευτήν.

he launches into a long attack on Theodosius. The first subject for abuse is the emperor's administrative reforms. The implication is that these were carried out at the beginning of the reign, whereas other evidence in Zosimus places them near the middle (ca. 387-388).⁶⁴ Zosimus goes on to revile the emperor's extravagance, and concludes with a gloomy picture of the empire's decay.

The account has a certain dramatic unity. In chapter 24 the new emperor is presented to us; chapters 25 and 26 show the military perils of the empire which is saved by the emperor's generals; in 27 and 28 the emperor comes to the front, to be portrayed as a debauched monster; and 29 provides a suitably gloomy conclusion to the section.

Zosimus dates Theodosius' drive against the pagans to the early part of his reign instead of the correct date in 391-392.⁶⁵ This emerges from a study of the passage, 4.33-4.34 in which he mentions the emperor's religious measures. In 4.33.2-3 he criticises Theodosius' policy of accepting barbarian deserters into the Roman army, even after they had shown themselves quite unreliable. He passes in 33.4 to general criticisms of the corruption and depravity of Theodosius' reign, and finishes by saying:

ἔτι τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Θεῶν εἶδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπολιόρκει
 πόλιν καὶ χώραν, κίνδυνός τε πᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο τοῖς
 νομίζουσιν εἶναι Θεοῦ...

Taking up the narrative again as if after a digression chapter 34 begins with a familiar formula of Zosimus that seems to indicate a meddling with chronology:

Θεοδοσίου τοίνυν ὄντος ἐν τούτοις...⁶⁶

A further example consists in a doublet in the fourth book which provides a most interesting insight into Zosimus' technique as an epitomator. The passage, which consists of chapters 35 to 39, may be analysed as follows:

- 4.35.1. Promotus defeats a barbarian flotilla on the Danube.
- 4.35.2-6. The revolt of Magnus Maximus.
- 4.36. Digression on the pontiffs.
- 4.37. Theodosius recognises Magnus Maximus; closure of the temples.
- 4.38-39. Detailed description of events mentioned in 4.35.1.

The same event is mentioned twice, and in each case it serves a different purpose. At 35.1 Promotus' victory is part of a rise in Theodosius' fortunes as emperor:

Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος οὕτω πως ἔδοξεν
 ἰᾶσθαι τὰ ἐλαττώματα

In the second case the account, even though it describes a Roman victory, illustrates the historian's pessimism, which is clearly expressed at the beginning:

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου [the closing of the temples] μέχρι
 τοῦδε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείᾳ συμβάντα δείξει τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἢ κατὰ μέρος ἀφήγησις.⁶⁷

Zosimus' pessimism is also expressed at the end of the account where he criticises the emperor's generous treatment of Gothic prisoners, and his plan to use these in the war against Maximus.⁶⁸

In the absence of Eunapius' account it must in the final analysis remain uncertain as to whether the chronological errors and doublets in Zosimus' account are his own work or that of his source.⁶⁹ Eunapius professed himself contemptuous of chronology, and asserted that his account would be based on reigns rather than years. But where Zosimus' account can be compared with his one is generally struck by the greater accuracy of the earlier historian and the slovenly technique of his successor.

Eunapius was a contemporary of Theodosius: he had lived through the emperor's reign and was in a position to write of events at first hand. Is it probable that he misplaced important events as often and as completely as Zosimus' epitome suggests? That seems unlikely because Eunapius shows himself elsewhere concerned with presenting events in their true sequence.⁷⁰

The origin of the multitudinous confusions in Zosimus' account of this reign probably lies in the historian's tendency at times to telescope events when confronted

with a long narrative. Another tendency, noted above, to take to their logical conclusion any interpretations and ideas placed on events by Eunapius may be suspected of operating here also. If Eunapius connected Theodosius' impiety with the empire's military troubles, one would expect Zosimus to press home the point in any way he felt possible. It was shown above that Zosimus was at times prepared to redraft Eunapius' material when it suited his purpose. It is quite probable that such redrafting on a large scale was responsible for producing a narrative of Theodosius' reign that one might be tempted to dub "impressionistic".

Zosimus and Eunapius on the Decline of the Empire

At several points in his history Zosimus pauses to reflect upon the decline of the empire. Concluding his remarks on Jovian's shameful treaty with the Persians, he alleges that the result of the emperor's concessions was--

... προσαπολέσαι κατὰ βραχὺ τὰ πλείονα τῶν
ἔθνων, τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα γεγονότα, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις
ἐκδεδομένα, τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν πολλὴν περι-
στάντα.⁷¹

Later he states that Theodosius' refusal to continue state subsidy of the pagan cults was the immediate cause of the empire's territorial losses:

... ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ μέρος ἐλαττωθεῖσα

βαρβάρων οἰκητήριον γέγονεν, ἣ καὶ τέλος ἐκπεσ-
 οῦσα τῶν οἰκητόρων εἰς τοῦτο κατέστη σχήματος
 ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς γέγονασιν αἱ πόλεις
 ἐπιγινώσκειν.

Similar remarks are to be found in some of the passages which have already been discussed above. Most scholars have regarded these comments as Zosimus' own contribution to pagan historiography and have felt that they indicated a date in the latter half of the fifth century, at the earliest.⁷³

It is to be observed that Zosimus' pessimism is expressed in very general terms. Though we hear much of the destruction of cities and the barbarisation of provinces Zosimus provides neither names nor dates.⁷⁴ One would not of course quarrel with the view that all of his remarks are consistent with a date in the sixth century, but one may wonder whether the tendency to overlook a possible earlier origin for these ideas has not been due to the doubtful benefit of hindsight.

Eunapius lived through the crucial forty years after the battle of Adrianople. During this time the Visigoths established themselves as the permanent, wandering guests of the empire, cutting a fearful swathe of destruction through the Danube provinces, Greece, Italy, Gaul and Spain. In the first decade of the fifth century the Vandals crossed the Rhine and proceeded towards the south of Spain. Britain was all but abandoned. So severe was the disruption at this

time that Eunapius complains of poor communications with the West.⁷⁵

Eunapius' works are replete with pessimistic comments. His lamentation on the destruction caused by the Goths in the north culminates in the following:

πόλεις γοῦν εὐαρίθμητοι καὶ ὀλίγαι τινὲς διεσώθησαν
καὶ ἔτι σώζονται τειχῶν ἔνεκεν καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων.
ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπανάλωται, καὶ
ἔστιν ἀοίκητον καὶ ἄβατον διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.⁷⁶

Here is a passage that might have inspired Zosimus' repeated remarks about the destruction of the cities.

A venomous denunciation of the emperor Theodosius ends with the remark:

ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος ἐκινδύνευσεν ὅλος ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὄνοις σαλεύειν,⁷⁷

An obscure calamity in Theodosius' reign showed that mankind was "beset by the furies";⁷⁸ and it may be to the same emperor's reign that Eunapius referred when he spoke of how people welcomed barbarian inroads.⁷⁹

Another fragment deals with a certain Perses, a prefect of Rome, who made public mockery of the Roman government by exhibiting some tablets in the Circus:

ἀνδρείαν μὲν γὰρ βασιλέως ἢ ῥώμην στρατιωτῶν ἢ
πόλεμον ἐμφανῇ καὶ νόμιμον οὐδαμοῦ τὰ γραφέντα
παρεδῆλου καὶ συνηνίττετο· χειρὸς δέ τις ὥς ἂν

ἐκ νεφῶν προτεινομένης ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τῇ χειρί. "Θεοῦ
 χεὶρ ἐλαύνουσα τοὺς βαρβάρους.⁸⁰

Eunapius' comment is ἀίσχρὸν τοῦτο καταγράφειν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον.

The prophecies of the pagan Antoninus characterise
 the prevailing gloom of the Vitae sophistarum:

... ὡς μετ' ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔτι τὸ ἱερὸν ἔσοιτο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἅγια τοῦ Σεράπιδος ἱερὰ πρὸς
 τὸ σκοτοειδὲς καὶ ἄμορφον χωρήσει καὶ μεταβληθ-
 ῆσεται, καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ ἀειδὲς σκότος τυρανν-
 ῆσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλιστα. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἀπήλεγξεν
 ἅπαντα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμά γε εἰς χρησμοῦ συνετελέσθη
 βίαν.⁸¹

In the same work Eunapius expressed his heartfelt sorrow at
 the destruction of Greece by the Goths,⁸² and more than once
 he referred to the troubled time in which he lived.⁸³

Libanius was moved by the death of Julian to expect
 the imminent collapse of the empire.⁸⁴ Speaking of the fate-
 ful battle of Adrianople Ammianus says: Negant antiquitatum
ignari tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse
republicam.⁸⁵ Did Eunapius see the significance of this
 battle for the empire's fortunes? And if so when did the
 empire's decline become apparent to him? The main problem
 in discussing Eunapius' view of the time in which he lived
 is that we do not know when he began writing his History.
 A remark attributed to Julian--

"Σκύθαι δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσιν, ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεμήσουσιν." ⁸⁶

shows that the account of this emperor was probably written after Adrianople, and it indicates also that the early part of the History was not without some dark presentiment, even though it was largely devoted to praising Julian. But this only provides a terminus post quem, and since the terminus ante quem for the part of the History dealing with events up to 396 is the uncertain date of the Vitae sophistarum (before 414) it is quite possible that Eunapius did not begin composition of his work until well into Arcadius' reign, and much of it may not have been written until after 410.⁸⁷ At this time the state of affairs might well provoke a pessimist to think of the doom of Palmyra and the abandonment of the Secular Games. As for the later books of the History it will suffice to recall that Eunapius was still working on them after 414.

Eunapius' Christian contemporaries were also profoundly disturbed by the troubled times in which they lived. It is known that the sack of Rome added momentum to St. Augustine's disillusionment with the church's years of success during and after the reign of Theodosius I--the tempora christiana--and put him on the path to thoughts that would crystallise in the De civitate Dei. His friend Orosius composed his Historiae adversum paganos to refute pagan claims of Roman decline. The works of these and other Christian writers which lie outside the scope of this thesis

provide the intellectual context within which the pagan view of the empire's decline must be set.⁸⁸

Olympiodorus

References to the abandonment of paganism continue in the part of Zosimus' account which is derived from Olympiodorus. In 5.38 Zosimus tells how divine judgement came upon the general Stilicho and his wife Serena and punished them for acts of impiety. The latter, taking advantage of Theodosius' drive against the pagans, stole the necklace of Rhea from the temple of the Great Mother.⁸⁹ While removing the precious bauble she incurred the curse of an indignant priestess, and at a later date when the Gothic host threatened Rome she was ordered hanged by the senate on suspicion of treachery. Zosimus comments:

... ὑπέσχε δὲ τῇ ἀγχόνη τὸν τράχηλον ὧ τὸν τῆς
θεοῦ κόσμον ἔτυχε περιθεῖσα.

Stilicho's fate was determined by a curse upon which he stumbled when stripping gold from the gates of the Capitol. The inscription was as follows: misero regi servantur. His execution then showed that he was not able to escape τῆς Δίκης τὰ ἀπόρρητα.

Since Zosimus quotes Latin only in the section of his work where he was following Olympiodorus, the latter must be the source of the tale about Stilicho. He may also be the source of the anecdote about Serena, although L. Mendelssohn

argued that this was taken from Eunapius.⁹⁰ He based himself upon the fact that Zosimus refers here to a visit by Theodosius to Rome in 394, a visit that has been generally (if not correctly) held to be a fiction limited to the Eunapius-Zosimus tradition.⁹¹ Where there is uncertainty about major issues a small point may be offered. In his remarks on Stilicho there occurs a term, ἀπόρητα, which is much beloved of Eunapius.⁹² Perhaps then Zosimus was to some extent under Eunapius' influence when he wrote this chapter.⁹³

A little later Zosimus devotes almost a whole chapter to the religious background to Alaric's first siege of Rome.⁹⁴ He tells how certain seers offered to invoke the elements against the Goths by means of pagan rituals. The bishop of Rome was prepared to look the other way, but no-one was found to participate in the ritual, and the Etruscans were invited to depart. Sozomen also alludes to these events, and since he was drawing upon Olympiodorus, among others, it is clear that Zosimus must also have taken the story from the latter.⁹⁵

In the same chapter Zosimus waxes indignant at the stripping of religious statues to ransom the city.

... ἐπὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν κακῶν ὁ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα
λαχῶν ἀλιτήριος δαίμων τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε τὰ
πράγματα πρᾶττοντας ἤγαγεν. τὸ γὰρ ἐλλείπον ἀνα-
πληρῶσαι διὰ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ περικειμένου τοῖς

ἀγάλμασιν ἔγνωσαν, ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἢ τὰ
 τελεταῖς ἁγίαις καθιδρυθέντα καὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος
 κόσμου τυχόντα διὰ τὸ φυλάττειν τῇ πόλει τὴν
 εὐδαιμονίαν αἰδίων...

Notable among the statues was that of Virtus, says Zosimus. Its abuse symbolised the death of Roman courage. The use of a Latin word here points once again to Olympiodorus. From Olympiodorus also, no doubt, is Zosimus' approval of Generidus the pagan who opposed the law forbidding non-Christians to wear cingula in the palace.⁹⁶

The fragments of Olympiodorus reveal two further stories of a pagan stamp. He tells how a statue in Sicily was invested with the power to prevent barbarians from crossing to the island, and also how three silver statues buried in the earth in Thrace sufficed to ward off the barbarians from the empire. In each case the removal of the statues led to disaster.⁹⁷

Although Zosimus may have in some minor ways altered the material of this kind which he drew from Olympiodorus--perhaps by a more radical interpretation, or by an insertion like the story of Serena--it is nevertheless a surprising fact that Olympiodorus could write so unashamedly about his own paganism in a work dedicated to the pious emperor Theodosius II. We find in his work a consciousness of the empire's military problems and a tendency to link these with

the abandonment of pagan ritual such as were also manifest in the work of Eunapius. Whether or not Olympiodorus was inspired by Eunapius, his work was clearly a congenial source for one like Zosimus whose account was so much under Eunapius' influence. But Olympiodorus seems to have differed from Eunapius in one important way. He appears to have written under the influence of the successful instalment of Valentinian III on the western throne by Theodosius II. He was writing at a time of upswing in the empire's fortunes.⁹⁸ Eunapius on the other hand dealt at first hand with the crucial years after 378; and, whenever he was writing, and at whatever point he planned to lay down his pen, his narrative was moulded by the feeling of despair which these events produced.

Polybius and Zosimus on the Rise and Fall of Rome

Earlier in this chapter attention was drawn to the fact that Zosimus refers to his proem in the important fifty-seventh chapter of the first book.⁹⁹ The question must arise as to Zosimus' sources for the introduction to his work. A comparison of Zosimus' proem with that of Eunapius reveals that the two introductions have virtually nothing in common. Zosimus' remarks are very brief. He begins by remarking that Polybius described how the Romans after six centuries of obscurity rose in the space of fifty-three years to world dominion. He goes on to explain this

in terms of Neoplatonic ideas of causation, and concludes with the promise to clarify by his account the present "barrenness" of affairs. Eunapius' very long proem deals mainly with the place of chronology in historical writing; and at the point where our text breaks off he seems to be launching into a full-scale eulogy of Julian.¹⁰⁰

Just how far then Zosimus' first chapter was derived from Eunapius' proem must remain uncertain. The Neoplatonic elements may come equally well from either Eunapius or Olympiodorus.¹⁰¹ Zosimus' reference to Polybius, on the other hand, does not seem to have been taken from him, for Eunapius neither mentions nor imitates the Achean historian. Moreover, while it must remain a moot point whether Eunapius went on in the lost part of his proem to speak of the decline of the empire, it is at least clear that Zosimus emphasises this idea in a way that Eunapius can hardly have done in his rambling introduction.

Zosimus was stylistically very much under the influence of Polybius.¹⁰² But he owed nothing at all to Polybius in areas where we would expect the Achean's influence to be felt, particularly in political science.¹⁰³ He says nothing, for example, about the cyclic nature of constitutional history, or about the theory of the mixed constitution. Therefore his claim to have been inspired by Polybius must be interpreted in the narrowest, stylistic sense, while Eunapius can still be seen as the real source of Zosimus'

theory of decline.

In several places Zosimus appears to equate the fortunes of the empire as a whole with those of the city of Rome. In the proem he dates the period of Rome's rise from the time when :

... οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι... αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσι τοὺς πολεμίους
ὁρῶντες ἐπικειμένους...

In a later book he appears to equate the fall of the city with the fall of the empire;¹⁰⁴ and in the section where he was following Olympiodorus he refers to Rome as

... τὴν ἀπὸ πλειόνων ἢ χιλίων ἐνιαυτῶν τοῦ πολλοῦ
τῆς γῆς βασιλεύουσαν μέρος...¹⁰⁵

The reappearance of enemies before the city's walls, and in particular the sack of the city, would probably have marked for Zosimus an important epoch in his work.

Behind these remarks lies a more or less coherent theory which extends beyond the part of Zosimus' work which was a direct epitome of Eunapius. But it may well have been that in the later books of his History Eunapius showed the same preoccupation with the fortunes of this city as Zosimus. Zosimus was in a position to develop Eunapius' ideas by giving them greater prominence than his source, especially in the early books where he was following parts of Eunapius' work that were probably written before the sack of Rome. He was also able to bring his account down a little further than his predecessor, although it is ironical that neither

man was able to treat that great event that must have formed a milestone in their accounts. It is also true that Zosimus began his account at an earlier point than Eunapius. This chapter will therefore conclude with a discussion of the first 46 chapters of Zosimus' first book.

Zosimus 1.1-46

F. Paschoud plausibly suggests that in the first few chapters of book 1 Zosimus was drawing on his own knowledge and imagination rather than a specific source.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore significant that ideas of a Eunapian character are prominent. Mention was made in a previous chapter of Zosimus' outburst on the pantomime dance which seems to reflect Eunapius' pen.¹⁰⁷ The attention shown to Alexander in the fourth chapter probably also echoes Eunapius' interest in him.¹⁰⁸

In the fifth chapter Zosimus reaches Augustus, and he here launches into a powerful attack on the very institution of monarchy. In these remarks, which are by no means unique in the literature of the late empire,¹⁰⁹ one can see some trace of Eunapius. One of the chief grounds given for the insufficiency of the monarchy is:

... οὐκ ἂν ἄρκεσαι πᾶσιν κατὰ τὸ δέον προσενεχθῆναι,
τοῖς πορρωτάτω που διακειμένοις ἐπικουρῆσαι μὴ
δυνάμενος ἔξ ἐτοίμου.

With this sentiment may be compared Constantius' motive,

mentioned no doubt also by Eunapius, in appointing Julian as Caesar:

... μόνος μὲν ἀρκέσειν οὐκ ᾔετο συνήσθεσθαι πεπονηκόσιν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι βοηθήσειν...¹¹⁰

For such remarks the fourth century, with the tendency to division of the imperial power becoming slowly more pronounced, provides the likely context.

The other criticisms of the monarchy made here--the corruption of administrators, the possibility of tyranny with the selling of justice and slavery of citizens--look like some of the themes in Eunapius' own work.¹¹¹ This chapter was no doubt suggested to Zosimus by his reading of Eunapius. But contrary to what has been said from time to time,¹¹² "republicanism" is not a part of Zosimus' theory of decline because Zosimus does speak well of a good number of emperors: the Antonines, Septimius Severus, Decius, and Claudius Gothicus.¹¹³

Although the loss of Zosimus' source for these chapters makes any discussion rather tentative enough has been said to indicate that Eunapius' ideas played a part here also, at least in the first few chapters. Aside from these there is little in this section of Zosimus' work that can be said to promote his idea of the empire's decline. In fact it is not until he reaches his account of Palmyra, where Eunapius became his source, that he broaches the subject again.

Apart from the "Eunapianisms" in the first half-dozen chapters the first 46 chapters of book 1 have little to do with Zosimus' idea of decline and their inclusion must be due to some other reason. A tentative suggestion about this is reserved for the Conclusion.

Notes

¹ I have inserted a comma into Mendelssohn's text as I feel that this clarifies a passage that has been a source of trouble in the past. See for example F. Paschoud's discussion in Zosime 1, 166. Zosimus is surely referring to the last few lines in his poem where he promises to elucidate his idea of Roman degeneracy.

² Zosimus 1.58.4.

³ Zosimus 2.7.1.

⁴ Zosimus 2.7.2.

⁵ At 5.29 Zosimus introduces a digression about the Argonauts with the words ἄξιον δὲ μὴ παραδραμεῖν... A similar digression occurs in Sozomen 1.6 who, like Zosimus, would have taken it from Olympiodorus. See J. Rosenstein, "Kritische Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss zwischen Olympiodor, Zosimus und Sozomenus", Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 1(1862), 200-201.

⁶ See above p.11.

⁷ Zosimus 2.1-7.

⁸ Historia nova xxxvii.

⁹ calculorum omnisque gravitatis osor, Historia nova xxxvii, nullius quae in rhetorem Theodosiani aevi cadere possunt vitii in historia fuit experts, ibid. xxxv.

¹⁰ History fg. 1 = Excerpta de sententiis 72, 34-35 Boissevain.

¹¹ Ibid. 73, 5-7 Boissevain.

¹² Ibid. 74, 11-13 Boissevain.

- 13 R.C. Blockley, "Dexippus of Athens and Eunapius of Sardis", Latomus 30(1971), 712-713 argues that Eunapius showed more attention to chronology from book 2 on than in the first book.
- 14 Zosimus 3.10.4, 4.52.1, 5.10.5, 5.17.4, 5.18.8, 5.21.6.
- 15 Liber de Caesaribus 28.2.
- 16 On Eunapius' starting-point see Photius, Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 158 Henry. The proem to the second book of the History, which introduces Julian as the focal point of the account is fg. 8 = Excerpta de sententiis 76, 14-77, 5 Boissevain.
- 17 Ibid. 76, 14-16 Boissevain.
- 18 On Eunapius bk. 1 and Zosimus see F. Paschoud, "Zosime 2.29 et la version paienne de la conversion de Constantin", Historia 20(1971), 349-350. Elsewhere, in Zosime 1, 192 he argues that Eunapius may have been Zosimus' immediate source.
- 19 Zosimus 4.36.
- 20 Zosimus' account, the only one of this incident, is defended by J.-R. Palanque, "L'empereur Gratien et le grand pontificat paien", Byzantion 8(1933), 41-47. Recently A.D.E. Cameron, "Gratian's Repudiation of the Pontifical Robe", JRS 58(1968), 96-102 argued that Zosimus confused separate embassies to Gratian in 367 and 383.
- 21 Lydus, De mensibus 3.21. See L. Mendelssohn, Historia nova xxxviii and 192.
- 22 W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 423.
- 23 Fg. 14.2 = Excerpta de sententiis 78, 21-24 Boissevain.

24 ... ἐκ Λιβύης, ἣν Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι
κατὰ τὸ πατριὸν τῆς γλώττης Vitae sophistarum 47, 3-4 Giangrande.
See also ibid. 56, 4-5 Giangrande. A short discussion of
Eunapius' attitude to the Romans is to be found in I. Opelt,
"Das Nationalitätenproblem bei Eunapios von Sardes", WS
N. F. 3(1969), 32-33.

25 So R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin,
1866), 23, on the Secular Games digression.

26 The subject was dealt with by H. Piristi,
"Prodigien, Wunder and Orakel beim Historiker Zosimus",
XVIII Jahresbericht des fürstbischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums
am Seminarium Vincentinum in Brixen (Brixen, 1893). Piristi
dealt with the problem of sources only where indicated by
L. Mendelssohn (e.g. 6). Otherwise he was content to discuss
Zosimus' statements as if they were the historian's own
ideas (e.g. 25).

27 Fg. 26 = Excerpta de sententiis 82, 20-26
Boissevain; fg. 27 = Souda s.v. Ἰουλιανός = 2, 643, 25-32
Adler.

28 De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 23.

29 Historia nova xxxiii, xxxviii, 92-93.

30 F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, 109.

31 Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum 19, 25-20, 5 Giangrande.

32 Ibid. 82, 14-15 Giangrande.

33 Ibid. 7, 3 Giangrande. According to Ammianus
Marcellinus 16.10.13-17 Constantius II was stunned at the
greatness of the city when he visited it.

34 On Syrianus' life and writings see K. Praechter,
"Syrianos", PW 4A(1932), 1728-1732.

- 35 See below Appendix 2.
- 36 I must disagree with F. Paschoud when he says that "la chronologie ne permet guère d'admettre qu'Eunape ait pu citer Syrianos dans la première partie de son oeuvre historique," Zosime 1, lviii.
- 37 See below p. 102.
- 38 Zosimus 5.6.1-3.
- 39 The reference to *θεῖα πρόνοια* at 5.5.8 may also indicate Eunapius. Cf. Vitae sophistarum 23, 15-16 and 56, 18-19 Giangrande.
- 40 Zosimus 5.24.7-8.
- 41 Codinus, Excerpta 16, 2-3 Bekker. On the authorship of this work see K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur (2nd ed; Munich, 1897), 423-424.
- 42 See above note 39 of this chapter.
- 43 Zosimus 4.21.2-3.
- 44 Zosimus 4.21.1-2.
- 45 Zosimus 4.22.1. Perhaps, as L. Mendelssohn Historia nova 176 suggested, the word "Saracens" has fallen out of this sentence.
- 46 The Saracens leave the city to engage the Goths after receiving their orders (4.22.1). The story of Sebastian (4.22.4-23.6) implies that the emperor was still in a state of preparation, and at 4.24.1 it is implied that he is still in the city.
- 47 History fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 20-25 de Boor.

48 With the personification of the empire in this omen compare the metaphorical ἀναπνέω used of Asia after it was deserted by Tribigildus, at 5.18.9. Perhaps this word also was taken over from Eunapius.

49 Vitae sophistarum 14, 19-23 Giangrande.

50 W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 416-417.

51 See E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, Histoire du Bas-Empire 2(Paris etc, 1949), 370-373.

52 The religious coolness of certain senators in the later period is well demonstrated by F. Paschoud, "Réflexions sur l'idéal religieux de Symmaque", Historia 14(1965), 215-235.

53 Zosimus 5.23.4.

54 Vitae sophistarum 46, 6-9 Giangrande. Attacks on the monks occur also at ibid. 39, 13ff., and at History fg. 55 = Excerpta de sententiis 89, 18-22 Boissevain.

55 Zosimus 2.34.2. The phrase σπέρματα φιλοσοφίας is used of Julian by Eunapius, History fg. 10 = Excerpta de sententiis 77, 29 Boissevain.

56 History fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 16-18 Boissevain. The view of the cities as in a state of decline occurs elsewhere in Zosimus: 1.37.3; 2.38.4; 2.49.1; 4.59.3; 5.17.2. We note in the account of Julian that his reign was beneficial to the cities, 3.5.4. There is satisfaction too in the mention of the destruction of two Persian cities: 3.15.2; 3.22.7. With the exception of 1.37.3 these remarks all fall within the epitome Eunapii. The passage of Eunapius cited above makes it likely that he inspired most of them, and I cannot agree with F. Paschoud Zosime 1, 131 when he attributes the comments to Zosimus himself.

57 Vitae sophistarum 19, 6ff. Giangrande. The passage is quoted above p.72.

58 Eutropius 10.17.2.

59 In the Vitae sophistarum 50, 13-15 Giangrande Eunapius says how he had described Julian's Persian expedition in his History: ὡς δὲ τὰ πράγματα συντόνως ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐλπίδων εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄμορφον κατερράγη καὶ διωλίσθησεν ...

There is certainly no justification for seeing in Zosimus 3.32 a reference to events of Zosimus' own day. Cf. W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 421-422. On Zosimus' date see below Appendix 3.

60 Zosimus also asserts at 3.34.2 that a great change in affairs was brought about by Julian's death.

61 H. Hecker, "Zu Zosimus", Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie 8(1891), 825 drew attention to the curious lack of balance in Zosimus' account of Julian's career. I cannot, however, agree with his view (ibid. 126) that Eunapius was not the source of Zosimus' account of Julian in Gaul.

62 My attention was drawn to this by P. Schultz, De Stilichone iisque de eo agunt fontibus Claudiano et Zosimo (Diss. Koenigsberg, 1864), 37.

63 Zosimus' account of Modares seems to be a version of events related by Ammianus Marcellinus 31.8.3-10.1 as occurring before Adrianople. On the massacre of the hostages see Ammianus Marcellinus 31.16.8.

64 See R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65 (1972), 298.

65 Codex Theodosianus 16.10.10-12.

66 Cf. τούτων ὄντων ἐν τούτοις, 4.20.3 and above pp. 60-63.

67 Zosimus 4.38.1.

68 It seems to me unnecessary to suppose with O. Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt 5 (Berlin, 1913), 519 that the two parts of the doublet are from different sources.

69 Doublets arose naturally from the manner in which ancient historians sometimes inserted alternative versions of a passage into their working-draft. See H. Schöne, "Verschiedenes", RhM 73 (1920), 137-139 and K. Latte, "Eine Doppelfassung in den Sophistenbiographen des Eunapios", Hermes 58 (1923), 441-447.

70 Eunapius asserts his own veracity in recording events of which he was himself a witness, History fg. 28 = Excerpta de sententiis 83, 5-9 Boissevain. His reliability is well defended by I. F. Reitemeier, "De Zosimi fide", Bibliotheca philologica, edited by J. C. Volborth, 2 (Leipzig, 1780), 226-227.

71 Zosimus 3.32.6.

72 Zosimus 4.59.3.

73 This has been the general view since I. F. Reitemeier, "Disquisitio in Zosimum eiusque fidem", in Zosimus xxiv.

74 W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76 (1971), 412-441 presents the thesis that Zosimus saw the empire as having already fallen (cf. the title of the article). But at p. 426, note 68 he makes the stultifying admission that Zosimus "never says this in so many words and his various statements on the decline of the Empire are not so categorical as to exclude the interpretation that he merely thought the Empire to be suffering grave misfortunes".

75 History fg. 74 = Excerpta de sententiis 94, 1-16 Boissevain.

76 Ibid. fg. 42 = Excerpta de legationibus 597, 16-19 de Boor.

77 Ibid. fg. 56 = Excerpta de sententiis 90, 6-7
Boissevain.

78 Ibid. fg. 54 = Excerpta de sententiis 89, 1-4
Boissevain.

79 Ibid. fg. 49d = Souda s.v. Ἐπέκλυσεν = 2, 337, 17-19
Adler.

80 Ibid. fg. 78 = Excerpta de sententiis 96, 25-28
Boissevain.

81 Vitae sophistarum 36, 8-13 Giangrande. With
Eunapius' τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλιστα compare Zosimus' remark on
the barbarians who took Trebizond and destroyed τὰ τε ἱερὰ
καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι πρὸς κάλλος ἦ μέγεθος
ἦσκητο (1.33.3). Eunapius' remarks on the Serapeum may be
a reply to the lost account of Theophilus of Alexandria.
See T. Orlandi, "Uno scritto di Teofilo di Alessandria
sulla distruzione del Serapeum?" PP 23(1968), 295-304.

82 Vitae sophistarum 45, 10-46, 11 and 58, 8-59, 4
Giangrande. Eunapius probably inspired Zosimus' remark about
the destruction of the Greek people at 5.5.7: ἔκειντο τὴν ἐξ
ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καταστροφὴν διδόντα τοῖς θεωμένοις ὄραν...

83 Vitae sophistarum 53, 11-13 and 99, 22-24
Giangrande.

84 Libanius, Orationes 18.298 = 2, 366-367
Förster.

85 Ammianus Marcellinus 31.5.11.

86 History fg. 22.1 = Excerpta de sententiis
80, 11-16 Boissevain.

87 On Eunapius' date see Appendix 2, below.

88 The bibliography on Christian historical apologetics, especially on the work of St. Augustine, is immense. On the latter's change in outlook as a result of political troubles, see R. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine (Cambridge, 1970) 22-44, especially 37 ff. A good discussion of the whole subject is made by W. Kaegi, Byzantium and the Decline of Rome (Princeton, 1968).

89 In the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Helioq. 7.1 reference is made to Elagabalus' profanation of the rites of the Great Mother. The passage may be a covert reference to Serena.

90 Historia nova 266. Mendelssohn applied his arguments to the story of Serena also.

91 W. Ensslin, "War Kaiser Theodosius I zweimal in Rom?" Hermes 81(1953), 500-507, tried to isolate the evidence for a visit in 394 to Eunapius-Zosimus, and F. Paschoud, "Réflexions sur l'idéal religieux de Symmaque", Historia 14(1965), 234 suggested that this visit was an invention born of a desire to show the emperor's deference to the senate. If this were so Eunapius' veracity would be greatly impugned. But A.D.E. Cameron, "Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilicho", HSPH 73(1969), 247-280 has argued in favour of a visit at the later date. A part of his argument is the view that 5.38 is from Olympiodorus; but he does produce some other evidence as well, including the testimony of Prudentius, which, while hardly compelling, does throw some doubt on Ensslin's view.

92 History fg. 55 = Excerpta de sententiis 89, 25 Boissevain; fg. 52 = Souda s.v. Στέατα = 4, 426, 26-28 Adler; Vitae sophistarum 29, 1-2 Giangrande.

93 With the anecdote about Serena and the necklace one might compare the story of Festus who dreamt that he was carried to Hades by a noose: Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum 56, 7-19 Giangrande.

94 Zosimus 5.41.

95 Sozomen 9.6. On his use of Olympiodorus here see J. Rosenstein, "Kritische Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss zwischen Olympiodor, Zosimus und Sozomenus", Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 1(1862), 190-192.

96 Zosimus 5.46.3-5.

97 Olympiodorus fg. 15 = 1, 171 Henry; fg. 27 = 1, 177 Henry.

98 The point is well made by J.F. Matthews, "Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D.407-425)", JRS 60(1970), 97.

99 See above pp. 90-92.

100 Eunapius, History fg. 1 = Excerpta de sententiis 71-75 Boissevain.

101 Zosimus alludes to ἀστρώαι κινήσεις both in 1.1.2 and at 3.11.2. The Neoplatonic idea of ὁ δαίμων occurs at 4.4.3; 5.35.5; 5.41.5. On the Neoplatonism of Eunapius see W. Schmid, "Eunapios aus Sardes", PW 6(1909), 1125-1126 and on that of Olympiodorus see E.A. Thompson, "Olympiodorus of Thebes", CQ 38(1944), 43.

102 Polybius is cited thrice, at 1.1.1; 1.57.1; 5.20.4. L. Mendelssohn notes a Polybian sentiment at 5.36.2: see Historia nova 263. Although the general similarity of Zosimus' style to that of Polybius (as compared with that of Eunapius) needs no demonstration I offer here a few words that Zosimus may have taken from his acknowledged mentor: ἐπιτωθάζω 1.54.2; δυσανασχετέω 2.10.4; φωράομαι 2.12.3; κατορθώματα 2.8.2; ἀνασπάζομαι 2.15.3; συμπλήρωσις 2.30.2; χάραξ 2.31.3; μεγαλυνυχέομαι 2.46.1; προνομεύω 3.27.3; οὐραγία 3.27.4; γεννήματα 3.28.3. See LSJ s.vv.

103 W. Kaegi, Byzantium and the Decline of Rome (Princeton, 1968), 103-108 shows how little Zosimus took over from Polybius' political ideas.

104 Zosimus 4.59.2. For a similar sentiment in a contemporary of Eunapius see Jerome, Commentaria in Ezechielem 1 = PL 25, 15-16.

105 Zosimus 5.50.2.

106 See F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, xl. R. Martin, De fontibus Zosimi (Diss. Berlin, 1866), 13-14 considered a source-study of these chapters a waste of time.

107 See above pp. 70-73.

108 History fg. 24 = Excerpta de sententiis 82, 7-9 Boissevain; fg. 35 = Excerpta de sententiis 84, 1-2 Boissevain. Similarly Zosimus' comparison of Julian and Alexander will be from Eunapius, see Zosimus 3.3.3.

109 See W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 414-415, note 13. W. Kaegi, Byzantium and the Decline of Rome (Princeton, 1968), 108 asserts that Zosimus is here echoing debates of the fourth century. See also ibid. 84.

110 Zosimus 3.1.1. The fact that rather similar sentiments were expressed by Justinian should not lead us to suppose that Zosimus was here referring to problems of his own day. Cf. W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 422, note 52. Goffart is not very consistent, for he dates Zosimus a generation earlier than Justinian.

111 See for example History fg. 87 = Excerpta de sententiis = 100, 27-102, 22 Boissevain.

112 So E. Condurachi, "Les idées politiques de Zosime", Revista clasica 13-14(1941-1942), 119-120, 127, and Z. Petre, "La pensée historique de Zosime", StudClas 7 (1965), 269-270.

113 Zosimus 1.7, 1.8, 1.23, 1.46.

CONCLUSION

Eunapius' own comments enable some inferences to be made about his aim in writing the History. In the introduction to the first book he says:

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν ἑμαυτῷ γράφω, ἀνδράσιν
ἐπόμενος, οἱ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου μακρῷ προεῖχον
κατὰ παιδείαν καὶ διατεταμένως ἐνήγον μὴ σιωπᾶν
τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅσα ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφερε
χρόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν Δεξιππου
γραφὴν οὕτω λόγου τε καὶ ἱστορίας ἐμφανούς
τετυχηκότα. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐκείνοις τε κάμοι κοινὸν τὸ
ἔργον τόδε, καὶ πάντα γε ἐς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναφέρειν εὐδοκεῖ...¹

These lines are clarified in the eighth fragment, the proem to the second book, where he tells how Oribasius encouraged him to write about Julian, and sent him a *ὑπόμνημα* of the emperor's career in which he had been an active participant.²

The first part of Eunapius' work then was dominated by the figure of Julian, and the account was largely determined by a desire to glorify him. But it is clear that Eunapius planned from the beginning to go beyond Julian's reign, for in the passage cited above he says both that his is a general account of ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος and that it was a

continuation of Dexippus' work. Eunapius must then have been motivated from the very beginning by more than a simple desire to glorify Julian.

Scattered comments allow us to form some impression of Eunapius' motive in continuing his narrative beyond Julian's death. In the previous chapter were cited several pessimistic comments made by Eunapius about the state of affairs in his own day. Now it is precisely because his History was almost entirely devoted to the period of which he was a contemporary that these comments provide such a valuable insight into his aim in writing. In the Vitae sophistarum, a work in which the decline of paganism is highlighted, Eunapius twice refers to his plan to continue his account of the destruction of Greece in his History.³ While it would certainly be going too far to conclude that such problems alone provoked him to take up his pen again, there seems little doubt that they played an important role in the later books of his work.

The question arises as to how early in the History Eunapius' pessimism appeared. Of this there is at least one indication. Eunapius quotes Julian as remarking, at the time he was preparing for war with Persia, that the Goths (who at this time were not a source of trouble for the empire) could not be expected to remain quiescent for ever. Eunapius exclaims: Ἐς τοσόνδε ἔξικνεῖτο χρόνον τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ ἡ πρόνοια.⁴ Just as Julian's reign would

remain a source of inspiration in the darker days of his successors,⁵ so even the eulogistic account of his life was not without some comment on the tragedies to come.⁶

This much can be inferred from Eunapius' own writings. It is possible to go somewhat further by examining the evidence provided by Zosimus, in particular his method of working. Here are to be found some clear indications of the nature of Eunapius' work. In the parts of Zosimus' narrative for which fragments of Eunapius' History are extant, there is scarcely a deviation of any significance by Zosimus from his source. Furthermore a search of Zosimus' summary of Eunapius for material that cannot or might not have come from Eunapius reveals very little indeed. If Zosimus followed Eunapius so closely in the choice of material, it would seem likely that he also took over Eunapius' interpretation.

This supposition is supported by the fact that many elements in Zosimus' theory of the decline of the empire find close parallels in the writings of Eunapius: the denigration of Constantine and of Theodosius, the idea of the destruction of cities, the hatred of Christianity and the strong attachment to paganism. Other elements such as the barbarisation of the armies under Theodosius and the wastefulness of Constantine no doubt were taken over from him also.

It is clear then that the main constituents of Zosimus' viewpoint were present in Eunapius' work. This is perhaps as much as can be asserted with any confidence, and unfortunately it still falls short of proving that every passage in Zosimus that treats of the empire's decline is from Eunapius, or that Eunapius himself had worked out his views in quite the same way as Zosimus.

Of the three cardinal passages in Zosimus' work, the proem and the digressions on Palmyra and the Secular Games, the latter two fall within the part of his work where Zosimus followed Eunapius, and may well have been inspired by him. The proem, on the other hand, has some demonstrably original elements, in particular the claim to be following Polybius, and the emphasis on the idea of the empire's decline, an idea that may well have been absent from Eunapius' proem. Yet even these seem to be mere flourishes. Zosimus got very little from Polybius beyond a few phrases and words; and if in his proem he was prepared to be more explicit about the purpose of his work than Eunapius he may have been doing no more than emphasising an idea that received abundant treatment in his source. It is ironical that Zosimus should acknowledge Polybius to whom he owed so little while he suppressed the name of Eunapius from whom he took so much.

It would seem then that it was a careful reading of Eunapius' work that persuaded Zosimus to take up his pen.

He would continue Eunapius' account with the help of Olympiodorus, an historian whose outlook was in some ways similar to that of Eunapius. Now an epitome of Eunapius and of Olympiodorus might have been adequate for his plan to describe the decline of Rome, if he had planned to end his account with the sack of the city. But the unfinished state of the work leaves uncertainty as to the projected terminal point. Moreover, Zosimus prefaced his epitome of Eunapius with a brief survey of world history to the time of Claudius II. These chapters provide some background for the main part of the History, but in spite of some Eunapian sentiments they do not do a great deal to promote Zosimus' thesis, and their inclusion must be due to another consideration. It may be pointed out that Zosimus lived in a period that was fruitful in the production of world-chronicles. A writer like Malalas provided a convenient summary of world history with a Christian point of view. Zosimus may have intended that his own work should provide a pagan foil to these Christian histories, a summary of history with the kind of interpretation that Eunapius suggested. It is perhaps unprofitable to speculate on the intended scope of his work, or on possible sources for the later period.

Zosimus should perhaps then be seen as much as an epitomator as a philosopher of history, and it may be that the need for brevity often outweighed the desire to expatiate on theory. This must be the reason why he sometimes omitted

from his epitome passages of Eunapius that bore directly on his stated plan,⁷ and also why some of the most significant events in the history of paganism are passed over in silence.⁸

But in Zosimus' chief vice, his servility, lies also his value. The material and ideas for the bulk of his work can be confidently regarded as stemming directly from Eunapius. Therefore the pagan side of the debate on the empire's decline, of which Zosimus is the main extant source, can be brought back from the sixth century to the early fifth. Zosimus' ideas make more sense in this earlier context, when they are contemporary with the works of Augustine, Orosius, Jerome and the authors of the Historia Augusta, than they do when regarded as an isolated production of the sixth century.

Photius' judgement is vindicated. The bulk of Zosimus' work is a mere paraphrase of Eunapius' History, differing only in its conciseness.

Notes

- ¹ Fg. 1 = Excerpta de sententiis 74, 16-22 Boissevain.
- ² Fg. 8 = Excerpta de sententiis 76, 14-77, 5 Boissevain.
- ³ Vitae sophistarum 46, 2-5 Giangrande, and 58, 13-59, 3 Giangrande.
- ⁴ Fg. 22.1 = Excerpta de sententiis 80, 11-16 Boissevain.
- ⁵ Fg. 75.5 = Excerpta de sententiis 95, 17-23 Boissevain.
- ⁶ The argument would be much strengthened if it could be proved that the remark on the Seleucis in the Souda (4, 337, 3-4 Adler) was taken from Eunapius. See above, chapter 1, note 10.
- ⁷ See above pp. 22-24.
- ⁸ One might cite here Zosimus' silence on the part played in the Gothic invasion of Greece by the monks and the violation of hierophantic law. Zosimus omits the destruction of the Serapeum which Eunapius mentions twice in the Vitae sophistarum (36-39 Giangrande), and might well have referred to in his History also. Zosimus is silent also on Julian's pagan revival although Eunapius naturally devoted much attention to this. Other matters he omits are: the pagan overtones in the Eugenius revolt, and the struggle over the altar of victory. These would surely have been mentioned by Eunapius.

APPENDIX 1

Some Closely Parallel Passages

Fg. 3 = Souda s.v.

Κατακκίνειιν = 3, 46, 22-

23 Adler.

ὁ δὲ τοξότης ἡφίει βέλος,
εὐστόχος ὢν τοσούτους κατα-
κκίνειιν, ὅσα ἡφίει βέλη.

Εὐνάπιός φησι.

Zosimus 1.70.1.

συνῆν τις ἀνὴρ αὐτῷ μηχανάς
τε κατασκευάζειν εἰδὼς καὶ
ἐκ μηχανῶν εὐστόχως ἀφιέναι
βέλη δυνάμενος...

Cf. Zosimus 1.54.3.

Fg. 20 = Souda s.v. Ἰλῆ = Zosimus 3.27.4.

2, 631, 12-13 Adler.

Εὐνάπιος · τότε δὲ Ἰλῆ τῶν
καταφράκτων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ
τοὺς υ' ἐς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλα-
κας κατερράγη.

... τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς οὐραγίας
τοῦ στρατοπέδου συμπεσόντες
οἱ Πέρσαι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν
...

Fg. 34 = Souda s.v.

Μικρολόγος = 3, 394, 16-

17 Adler.

... Εὐνάπιος · μικροῦ τὰ
πράγματα μετακινήσαντος
Ὀρμίσδου τοῦ Πέρσου.

**Cf. Souda s.v. Μικροῦ
δεῖν = 3, 395, 4-5 Adler.**

Zosimus 4.8.1.

μικροῦ δὲ ἐδέησεν ἡ Προκ-
οπίου μερίς· ὑπερτέρα γενομένη
... τοῦ Ὀρμίσδου τοῦ Πέρσου
παιδὸς ... δόξαντος ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ πλεονεκτεῖν.

Fg. 49d = Souda s.v.

Ἐπέκλυσεν = 2, 337, 17-19

Adler.

τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπέκλυσε
κακὰ, ὥστε χρυσὸς ἦν
αὐτοῖς καὶ λευκὴ τις ἡμέρα
κρατῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους.

Zosimus 4.32.3.

... τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπάντων
ἀνακαλούντων καὶ τὴν ἐξ
ἐκείνων ἐπισπωμένων βοήθειαν.

Eunapius' Rhetoric and Character Portrayal

Fg. 33 = Excerpta de

sententiis 83, 20-25

Boissevain.

Ὡς περ οὖν οἱ φυσικοὶ φασὶ
πάσης κινήσεως εἶναι τέλος
ἀκινήσιαν, ἥ ταῖς ἄλλαις
κινήσεσι τὸ κινεῖσθαι δίδ-
ωσιν αὐτὴ μένουσα, οὕτως
ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε καὶ τότε τὸν
πρεσβύτην Ἀρβιτίωνα παρ-
τυχόντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
ἄτακτον καὶ κυματώδη φορὰν
εἰς ὁμαλὸν καὶ λείον κατα-
στορέσαι τοῦ λογισμοῦ πάθος·
μικροῦ γὰρ ἐξέστη διὰ
δειλίαν τῶν κοινῶν πραγ-
μάτων.

Zosimus 4.7.3.

... ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Οὐάλης
τὴν ἐπανάστασιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Φρυγίαν Γαλατίᾳ πυθόμενος
κατεπλάγη μὲν ἅμα τῇ ἀκοῇ
καὶ ἐπίμπλατο γαραχῆς,
Ἀρβιτίωνος δὲ Θαρρεῖν
κελεύσαντος...

Fg. 38 = Excerpta de sententiis 84, Zosimus 4.13.3.

3-15 Boissevain.

Ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ κατειλεγμένος τοῖς νοταρίοις ἐν δίκῃ ἐτιμᾶτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· τό τε γὰρ εὖ γεγονέναι προσῆν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν, τό τε σῶμα συνήνθει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, καὶ τὸ ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις κόσμος ἐδόκει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐμμελὲς τις εἶναι καὶ παναρμόνιος. ἀλλ' ἔλαθεν, ἥ φησιν Ὅμηρος, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διαφθαρεῖς καλῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ στρατείας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρδη καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τύχας ἐπιτοημένοι καὶ κεχηνότες, τὴν ἡμερότητα καταμαθόντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐμιλίας εὐκρατὲς καὶ πρόχειρον, ταχὺ μάλα τὴν ἁμαχὸν καὶ φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι κολακείαν ὑποδύντες καὶ προβαλόμενοι καθάπερ ἑλεπολὶν τινα καὶ μηχανὴν ἄφυκτον, ἐξέωσαν τῶν

ἥν τις Θεόδωρος τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπογραφεῦσιν ἐναριθμούμενος. τοῦτον εὖ μὲν γεγονότα τε καὶ τράφέντα, νέον δὲ ἔτι καὶ τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας θερμῷ ραδίως κολάκων θωπεύαις ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα σαλευόμενον περιστάντες τοιοῦτοί τινες ἀναπείθουσιν ὥς...

ἀσφαλῶν καὶ σωτηρίων λογισμῶν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ κατέσεισεν εἰς τὸν μανιώδη καὶ σφαλερὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἔρωτα.

Fg. 39 = Souda s.v. Φῆστος = 4,

Zosimus 4.15.2-3.

718, 20-719, 3 Adler.

οὗτος περὶ τοὺς χρόνους Οὐάλεντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκπέμπεται ἀνθύπατος, τὴν

τῶν δὲ ἀτοπημάτων ἥν κολοφῶν Φῆστος,

δὲ βασιλικὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπεπίστευτο.
 πέμπεται δὲ ὅμως, τὸν ποιητικὸν καὶ
 μυθώδη ἔχοντα, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἐκ
 Σικελίας ἢ Θερραλίας τοιοῦτος, χρυσὸν
 ἀποδείξων καὶ πανήγυριν. ἦν δὲ ἡ
 μανία οὐ θύραθεν, ἀλλ' ἐνδοθεν ἐλύσσα
 καὶ ἐμαίνετο, ἀνὴρ φύσει ποιηρὸς καὶ
 ἔξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς κολάσ-
 εσιν ἀγριότητα καταλιπὼν εὐδοκίμοῦσαν
 ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι
 παρανομίας ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἀσελγείας.
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ παραφορᾷ ἐρρύη καὶ
 φόνων, ὥστε καὶ Μάξιμον ξίφει διέ-
 φθειρε, κοίρῳ Αἰγύπτιον ἐπισφάξας
 αὐτῷ. καὶ ἔτι θερμὸς ὢν καὶ ζέων
 τῷ λύθρῳ πάντας συναντῇ καὶ
 κατέφλεγε.

ὃν εἰς πᾶν εἶδος
 ὁμότητος πρόχειρον
 ὄντα τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθ-
 ὕπατον ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ἔστειλεν, ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς
 τῶν περὶ λόγους
 ἐσπουδακώτων ἀπολειφ-
 θείη. καὶ εἰς ἔργον
 ἦει τὸ βούλευμα.
 πάντας γὰρ ὁ Φῆστοις
 ἀναζητήσας, οὓς μὲν
 εὗρεν ἀκρίτως ἀπέκ-
 τεινε...

APPENDIX 2

THE DATE AND EDITIONS OF EUNAPIUS' HISTORY

The Date

In the Vitae sophistarum Eunapius seems to say that he had already published the part of his History dealing with events up to the Gothic invasion of Greece in 395:

... πολλῶν καὶ ἀδιηγήτων ἐπικλυσθέντων κακῶν, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ, ἂν ἐπιτρέπη τὸ Θεῖον, λελέξεται, ὃ Ἀλλάριχος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρήλθεν...¹

Apparently the historian directed his energies to the Vitae sophistarum after completing the earlier books of the History;² but he planned to return to the latter at a later date. Photius says that he brought the account down to 404;³ and the surviving fragments show that he was still engaged in writing it after 414.⁴

F. Rühl noted a tendency among Byzantine writers of universal history to close their accounts with the death of the sovereign whose reign preceded that under which they wrote.⁵ Now Eunapius was not a world-chronicler in the sense of a Malalas; but his work covered a substantial period of time, and it was a continuation of the Chronicle of Dexippus.⁶ Perhaps then Eunapius closed an early version of his History with the death of Theodosius, and published it

during the reign of his successor, Arcadius. It may also be that he formed the design of continuing it after Arcadius' death.

The "New Edition" of the History

Photius says that he had available to him two editions of Eunapius' History, and that the "new edition" was characterised by the excision of much of the blasphemy which marked the other.⁷ Was Photius correct in his view that both editions stemmed from the pen of Eunapius himself? Recently W. Chalmers argued in support of Photius' view⁸ and at the same time called in question the suggestion of B. Niebuhr and C. de Boor that the "new edition" represented an expurgation of Eunapius' work by Christian censors.⁹ The present discussion seeks to support the view of the earlier scholars by replying briefly to the main points in Chalmers' argument.

Chalmers begins: "if, as de Boor's theory suggests, the aim of the νέα ἔκδοσις was to make Eunapius more acceptable to Christian readers, it is strange that Photius describes it as ἔτι πολλὰ τῆς ἐκεῖσε λύσεως ὑποφαίνουσάν." Photius' statement is equally difficult for Chalmers' own view that Eunapius was partly moved to produce a new edition of his work by the set-back to pagan ambitions after the battle at the river Frigidus. For Photius the main difference between the two editions was the removal of "much of the

impiety". It may be suggested that in the "new edition" only the most offensive passages were removed, while some that were less obnoxious were allowed to remain.

Unproven as Chalmers admits is the view of V. Lundström that Eunapius produced two editions of the Vitae sophistarum.¹⁰ The most recent editor of this work considers that the variations in the manuscripts upon which Lundström based his theory were the work of a late Byzantine scholar.¹¹

In fragment 41, which introduces a discussion of the Huns, Eunapius refers to an earlier account which he had already made of this people.¹² Since the excerpts in the Excerpta de sententiis are in chronological order, and the early books of the History dealt with the period before Julian's death when the Huns had not yet made their appearance, Chalmers saw in this fragment a reference to an earlier edition of the History. But since Eunapius refers to the earlier account as :

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς συγγραφῆς...

it must be inferred that the earlier account was seen as a part of the same work as the later account in fragment 41. Moreover Eunapius later in this same fragment seems to say that he had envisaged excising the earlier account:

... (οὐ) τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸ πρότερον ἀναιροῦντες...

and

... ἐπιθήσομεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ ἀληθέστερα, καὶ κείνα διὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴν δόξαν συγχωρήσαντες μένειν...

On the whole then the evidence of the fragment is easier to reconcile with the assumption that the earlier account of the Huns was made at an early point in the same work which Eunapius was still engaged in writing than with the idea that it was part of an already published first edition of that work. Eunapius may well have made brief mention of the Huns in a digression on the northern tribes at an early point in his History.¹³

In the Vitae sophistarum Eunapius speaks of Constantine's placing Constantius in the care of Ablabius and remarks that this ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν θειότατον Ἰουλιανόν... εἰρηταί .¹⁴ But fragment 14.1 indicates that there was a detailed account of Constantius in the second edition.¹⁵ Chalmers felt that in the former case the first edition was indicated, and that this contained no special discussion of Constantius; and that in the second edition there was a separate life of Constantius. But the statement in the Vitae sophistarum may merely show that Ablabius' guardianship was not mentioned in the part dealing with Constantine or Constantius, but was reserved for special treatment in the account of Julian. Since Julian's early life was much influenced by Constantine's arrangements for the succession it would not be surprising if Eunapius gave substantial treatment to this subject in connection with the career of his hero.

Whereas Photius says that both editions of Eunapius covered the same period of time Chalmers believes that the "new edition" came down to a later point in time. He alleges that "Photius only claimed to have read the second edition." This assertion is difficult to reconcile with Photius' remark about the two editions:

ἐξ ὧν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διαφοράν ἀναλεξάμενοι ἔγνωνμεν.

The arguments adduced to support the attribution of the "new edition" to Eunapius are not persuasive. Hence the traditional view of a later censorship of the work still seems preferable. It should be noted, however, that the view that Eunapius revised his whole work at a late point in his career will not damage the thesis presented in this dissertation.

Notes

¹ Vitae sophistarum 46, 2-5 Giangrande; see also ibid. 58, 13-59, 3 Giangrande.

² The passage thus provides a terminus post quem for the Vitae sophistarum. See also I. Opelt, "Eunapios", RAC 6(1965), 930-931.

³ Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 158 Henry.

⁴ History fg. 87 = Excerpta de sententiis 100-102 Boissevain.

⁵ See below pp. 156-157.

⁶ History fg. 1 = Excerpta de sententiis 74, 16-21 Boissevain.

⁷ Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 159-160 Henry.

⁸ W.R. Chalmers, "The ΝΕΑ ἙΚΔΟΣΙΣ of Eunapius' Histories", CQ N. S. 3(1953), 165-170.

⁹ Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt, edited by I. Bekker and B. Niebuhr (Bonn, 1829), xix; C. de Boor, "Die νέα ἑκδοσις des Eunapios", RhM 47(1892), 321-323.

¹⁰ V. Lundström, Prolegomena in Eunapii Vitas philosophorum et sophistarum (Uppsala, 1897), 20-35.

¹¹ Eunapii Vitae sophistarum, edited by G. Giangrande (Rome, 1956), xix-xx.

¹² Fg. 41 = Excerpta de sententiis 84, 22-85, 12 Boissevain.

¹³ Ammianus Marcellinus inserts into his narrative at the point where Julian was settling affairs in Thrace a descriptio Thraciarum et sinus Pontici regionumque ac nationum Ponto adjacentium (22.8). Ammianus thought nothing of adding details to an earlier digression: see, for example, 14.4.2.

¹⁴ Vitae sophistarum 22, 15-19 Giangrande.

¹⁵ Fg. 14.1 = Excerpta de sententiis 78, 12-20 Boissevain.

¹⁶ Some difficulties remain. Why did some manuscripts available to Photius contain both versions of Eunapius' work? Perhaps these were based on the censor's working copy. How did Zosimus escape a similar re-editing? Perhaps he toned down the impiety in the now lost first edition of Eunapius in the same way as he demonstrably toned down his predecessor's rhetoric in other ways.

APPENDIX 3

THE DATE OF ZOSIMUS' NEW HISTORY

In the body of the dissertation a certain amount of evidence for Zosimus' terminus post quem was discussed.

From this emerged only the fact that Zosimus was writing after 498; while attempts to connect him more closely with the beginning of the sixth century were rejected as having failed to take into account Eunapius' influence on him.

Arguments about Zosimus' terminus ante quem have been a fruitful source of errors. The earliest surviving writer to mention Zosimus is Evagrius who wrote in the last decade of the sixth century. In an important passage he lists writers who dealt with secular history down to his own time: Charax, Ephorus, Theopompus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Appian, Diodorus, Dio Cassius, Herodian, Nicostratus, Dexippus, Eusebius, Arrian, Asinius Quadratus, Zosimus, Priscus, Eustathius of Epiphania, Procopius, Agathias and John of Epiphania. After his entry on Priscus Evagrius says:

Ἄπερ ἅπαντα Εὐσταθίῳ τῷ Ἐπιφανεί ἐπιτέμνεται
πανᾶριστα ἐν δύο τεύχεσιν...¹

This statement has been generally taken as meaning that Eustathius' work was an epitome of those of the

preceding historians,² and this view is perhaps supported by L. Jeep's demonstration that Eustathius was Evagrius' source in some passages where Evagrius cites (in true Byzantine fashion) only the name of Eustathius' source.³ If Eustathius' date can be determined this will narrow down the termini further.

Jeep drew attention to the fact that Eustathius is said to have died while writing. Two sixth century sources mention this fact, in passing, while treating Anastasius' war against Cabades (502-503). Evagrius says of Eustathius:

ὅς μέχρι τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης ἱστορήσας τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι συναριθμεῖται, δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Ἀναστασίου καταλειποῦς βασιλείας.⁴

Malalas confirms the fact:

περὶ οὗ πολέμου Εὐστάθιος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος συνεγράψατο· ὅστις καὶ εὐθέως ἐτελεύτησε, μήτε εἰς τέλειον τὴν ἔκθεσιν αὐτοῦ συντάξας.⁵

Jeep concluded that Eustathius died in 502-503. But our two authorities say only that this was the latest year covered by Eustathius in his account; and both imply that he would have brought the account down further had death not intervened.⁶

F. Rühl was the first to point out the faultiness of Jeep's argument.⁷ He went on to argue that the Byzantine historians, when they treated world history,⁸ tended to close their accounts with the accession of the sovereign under whom they wrote. Since Eustathius treated events under

Anastasius, he must have intended to end with the accession of Justin I. Though clearly as illogical a development as the reasoning of Jeep which he had just rejected, Rühl's argument has been universally accepted.

Since it would be pedantic to cite exceptions to Rühl's "law" from later Byzantine literature,⁹ one can readily agree with this part of his argument. The fault of reasoning lies in the latter part. As Jeep was wrong to link the terminal point of Eustathius' account with the date of his death, so also was Rühl incorrect in assuming that Eustathius did not intend to go beyond Anastasius' death. Eustathius may have been writing at any time in the sixth century.

A.D.E. Cameron postulated a terminus ante quem for Eustathius in the 520s.¹⁰ He based this view on Haury's suggestion that Procopius drew on Eustathius' account of the siege of Amida.¹¹ But this view is fraught with difficulties. To begin with, not one fragment of Eustathius survives that might be compared with Procopius' treatment of these events; moreover Haury assumed--he did not prove--the priority of Eustathius.¹² Until further evidence is produced of a connection between these historians Haury's conjecture is better left out of consideration here.

This discussion may be concluded with a note on two further passages in Zosimus which have been used to date his history. In the first of these Zosimus speaks of Nestorius

who in 375:

... εἰκόνα τοῦ ἥρωος [sc. Ἀχιλλεύς]... ὑπέθηκε τῷ ἐν
Παρθενῶνι καθιδρυμένῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι...

Mendelssohn thought that Zosimus by not modifying with a τότε was indicating that the statue still stood in his own day.¹⁴ But that is to imply a precision that Mendelssohn himself elsewhere denies the historian, who far from up-dating the material in his sources was prepared to perpetrate gross anachronisms in his epitome.¹⁵ Moreover, the fate of the Parthenos--whether it was destroyed by fire or removed to Constantinople--is uncertain.¹⁶ Hence Zosimus' remark is of no value in dating his work. The second passage to be considered here is his remark that none of the areas ceded to the Persians by Jovian had been retaken.¹⁷ Some scholars have seen in this a veiled reference to Anastasius' war against the Persians.¹⁸ Once again emphasis must be laid on the possibility that the remark occurred also in Eunapius.¹⁹

All attempts to this time to place Zosimus in the early part of the sixth century have failed. Jeep was the first scholar to place both Zosimus and Eustathius in this period and though his arguments were clearly erroneous his view has exercised a spell over subsequent scholars who have resorted to all manner of sophistry in an effort to justify it. All that we can say with certainty is that both men wrote between the last decade of the fifth and the last

decade of the sixth century, and that Eustathius probably wrote after Zosimus.²⁰ Evagrius' uncertainty about Zosimus makes it likely that Zosimus lived a little while before his time; and the same can perhaps be inferred of Eustathius from the fact that Evagrius says no more about him than the chronicler Malalas, and also from the fact that he refers to him as "Eustathius of Epiphania", whereas he calls John of Epiphania "my fellow countryman".²¹ This argument is admittedly fragile, but it seems to be about the best that can be done with the evidence.

The above discussion indicates the danger of finding allusions to contemporary events in Zosimus. For any passages that ingenuity will from time to time suggest to be topical in intent it will have to be shown that Zosimus' source could not have been responsible. In point of fact Zosimus seems to have made very few references to events after the periods he treated; hence his silence also on any matter of sixth century history will not exclude the possibility that it was known to him.

Notes

- ¹ Evagrius 5.24 = 218-219 Bidez-Parmentier.

- ² R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65 (1972), 278 expressed doubts about this interpretation of Evagrius' words.

- ³ L. Jeep, "Die Lebenszeit des Zosimos", RhM 37 (1882), 425-433.

- ⁴ Evagrius 3.37 = 136 Bidez-Parmentier.

- ⁵ Malalas 399 Dindorf. Eustathius must also have written before Malalas, but the latter's date is unclear. See K. Wolf, "Ioannes Malalas", PW 9(1916), 1795-1796, and note 9, below.

- ⁶ Jeep's argument was accepted by L. Mendelssohn, Historia nova vii and by C. Benjamin, "Eustathios", PW 6 (1909), 1450-1451.

- ⁷ F. Rühl, "Wann schrieb Zosimos?" RhM 46(1891), 146-147. So also T. Mommsen, "Zosimus", ByzZ 12(1903), 533.

- ⁸ This important qualification was overlooked by F. Paschoud, Zosime 1, xiii-xiv and by R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian", ByzZ 65(1972), 278.

- ⁹ Rühl's view that the Byzantine chroniclers customarily ended their accounts with the accession of the sovereign under whom they wrote is demonstrably true of many of the extant works of this genre. However, most of these are from the later centuries of Byzantine history. From the early period there survive only scanty remains of this important genre. The works of Domninus, Timotheus and Nestorianus, all major sources of Malalas, have perished; and John of Antioch survives only in fragments. Nevertheless there are two clear exceptions to Rühl's principle among early chronicles. The author of the so-called Fragmenta Tusculana of Malalas thrice refers to Justinian as ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν (PG 85, 1820-1821); and the Easter Chronicle was composed during, and treated events of, the reign of Heraclius. See Du Cange in Chronicon paschale, edited by L. Dindorf, 2 (Bonn, 1832), 16.

¹⁰ A.D.E. Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History", Philologus 113(1969), 107.

¹¹ See J. Haury in Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia, edited by J. Haury and G. Wirth, I (Leipzig, 1963), xix.

¹² See his discussion of Procopius' sources, ibid. viiff. Haury thought that Evagrius mentioned Eustathius' account of the siege rather than Procopius' because Eustathius' was fuller. But at 1.19 = 28 Bidez-Parmentier he referred to Eustathius rather than ἄλλοι, even though the latter's account was a mere epitome at this point.

¹³ Zosimus 4.18.3.

¹⁴ Historia nova x, note 1.

¹⁵ See above p. 59.

¹⁶ See G.M.A. Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (4th ed; New Haven and London, 1970), 171.

¹⁷ Zosimus 3.32.6.

¹⁸ A.D.E. Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History", Philologus 113 (1969), 108; W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall", AHR 76(1971), 421-422.

¹⁹ Cf. above pp. 104-105.

²⁰ This is similar to the conclusion of T. Mommsen, "Zosimus", ByzZ 12(1903), 533.

²¹ 3.41 = 140 Bidez-Parmentier; loc. cit. note 1

APPENDIX 4

A NEW FRAGMENT OF EUNAPIUS' HISTORY

A.F. Norman produced a passage in the Souda which he believed to be from Eunapius:¹

<u>Souda</u> s.v. ἀνασχούσα ²	Zosimus 3.22.4.
ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνασχὼν	ταύτην [sc. ἀλειπὶς γυνή] μὲν οὖν ὁ
ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος	πρῶτος (πρῶτος Mendelssohn) ἀναδύς ἐκβοᾷν
ἦν Μάγνος, ἀνδρώδης	μέλλουσαν παίσας ἀνείλεν. ἦν δὲ Σουπ-
τε καὶ διαφερόντως	εράντιος, ἐν τῷ λόχῳ τῶν βικτόρων οὐκ
τολμητής.	ἄσημος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Μάγνος...

The grounds for attribution to Eunapius look reasonable.

διαφερόντως is a favourite adverb of his;³ and the adjectives are characteristic: Photius cites a list of seven adjectives ending in -δης which he found in Eunapius' History and which he regarded as offensive.⁴ ἀνδρώδης appears twice in a fragment of Eunapius.⁵

A.D.E. Cameron questioned the sufficiency of the argument from style.⁶ Other writers of the same period may have used a style like that of Eunapius; and we know of at least two other Greek writers, Magnus of Carrhae and Eutychianus of Cappadocia, who treated Julian's Persian expedition.⁷ He suggested that it may have been the latter

from whom the passage above was taken.⁸

The criticism of arguments based mainly on style is not new. Long ago Boissonade sensed how tenuous some of his attributions were.⁹ Nevertheless, Eunapius was a favourite author of the Souda, and it seems that not very much literature of the fourth century made its way into the lexicon.¹⁰ Norman's case is thus by no means proven, but it is as persuasive as can be expected in such situations, and as reasonable as many of the hypotheses that are woven by students of antiquity.

A more serious objection to the attribution in this case is the fact that the passage in the Souda conflicts with the information provided by Zosimus. In the former Magnus is the first to appear; in Zosimus he is second. But this difficulty is not insurmountable, for we know that the compiler of the lexicon was drawing only indirectly on the historians he cites, and that many of the extracts he provides are truncated in form. This is a point that has been made in the first chapter of this dissertation, and is well illustrated by Cameron himself.¹¹ Zosimus in the passage cited above gives us information besides the names of the three men. He tells how the first killed a woman who had observed the entry of the three. It may be that Eunapius' description of this scene was rather longer than that of Zosimus, and that in the process of pruning which it underwent prior to entry into the lexicon the names and facts became confused.

There seems to be no good reason then why Souda s.v.
ἀνδοχούσας may not be regarded as a new fragment of Eunapius'
History.

Notes

¹ A.F. Norman, "Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius and Zosimus: New Evidence", CQ N. S. 7(1957), 129-133.

² 1, 190, 7-8 Adler.

³ The point is made by W. R. Chalmers, "Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition", CQ N. S. 10(1960), 152.

⁴ Photius, Bibliotheca codex 77 = 1, 159 Henry.

⁵ History fg. 101 = Souda s.v. ΔΙΕΝΕΥΚΕΪΝ = 2, 84, 13-16 Adler.

⁶ A.D.E. Cameron, "An Alleged Fragment of Eunapius", CQ N. S. 13(1963), 232-236. Elsewhere the same scholar uses the stylistic argument to attribute Souda s.v. Μάρκελλος = 3, 325, 31-32 Adler to Eunapius: A.D.E. Cameron, "A New Fragment of Eunapius", CR N. S. 17(1967), 10-11.

⁷ Malalas 328-332 Dindorf (Magnus); 332-333 Dindorf (Eutychianus).

⁸ The suggestion is not a happy one. How does Dr. Cameron propose to reconcile the high-flown style of the passage in the Souda with such words as δάβα, παπολεών and κουβικουλάριοι which occurred in Eutychianus' work (see Malalas, loc. cit.)?

⁹ Sentio quam levidense sit hoc argumentum, ... fateor hoc argumentum non esse validissimum, cited by C. Müller, FHG 4, 56.

¹⁰ A.F. Norman, "Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius and Zosimus: New Evidence", CQ N. S. 7(1957), 130.

¹¹ A.D.E. Cameron, "An Alleged Fragment of Eunapius", CQ N. S. 13(1963), 235-236; "Priscus of Panium and John Malalas in 'Suidas'", CR N. S. 13(1963), 264.

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