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The Byzantine Summaries of the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus*

ABSTRACT: This paper conjecturally identifies Greek summaries of the lost Books I–XIII of Ammianus Marcellinus’ *Res Gestae* in the works of over a dozen Byzantine historians, primarily John Malalas, John of Antioch, John Zonaras, and Theodore Scutariotes. These summaries were evidently transmitted by means of a lost world history compiled in Greek by Eustathius of Epiphania, which summarized Ammianus’ Books I–XXV along with other sources. Although the original text of Eustathius’ history is lost, it was paraphrased in a distorted form by John Malalas, most of whose history survives, and was copied almost verbatim by John of Antioch, much of whose history survives in the *Historical Excerpts* of Constantine VII and in paraphrases by Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians. In all, the Greek summaries that can be identified seem to be about a tenth as long as the full text of Ammianus’ lost books.

KEYWORDS: Ammianus Marcellinus; John Zonaras; Eustathius of Epiphania; John of Antioch; John Malalas

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1897 Edwin Patzig demonstrated that many passages in the twelfth-century history of John Zonaras summarize Books XIV–XXV of the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. Patzig conjectured that Zonaras had copied these summaries from the partly preserved history of John of Antioch¹. For many years Patzig’s discovery was mostly ignored, perhaps because the Greek summaries seemed to add little to our knowledge of Ammianus’ Latin text. In 1981, however, Michael DiMaio demonstrated that Zonaras could help fill an important lacuna in Ammianus’ Book XXIV². Then Bruno Bleckmann, Alan Cameron, and Thomas Banchich and Eugene Lane called attention to the historical importance of the treatment of the late third and early fourth centuries in Zonaras, John of

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* My best thanks go to George Woudhuysen for sending me the page proofs of J. STOVER and G. WOUTHUYSSEN, *The Lost History of Sextus Aurelius Victor*. Edinburgh 2023, which allowed me to profit here from their important book, and to Thomas Banchich for his extensive and valuable comments on earlier drafts of my work. The present paper is dedicated to the memory of Michael DiMaio (1949–2020), who through his articles first alerted me to the connection between Ammianus and Zonaras and later discussed the question with me in a long and helpful telephone conversation.

¹ E. PATZIG, *Über einige Quellen des Zonaras*. *BZ* 5 (1896) 24–53 and especially PATZIG, *Über einige Quellen des Zonaras* II. *BZ* 6 (1897) 322–356. On Ammianus in general, see T. BARNES, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Ithaca 1988, W. TREADGOLD, *The Early Byzantine Historians*. New York 2007, 47–78, and G. KELLY, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian*. Cambridge 2008. On Zonaras, see T. BANCHICH – E. LANE, *The History of Zonaras from Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*. London 2009, TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*. New York 2013, 388–399, and T. KAMPIANAKI, *John Zonaras’ Epitome of Histories: A Compendium of Jewish-Roman History and Its Reception*. Oxford 2022.

² M. DIMAIO, *The Antiochene Connection: Zonaras, Ammianus Marcellinus, and John of Antioch on the Reigns of Constantius II and Julian*. *Byz* 50 (1980) 158–185, and DIMAIO, *Infrastructis Ductoribus Praeviis: The Antiochene Connection, Part II*. *Byz* 51 (1981) 502–510. J. MATTHEWS, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. Baltimore 1989, 503 n. 65 commented, “I would be reluctant to accept DiMaio’s view, based on a theory of 1895, that Ammianus’ version, mediated by another Greek source (John of Antioch), was known to Zonaras”; but Matthews’ dating this “theory” to “1895” seems to show that Matthews had not read PATZIG, *Über einige Quellen*, which appeared in 1897.

Antioch, and several other Byzantine authors³. Bleckmann conjectured in 1992 that this material derived from a lost history in Latin by Nicomachus Flavianus that Ammianus used⁴. In 2011, however, Bleckmann's theory was refuted by Cameron, who showed that Flavianus wrote later than Ammianus; but, realizing that few Byzantines knew Latin by the apparent date of John of Antioch in the early seventh century, Cameron also rejected Patzig's contention that John used Ammianus directly⁵. While acknowledging, "Long before Bleckmann, it had always been obvious that a major lost narrative source lay behind Zonaras," Cameron considered this lost source unidentifiable⁶. Recently I argued that this "major lost narrative source" was the lost Books I–XIII of Ammianus' history⁷. I develop this argument further here.

Strictly speaking, the case that Zonaras, John of Antioch, and other Byzantine authors summarize the lost books of Ammianus can be made without explaining how they gained access to Ammianus' work. The extensive parallels cited by Patzig are enough to show that John of Antioch and the historians dependent on him had at least indirect access to Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV. Nonetheless, in the absence of a clear explanation for this fact, most specialists in Ammianus have failed to make use of the summaries of these books in Zonaras and related texts. For instance, Gavin Kelly, who is preparing a much-needed new edition of Ammianus, has recently discussed Ammianus' text at length while barely referring to the Byzantine tradition. He begins by discussing a corrupt passage in which the text, as supplemented by previous editors, says that when the emperor Julian was fatally wounded by a spear it was "uncertain <from where> (*incertum unde*)" it came. After discussing possible alternative emendations, Kelly observes in passing, "Finally, we may add that the Byzantine historian Zonaras, whose text occasionally offers material parallel to Ammianus, has a striking similarity in this case: ἄδηλον ... ὅθεν [*'uncertain from where'*]." For "parallels between Ammianus and Zonaras and the Byzantine tradition," Kelly cites only an article by Bleckmann from 2007, not the much more detailed treatments of Patzig, Bleckmann in 1992, and Cameron in 2011, and seems surprised that Zonaras and other Byzantine authors confirm the reading *incertum unde*⁸. Later Kelly mentions the "significant lacuna in book XXIV, during the account of Julian's Persian campaign" without referring to DiMaio's discovery that this lacuna can largely be filled from Zonaras⁹.

³ See B. BLECKMANN, *Die Reichskrise des III. Jahrhunderts in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung: Untersuchungen zu den nachdionischen Quellen der Chronik des Johannes Zonaras*. Munich 1992, BANCHICH and LANE, *History*, and Alan CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford 2011, especially 627.

⁴ BLECKMANN, *Reichskrise* 327–404.

⁵ Alan CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford 2011, 627–690.

⁶ CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 636 (quoted) and 689 (proposing "to abandon the quest for a single lost fourth-century source for Zonaras").

⁷ TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography and the Supposedly Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus*, in: *Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient: Celebrating the Memory of Karen Yuzbashyan*, ed. B. Outtier – *et al.* Leiden 2020, 530–579. I have not learned of any response in print to this earlier paper as of August 2023, when the present paper went to press.

⁸ G. KELLY, *Why We Need a New Edition of Ammianus Marcellinus*, in: *Ammianus Marcellinus from Soldier to Author*, ed. M. Hanaghan – D. Woods, Leiden 2022, 19–22 and n. 9, citing Ammianus XXV 3.6 (ed. C.U. CLARK – L. TRAUBE – W. HERAEUS, *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri qui Supersunt*, 2 vols. Berlin 1910–1915) and Zonaras XIII 13.20 (ed. M. PINDER – T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum* [CSHB 47–49], 3 vols. Bonn 1841–1897). Parallels in John Malalas and George Cedrenus corroborate Ammianus' professed uncertainty about Julian's wound, which was evidently not shared by other ancient authors. See Malalas XIII 23 (ἐτρώθη ἀδῆλως – "was wounded by uncertain means") (ed. J. THURN, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [CFHB 35]. Berlin 2000) and Cedrenus 323.3 (ἐπλήγη δόρατι ἀφανῶς – "was struck by a spear of uncertain origin") (ed. L. TARTAGLIA, *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium*, 2 vols. Rome 2016). For other ancient accounts of Julian's death, see M. DODGEON – S. LIEU, eds., *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, AD 226–363: A Documentary History*. London 1991, 238–274, supplemented by BANCHICH and LANE, *History* 234–236.

⁹ KELLY, *Why We Need a New Edition* 30 and n. 38. For DiMaio's articles, see n. 2 above, and on the lacuna see below, Section X and nn. 209 and 210.

Not even such an accomplished Latinist as Kelly can produce a satisfactory edition of Ammianus' history without making use of the Byzantine tradition. Nor should any editor of Ammianus ignore many passages in John of Antioch, John Malalas, Zonaras, and other Byzantine authors that cover the years from 96 to 353¹⁰. These passages show clear signs of being translated from a Latin history that shared Ammianus' expansiveness, sophistication, and chronological range, none of which seems to have been characteristic of any other lost Latin historian of the period. Once we realize that John of Antioch had access both to Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV and to a very similar Latin historian who recorded the period of Ammianus' lost Books I–XIII, the conclusion that the similar Latin historian should be identified with Ammianus becomes almost inescapable. Although Cameron stressed “the improbability of a Byzantine writer drawing on a Latin text,” some writers in Late Antiquity certainly knew both Greek and Latin well, including Ammianus himself, Claudian, Procopius, and various other lawyers, officials, and writers¹¹. Of course, anyone who knew enough Latin to use Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV must have known enough Latin to use Ammianus' Books I–XIII.

The absence of parallels to Ammianus' Books XXVI–XXXI in Zonaras and the other authors dependent on John of Antioch is significant. Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV end with the death of the emperor Jovian in 364 and must have been finished between 389 and 391¹². Ammianus begins Book XXVI by remarking, “After the course of events up to the limits of fairly recent memory had been narrated [by us] with abundant care, from that time on it seemed best [to us] to hold back from [narrating] better known events, both so that the dangers often associated with [telling] the truth might be avoided, and so that we might not suffer later from intemperate critics of the work to be composed,” who would carp that Ammianus had omitted various minor details. Ammianus says that on reflection he had decided to disregard the carping critics, but not that he had decided to ignore the dangers occasioned by veracity¹³.

Consequently the decisive change must have been that telling the truth about events from 363 to 378 had become less dangerous by the time Ammianus recorded them in Books XXVI–XXXI. Presumably the reason was that different emperors had come to power. The years from 363 to 378 were the time of the Valentinian dynasty, which ended in the East with the death of Valens in 378 and in the West with the death of Valentinian II in 392. During this period Ammianus would especially have wanted to avoid discussing the treason trials in 372 of the pagans who had plotted against Valens after obtaining a prophecy that the next emperor's name would begin with THEOD. (The selection of Theodosius I in 389 fulfilled this prophecy, which had almost certainly led the Western emperor Gratian to choose him.) Ammianus describes in his Book XXIX the terror he felt during those trials, which may well have been the main reason he left the East and settled in Rome for good¹⁴.

Already in 1947, E.A. Thompson concluded that “Book XXV is obviously the end of an installment,” so that Books XXVI–XXXI must have appeared after 392, when the orator Libanius wrote Ammianus a letter congratulating him on the success of his history and urging him to contin-

¹⁰ See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians*, especially 235–256 (on Malalas) and 311–329 (on John of Antioch).

¹¹ CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 637. See A. GARCEA – M. ROSELLINI – L. SILVANO, eds., *Latin in Byzantium I: Late Antiquity and Beyond*. Turnhout 2019, and TREADGOLD, *Bilingualism in Late Antiquity*. *Classical Review* 71 (2021) 210–212.

¹² Ammianus XXI 10.6 mentions the city prefecture of Aurelius Victor in 389, while Ammianus XXII 16.12 refers to the Serapeum in Alexandria as still standing, though it was destroyed in 391.

¹³ Ammianus XXVI 1.1–2.

¹⁴ Ammianus XXIX 1.40–2.20. On the problems Ammianus faced in writing on the years from 363 to 378, including the prophecy, the treason trials, the execution of Theodosius the Elder in 376, and the selection of Theodosius I, see TREADGOLD, *Predicting the Accession of Theodosius I*. *Mediterraneo Antico* 8 (2005) 767–791 and TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 56–60 and 73–75.

ue it¹⁵. While some scholars have doubted this conclusion, the absence of Byzantine parallels to Ammianus' Books XXVI–XXXI is strong evidence that the Byzantine historians depended on an earlier version of Ammianus' history that ended with Book XXV. Moreover, the fact that the parallels stop with Book XXV indicates that the Byzantine summaries derive from a very early manuscript that was independent of our own corrupt manuscripts, which probably represent the second volume of a two-volume set of the whole thirty-one books. The binder seems to have chosen to begin the second volume with Book XIV, which unlike Book XV lacks a preface, not to mark any major historical division at 353 (the death of the rebel Magnentius), but simply to distribute Ammianus' thirty-one books between two volumes of fairly equal size. The twenty-five-book version, if divided at all, would presumably have been divided differently. Thus the early manuscript in twenty-five books used by the Byzantines should have included the lost Books I–XIII¹⁶. After completing his first edition around 390, Ammianus probably sent a copy of it to a friend or a library at Antioch, where it was preserved until Eustathius found it and summarized it.

II. THE JOHANNESFRAGE

The question of how John of Antioch gained access to Ammianus' history has been complicated by a protracted and bitter dispute known as the *Johannesfrage*: Did John Malalas copy John of Antioch (as Patzig believed) or did John of Antioch copy Malalas (the opinion of Patzig's critic Erich Gleye)? This controversy has raged inconclusively since 1892, culminating in the publication of two rival editions of John of Antioch's history in 2005 and 2008¹⁷. The histories of Malalas and John of Antioch must be closely related, for several reasons. Both authors include extremely similar treatments of Biblical, Greek, and Roman history beginning with the Creation of the world. Both identified themselves in their titles as natives of Antioch and showed a strong interest in the city's history. Up to the reign of Anastasius (491–518) the two Johns repeatedly described the same events in the same or similar words and cited many of the same sources, which are often very obscure ones.

Our texts of both their histories are incomplete. Most of Malalas' *General History* survives only in a single damaged manuscript that must be an abridgement, as becomes evident when we compare it with the more extensive texts in the extracts from Malalas in Constantine VII's *Historical Excerpts*. Most of John of Antioch's *Chronological History* survives only in Constantine's *Historical Excerpts*, but we also have eight folios of what appears to be John's full text (on the years from 107 to 55 BC) along with many more fragments preserved in other Byzantine historians¹⁸. For the

¹⁵ E.A. THOMPSON, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*. Cambridge 1947, 18; cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. Oxford 1977, 131 ("Ammianus seems to imply that there had been an interval before he started to write in Book 26 his account of the reigns of Valentinianus and Valens"). See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 52 n. 13 on Libanius' letter (arguing for the usual identification of Libanius' "Marcellinus" as Ammianus) and 56–59 and 73–75 (arguing that Ammianus finished Books XXVI–XXXI between 394 and 397).

¹⁶ On the manuscripts of Ammianus, see KELLY, *Why We Need a New Edition*, especially 29–35, and TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 531 and 537–538.

¹⁷ Ioannis Antiocheni *Fragmenta ex Historia Chronica*, ed. U. ROBERTO (*TU* 154). Berlin 2005 (assuming the priority of Malalas) and Ioannis Antiocheni *Fragmenta quae supersunt Omnia*, ed. S. MARIEV (*CFHB* 47). Berlin 2008 (assuming the priority of John of Antioch). See the review of both editions by TREADGOLD, *Speculum* 85 (2010) 689–691, ROBERTO, *Research Prospects on John of Antioch: Notes on the Edition* by S. Mariev, *JÖB* 60 (2010) 115–128, and VAN NUFFELEN, *John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians*, *Byz* 82 (2012) 437–450. In the present paper I cite only Roberto's edition, which includes many fragments omitted by Mariev that I consider genuine for reasons that I explain in Section III and n. 40 below. See also BANCHICH – LANE, *History* 8–11 and B. CROKE, *Modern Study of Malalas*, in: *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys – B. Croke – R. Scott. Sydney 1990, 325–338.

¹⁸ On the *Historical Excerpts*, see TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine Historians* 153–165 and especially A. NÉMETH, *The "Excerpta Constantiniana" and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past*. Cambridge 2018. See also ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antioch-*

period from the Creation to AD 518, what remains of John of Antioch's history is only about three-quarters as long as what remains of Malalas's. When the texts of both Johns survive for comparison, however, the parallels suggest that their original histories were roughly comparable in length up to 518.

Nevertheless, the histories of the two Johns also differ substantially from each other. Each often includes material that the other does not, and their textual parallels cease with 518. Malalas writes throughout in a "popular" Greek that looks like a blundering attempt to write standard Koine. John of Antioch writes in formal Attic Greek for events up to 518, then puts the rest of his history into a Koine that is less formal than his previous Attic but more formal than Malalas's "popular" Greek. Our version of Malalas' history evidently ended with Justinian's death in 565; but the church historian Evagrius indicates that his version of Malalas ended with 527, the translator of Malalas into Slavonic used a version that ended with 528, and the author of the so-called "*Paschal Chronicle*" apparently used a version of Malalas that ended with 533. We have only two short fragments of John of Antioch concerning events from 518 to 602, then six longer fragments ending with 610, when John evidently concluded his history.

Although many modern scholars have made Malalas appear to be a more or less conventional historian by describing and quoting his text selectively, his history teems with unique and often absurd errors and fictions that he seems to have added himself. For example, he reports that Alexander the Great freed "the Romans" from subjection to the Persians and that Julius Caesar ruled Rome as its monarch for eighteen years¹⁹. Malalas claims that the emperor Tiberius gave the river at Antioch its name of Orontes, "which means 'Eastern' in the Roman language" (presumably Malalas' mistake for *orientalis*) and that the emperor Carus conquered the province of Caria and founded the city of Carrhae, naming both of them after himself²⁰. Malalas calls the epic poet Apollonius Rhodius "the most learned historian Apollonius," refers to Cicero and Sallust as "the most learned Roman poets," and says that the emperor Claudius "founded the city of Brettania by the Ocean," apparently a misunderstanding of Claudius' conquest of Britain²¹.

Probably inspired by human sacrifices like that of Iphigenia in the Greek myths, Malalas claims that sacrifices of virgin maidens were made to dedicate cities and buildings in historical times by Alexander the Great, Seleucus I Nicator (twice), Augustus, Tiberius, a senator named Zarbus under Nerva, and Trajan²². Malalas also invents physical descriptions of emperors and other historical figures. In one revealing example, Malalas describes Nero as "having completely gray hair," evidently relying on Malalas' own mistake that Nero was assassinated at age 69, though Nero actually committed suicide at age 30²³. Malalas systematically depicts emperors who reigned as colleagues, including the tetrarchs, as reigning separately one after another. Though in his second edition Malalas acknowledges that some emperors reigned together (perhaps because someone had pointed this out to him in the meantime), he left his earlier text unaltered, seemingly out of mere laziness²⁴.

eni Fragmenta xxxi–liii on the *Historical Excerpts* and cxi–cxvi on the eight folios of the Athos codex. It is possible that the eight Athonite folios actually come from a manuscript of Eustathius of Epiphania; but under my hypothesis the text would still be practically identical with that of John of Antioch, as will appear.

¹⁹ Malalas VIII 1 and IX 3.

²⁰ Malalas X 10 and XII 34.

²¹ Malalas IV 9, VIII 32, and X 22.

²² Malalas VIII 1 (Alexander at Alexandria), VIII 14 (Seleucus at Antioch), VIII 17 (Seleucus at Laodicea), IX 13 (Augustus at Ancyra), X 10 (Tiberius at Antioch), X 53 (Nerva's senator at Anazarbus), and XI 9 (Trajan at Antioch); cf. Malalas II 11 (a sacrifice by Perseus) and V 35 (a sacrifice by Iphigenia). B. GARSTAD, *The Tyche Sacrifices in John Malalas: Virgin Sacrifice and Fourth-Century Polemical History*. *Illinois Classical Studies* 30 (2005) 83–135 attributes these references to the historian B(r)uttius mentioned by Malalas (cf. n. 31 below), but Malalas never assigns them specifically to B(r)uttius; see below, Section V and n. 92 for evidence that Malalas invented them himself.

²³ Malalas X 29–30; cf. TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 249 and 253 and n. 91.

²⁴ See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 249–250.

Moreover, Malalas repeatedly cites sources that he seems simply to have invented. In one particularly inept citation, he claims that the otherwise unknown chroniclers Clement, Theophilus, and Timotheus agreed with him that the second consulship of Justinian in 528/29 occurred 6497 years after the Creation and 840 years after Seleucus Nicator, though Eusebius of Caesarea said the number was 6432 years. Malalas thus implies that all three of these otherwise unattested chroniclers and even the fourth-century Eusebius were still writing in 528/29, which appears to be the date when Malalas wrote this passage²⁵. Malalas seems almost to be mocking his readers' credulity when he cites the otherwise unknown historians Nestorianus and Eutychianus, whose names mean "the Nestorian" and "the Eutychian" (extreme Monophysite)²⁶.

These are only a few examples of Malalas' many absurdities. While some of his errors can be blamed on extreme negligence, like his describing the tetrarchs as ruling one after another, Malalas' inventions of sources, physical descriptions, and human sacrifices were clearly intentional, and shamelessly flouted the standards upheld by almost all ancient and Byzantine historians²⁷. Expressing the well-justified scholarly consensus that prevailed until recently, Karl Krumbacher referred to Malalas' "lachlichen Irrtümer" and "Kindlichkeiten," J.B. Bury spoke of Malalas' "many blunders," Robert Browning described Malalas' work as "full of absurd errors," Herbert Hunger mentioned Malalas' "Menge von sachlichen Fehlern," and Otto Maenchen-Helfen called Malalas "the most stupid of the Byzantine chroniclers."²⁸

Yet the sixty-one papers in the four conference volumes of *Malalas Studien* published between 2016 and 2022 include only brief and dismissive allusions to the abundant evidence of Malalas' silliness, dishonesty, and negligence²⁹. Usually even those scanty references to Malalas' glaring defects appear amid attempts at "taking Malalas seriously" or depicting Malalas as "sensible" and "prudent."³⁰ Defenders of Malalas who point out that he preserves much correct information—including references to two sources that modern scholars have questioned but appear to be genuine—only confirm the general conclusion that Malalas had access to excellent material but deliber-

²⁵ Malalas XVIII 8 (at 8.72, for Thurn's $\tau\mu'$ read $\omega\mu'$ = 840 of the Seleucid Era = AD 528/29). P. VAN NUFFELEN, Malalas and the Chronographic Tradition, in: L. Carrara – M. Meier – C. Radki-Jansen, eds. (*Malalas Studien* 2), Stuttgart 2017, 261 and 264–65, while admitting that Malalas' "[m]anifest errors and the fantastic nature of many a story recorded hardly inspire confidence in the eyes of modern scholarship," notes that Malalas' "text seems to say that Clement, Theophilus and Timothy agree on the year 6497 for the second consulship of Justinian (AD 528/29). This does not necessarily mean that they wrote until that date but that their chronicles generate such a date." Yet that they wrote until then is what Malalas plainly says, and is no more ridiculous than many of his other statements.

²⁶ TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 251 and n. 88.

²⁷ See TREADGOLD, The Unwritten Rules for Writing Byzantine History, in: Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016, Plenary Papers, ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić. Belgrade 2016, 277–292, with 288–289 on Malalas.

²⁸ K. KRUMBACHER, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* IX) 2nd ed. Munich 1897. I 327, 328; J.B. BURY, A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (AD 395 to AD 565), 2nd ed. London 1923. II 435; R. BROWNING, Malalas, John, in: The Penguin Companion to Classical, Oriental, and African Literature, ed. D.M. Lang – D.R. Dudley. Harmondsworth 1969, 199; H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII 5). Munich, 1978. I 322; J.O. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, The World of the Huns. Berkeley 1973, 130.

²⁹ M. MEIER – C. RADTKI – F. SCHULZ, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Autor, Werk, Überlieferung (*Malalas Studien* 1). Stuttgart 2016; L. CARRARA – M. MEIER – C. RADTKI-JANSEN, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Quellenfragen (*Malalas Studien* 2). Stuttgart 2017; J. BORSCH – O. GENGLER – M. MEIER, eds. Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas im Kontext spätantiker Memorialkultur. (*Malalas Studien* 3). Stuttgart 2019; O. GENGLER – M. MEIER, eds. Johannes Malalas: Der Chronist als Zeithistoriker. (*Malalas Studien* 4). Stuttgart 2022.

³⁰ VAN NUFFELEN, Malalas 266 (see n. 25 above); R. SCOTT, Malalas' Sources for the Contemporary Books, in: Carrara et al., Weltchronik 230–231. Scott's speculation that Cedrenus used Eustathius directly for the story of Zeno's being buried alive is unfounded, since no other source who used Eustathius transmits the story, including Malalas, who tells many tales that are even sillier than that one.

ately contaminated it with his own mistakes and fabrications³¹. Malalas could only have collected that excellent material for his work himself if he had been an unusually meticulous and perspicacious scholar; but his many errors and fictions show that he was nothing of the kind.

By contrast, none of these absurd errors and fictions appears in what we have of John of Antioch, which includes sections that parallel many passages of Malalas that contain those errors and fictions. Thus John of Antioch cites Apollonius Rhodius without calling him an historian, knows that Sallust was an historian and not a poet, says that Nero committed suicide at age 30, correctly describes the simultaneous reigns of emperors like the tetrarchs, and never mentions Malalas' physical descriptions, human sacrifices, or fabricated sources³². Consequently defenders of the priority of Malalas must argue that John of Antioch took as the foundation of his history a work that he realized was riddled with errors and falsehoods, then laboriously but successfully excised or corrected the errors and falsehoods, some of which would have been almost impossible to detect without access to modern reference works. Why John of Antioch should have done such a thing seems inexplicable. Without a much more coherent and credible explanation than has yet been suggested for the absence of these errors and fictions from John of Antioch's work, the theory that John of Antioch copied Malalas appears untenable. Only a sustained effort to understate or overlook Malalas' mistakes and fictions has kept this theory in contention.

On the other side of the controversy, defenders of the priority of John of Antioch must argue that John wrote in Attic Greek before 527, when Malalas produced the first version of his history, but also that the part of John of Antioch's history from 518 to 610 was written in Koine by someone other than John of Antioch, whom the compilers of Constantine's *Historical Excerpts* mistook for John of Antioch. According to this argument, Malalas paraphrased the history of John of Antioch in his own "popular" Greek, adding his own errors and inventions. This argument however seems impossible to reconcile with our evidence for a third historian, Eustathius of Epiphania, who has been almost entirely ignored by the disputants on both sides of the *Johannesfrage*, even though his history must closely have resembled the histories of both John of Antioch and Malalas.

While none of the text of Eustathius' *Chronological Epitome* has reached us under his name, his work is described in considerable detail by three sixth-century historians: Malalas, Hesychius of Miletus, and Evagrius Scholasticus³³. Like Malalas and John of Antioch, Eustathius wrote a universal history, including Biblical, mythological, secular, and ecclesiastical material beginning with the Creation. Eustathius wrote at length, because his history comprised two volumes, the first on events until the fall of Troy and the second, in nine books, on events until the reign of Anastasius. Evagrius says that Eustathius wrote elegantly, presumably in Attic Greek like Evagrius himself, and cited sources that largely overlapped with those cited by Malalas and John of Antioch, including such obscure authors as Charax of Pergamum, Priscus of Panium, and Pisander of Laranda³⁴. Since Eustathius' native city of Epiphania in Syria is unlikely to have had a library that allowed this sort of research, Eustathius probably wrote at Antioch, the metropolis of his region, in which he apparent-

³¹ Malalas' citations of Bottius and Philostratus were questioned by E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas' Sources*, in: *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys – B. Croke – R. Scott. Sydney 1990, 174 and 190, and TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 247–251; but Bottius (more correctly, Bruttius) has been shown to be authentic by B. GARSTAD, *Euhemerus and the Chronicle of John Malalas*. *International History Review* 38 (2016) 900–929, and L. VAN HOOFF – P. VAN NUFFELEN, *The Fragmentary Latin Histories of Late Antiquity (AD 300–620): Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge 2020, 250–261, while the citation of Philostratus has been shown to be authentic by L. MECELLA, *Malalas und die Quellen für die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser*, in: Carrara et al., *Weltchronik*, 74–76. On the other hand, in TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 547–548, I argue that Magnus of Carrhae, previously thought to be an authentic source, was almost certainly invented by Malalas.

³² John of Antioch frs. 26.1 (Apollonius), 145.2.269–270 (Sallust), and 174.3 (Nero).

³³ See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 270–278 (on Hesychius) and 299–308 (on Evagrius).

³⁴ On Eustathius and his sources, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 114–120 and 315–317, and TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 533 and n. 14.

ly took an interest that is reflected by John of Antioch and Malalas. Since Malalas observes that “the most learned chronographer Eustathius” left his history incomplete when he died suddenly after describing the fall of Amida in 503, Eustathius evidently died between 503 and 527, the date when Malalas cited him and mentioned his death. Eustathius’ sudden death may well have resulted from an earthquake in 526 that reportedly killed a quarter of a million people in and around Antioch, probably including more than half the city’s population³⁵.

Modern scholars who think that Malalas copied John of Antioch must assume that very soon before 527 three very similar universal histories were composed by three different authors: Eustathius, John of Antioch, and Malalas. The histories of John of Antioch and Malalas are so similar that they cannot possibly be independent of each other. Malalas says in his preface that he has summarized “the Hebrew Scriptures of Moses and the historians Africanus, Eusebius Pamphili, Pausanias, Didymus, Theophilus, Clement, Diodorus, Domninus, Eustathius, and many other studious historians, poets, and scholars,” though in his text Malalas cites Eustathius only once, for the fall of Amida. The fragment we have of John of Antioch’s preface mentions his summarizing “the books of Moses, Africanus, Eusebius Pamphili, Pausanias [?], Didymus, and others.” Note that John of Antioch seems not to have included Theophilus, Clement, and Domninus, the only three sources apparently invented by Malalas whom Malalas mentions in his preface³⁶.

The *Johannesfrage* has remained unresolved for so long because each side has been far more successful in refuting the other’s position than in defending its own. Both sides have assumed that the parallels between John Malalas and John of Antioch prove that one copied the other. But that assumption is wrong, because the parallels could also mean that both Johns copied a third author, namely Eustathius. If so, in 527 Malalas paraphrased Eustathius in “popular” Greek, inventing sources and other details to bolster his claims in his preface that before his own times he had consulted more sources than just Eustathius’ history. It would follow that around 610 John of Antioch virtually transcribed Eustathius’ history in its original Attic before continuing it in Koine. The fact that John wrote his continuation in Koine indicates that he felt unable to write correct Attic himself but was unwilling to alter Eustathius’ Attic style. If this explanation is right, Eustathius’ history survives in a distorted form in the history of Malalas and in a faithful version in the fragments of John of Antioch. Such is the solution to the *Johannesfrage* that I first proposed in 2007³⁷.

My solution has been accepted by some scholars and resisted by others. No one, however, has attempted a systematic refutation of it or offered any alternative explanation of the similarities between the two Johns and Eustathius³⁸. The main reason for resistance to the Eustathius hypothesis

³⁵ Malalas XVI 9; cf. TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 114–118. I believe that SCOTT, *Malalas’ Sources* 220–222 misinterprets the passage of Malalas that he correctly translates, “The most learned chronicler Eustathius wrote about this battle [the siege of Amida in 503]; however, he died shortly afterwards, before he was able to complete the writing of his narrative.” The natural interpretation of Malalas’ words is that Eustathius died shortly after he wrote about the siege of Amida, not shortly after the siege occurred, as Scott assumes. Scott supposes anachronistically that Eustathius added new entries to his world chronicle as soon as they happened, like a modern newspaper reporter; if such had been the case, Eustathius’ chronicle would actually have been finished, because it ended with the year in which Eustathius wrote. Cf. SCOTT, *Malalas’ Sources* 221 n. 14, where his analysis depends on the baseless assumption that Eustathius wrote in strict chronological order, unlike John of Antioch, Malalas, and almost all other Byzantine historians; see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 320–326. Evagrius III 37 (ed. J. BIDEZ – L. PARMENTIER, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia*. London 1898) did misunderstand Malalas to have said that Eustathius died in 503, probably because Evagrius overlooked Malalas’ statement that Eustathius left his history unfinished. This is just one of many instances of Evagrius’ usual carelessness; see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 306–308.

³⁶ Cf. Malalas, preface and John of Antioch, fr. 1, apparatus, listing its heading (Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκθέσεως ... καὶ ἑτέρων), which evidently includes a fragment of John’s preface; see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 312–314 and n. 6 (suggesting emendations to the fragment).

³⁷ See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 314–329, and TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine World Histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania*. *International History Review* 29 (2007) 709–745.

³⁸ See the essays in Carrara et al., *Weltchronik* and my review of that book in *Gnomon* 90 (2018) 759–760.

appears to be discomfort with rejecting so much previous scholarship. Yet at least one school of the previous scholarship must be wrong on any possible hypothesis because it disagrees with the other school, and the Eustathius theory answers the objections raised by both schools. Since Eustathius apparently was born around 455, knew Latin well, and served as an official in the diocesan bureaucracy at Antioch, postulating that both Malalas and John of Antioch copied Eustathius also answers Cameron's objection that around 610 John of Antioch would have been highly unlikely to know enough Latin to summarize Ammianus³⁹. My hypothesis, like any other hypothesis, should be judged not by whether it can be proven as an undeniable fact but by whether it fits the evidence better than any other possibility. The hypothesis that Eustathius was the source of the parallels between Malalas and John of Antioch until Anastasius' reign presents no serious problems and removes problems with the other two possibilities that 130 years of controversy have failed to solve.

III. IDENTIFYING FRAGMENTS OF AMMIANUS' LOST BOOKS

The most comprehensive edition of John of Antioch compiled to date is that of Umberto Roberto from 2005. Roberto includes all the extracts attributed to John in Constantine's *Historical Excerpts* and some closely related extracts from the tenth-century encyclopedia known as the *Suda*, which drew on parts of the *Historical Excerpts* that are now lost⁴⁰. Roberto also includes the eight folios of the full text from the Athonite manuscript. He acknowledges that John's history was used by several Byzantine historians, including Zonaras, Theophanes Confessor, George the Monk, Symeon the Logothete, and Pseudo-Symeon (most of whose chronicle has so far been published only in a version by George Cedrenus)⁴¹. Regrettably, however, Roberto's edition omits many passages from these authors that Roberto himself realizes were copied from John of Antioch. Roberto also omits other passages that seem clearly derived from John of Antioch and appear in the chronicle of George Syncellus and the *Chronicle* and *Chronological Synopsis* of Theodore Scutariotes⁴². Malalas is also a witness to the text of Eustathius copied by John of Antioch, if Malalas' many errors and fictions are excluded. The fragmentary history of Peter the Patrician includes still more parallels with the texts derived from John of Antioch, which show that Peter must have consulted

³⁹ For a conjectural reconstruction of Eustathius' career, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 116–118 and 326–327, and *Byzantine World Histories* 741–744.

⁴⁰ ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta* xxxi–cxxiv. Mariev's edition (see Section II and n. 17 above) is based on the correct assumption that Malalas could not have been a source of John of Antioch, but omits many genuine passages of John of Antioch on the incorrect assumption that John of Antioch was a source of Malalas and must therefore have been earlier.

⁴¹ ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta* xlv and clx (Theophanes), clx–clxii (Symeon and George the Monk), clxiii–clxvi (Pseudo-Symeon/Cedrenus) and clxvii–clxviii (Zonaras). See also TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine Historians* 38–77 (Theophanes), 114–120 (George the Monk), 203–217 (Symeon), 217–223 (Pseudo-Symeon), and 339–341 (Cedrenus).

⁴² For Syncellus' use of John of Antioch, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 555–556, 558, and 566–570, and further on Syncellus, see TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine Historians* 38–63. For Scutariotes' use of John of Antioch, see K. ZAFEIRIS, *The Synopsis Chronike and its Place in the Byzantine Chronicle Tradition: Its Sources (Creation–1081 CE)*. Diss. St. Andrews 2007, <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/457> (accessed: 11.01.2024) 226–228. Though Zafeiris disputes the generally accepted attribution to Scutariotes of the anonymously transmitted *Synopsis*, this attribution is affirmed by R. TOCCI, *Zu Genese und Kompositionsvorgang der Synopsis Chronikē des Theodoros Skutariotes*. *BZ* 98 (2005) 551–568, and TOCCI, *Theodori Scutariotae Chronica (CFHB 46)*. Berlin 2015, 64*–102* and 102*–115*. Tocci is preparing a new edition of the *Synopsis* that will replace K. SATHAS, *Anōnymou Synopsis Chronikē (Mesaionikē Bibliothēkē VII)*. Paris 1894. I include a discussion of Scutariotes and his histories in my book on *The Later Byzantine Historians* (in preparation).

Eustathius directly, since Peter wrote before John of Antioch did⁴³. The table at the end of this paper should help to clarify the complex relationships of these texts to each other.

Even when material is securely attributed to Eustathius or to John of Antioch, determining how much of this material Eustathius summarized from Ammianus can be problematic. The part of Eustathius' narrative preserved by Zonaras for the years from 353 to 364 interpolates material from Ammianus with material from the later pagan historian Zosimus, the ultra-Arian historian Philostorgius, and at least one lost orthodox ecclesiastical history dependent on Eusebius of Caesarea, perhaps the chronicle of Panodorus of Alexandria⁴⁴. Ammianus' own references in his surviving books allow some material from Eustathius to be assigned to Ammianus' lost books, which Ammianus says began with the reign of Nerva (96–98)⁴⁵. As a pagan, Ammianus can be excluded as a source of any obviously Christian passages in the Byzantine histories.

Ammianus may also be the source of Eustathius' summaries of earlier Greek historians like Dio and Herodian, since Ammianus could have summarized these authors himself. When he did summarize them, however, his summaries should show signs of having been put into Latin by Ammianus and then put back into Greek by Eustathius. No doubt parallels can have different wording even without being translated and retranslated, and even passages that have been translated and retranslated can have similar wording by coincidence. Yet summaries made in Greek directly from a Greek original should show many fewer verbal differences from the original than summaries made from a Latin version, which should include significant differences in direct quotations and transliterations of names, and perhaps even mistranslations or misunderstandings. Such indications of Ammianus' authorship begin to appear in our Byzantine texts precisely with Nerva's reign⁴⁶. The absence of such indications shows that Zonaras, who often summarized Dio himself, usually preferred to use Dio instead of John of Antioch, who had copied Eustathius' summaries of Ammianus' passages from Dio.

We have another valuable clue for identifying material from Ammianus. In his surviving books Ammianus always includes the ages of emperors and usurpers at their deaths. These ages are not necessarily correct. For instance, our manuscripts of Ammianus say that Constantius II died at the age of "40 years and a few months." Though editors have corrected this to 44 years, Malalas' and Scutariotes' versions of Ammianus show that our manuscripts are accurate here and Ammianus, whose mention of "a few" rather than a specific number of months suggests an imprecise source or his own memory, was simply mistaken⁴⁷. Dio's history also reported the ages of the emperors at their deaths, and before AD 96 Eustathius evidently copied these ages from Dio, whom John of Antioch explicitly cites as a source for Nero⁴⁸. From 96, when Ammianus' history began, to 229, when Dio's history ended, we can compare the ages of twelve emperors that are recorded both by Dio and by authors dependent on Eustathius. Ten of these ages are different, and the remaining two

⁴³ On Peter, see BANCHICH, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian*. London 2015, especially 6–9 (conclusively identifying Peter with the so-called *Anonymus post Dionem*). For Peter's use of Eustathius, see below, Section VIII and nn. 150–153.

⁴⁴ See TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 544–549 (with 539 n. 33 for Panodorus). On Philostorgius, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 126–134, and on Panodorus, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 124–125, and TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine Historians* 59–62.

⁴⁵ See Ammianus XXXI 16.9. On all his cross-references, see R.M. FRANKS, *Cross-References to the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus*. *Phoenix* 49 (1995) 232–246, BARNES, *Ammianus* 213–217, and J.F. GILLIAM, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta: The Lost Books and the Period 117–285*, in: *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium*, Bonn 1970. Bonn 1972, 125–147.

⁴⁶ For cases of Eustathius' misreading Ammianus' Latin, see below, Section V and nn. 86–87 and Section X and nn. 186–187 and 198–199, and TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 541, 557–558, and 560–61.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ammianus XXI 15.3 (*anno quadagesimo <quarto> et mensibus paucis*) with Malalas XIII 17.95 (ἐνιαυτῶν μ') and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 56.20 (ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα – "40 years") and *Chronicle* II 84 (ἐτῶν μ' – "40 years").

⁴⁸ John of Antioch fr. 172.86–88.

ages, though compatible with each other, are expressed differently⁴⁹. Eustathius' source for these ages was apparently Ammianus, because the differences with Dio begin with Nerva, who died at the age of 65 according to Dio and Zonaras but at the age of 71 according to Scutariotes and Malalas. Evidently Eustathius copied Ammianus' ages for the emperors from Nerva's death until his copy of Ammianus ended with Book XXV and Jovian's death in 364. Eustathius then copied a source that differed from Ammianus' Book XXX for the age of Valentinian I (364–375)⁵⁰.

Ammianus' source for the emperors' ages appears to have been an otherwise unknown short chronicle that for the sake of convenience we may call the "obituary chronicle." This name simply refers to its having included the ages of emperors at their deaths and does not imply that it belonged to any genre of obituary chronicles or that it mentioned only the emperors' ages. It presumably mentioned a few other facts about the emperors, probably including the lengths of their reigns, which in his extant books Ammianus records four times but omits twice⁵¹. Again, when we compare the emperors' lengths of reign in Scutariotes and Malalas with those in Dio, six of the twelve lengths of reign are incompatible with Dio's⁵². This obituary chronicle probably ended with the death of Constantine I in 337, leaving Ammianus without a reliable source for Constantius II's age in 361⁵³. The obituary chronicle was evidently in Greek, because it used the Greek sources' name of Maximus for the ephemeral emperor in 238 whom the Latin sources call Pupienus⁵⁴.

Material from Eustathius can often be attributed to Ammianus because it had Latin sources, which scarcely any Greek writers used except Ammianus and Eustathius. Ammianus' surviving books and several other Latin works show many clear verbal parallels with each other. These Latin works include the *Liber de Caesaribus* attributed to Aurelius Victor, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* also attributed to Victor but sometimes called "Pseudo-Aurelius," Eutropius' *Breviarium*, the *Historia Augusta*, and Jerome's *Chronicle*. The consensus of modern scholars has long been that Ammianus, Victor, Eutropius, and the other Latin authors all drew on a lost Latin history of the Roman emperors, which since the nineteenth century has been conventionally called the *Kaisergeschichte*. In 2023, however, Justin Stover and George Woudhuysen published a book arguing convincingly that this lost history was in fact the work of Aurelius Victor himself, and that the *Liber de Caesaribus* and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* are separate epitomes of Victor's lost history, as their titles in manuscripts indicate. The *Liber de Caesaribus*—more properly the *Historia Abbreviata*—epitomized a first edition of Victor's history that was completed in 360, the year with which it concluded. The *Epitome de Caesaribus*—more properly the *Libellus Breviatus*—epitomized a second edition of Victor's history that was completed around 389⁵⁵.

As Stover and Woudhuysen observe, "That there is a lost history behind Eutropius, the *HA* [*Historia Augusta*], the *HAb* [*Historia Abbreviata*], the *LB* [*Libellus Breviatus*], and Jerome is not actually controversial. Our innovation lies in showing that the name of Victor should be associated with

⁴⁹ See Appendix, nos. 6, 12, 24, 26, 28, 32, 28 (compatible), 32 (compatible), 34, 36, 38, and 40.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ammianus XXX 6.6 (Valentinian died at 55) with Zonaras XIII 15.20 and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 60.1–2 (Valentinian died at 84). See also TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 540–541.

⁵¹ See TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 540–544. For the lengths of reigns, see Ammianus XIV 11.27 (Gallus), XXI 15.3 (Constantius II), XXX 6.6 (Valentinian I), and XXXI 13.1 (Valens), though Ammianus omits this information for Julian and Jovian.

⁵² See Appendix, nos. 5 (compatible), 8 (compatible), 11, 13 (compatible), 20, 23, 25, 27 (compatible), 31 (compatible), 35, 37, and 39 (compatible). Interestingly, for the lengths of reigns Symeon and Cedrenus follow not the tradition of Ammianus and Eustathius but that of Dio and Zonaras.

⁵³ Ammianus was right about the ages of most emperors up to Constantine I in 337 but wrong that Constantine II was 20 at his death in 340, unless at Malalas XIII 15.72–74 we read κδ' (24) for κ' (20); see BARNES, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA, 1982, 44–46, and TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 561–562.

⁵⁴ See below, Section VII and n. 120.

⁵⁵ See STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 3–192, who note at 36 and n. 119 why the epitome that they usually call the *HAb* or *historiae abbreviatae* might better be called the *Historia Abbreviata*, the form I use here.

that source, and not merely with the *HAb* [*Historia Abbreviata*].”⁵⁶ The main advantages of this identification are that it explains why such a widely used source as the *Kaisergeschichte* passed unmentioned in our sources (because it was mentioned as the work of Victor) and why Victor was known as a prominent historian despite the brevity and occasional incoherence of the *Liber de Caesaribus* (because that was merely an epitome of Victor’s complete history). Ammianus calls Victor “the writer of history,” as if he had already been mentioned in Ammianus’ lost Books I–XIII, quite possibly as a source⁵⁷. Stover and Woudhuysen argue persuasively from the surviving epitomes of Victor’s lost work that Victor had a substantial influence on Ammianus’ prose style and conception of Roman history⁵⁸.

Victor’s lost history was also the main source of the *Historia Augusta*. This work, actually entitled *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, purports to have been written under Diocletian and Constantine by six authors but is now almost universally agreed to have been written around 395 by a single mendacious author. This author added many fabrications of his own, including his six fictional authors and some fictional sources that they supposedly cited. His treatment of Victor’s lost history therefore resembled Malalas’ distorted version of Eustathius’ lost history, though unlike Malalas the author of the *Historia Augusta* could have claimed credit only for discovering his work, since he attributed its composition to others. (Perhaps he expected some wealthy patron with an interest in history to reward him for discovering detailed and entertaining sources for the obscure second and third centuries.) Stover and Woudhuysen argue plausibly that the *Historia Augusta* contains some otherwise unknown material from Victor’s lost history, even if that material is hard to untangle from the author’s fabrications⁵⁹.

Eutropius’ *Breviarium*, a concise history of Rome from its foundation that was composed around 370, includes in its Books VII–X Eutropius’ own epitome of the first edition of Victor’s lost history⁶⁰. Since both Ammianus and Eutropius used Victor’s lost history, most of the parallels between Ammianus and Eutropius should probably be attributed to their common source. Gavin Kelly has however shown that Ammianus also used Eutropius directly—certainly for the death of Jovian in 364, since it occurred after the end of the first edition of Victor’s history in 360, which Ammianus consulted before Victor wrote on Jovian in his second edition⁶¹. Eutropius’ work has also been shown to be one of the sources of John of Antioch—that is, of Eustathius. Nevertheless, for the period after AD 96 Eustathius (as copied by John of Antioch) often includes more information than Eutropius does, presumably because Eustathius took it from Ammianus, who sometimes took more material from Victor than Eutropius did⁶².

For example, John of Antioch continues a passage that parallels Eutropius’ description of Constantius I’s frugality by saying, “for which reason he was called *pauper* (παῦπερ),” a phrase not in Eutropius but evidently taken by Eustathius from another Latin source without translating the Latin word⁶³. Again, after a passage that parallels Eutropius’ description of how at a triumph in 303 Diocletian and Galerius displayed the Persian king’s captured relatives, Zonaras continues, “and [they also displayed] all the wealth that they had plundered from the Persians,” a phrase not in Eutropius

⁵⁶ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 419.

⁵⁷ Ammianus XXI 10.6 (*Victorem ... scriptorem historicum*).

⁵⁸ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 337–352.

⁵⁹ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 265–334, concluding, “In the mountain of misunderstanding, obfuscation, and fantasy that is the *HA* [*Historia Augusta*], a deal, perhaps a great deal, of Victor’s *Historia* survives, still waiting to be quarried.”

⁶⁰ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 228–232.

⁶¹ KELLY, Ammianus 240–253.

⁶² See ROBERTO, Ioannis Antiocheni *Fragmenta* cxxx–cxxxiv, and CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 665–668.

⁶³ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 252 with Eutropius X 1.2. Somewhat strangely, Eustathius seems to have expected his Greek readers to know the Latin word *pauper*.

but in Jerome's *Chronicle*⁶⁴. In each case Eutropius appears to have abbreviated his source at the end, omitting material from Victor's lost history that Eustathius and John of Antioch included. Such examples led Cameron to suggest that John of Antioch consulted not Eutropius but a Greek translation of the *Kaisergeschichte*, which has now been identified as Victor's lost history⁶⁵. Yet in the absence of any other evidence for a Greek translation of Victor's lost history, the probable solution is that Eustathius took these passages from Ammianus, who had in turn taken them from Victor. Eustathius seems to have stopped consulting Eutropius for the period after 96, after finding that Ammianus covered these years in much greater detail than Eutropius did.

Without considering the possibility that the Greek historians drew on Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch, Stover and Woudhuysen further suggest that Victor's lost history was "the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition."⁶⁶ While they believe that Victor included some subtle allusions to Greek literature, none of their rather inconclusive citations suggests that Victor made much use of Greek sources for historical events⁶⁷. Although they observe that Zonaras' account of the death of Gallienus in 268 "combines material known elsewhere only in Latin or only in Greek into a seamless and coherent narrative" and attribute it to Victor, that combination of Greek and Latin material can be attributed much more plausibly to Ammianus, as we shall see⁶⁸. They argue correctly "that Victor's *Historia* was used—through one route or another—by later Greek authors" but incorrectly that "no historian writing in Greek" before 360 covered the years after 270. We shall see that a major Greek historian (the "secular Eusebius") included the years from 270 to 285, was used in Latin by Ammianus and put back into Greek by Eustathius, and was also used in the Greek history of Eunapius of Sardis⁶⁹. Stover and Woudhuysen cite a parallel between Eunapius and Eutropius on the reign of Carinus (284–285) as evidence that Eunapius made use of Victor. Since, however, Eunapius appears to have known almost no Latin, this parallel can be explained more easily by supposing that Eunapius combined material from the surviving Greek translation of Eutropius with material from the secular Eusebius that was also used by Ammianus⁷⁰.

The evidence appears conclusive that John of Antioch, Malalas, Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians summarize a major lost history that was written in Latin, used a set of imperial obituaries corresponding to the dates and practices of Ammianus, showed many similarities with Ammianus' surviving books, included the same period as Ammianus' Books I–XIII, and after 353 can be positively identified with Ammianus' Books XIV–XXV. Thus the probability is overwhelming that this lost source was Ammianus' Books I–XIII. The main purpose of the present paper is to identify the passages that apparently survive from those books. A list of such passages, including many not discussed in the text of this paper, appears with full references in the Appendix. Even if a few of these passages might possibly come from another source, the probability remains that the great majority derive from Ammianus' lost Books I–XIII. This theory is no more speculative than the hypothesis of the lost Latin history formerly known as the *Kaisergeschichte* and now

⁶⁴ Cf. Zonaras XII 32 p. 612 with Eutropius IX 27.2 and Jerome, *Chronicle* 227–228m.

⁶⁵ CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 666–668.

⁶⁶ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 352–357, concluding "that the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition was ... Victor's *Historia*," and 395–397, concluding that "we ought probably to envisage Victor's *Historia* being read by several Greek historians, who both drew on it directly and used the work of predecessors who had done the same."

⁶⁷ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 98–103, 112–16.

⁶⁸ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 368–372 (quotation from p. 368); see below, Section IX and nn. 168–169.

⁶⁹ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 375; cf. below, Section IV and nn. 72–80 (on the secular Eusebius).

⁷⁰ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 390–397; see below, Section IX and nn. 178–183. STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 380–383, 383–385, and 404–405, also cite three possible but inconclusive parallels between Zosimus and the epitomes of Victor and suggest on pp. 389–395 that these may show transmission to Eunapius by someone who knew Latin and had read Victor. While conceivable, their suggestion would not affect the arguments made here about Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch.

identified as Aurelius Victor's *History*. The existence of that lost history is now almost unanimously accepted because it explains many otherwise inexplicable parallels in extant texts. The theory that the lost books of Ammianus were a source of Eustathius, and in the form of Eustathius' summaries became a source of John of Antioch, Malalas, Zonaras, Scutariotes, and other Byzantine historians, similarly explains many otherwise inexplicable parallels in their texts.

IV. AMMIANUS' GENERAL PREFACE

Since Ammianus wrote prefaces for his Books XV, XVI, and XXVI, and an epilogue for his Book XXXI, he presumably wrote a preface for his whole history, as the great majority of ancient Greek and Roman historians did. Since, as we have seen, Malalas' preface closely resembles a fragment of John of Antioch's preface, John of Antioch and Malalas must both have imitated Eustathius' preface. All three of these prefaces listed their authors' sources, because the fragment of the preface that John of Antioch evidently copied from Eustathius lists five sources "and others," while Malalas' preface lists ten sources (including sources he apparently invented) "and others."⁷¹ Probably Ammianus' lost general preface also mentioned sources, among other comments about his history and its methods. Although his surviving three prefaces mention only oral sources and his own experience, those prefaces refer to books that covered Ammianus' lifetime, when he evidently made only limited use of written sources. While he did use Victor's lost history and Eutropius for this period, if Ammianus mentioned them he would probably have done so when he first used them, in his lost books. He could hardly have expected his readers to think that he had mainly oral sources for the earlier part of a history that began almost three centuries before he wrote it.

In repeating Eustathius of Epiphania's list of sources, Evagrius includes thirteen historians of Rome along with the periods that they covered: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Appian, Diodorus, Dio, Herodian, Nicostratus of Trapezus, Dexippus, "Eusebius," Arrian, Asinius Quadratus, Zosimus, and Priscus. This list is restricted to secular Greek historians of Rome, since Evagrius lists Christian, Jewish, and universal historians separately in the previous paragraph. Evagrius' list of secular Greek historians of Rome is quite comprehensive up to "Eusebius," who must be not the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius of Caesarea but another, secular and apparently pagan historian of a somewhat earlier date. Evagrius distinguishes this Eusebius not only by including Eusebius of Caesarea among the Christian historians but by saying of the secular Eusebius, "Eusebius too, having taken up his story from Octavian and Trajan and Marcus, reached the death of Carus."⁷²

For the secular Eusebius to have ended his history with Carus' death in 283 would have been a strange choice, because Carus' sons and colleagues Numerian and Carinus continued to rule until 284 and 285 respectively. Even if Eusebius had finished writing precisely in 283, he would have found it prudent to end his history with Carus' accession in 282, so as to avoid discussing the suspicious and inauspicious circumstances of Carus' death while his sons were still reigning. Since the death of Carinus in 285 would make a much more logical conclusion for a history than 283, we should probably make the emendation of "Carus" to "Carinus," which is easy in either Latin or Greek, unless we understand "the death of Carus" to be only an approximate indicator⁷³. In any case, the secular Eusebius presumably wrote soon after 285. He seems to be otherwise unattested,

⁷¹ See above, Section II and n. 36.

⁷² Evagrius V 24. On the secular Eusebius, see P. JANISZEWSKI, *The Missing Link: Greek Pagan Historiography in the Second Half of the Third Century and in the Fourth Century AD*. Warsaw 2006, 54–77, and B. BLECKMANN – J. GROSS, *Historiker der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts*. Paderborn 2016, 111–141. For the other historians, see BLECKMANN – GROSS, *Historiker* 3–65 (Asinius Quadratus) and 68–73 (Nicostratus), and JANISZEWSKI, *Missing Link* 27–39 and 85–91 (Quadratus), 92–96 (Nicostratus), and 39–54 and 109–113 (Dexippus).

⁷³ On Eusebius' account of the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus, see also below, Section IX and nn. 178–183.

unless he was the sophist Eusebius from the province of Arabia who taught at Antioch in the early fourth century and has an entry in the *Suda*⁷⁴. The other historians on Evagrius' list include Dio's contemporaries Arrian and Asinius Quadratus and Nicostratus of Trapezus, whose otherwise unattested history ended with 260 according to Evagrius.

After the secular Eusebius, Evagrius begins a new section of his list of Greek historians of Rome with the words, "And concerning subsequent times (Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς χρόνων) ..." Yet this continuation of the list is much less comprehensive than the preceding list. It includes only Zosimus (c.435–c.501) and Priscus (c.410–after 476), who were older contemporaries of Eustathius himself (c.455–526?), along with unspecified "others," before concluding, "All these [histories] have been excellently epitomized (ἐπιτέμνεται) by Eustathius of Epiphania ..." This continuation of the list of Greek historians of Rome after the secular Eusebius omits several notable names: Eunapius of Sardis (347?–c.408), Olympiodorus of Thebes (c.370–after c.427), Malchus of Philadelphia (c.435–after c.495), and Candidus of Isauria (c.435–after c.491)⁷⁵. Similarly, Evagrius' list of Greeks who wrote Greek history, which precedes his list of Greeks who wrote Roman histories and was also presumably taken from Eustathius, mentions only "Charax, Ephorus, Theopompus, and countless others," not even including the names of Herodotus or Thucydides.

Even though Evagrius says that Eustathius "epitomized" all the historians of Rome named in the list that Evagrius copied from him, Eustathius is very unlikely to have consulted them all directly. Eustathius' usual practice seems to have been to name the sources cited by his sources but not the sources that he used directly, including Ammianus and Philostorgius, neither of whom appears among the many citations known from Malalas and John of Antioch. The gap in Evagrius' list of Roman historians that begins with his reference to "subsequent times" amounts to more than two centuries between the end of the secular Eusebius' history and the time when Zosimus wrote. This seems to show that the list originally ended with Eusebius and was supplemented by Eustathius by adding Zosimus and Priscus. As the latest historian in the earlier and more comprehensive part of the list, the secular Eusebius is the probable source of that part.

Zonaras, John of Antioch, and the other sources dependent on Eustathius show clear parallels of content with Zosimus' *New History* for the years from 238 to 285, demonstrating that Eustathius and Zosimus shared a source for that period. Yet their common source cannot have been a direct source, because Zosimus consistently uses different wording from Eustathius' derivatives, including over a dozen different transliterations of names⁷⁶. This lack of verbal parallels seems explicable only if Zosimus summarized a Greek source that John of Antioch and Zonaras copied after Ammianus had put it into Latin and Eustathius had put it back into Greek. Zosimus and Ammianus seem not to have used Dexippus' history directly, because a citation of Dexippus that George Syncellus apparently copied from John of Antioch is erroneous and clearly indirect⁷⁷. Besides, Dexippus' history ended with 270, and the parallels between Zosimus and the chroniclers dependent on Ammianus continue for the period from 270 to 285. Ammianus' and Zosimus' common source from 238 to 285 cannot have been Eunapius, Zosimus' main source, both because Eunapius' history began only where Dexippus' history ended in 270 and because the first installment of Eunapius'

⁷⁴ Cf. *PLRE* I Eusebius 1 (the historian) with *PLRE* Eusebius 5 and *Suda* E 3738 (the sophist). JANISZEWSKI, Missing Link 76–77, tentatively identifies Eusebius the historian with Eusebius of Thessalonica (*PLRE* I Eusebius 40), consul for 359; but, like BLECKMANN – GROSS, *Historiker* 112 n. 3, I find this identification chronologically implausible.

⁷⁵ See TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 81–89 (Eunapius), 89–96 (Olympiodorus), 96–102 (Priscus), 103–107 (Candidus and Malchus), and 107–114 (Zosimus).

⁷⁶ See below, Section VII and nn. 118 and 135 and Section VIII and nn. 149 and 151–153.

⁷⁷ See below, Section VIII and n. 167.

history evidently appeared around 397, later than Ammianus' Books I–XXV appeared around 390⁷⁸.

The likely explanation is that for the period from 238 to 285 Ammianus shared a source with Zosimus that incorporated, cited, and continued Dexippus, and that this source was the secular Eusebius. Two fragments, probably from the Constantinian *Historical Excerpts*, survive from Eusebius' history, one on a "Scythian" siege of Thessalonica assigned to "Book IX" and the other on a siege of a city in Gaul⁷⁹. Both Zonaras and Zosimus mention two "Scythian" sieges of Thessalonica, the first under Valerian (253–259) and the second under Claudius II (268–270), though which siege Eusebius' fragment describes is uncertain⁸⁰. If Eusebius' Book IX reached the reigns of either Valerian or Claudius, it was probably Eusebius' final book, particularly because Eusebius, who appears from his fragments to have been an imitator of Herodotus writing in the Ionic dialect, might well have divided his history into nine books like those of Herodotus. Nine books on over 300 years from Octavian to Carus or Carinus imply relatively concise treatment, though Eusebius could of course have given more extensive coverage to the later years of his narrative, which would have been within living memory when he wrote.

Thus the secular Eusebius seems to have compiled the first part of Eustathius' list of Greek historians of Rome. Apparently Eusebius' list was copied, with the addition of Eusebius' own name and the period he covered, by an author who consulted Eusebius' history. That author presumably wrote after Eusebius concluded his history soon after 285 and before Eunapius finished the first edition of his history around 397, since the list omits Eunapius. Those dates fit Ammianus, who completed Books I–XXV of his history, which Eustathius used, around 390. The likely explanation is that Ammianus was the source of Evagrius' whole passage beginning, "The events concerning the Romans, which include in themselves the whole history of the world—or whatever else happened either in regard to their divisions among themselves or in regard to their actions toward others—have been treated in the first place by Dionysius the Halicarnassian, who extended his history from the so-called Aborigines to Pyrrhus the Epirote."⁸¹ The distinction between civil and foreign wars and the opinion that Roman history included "the whole history of the world" are both characteristic of Ammianus' views on history⁸². Evagrius' awkward subordinate clauses in this passage may even reflect Ammianus' contorted Latin by way of Eustathius' translation.

Given the absence of any other plausible source that Eustathius might have used for this catalogue of Roman historians from Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the secular Eusebius, Ammianus' authorship of this passage appears highly probable. Though the passage could possibly come from a digression elsewhere in Ammianus' lost books, his general preface seems much the likeliest place for it. In this preface Ammianus may also have referred to Latin historians like Tacitus, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, whom Eustathius or Evagrius, writing for a readership with little knowledge of Latin, saw no reason to include. As with Eustathius and Evagrius, we should not

⁷⁸ For the dates, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 58–59 (Ammianus) and 81–83 (Eunapius). Eunapius seems however to have used the secular Eusebius for the years from 270 to 285; see below, Section IX and nn. 178–183.

⁷⁹ Edited in JACOBY, *FrGrHist* IIA, no. 101. That these excerpts belong to the Constantinian collection is demonstrated by NÉMETH, "Excerpta Constantiniana" 115–117 (though at n. 103 he evidently errs in referring to Eusebius as "Eusebius of Nantes," whom some scholars had proposed as the author of the *Kaisergeschichte*; see STOVER – WOUTHUYSEN, *Lost History* 212, 217, and 224–225).

⁸⁰ Cf. Zonaras XII 23 p. 593.4–6 and XII 26 pp. 604.20–605.2 with Zosimus I 29.2 and I 43.1 (ed. F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle*, 3 vols. [vol. I 2nd ed.]. Paris 1979–2000). Eusebius' description of a siege in Gaul may refer to Gallienus' siege of "a certain city of Gaul" held by Postumus according to Zonaras XII 24 p. 598.14–18.

⁸¹ The passage that I attribute to Ammianus is therefore Evagrius V 24, pp. 218.17–219.10.

⁸² See Ammianus XIV 6.6 and XVI 10.13 (the importance of Rome) and XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15 (the distinction between civil and foreign wars).

assume that Ammianus had actually read most of the historians whom he mentioned by name, though we shall see that he did read and use not just the secular Eusebius but Dio and Herodian.

V. AMMIANUS ON NERVA

Zonaras is of limited use as a source of material from Ammianus before 229, when Dio's history ended. Although Zonaras summarized John of Antioch as a source for the church history of this period, for secular history as a rule Zonaras understandably preferred to summarize Dio directly rather than summarize John of Antioch's summary of Dio by way of Eustathius and Ammianus⁸³. Eustathius himself consulted Dio directly for his narrative up to Domitian's assassination in 96, as is evident from the account of the plot against Domitian in a Constantinian excerpt from John of Antioch also found in the *Suda*, which shows many verbal parallels with the surviving epitome of Dio by John Xiphilinus⁸⁴. These parallels include the same transliterations of the plotters' names and a direct quotation from the seer Apollonius of Tyana, who supposedly announced at Ephesus immediately after Domitian's assassination at Rome that the emperor had been killed. All eleven Greek words in Dio's quotation from Apollonius are repeated by John of Antioch, though Zonaras alters the word order slightly and changes one word⁸⁵. These examples illustrate how close to the original such quotations normally are.

John of Antioch's account of Nerva's reign is preserved in passages from Constantine's *Historical Excerpts*, Symeon the Logothete, and George Cedrenus that closely follow Dio. Yet these passages show a striking lack of verbal parallels with Dio, except in a quotation from the *Iliad*. John of Antioch transliterates Nerva's name (Νέρβας) differently from Dio (Νέρουας). In addition, and surprisingly, Dio's quotation of Nerva's official adoption of Trajan, "I adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan (Μάρκον Οὔλπιον Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν ποιοῦμαι)," becomes in Symeon's version, "I, Marcus Nerva, adopt Trajan as my son (Μάρκος Νέρβας Τραϊανὸν υἱοποιοῦμαι)." ⁸⁶ (The quotation is not preserved in our excerpts from John of Antioch and is abbreviated by Cedrenus.) Evidently Symeon, presumably following Eustathius and John of Antioch, failed to realize that Marcus Nerva adopted Marcus Ulpius Trajan under the emperor's own *cognomen* of Nerva.

Both the misunderstanding and the difference in transliteration show that Eustathius took this passage not directly from Dio but from a Latin version of Dio, which could only be Ammianus' summary. Rather than copying Nerva's name from Dio's Greek, Eustathius transliterated it from Ammianus' Latin, reflecting the change in pronunciation of *beta* from *B* to *V*. Ammianus must have translated and slightly simplified Dio's Greek quotation to make it *M. Nervam Traianum adopto*. In a fourth-century manuscript of Ammianus, which would have been written in uncial letters without word divisions or punctuation, this sentence would appear as MNERVAMTRA- IANVMADOPTO. Knowing that Nerva's *praenomen* (like Trajan's) was Marcus, Eustathius must have misunderstood *M.* as *M(arcus)* instead of *M(arcum)* and *Nervam* as *Nerva M(arcum)*. Reading *M(arcus) Nerva M(arcum) Traianum adopto*, Eustathius omitted the *M* that he thought abbreviated Trajan's *praenomen* Marcus but actually served to render *Nervam* accusative. Such mistakes were impossible in Greek, which lacked the Latin system of standard abbreviations for common *praenomina*. Unless another plausible explanation for these errors can be found, the passages demon-

⁸³ See TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 393–395, and TREADGOLD, Byzantine Historiography 539–40 and 562–563.

⁸⁴ On John Xiphilinus, see TREADGOLD, Middle Byzantine Historians 310–312, and M. KRUSE, The Epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos and the Eleventh-Century Xiphilinoi. *JÖB* 69 (2019) 257–274.

⁸⁵ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 190.1.27–28 and Zonaras XI 19 p. 503.9–10 with Dio LXVII 15–18.18.1 (ed. U.P. BOISSEVAIN, Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae Supersunt, 2nd ed., 4 vols. Berlin 1955).

⁸⁶ Cf. John of Antioch frs. 191 and 192, Symeon 61.2 (ed. S. WAHLGREN, Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon I [CFHB 44.1]. Berlin 2006), and Cedrenus 261.1 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–3.

strate both that Eustathius used Ammianus and that Ammianus used Dio⁸⁷. John of Antioch's Homeric quotation is accurate only because Ammianus habitually left his quotations of Greek verse in their original language, as appears repeatedly in his surviving books⁸⁸.

Malalas' account of Nerva's reign, after Malalas' usual fictional description of the emperor's appearance, records that Nerva sent a senator named Zarbus to rebuild Diocaesarea in Cilicia after its destruction in an earthquake. Malalas says that originally Zarbus renamed the city Nerva, but when the emperor died before its completion the citizens renamed it Anazarbus after Zarbus, who also sacrificed a maiden and erected a statue of her as the city's *tyche*⁸⁹. In fact, Anazarbus was the original name of the city that was later called Caesarea (not Diocaesarea, another city in Cilicia), and the human sacrifice is manifestly fictional⁹⁰. Yet Malalas cannot have invented the whole story, because the *Suda* includes an article on Anazarbus that parallels Malalas but omits the human sacrifice and calls the senator not Zarbus but Anazarbus⁹¹. This article in the *Suda* must be one of its many extracts from John of Antioch that is missing from our incomplete copies of the *Historical Excerpts*.

As often, Malalas distorted the material that he took from Eustathius, altering the senator's name and adding the sacrificial maiden, an outlandish invention that he certainly added here and presumably fabricated in the other cases already mentioned⁹². We may be reluctant to attribute this erroneous and idiosyncratic account of the naming of Anazarbus to Ammianus rather than to Eustathius or to one of Eustathius' other sources; but Ammianus explicitly confirms that he accepted the derivation by referring in his surviving Book XIV to "Anazarbus, which recalls its founder's name."⁹³ Ammianus' allusion again indicates that the parallels between Ammianus and the Byzantine texts associated with John of Antioch go all the way back to the reign of Nerva, when Ammianus' lost books began. The story of the senator Anazarbus, which was wrong but not patently absurd, probably came from an oral tradition or simple hearsay that Ammianus failed to investigate.

Excluding some obviously Christian material from the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius, three more items concerning Nerva probably come from Ammianus by way of Eustathius. They record that Nerva was "just and moderate" (Symeon and Cedrenus), that he replaced gladiatorial games with hunting games (Malalas, John of Antioch, and Scutariotes), and that he outlawed castration (Symeon and Cedrenus). These notices, together with the emperor's age at his death, appear to come from an obituary of Nerva like the obituaries of all the emperors in Ammianus' surviving books. Dio mentions Nerva's prohibition of castration but uses entirely different Greek words from those of Symeon and Cedrenus, which must reflect Ammianus' translating Dio into Latin and Eustathius' translating Ammianus back into Greek⁹⁴. Eustathius also consulted Dio directly about Nerva, because a fragment of John of Antioch includes a quotation from the emperor that cannot have been translated and retranslated because it is virtually identical with Dio's version⁹⁵. For the rest of Nerva's reign, Eustathius' use of Ammianus seems evident.

⁸⁷ I was therefore mistaken when I said in TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 563, "We seem to be left with no clear evidence that Ammianus used Dio."

⁸⁸ Ammianus XV 8.17, XXI 2.2, XXI 14.4, XXV 4.17, XXIX 1.33, XXXI 1.5, and XXXI 14.8.

⁸⁹ Malalas X 53.32–52. Malalas fails to explain why the city was called Anazarbus instead of Zarbus.

⁹⁰ Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* V 22: *Anazarbeni qui nunc Caesarea*.

⁹¹ *Suda* A 1866 (ed. A. ADLER, *Suda Lexicon [Lexicographi Graeci I]* 5 vols. Leipzig 1928–1938).

⁹² See above, Section II and n. 22.

⁹³ Ammianus XIV 8.3: *Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens*.

⁹⁴ Cf. Symeon 61.3 and Cedrenus 261.2 (ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ ἐκτέμνειν τινῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα – "he forbade cutting off anyone's genitals") with Dio LXVIII 2.4 (ἐνομοθέτησε ... περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχίζεσθαι τινα – "he decreed that no one should be castrated").

⁹⁵ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 191 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–2.

VI. AMMIANUS, DIO, AND HERODIAN

For the years from 98 to 176, our incomplete texts of Dio and John of Antioch show many verbal parallels, including four quotations so similar that they cannot have been translated into Latin by Ammianus and translated back into Greek by Eustathius⁹⁶. Apparently Eustathius, after summarizing Ammianus' preface and account of Nerva, used only Ammianus' lengths of reigns and ages of emperors and returned to using Dio as his main source. While Eustathius may well have used Ammianus to supplement Dio in some other places, we have no obvious means of identifying these, especially because our text of Dio is defective and Ammianus appears to have followed Dio closely. When Ammianus refers in his Book XXV to his earlier account of how the armies of Trajan and Severus were almost destroyed in their failed attempts to take the Parthian city of Hatra, his information presumably came from Dio, since it appears in Xiphilinus' epitome⁹⁷. Ammianus also refers in his surviving books to his earlier descriptions of the capture of Mesopotamian Seleucia by Verus' generals and of Marcus' defeat of the Quadi, events described in Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio⁹⁸. For Ammianus, as for us, Dio was evidently the standard source for these years. That for most of the period Eustathius summarized Dio rather than Ammianus suggests that aside from consulting the obituary chronicle Ammianus mostly summarized Dio and added little or no information that interested Eustathius, even though he plainly was interested in Ammianus' peculiar story of the refoundation of Anazarbus.

Beginning with the year 176, the history of Herodian, which has reached us intact, became another major source that Ammianus and Eustathius (but apparently not Zonaras) used directly along with Dio. Eustathius seems to have preferred Herodian to Dio, whom he used only to supplement Herodian. Eustathius' dependence on Herodian appears from many verbal parallels, including four mostly identical quotations from John of Antioch⁹⁹. Eustathius, as copied by Symeon and Cedrenus, also added a close quotation from Dio¹⁰⁰. Although Malalas' account of the years from 212 to 253 has been lost in a lacuna, the seventh-century *Paschal Chronicle*, which usually copies Malalas for the emperors' lengths of reign and ages at death, preserves these data for those years¹⁰¹. From 98 to 222, the only material clearly attributable to Ammianus from Eustathius appears to be the emperors' lengths of reign and ages and probably the name "Antoninus Heliogabalus" used for Elagabalus (218–222) by Ammianus and Victor, but not by Dio or Herodian¹⁰².

Surprisingly, Scutariotes, whose two short histories usually depend on John of Antioch, has a different account of Elagabalus, whom he praises, while adding a little material on the emperor

⁹⁶ Cf. Dio LXVIII 15.3².6 (Trajan on Licinius Sura) with John of Antioch fr. 194.9; cf. Dio LXVIII 16.1² (Trajan to his Praetorian Prefect) with Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.30–31.1 and *Chronicle* II 30, Symeon 62, Cedrenus 262.1, and George the Monk p. 450.10–11 (ed. C. DEBOOR, Georgius Monachus: Chronicon, 2 vols. Leipzig 1904); cf. Dio LXIX 19.2 (epitaph of Similis) with John of Antioch fr. 196, Symeon 63.3, and Cedrenus 263.3; and cf. Dio LXXII 30.2 (Marcus to the senate) with John of Antioch fr. 201.23–24.

⁹⁷ Cf. Ammianus XXV 8.5 with Dio LXVIII 31.1–32.1.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ammianus XXIII 6.24 with Dio LXXI 2.3–4, and cf. Ammianus XXIX 6.1 with Dio LXXI 8.1–4 and LXXI 10.1–5.

⁹⁹ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 204.15 with Herodian I 17.6 (Marcia to Eclectus) (ed. C.M. LUCARINI, Herodianus: Regnum post Marcum. Munich 2005); cf. John of Antioch fr. 204.46–53 with Herodian II 8–10 (Laetus' conversation with Pertinax); cf. John of Antioch fr. 213.14–17 with Herodian III 11.5 (Saturninus to Severus); and cf. John of Antioch fr. 213.68–71 with Herodian IV 3.8 (Julia Domna to Caracalla and Geta).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 215.2, Symeon 70.2, and Cedrenus 271.2 with Dio LXXIX 7.1 (Severus to Caracalla, in a dream).

¹⁰¹ See Thurn's apparatus at Malalas XII 25, pp. 225–227. On the *Paschal Chronicle*, see TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 340–348. MECELLA, Malalas, rightly criticizes Thurn's confusing treatment of the lacuna in Malalas but reaches different conclusions from mine; see also below, Section VII and nn. 136 and 137.

¹⁰² Cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20 and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 23.1 (ed. P. DUFRAIGNE, Aurelius Victor: Livre des Césars. Paris 1975) with Malalas (from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.13 and 499.9, ed. L. DINDORF, Chronicon Paschale [CSHB 11] 2 vols. Bonn 1832), Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 39 and *Synopsis* 33–34, and Cedrenus 273 (also mentioning Dio's preferred form "Pseudo-Antoninus").

from Herodian, who like Dio thought Elagabalus was deranged and a disgrace to Rome¹⁰³. Because John of Antioch, Symeon, and Cedrenus all condemn Elagabalus, Scutariotes must have taken this favorable treatment from some other source than John of Antioch or blundered in some way¹⁰⁴. Since Malalas, as preserved in the *Paschal Chronicle*, agrees with Scutariotes that Elagabalus died aged 36, this age must go back to Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch, because it differs from the presumably correct age of 18 recorded by Dio¹⁰⁵. Zonaras continued consulting Dio's history directly until it ended with 229, copying many quotations that cannot have been translated and retranslated because they follow their originals too closely¹⁰⁶.

Thus from 97 to 229 Eustathius evidently used Dio and Herodian as his main sources, consulting Ammianus mainly for the lengths of the emperors' reigns and their ages at their deaths. Once Dio's history ended with 229, Herodian remained Eustathius' main source until Herodian's history ended with 238. Eustathius consulted Herodian directly, since Zonaras and John of Antioch show verbal parallels with Herodian with no signs of being translated into Latin and translated back into Greek¹⁰⁷. After 229 Zonaras, who seems to have had no direct access to Herodian's text, began using John of Antioch almost exclusively, including Eustathius' version of Herodian and Ammianus' ages for emperors¹⁰⁸. George the Monk, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes also show parallels with Zonaras that must derive from Ammianus by way of Eustathius and John of Antioch¹⁰⁹.

Eustathius made several additions to Herodian's account of the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235). After summarizing Herodian's report of a Persian invasion of Mesopotamia and Syria, Zonaras adds that the Persians raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis around the year 230¹¹⁰. Apparently summarizing a part of John of Antioch's account not included by Zonaras, George Syncellus reports, "A certain Uranius, having been proclaimed emperor in Edessa of Osrhoëne and having rebelled against Alexander, was killed by him when Alexander expelled the Persians who had raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis." Then Syncellus records the murder of Alexander and his mother at Mogontiacum (Mainz) in 235¹¹¹. Malalas similarly located the murders at Mainz¹¹². None of this information is in Herodian's history. Because Zosimus also refers to "a certain Uranius" who rebelled but was brought before Alexander and presumably executed, here Eustathius must have summarized Ammianus, who shared a source with Zosimus that was evidently the secular Eusebius¹¹³. These probably reliable reports about Alexander's execution of the rebel Uranius and

¹⁰³ Cf. Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.29–34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40 with Herodian V 7–8.

¹⁰⁴ John of Antioch fr. 217 (calling him Antoninus the Younger), Symeon 72 (calling him Avitus), and Cedrenus 273.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Paschal Chronicle* (from Malalas) 499.9–10 with Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40 and Dio LXXX 20.2.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Zonaras XII 8 pp. 547.21–548.7 with Dio LXXV 9.1–3 (Cassius Clemens to Severus); cf. Zonaras XII 9 p. 549.21–22 with Dio LXVI 4.5 (spectators at races); cf. Zonaras XII 10 p. 553.16–17 with Dio LXXVII 10.5 (Bulla to a centurion); cf. Zonaras XII 10 p. 12–15 with Dio LXXVI 5–6 (Severus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 pp. 560.17–561.3 with Dio LXVIII 3.1–3 (Caracalla to the army and senate); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 561.12–15 with Dio LXXVIII 10.4 (Julia's conversation with Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 562.11–12 with Dio LXXVIII 15.5 (the spirit of Commodus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 563.2–4 with Dio LXXVIII 20.2 (Caracalla to the senate); cf. Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.7 with Dio LXXIX 7.1 (Severus to Caracalla); cf. Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.21–22 with Dio LXXIX 40.4 (the oracle of Zeus Belus to Macrinus); and cf. Zonaras XII 14 p. 569.10–13 with Dio LXXX 16.4 (Aurelius' conversation with Elagabalus). Zonaras XII 15 p. 571.3–20 closely summarizes Dio LXXX 1.1 and 2.2–3.1 with additions presumably from Dio's full text.

¹⁰⁷ For a direct quotation, cf. Zonaras XII 15 p. 573.8–11 with Herodian VI 4.5 (Persian ambassadors to Alexander Severus).

¹⁰⁸ Zonaras XII 15 pp. 572.1–574.15 summarizes John of Antioch frs. 218, 219, and 220 (with additions presumably from John's full text), which in turn summarize Herodian V 7.5–VI 9.8.

¹⁰⁹ On these parallels, see BANCHICH – LANE, *History* 73–74.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Herodian VI 2.1–2 with Zonaras XII 15 pp. 572–573.

¹¹¹ George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.19–22 and A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–9 (ed. A.A. MOSSHAMMER, *Georgius Syncellus: Ecloga Chronographica*. Leipzig 1984).

¹¹² *Paschal Chronicle* (from Malalas) 500.11–13.

¹¹³ Zosimus I 12.2. On Uranius, see F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime I*, new ed. Paris 2000, 140 n. 35.

the Persians' raiding Cappadocia and besieging Nisibis seem to have reached us only by way of Ammianus' lost books.

Zonaras' account of the reign of Alexander's successor Maximinus (235–238), much of which also appears in our excerpts from John of Antioch, begins by summarizing Herodian and the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius¹¹⁴. For secular history Zonaras and George Syncellus include an item not in Herodian, that Maximinus killed his own wife¹¹⁵. Ammianus refers in his Book XIV to having mentioned earlier that Maximinus' wife tried to restrain the emperor from his crimes¹¹⁶. Since this was presumably Maximinus' reason for killing her, the source of Eustathius' additions to Herodian was probably Ammianus, drawing on the secular Eusebius or perhaps the lost history of Victor. Next Eustathius must have made a long summary directly from Herodian, which was copied by John of Antioch but omitted by Zonaras. This summary from Herodian describes the complicated events of 238, the year of the six emperors: the abortive rebellion of Gordian I and Gordian II, the fall of Maximinus, the assassinations of Maximinus' successors Maximus and Balbinus, and the accession of Gordian III as sole emperor (238–244)¹¹⁷. Herodian concluded his history with Gordian III's accession in 238.

VII. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 238 TO 244

After summarizing the end of Herodian's history, Eustathius evidently included a detailed discussion of the conflicting sources for the year 238 that was then copied by Zonaras. The sources described in Zonaras' discussion can be identified as Herodian, the secular Eusebius, the obituary chronicle, and the lost history of Aurelius Victor. Eustathius must have taken this discussion of the sources for 238 from Ammianus, because Ammianus was the only historian who consulted all four of these sources. That Zonaras' discussion was derived from Ammianus' Latin by way of Eustathius' Greek is also evident because its material from Herodian shows scarcely any verbal parallels with Herodian's text and two different transliterations¹¹⁸. In his surviving books Ammianus includes several variant accounts of historical events, which he does not attribute to a named source but designates by such phrases as "it is said," "some thought," "we are told," and "others say."¹¹⁹ The discussion of the sources for the year 238 includes similar citations of anonymous sources, which are usually mentioned in the plural ("some record," "others say") even when only a single source appears to be meant. Ammianus seems himself to have become confused in his discussion of the confusing year 238, and his confusion seems to have further confused Eustathius, as appears in Zonaras' summary.

The problem starts with the name of the ephemeral emperor Maximus Pupienus. While the Greek sources (Herodian and Zosimus) refer to Maximus Pupienus only as Maximus, the Latin sources dependent on Victor refer to him only as Pupienus. Zonaras and Scutariotes, the two sources that mention Pupienus' age at his death, call him Maximus, indicating that the obituary chronicle was written in Greek¹²⁰. Since Zonaras, Malalas, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes all assume that Maximus and Pupienus were two different emperors, Eustathius must have made the

¹¹⁴ Cf. Zonaras XII 16 pp. 575.8–578.21 with John of Antioch frs. 221, 222, 223, and 224.1–15 and Herodian VII 1–3.

¹¹⁵ Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.11–12; George Syncellus A.M. 5728 p. 442.10.

¹¹⁶ Ammianus XIV 1.8.

¹¹⁷ John of Antioch fr. 224.16–190, summarizing Herodian VII 4–8.8.

¹¹⁸ Cf. especially Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.9 (Αὔγουστον, Καρθαγένῃ – *Augoustos, Karthagenē*) with Herodian VII 5.7 (Σεβαστὸν – *Sebastos*) and VII 6.1 (Καρχηδόνα – *Karchēdōn*).

¹¹⁹ Cf. Ammianus XXV 10.12–13 (*fertur*), XXVI 2.4 (*non nulli existimarunt*), and XXXI 13.12–17 (*accepimus ... alii dicunt*). Ammianus also cites rumors at XVI 11.12–13, XX 7.9, and XXVI 4.4.

¹²⁰ Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 and *Synopsis* 36.10–11 ("Maximinus," an error for "Maximus"), all assigning Maximus/Maximinus an age of 74.

same mistake and must have found it in Ammianus' text. Both Zonaras and Malalas usually spell Pupienus "Pompeianus" and Balbinus "Albinus"; Zonaras mentions another emperor named "Puplius Balbinus"; Malalas has another emperor named "Puplius"; Scutariotes has two emperors named "Pompianus" and "Puplius Balbinus"; and George the Monk and Cedrenus have another emperor named "Puplianus."

Since "Pompeianus," "Albinus," and "Puplius Balbinus" are forms shared by Zonaras and Malalas, who used Eustathius independently, they must go back to Eustathius. The name "Puplius," which was the Greek form of Publius now that Greek had no letter sounded *B*, was presumably substituted by a Greek source for the unfamiliar name Pupienus. The other erroneous names seem to have resulted from confusing the emperors Pupienus and Balbinus with the Pompeianus who was consul for 241 as the colleague of Gordian III and the "Albinus" (a mistake for "Sabinus") who appears as consul for 240 in the *Paschal Chronicle*¹²¹. Seemingly Eustathius, in trying to unscramble the different names for emperors he found in Ammianus and Herodian, compared them to a consular list like that of the *Paschal Chronicle*. Eustathius probably assumed, not unreasonably, that emperors usually became consuls, that his consular list's spelling was reliable, and that therefore "Balbinus" was a mistake for "Albinus," while "Pupienus" was a mistake for "Pompeianus." These mistaken assumptions are unlikely to have been made by Ammianus, who would not have needed a consular list to verify the names of Pupienus and Balbinus because Ammianus was able to use the lost history of Victor, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle, none of which was available to Eustathius. Eustathius, however, having determined from the consular list what he considered to be the correct names of "Pompeianus" and "Albinus," and not realizing that "Pompeianus" (Pupienus) and Maximus were the same emperor, became even more confused than Ammianus had been and transmitted his confusion to Zonaras and the other chroniclers.

Apparently following John of Antioch, Eustathius, and Ammianus, Zonaras' account of the events of 238 begins with a narrative compatible with Herodian's. According to Zonaras, the army in Africa proclaimed Gordian I emperor. At Rome, Zonaras continues, the senate proclaimed two senators, Maximus (Pupienus) and "Albinus" (Balbinus). Maximinus besieged Maximus' forces in Aquileia but was killed by his own men. Yet when Maximus returned to Rome, the soldiers there killed him along with "Albinus."¹²² Zonaras observes that "some record" that the senate chose Maximus and "Albinus" before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I. Ammianus probably took this otherwise unknown variant from the obituary chronicle, since Herodian says that the senate proclaimed Maximus and Balbinus only after learning of Gordian I's death¹²³. Zonaras adds, still presumably following Ammianus, that "some" say Maximus and "Albinus" reigned for 22 days but "others" say it was "not quite three months." Apparently "not quite three months" was right, taken by Ammianus from the obituary chronicle, while "22 days" was the length of the reign of their predecessor Gordian I, which is also reported by Zonaras¹²⁴.

Zonaras continues as follows, evidently following Eustathius' version of Ammianus by way of John of Antioch and giving three variant accounts of subsequent events:

But after these men [Maximus and "Albinus"], some record that a certain Pompeianus held the empire of the Romans but was very quickly deprived of it, having enjoyed his power as if in a dream; for [they say] that two months had not yet gone by when he was deprived at the same

¹²¹ The list's mistake of "Albinus" for Sabinus may show confusion with the Albinus who was a consul for 246. See *Paschal Chronicle* 501.1 ("Albinus"), 501.8–9 (Pompeianus), and 502.1 (Albinus).

¹²² Cf. Zonaras XII 16 pp. 576.21–579.4 with John of Antioch frs. 222 and 224 and Herodian VII 4.1–6.2, VII 10.1–10, and VIII 1.1–8.8. Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.2.3, mistakenly identifying Aquileia with "the present Venice," must be an addition by Zonaras himself.

¹²³ Cf. Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.18–20 with Herodian VII 10.1–3.

¹²⁴ Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 with Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22.

time of his rule and of his life, being killed, though by what persons and for what reason I too have omitted, not having discovered this. Yet others say that along with him ["Pompeianus"] a certain other man, Puplius Balbinus, was put in office; and he too, having tasted very little of imperial power (for they assign him a reign of around three months), was killed, as soon as Gordian [I] arrived from Libya, having been proclaimed there, as I have already said. But [they say] that Gordian was ill when he disembarked at Rome, both because he was extremely old (for he had lived 79 years) and because he suffered severely while delayed at sea on his voyage; and from this affliction he died, having spent only 22 days in [power]. And [they say] that he had as successor to his reign his own son, who was also called Gordian and had the same name as his own father. While some have recorded that these things happened in this way, others say that certain people rose up against old Gordian when he was proclaimed in Libya, and when a battle broke out the forces of Gordian were defeated, and many of them were killed, actually including his son [Gordian II], and that he [old Gordian], being exceedingly distressed, hanged himself and thus departed this life¹²⁵.

Although Zonaras, Eustathius, and Ammianus all thought that these three variant accounts belonged after the deaths of Maximus and "Albinus"/Balbinus, they are in fact distorted accounts of the reigns of those same emperors, Maximus Pupienus and Balbinus. Zonaras and Eustathius failed to identify Maximus with "Pompeianus," "Albinus" with Balbinus, or Pupienus and Balbinus with "Puplius Balbinus." In the first version given by Zonaras, the "some" who "record that a certain Pompeianus held the empire" after Maximus and "Albinus" should apparently be identified with Victor's lost history, which said that Pupienus (whose name Eustathius changed to "Pompeianus") ruled briefly before he was killed. Zonaras appears to say that he had followed his source (John of Antioch) in omitting the unknown circumstances of the murder of "Pompeianus": "by what persons and for what reason ['Pompeianus'] was killed] I too [like John of Antioch] have omitted (παρασιώπησα καὶ αὐτός), not having discovered this." Although Ammianus presumably described the circumstances of Pupienus' murder by the army at Rome, Eustathius' summary of Ammianus copied by John of Antioch apparently did not.

In the second version given by Zonaras, the "others" who "say that along with him [Pupienus] a certain other man, Puplius Balbinus, was put in office" should apparently be identified with the secular Eusebius. Eusebius seems therefore to be the source who misinterpreted "Pupienus" as a misspelling of "Puplius" (Publius). Zonaras errs by making Pupienus ("Pompeianus") reign alone for two months, but Zonaras' next variant correctly gives Pupienus ("Pompeianus") and Balbinus ("Puplius Balbinus") a joint reign of about three months, while mistakenly assuming that Gordian I was still alive when the two later emperors were proclaimed and killed. That mistake however agrees with the variant that Zonaras cites earlier and that Zosimus presumably repeated from the secular Eusebius: that the senate proclaimed Pupienus and Balbinus before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I¹²⁶. Zosimus also includes Zonaras' erroneous variant that Gordians I and II, "dying because of the violence of a storm on their sea voyage" from Africa, were succeeded by Gordian III, "the son of one of these" Gordians¹²⁷. (Gordian III was actually Gordian I's grandson by his daughter.) Here Zosimus and Zonaras are similarly confused about the identity of Gordian III and differ from Herodian, who says Gordians I and II were already dead by this time. Yet Zonaras' and Zosimus' lack of verbal parallels with each other reveals Eustathius' summarizing in Greek of Ammianus' Latin summary of Eusebius.

¹²⁵ Zonaras XII 17 pp. 579.8–580.6; at p. 579.13–14, I emend ἑτερόν τινα. μεθ' ὃν Πούπλιον το ἑτερόν τινα μεθ' οὗ Πούπλιον.

¹²⁶ Cf. Zonaras XII 16 p. 577.18–20 with Zosimus I 14.1–2.

¹²⁷ Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22 with Zosimus I 16.1.

In the third version given by Zonaras, Herodian should apparently be identified with the “others” who say that before Gordian I could leave Africa, rebels defeated him there and killed his son Gordian II, causing Gordian I to hang himself¹²⁸. This is Herodian’s version, which Ammianus accepted, because he says in his Book XXVI that Gordian I hanged himself in despair¹²⁹. Yet Ammianus must have accepted Herodian’s version only after describing and rejecting Eusebius’ version, which had apparently been circulated by partisans of Gordian III to conceal the inglorious deaths of his relatives Gordian I, who hanged himself in despair, and Gordian II, who was defeated and killed in battle. Note that neither these two versions nor Ammianus shared the mistake of Eutropius that Gordians II and III were the same emperor. Stover and Woudhuysen have plausibly argued that this error, which many scholars had attributed to the *Kaisergeschichte*, was not in Victor’s lost history but resulted from Eutropius’ misunderstanding Victor¹³⁰. While Ammianus’ surviving books refer to Gordian I as *superior Gordianus* and Gordian III as *iunior Gordianus*, Ammianus’ lost books apparently referred to Gordian II as *senior Gordianus* (transliterated by Eustathius as Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ)¹³¹.

Thus Ammianus’ digression on the sources for the year 238 can be reconstructed from Zonaras approximately as follows. Ammianus summarized and endorsed Herodian’s version: Gordian I was proclaimed in Africa but hanged himself when his son Gordian II died in battle; then the senate proclaimed Maximus and Balbinus at Rome; Maximinus was killed while besieging Maximus in Aquileia; but then Maximus and Balbinus were killed at Rome. Yet Ammianus also reported the version of Victor’s lost history: Pupienus ruled next, either by himself or with Balbinus. Ammianus further reported the version of the secular Eusebius: the senate chose Maximus and Balbinus before learning of the proclamation of Gordian I; Maximus and Balbinus were killed when Gordian I arrived from Africa; then Gordians I and II died after their sea voyage (from seasickness?) and were succeeded by Gordian III. Finally Ammianus briefly repeated Herodian’s version, which he accepted.

Eustathius distorted Ammianus’ digression by changing Pupienus to “Pompeianus” and Balbinus to “Albinus.” In summarizing John of Antioch, Zonaras included Ammianus’ discussion of the differences among the sources but not Eustathius’ summary of Herodian, probably because Zonaras, as he explains in his own general preface, omitted variants that he considered superfluous¹³². Yet Zonaras was interested in the historical problems discussed by Ammianus in his digression and thought that his readers should know about the variant accounts. Zonaras goes on to say, “those who attribute the rule of the Romans to [Gordian I’s] son the young Gordian after the death of the elder Gordian from illness” (evidently meaning the secular Eusebius and his sources) also say that Gordian (II) reigned six years and died after falling from his horse while fighting the Persians¹³³.

Later Zonaras says that “after the young Gordian [II]” died, “another Gordian” related to him (his nephew Gordian III) took the throne and defeated the Persians, retaking Nisibis and Carrhae, which had been lost under Maximinus; but after reigning for six years, Gordian III was killed because of a plot by his successor Philip the Arab (244–249). This account of Gordian III clearly parallels George Syncellus, who mentions Gordian III’s retaking Nisibis and Carrhae before his murder. It also parallels Ammianus’ Book XXIII, John of Antioch, Scutariotes, and Zosimus in reporting Gordian III’s victorious Persian campaign and murder; Zosimus adds that Philip told the senate

¹²⁸ Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.1–6 with John of Antioch fr. 224.44–67 and Herodian VII 9.1–10.

¹²⁹ Ammianus XXVI 6.20.

¹³⁰ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 297–300, referring to Eutropius IX 2 (ed. J. HELLEGOUARC’H, *Eutrope: Abrégé d’histoire romaine*. Paris 1999) and *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 27.1–7.

¹³¹ See Ammianus XXIII 5.17 (*superior Gordianus*) and XXVI 6.20 (*iunior Gordianus*) and *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 and 502.2 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ).

¹³² See Zonaras, preface 2 p. 8.20–23.

¹³³ Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.7–14.

his victim had died “from an affliction (νόσος),” which could mean the accident of falling from his horse, presumably the story that Philip told to conceal his responsibility for Gordian’s death¹³⁴. Again Zosimus must have shared a source with Ammianus, presumably the secular Eusebius, because Zosimus spells the name of Gordian’s father-in-law differently from Zonaras and Scutariotes, showing the name’s transliteration into Latin by Ammianus and back into Greek by Eustathius¹³⁵. Apparently Zonaras, who is the only source to attribute Gordian III’s six-year reign and Persian war to both Gordians, tried to reconcile the variant accounts of Gordian III’s death—an accident and a plot—by assigning the first account to Gordian II and the second to Gordian III. Since Zonaras seems not to have taken this mistaken conjecture from John of Antioch, it appears not to have gone back to Eustathius or Ammianus.

While Ammianus, Eustathius, John of Antioch, and Zonaras all realized that they were summarizing variant accounts, Malalas tried to convert the variants into a single narrative. The material that the *Historical Excerpts* and *Paschal Chronicle* preserve from Malalas’ lacuna seems to show that Malalas simply included as emperors all the variant names mentioned by Eustathius: Maximinus, “Albinus,” “Pompeianus,” Balbinus, “Puplius,” “Gordian Senior,” and “Philip Junior.”¹³⁶ Malalas followed Eustathius’ digression on sources negligently, added fanciful details, confused Maximinus with Maximus Pupienus, interpreted “Senior” and “Junior” as family names, combined Gordian II, Gordian III, and Philip into “Philip Junior,” and absurdly explained that senior and junior army regiments (*seniores* and *iuniores*) had been named after Gordian “Senior” and Philip “Junior.”¹³⁷ Probably Eustathius had assumed that his readers would understand such elementary Latin words as *iunior* and *senior*; but Malalas managed to misunderstand them anyway. George the Monk followed Malalas, including even more misinformation that George presumably took from Malalas’ full text. The accounts of George Syncellus, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Scutariotes all look like blundering attempts to reconcile the variants in Ammianus’ digression on sources as it was copied by Eustathius and John of Antioch.

VIII. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 244 TO 253

Presumably following Ammianus, Zonaras reports that at the news of Gordian III’s death in 244 the senate chose another emperor, Marcus “the philosopher,” who immediately died, and then still another emperor, “Severus Hostilianus,” who also promptly died after being bled for a disease¹³⁸. The other chroniclers who used John of Antioch corroborate Zonaras’ short notices on the ephemeral emperors Marcus and Hostilianus. Since Scutariotes says that Marcus died at age 43 and Hostilianus at age 46, Ammianus must have taken their names from the obituary chronicle¹³⁹. Modern

¹³⁴ Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.7–14 and XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.13, Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.20–31, George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–8, Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17, and John of Antioch fr. 225 with Zosimus I 18.2–19.1.

¹³⁵ Cf. Zosimus I 18.2 (Τιμησικλής) with Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.5 (Τιμησοκλέους) and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.20 (Τιμησοκλέα) and 25 (Τιμησοκλέους).

¹³⁶ Malalas’ order for these emperors can only be conjectured, since among the sources for his lacuna the *Paschal Chronicle* omits “Pompeianus” and “Albinus,” the *Historical Excerpts* omits Balbinus, “Puplius,” and Gordian, and George the Monk, pp. 460–465 lists Maximinus, Balbinus, “Puplianus,” “Junor (*sic*),” Gordian, “Unior (*sic*),” Marcus, “Justillianus,” and Philip. The order I adopt follows the appearance of these names in Zonaras XII 17–18 pp. 579.4 (Maximus), 579.5 (“Albinus”), 579.8 (“Pompeianus”), 579.13–14 (“Puplius Balbinus”), 579.17 (Gordian), and 582.1 (Philip). Note that in Thurn’s edition of Malalas XII 24–25, pp. 226–227, Va–IXf, the presentation of fragments from the lacuna mistakenly includes passages from Scutariotes, who depended not on Malalas but on Eustathius via John of Antioch.

¹³⁷ See *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ), 501.13–17 (Σενιώρων), and 502.2–3 (Γορδιανὸς Σενίωρ) and pp. 502.5–6 (Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰουνίωρ), 502.14–19 (Ἰουνιώρων), and 503.2–5 (Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰουνίωρ), and cf. above, n. 131.

¹³⁸ Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.21.

¹³⁹ See Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.31–37.2 (Marcus died aged 43) and *Synopsis* 37.2–4 (“Ustillianus” died aged 46).

historians have either ignored the emperors “Marcus” and “Severus Hostilianus” or dismissed them as misunderstood variants of the names of sons of Philip and his successor Decius¹⁴⁰. Ammianus however appears to have regarded them as ephemeral and inconsequential but not spurious or junior emperors, and perhaps we should entertain the possibility that he was right.

Ammianus evidently took the story of Philip’s murder of Gordian III from the secular Eusebius (who was also followed by Zosimus) and from Victor’s lost history (as preserved in the *Historia Abbreviata* and Eutropius)¹⁴¹. Zonaras, while repeating from the lost ecclesiastical history used by Eustathius that Philip was a pious Christian, otherwise adopts an account hostile to Philip, which was presumably derived from the propaganda of Philip’s successor Decius: Philip, returning to Rome after fighting the “Scythians” (Carpi), sent Decius to fight the rebel Marinus in Moesia; then the army proclaimed Decius against his will; and, despite Decius’ protestations of loyalty, Philip attacked Decius before dying in battle along with his son. Here Zonaras must have followed Ammianus, who again followed the secular Eusebius, because the same story is told by Zosimus¹⁴². Although George Syncellus and Symeon agree that Philip died fighting Decius, Scutariotes says that after his defeat Philip fled to Rome and died there¹⁴³. Symeon and Cedrenus add that Philip died “fighting for the Christians against Decius.”¹⁴⁴

Strangely, an entry attributed by the *Historical Excerpts* to John of Antioch says that after defeating the Scythians Philip marched toward Byzantium, heard at Perinthus (near Byzantium) about a rebellion at Rome by Decius, and sent envoys to Rome, where they were bribed to support Decius; then Philip fled to Beroea (presumably in Macedonia), where assassins treacherously killed him¹⁴⁵. This “excerpt” from John of Antioch is corroborated by no other source—neither Zonaras, Syncellus, Symeon, nor Scutariotes, all of whom usually summarize John of Antioch, nor the Latin chroniclers, nor Zosimus, who usually shared Ammianus’ main source for this period, the secular Eusebius¹⁴⁶. Seemingly one of the Constantinian excerptors, who sometimes took liberties with their texts, rewrote John of Antioch’s account to make it more favorable to the supposedly Christian Philip and less favorable to the notorious persecutor Decius¹⁴⁷. Probably the Byzantine excerptor substituted “Bero(e)a (Βερόνη),” a city familiar to him, for John of Antioch’s Verona (Βερόνη), the actual site of the battle between Philip and Decius according to Eutropius, Victor’s lost history, Ammianus, and Eustathius¹⁴⁸. Instead of having Philip return to Rome, the excerptor had Philip march toward Byzantium, probably because in the tenth century a victorious Byzantine emperor would naturally have returned there—that is, to Constantinople. This anachronistic fabrication turned Decius into an aggressive rebel against Philip rather than the reluctant emperor of the authentic texts of Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch.

For the later third century, even though Zonaras and John of Antioch often follow Zosimus sentence by sentence, they display practically no verbal parallels with Zosimus, including many differ-

¹⁴⁰ See BANCHICH – LANE, History 91 nn. 32 and 33 and pp. 100–101 n. 50.

¹⁴¹ Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.19–582.14; John of Antioch fr. 225; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20–32; cf. Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17, Zosimus I 18–19, Eutropius IX 2, and *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 27.8.

¹⁴² Cf. Zonaras XII 19 p. 584.1–21 with Zosimus I 20–22 (naming the Carpi).

¹⁴³ George Syncellus A.M. 5737, p. 444.16–18, Symeon 76.3, Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 48 and *Synopsis* 37.5–10.

¹⁴⁴ Symeon 76.3 (for ὑπὸ Δεκίου read κατὰ Δεκίου with manuscript C and Cedrenus 277).

¹⁴⁵ John of Antioch fr. 226.

¹⁴⁶ An inability to explain why the dependents of John of Antioch have accounts different from this supposed “excerpt” invalidates such attempts to defend it as C. PRICKARTZ, La chute de Philippe l’Arabe. *Études Classiques* 61 (1993) 51–64.

¹⁴⁷ See BANCHICH – LANE, History 9 on the occasional unreliability of the *Historical Excerpts*, though this invention about Philip and Decius is admittedly a more serious distortion than any of those they mention.

¹⁴⁸ Eutropius IX 3 and *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 28.10.

ent spellings of names¹⁴⁹. Again, the only plausible explanation is that Eustathius, copied by John of Antioch and the chroniclers dependent on him, used material from the secular Eusebius that had been summarized from Greek into Latin by Ammianus and summarized back into Greek by Eustathius. Similarly, for this period the Constantinian *Historical Excerpts* from the history of Peter the Patrician show clear parallels of both content and wording with passages from Zonaras, Symeon, and Cedrenus¹⁵⁰. Like them, Peter's excerpts also show striking differences in wording and spelling of names with passages from Zosimus and Dexippus, demonstrating that Peter was using Eustathius' version of Ammianus' Latin and not the original Greek of Dexippus—or its summary by the secular Eusebius, who was presumably the source that Zosimus and Ammianus shared¹⁵¹.

Since Peter the Patrician wrote before John of Antioch did, here Peter must have directly consulted Eustathius, John's source, who summarized Ammianus' version of the secular Eusebius. On the other hand, Peter, who directly consulted Dio, Herodian, and several other sources, must also have directly consulted the secular Eusebius in some instances, because another excerpt from Peter's history shows clear parallels of content but clear differences in wording with Zonaras, including four different spellings of names in just four lines¹⁵². Evidently in this case Zonaras followed Eustathius' version of Ammianus but Peter consulted Eusebius directly, as is apparent from Peter's using a form of the name of Emesa similar to one in Zosimus¹⁵³. Thus we can only be sure that material in Peter's excerpts derives from Eustathius' version of Ammianus rather than directly from the secular Eusebius when Peter's excerpts show verbal parallels with the texts dependent on Eustathius.

After Philip's death in 249 Scutariotes says that the army "proclaimed a certain Marius, sur-named 'the unworthy (εὐτελής).'"¹⁵⁴ Malalas also mentions Marius as an emperor proclaimed by the army in a passage found in the *Historical Excerpts* in a chronologically impossible position after Gallus (251–53) but *before* Gallus' predecessor Decius (249–51)¹⁵⁵. Marius, "an unworthy man (ἀνὴρ εὐτελής)," reappears in the excerpts from John of Antioch during the reign of Gallienus

¹⁴⁹ See Zonaras XII 21 p. 589.16 (Βολουσιανόν; cf. John of Antioch fr. 229.1, Βουλουσιανοῦ, and George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.14, Βουλουσιανῶ), XII 23, p. 592.20 (Γαλιήνω), XII 24 p. 596.19 (τὰ Μεδιόλανα), XII 24 p. 596.20 (Αἰρούλοις; cf. George Syncellus A.M. 5748 p. 467.15, Αἴλουροι), XII 24 p. 597.18 (Ἀλβανόν, an error for Σιλβανόν), XII 26 p. 605.17 (Κυντιλιανόν; cf. John of Antioch fr. 234.1, Κυντίλιος, and George Syncellus A.M. 5763, p. 469.21–22, Κεντίλιος), and XII 29 p. 609.10 (Σατορνίνου); and contrast these names with Zosimus I 24.1 (Οὐλοουσιανόν), I 30.1 (Γαλληνόν), I 38.2 (Σιλβανόν), I 40.1 (Μεδιολάνω), I 42.1 (Ερούλους), I 47.1 (Κυντίλλου), and I 66.1 (Σατουρνίνος). Contrast also George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.9 (Φιλипπόπολιν, an obviously Latinized form) and John of Antioch frs. 230.3 (Ποστούμιος) and 231.1 (Ὁδενάθος) with Zosimus I 24.2 (Φιλιππουπόλεως), I 39.2 (Ὁδαίναθος), and I 40.1 (Ποστούμιον). In Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 38.22 the city of Salona (Σάλωνα) is a misunderstanding of the name of Gallienus' son Saloninus (see Zosimus I 38.2, Σαλωνίνος), while Zonaras XII 24 p. 597 misunderstood that Gallienus' son had the same name as his father (ὁμώνυμον).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Zonaras XII 22 p. 591.9–13 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 264.7–13 (with a quotation; ed. U.P. BOISSEVAIN – C. DE BOOR, T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Excerpta historica iussu Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, 4 vols. Berlin 1903–1906); cf. Zonaras XII 26 pp. 604.20–605.6 (with a quotation), Symeon 81.2, and Cedrenus 283 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13; cf. Zonaras XII 27 p. 606.7–13 (with a quotation) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 268.5–12; and cf. Zonaras XIII 7.18–28 (with a quotation) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32 (where the misspelling Βρεττανίων for Βετρανίων is apparently Peter's own). For Banchich's conclusive identification of Peter as the *Anonymus post Dionem*, see above, Section III and n. 43.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 1 (*On Roman Embassies*), p. 1.1–10 (Βαλλερριανός) with Zosimus I 36.2 (Οὐαλεριανός); and cf. Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 393.7–9 (Οὐανδαλοί) with Dexippus, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), pp. 385.21–386.4 (Βανδηλοί).

¹⁵² Cf. Zonaras XII 24 pp. 599.23–600.9 (Κύντος, Μακρίνου, Ἐμέση, Ὁδένανθον) with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 266.25–29 (Κύντος, Μακριανοῦ, Ἐμίση, Ὁδένανθος).

¹⁵³ Cf. Zosimus I 39.2, I 51.2, I 52.1, I 54.2, and I 56.2 (all Ἐμίσαν).

¹⁵⁴ Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 and *Synopsis* 37.10–11 (where the senate proclaims Marius).

¹⁵⁵ Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.30–33.

(253–68) as the successor of the usurper “Postumius,” obviously a misspelling of the Gallic emperor Postumus, who according to both Zosimus and Zonaras died after Gallienus did¹⁵⁶. Marius’ surname might be translated “the frugal” had not Eutropius, presumably copying Victor’s lost history, named *Marius vilissimus* (“Marius the most unworthy”) as the emperor proclaimed by the army to succeed Postumus, again under Gallienus¹⁵⁷. Eutropius and John of Antioch assign Marius a reign of two days, though Scutariotes gives him a reign of five months¹⁵⁸. Marius cannot have reigned for only two days, because some of his coins survive¹⁵⁹. Since Victor (as epitomized in the *Historia Abbreviata*) records that Marius’ successor was chosen two days after his death, using language that could be misread to mean that Marius reigned two days, Eutropius must have misunderstood Victor¹⁶⁰. Ammianus’ source for Marius’ reign of two days must have been Eutropius, apparently because Ammianus wanted to record the length of Marius’ reign and no other source mentioned it¹⁶¹.

Evidently Victor and Eutropius said that Marius succeeded Postumus under Gallienus, while the secular Eusebius (like Zosimus), without mentioning Marius, said that Postumus survived Gallienus. Ammianus would therefore have found in Eusebius’ history that Postumus survived Gallienus but in Victor and Eutropius that Marius succeeded Postumus under Gallienus. Faced with this contradictory evidence, Ammianus seems to have professed his inability to date Marius. While Zonaras and Symeon simply omitted Marius, Malalas fitted Marius into his work at random, perhaps distorting his chronology in the process. Scutariotes tried to date Marius “the unworthy” by identifying him with the similarly-named rebel Marinus, who was proclaimed by the army as a rival to Philip and was considered by Decius to be “unworthy of the imperial office.”¹⁶² The reign of five months reported by Scutariotes for Marius was probably attributed by Ammianus and Eustathius not to Marius but to Marinus.

Besides Decius’ persecution of Christians, which Eustathius presumably summarized from the lost ecclesiastical history that he consulted, Zonaras describes Decius’ war with the “barbarians” (Goths), his betrayal by Gallus, and his death in a swamp in Thrace, all of which evidently appeared in Ammianus’ summary of the secular Eusebius and are paralleled in Zosimus¹⁶³. Note that Ammianus alludes in his surviving Book XXXI to Decius’ death in a swamp while fighting the “barbarians.”¹⁶⁴ Turning to Gallus, Zonaras expresses doubt as to whether Gallus was the same as Volusianus or Volusianus was Gallus’ son (as he actually was). Both alternatives must go back to Eustathius and probably to Ammianus, because the chroniclers dependent on John of Antioch chose either one of them or the other: Scutariotes refers to “Gallus Olusianus,” Symeon distinguishes Gallus from Volusianus, and Cedrenus, probably following Malalas, says Volusianus was Gallus’ son¹⁶⁵. Zosimus (following the secular Eusebius) and Victor and Eutropius agree that

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Zosimus I 40 and Zonaras XII 26 p. 604.12–19 with John of Antioch fr. 230, in line 1 reading <ἐπὶ> Γαλλίων <Ποστούμους> (“in Gaul, Postumius”) with Eutropius IX 9.1 (*Postumus in Gallia*) for the editors’ <ἐπὶ> Γαλλιανοῦ Ποστούμους (“under Gallienus, Postumius”) and the manuscripts’ Γαλλιανός; note that the events described actually occurred under Claudius II, not under Gallienus.

¹⁵⁷ Eutropius IX 9.1–2; cf. *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 33.8–12 and *Historia Augusta* XXIV 8 (ed. E. HOHL, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, rev. ed., 2 vols. Stuttgart 1997).

¹⁵⁸ Eutropius IX 9.2, John of Antioch fr. 230, and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 (*Synopsis* 37.10–11 has a lacuna for the number of months).

¹⁵⁹ D. KIENAST, *Römische Kaisertabelle*. Darmstadt 1996, 245.

¹⁶⁰ See STOVER – WOUDEHUYSEN, *Lost History* 303, citing *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 33.12.

¹⁶¹ For evidence that Ammianus sometimes used Eutropius directly, see above, Section III and n. 61.

¹⁶² Zonaras XII 19 p. 584.2–8. On Marinus (Pacatianus), see KIENAST, *Römische Kaisertabelle* 201.

¹⁶³ Cf. Zonaras XII 19 pp. 583.1–9 and 584.1–24 and Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.26–30 with Zosimus I 23.

¹⁶⁴ Ammianus XXXI 5.16 and XXXI 13.13.

¹⁶⁵ Cedrenus 279.3.

Volusianus was Gallus' son¹⁶⁶. By process of elimination, the mistake that Volusianus was another name for Gallus probably appeared in the obituary chronicle.

In a revealing passage, George Syncellus says that Gallus and his colleagues "according to Dexippus reigned for eighteen months, having done nothing remarkable." Although Syncellus thought Dexippus was the source for both the length of Gallus' reign and the disparaging comment about Gallus, the comment appears without the length of the reign in Eutropius, who depended on Victor's lost history and surely had no access to Dexippus¹⁶⁷. Both the length of reign and the comment evidently reached Syncellus through Ammianus, because only Ammianus consulted both Victor's lost history and Eusebius' summary of Dexippus. Eustathius' summary of Ammianus (though not necessarily Ammianus' original text) must have cited Dexippus for the length of Gallus' reign in a way that misled Syncellus to think that Dexippus was also the source of the disparaging comment. Only the length of the reign of Gallus and his colleagues, not the comment on them, should be attributed to Dexippus.

IX. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 253 TO 284

While the lacuna in Malalas' text ends with the year 253, his treatment of the reigns of Valerian (253–259) and Gallienus (253–268) consists mostly of Malalas' own fabrications. Apparently Valerian's age at his death passed unrecorded in the obituary chronicle because Valerian died in Persian captivity at a date unknown to the Romans. Zonaras gives an extensive account of the reign of Valerian's son Gallienus, including what looks like a summary of an obituary by Ammianus that parallels references to Gallienus in Ammianus' surviving Books XIV and XXI¹⁶⁸. Zonaras records that after the "barbarians" captured Athens under Gallienus they were about to burn all the books they found there, when one of their wise men dissuaded them by commenting that "the Greeks, occupying themselves with these things, neglect military matters and thus become easy to defeat." In this passage Zonaras must have substituted "the Greeks" for "the Romans," because "the Romans" is the reading in the same story as told by Peter the Patrician, Symeon, Cedrenus, and presumably Eustathius and Ammianus¹⁶⁹.

Zonaras, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Eutropius all report that Claudius II (268–270) was the grandfather of Constantius I and so the great-grandfather of Constantine I, an item of Constantinian propaganda evidently recorded by Victor's lost history, Ammianus, and Eustathius¹⁷⁰. Although for some reason Zonaras calls Constantine's father "Constans," John of Antioch, Malalas, and Symeon correctly call him Constantius, as Ammianus and Eustathius presumably did. Zonaras includes a favorable judgment on Claudius II like the one Ammianus expresses in his Book XXXI¹⁷¹. Zonaras also mentions that "historians do not agree among themselves about the length of Claudius' reign," with some saying that he ruled one year and others two years¹⁷². Here, as before, Zonaras evidently reports variants recorded by Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch, while the other chroni-

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Zosimus I 24.1, Eutropius IX 5, and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 30.1.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.15–16 (βασιλεύουσι κατὰ Δέξιππον μήνας τῆς, πράξαντες οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον) with Eutropius IX 5 (*nihil omnino clarum gesserunt*); cf. John of Antioch fr. 229.6 (οὐδέ τι λαμπρὸν ἢ βασιλείας ἄξιον κατεργασμένοι).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Zonaras XII 25 p. 602.15–18 (Gallienus' leniency to plotters and desire for popularity) with Ammianus XIV 1.9 (Gallienus' inquiring about his popularity) and XXI 16.9–10 (Gallienus' leniency to plotters).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Zonaras XII 26 pp. 604.23–605.6 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13, Symeon 81.2, and Cedrenus 283.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Eutropius IX 22.1 with Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.5–6, Symeon 81.1–3, and Cedrenus 283.

¹⁷¹ Ammianus XXXI 5.17.

¹⁷² Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.2–4. The words "among whom is also Eusebius," referring to those who record a reign of two years, were probably added by Eustathius, meaning not the secular Eusebius but Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* VII 28.4 (ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Eusebius: Kirchengeschichte, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1908).

clers chose between the variants: George Syncellus and Symeon selected one year and Malalas, George the Monk, Scutariotes, and Cedrenus selected two years.

Zonaras and the other chroniclers express ambivalence about the emperor Aurelian (270–275), especially in a fragment of John of Antioch that looks like one of Ammianus' obituaries and agrees with the somewhat unfavorable judgment of Aurelian that Ammianus expresses in his Book XXX¹⁷³. Frequent parallels with Zosimus indicate that Ammianus' main source for this period remained the secular Eusebius, whose work continued after Dexippus' history ended with 270. Ammianus' Book XXII refers to rioting in Alexandria under Aurelian that is also recorded by Zosimus, presumably from Eusebius¹⁷⁴. Ammianus seems to have been the source of the Byzantine chroniclers' favorable treatment of the emperors Tacitus (275–276) and Probus (276–282).

Still presumably following Ammianus and Eustathius, Zonaras considers the reigns of Carus and his sons Numerian and Carinus from 282 to 285 as a single reign, which Zonaras says lasted "not three years," while George Syncellus, Symeon, and Cedrenus say two years. Malalas and Scutariotes, who suppose that these three emperors reigned in sequence rather than as colleagues, assign each of them a reign of two years. In considering these reigns as a unit Ammianus probably followed the narrative of the secular Eusebius, who concluded his history with them. The observation of Symeon and Cedrenus that Carus was the fourth emperor to capture Ctesiphon after Trajan, Verus, and Severus probably copies a cross-reference made by Ammianus that resembled those in his surviving books¹⁷⁵.

Again presumably following Ammianus and Eustathius, Zonaras observes that different sources recorded two versions of Carus' death. In the first version, after defeating the Persians, Carus died campaigning against the "Huns" (Sarmatians); in the second version, after defeating the Sarmatians, Carus was struck by lightning near the Tigris while campaigning against the Persians. Next Zonaras says that different sources recorded two versions of Numerian's death. In the first, Numerian was captured by the Persians and flayed alive; in the second, Numerian was murdered on his return from the Persian campaign by his praetorian prefect (later identified as Aper) and succeeded by Diocletian, who then killed Carinus at Rome¹⁷⁶. Here Ammianus appears to have combined the first version of Carus' death and the first version of Numerian's death into a single narrative that he then rejected, and to have combined the alternative versions of Carus' and Numerian's deaths into an alternative narrative that he preferred.

Ammianus' rejected narrative, the one chosen by Scutariotes, Malalas, Symeon, and Cedrenus, was that Carus died (according to Symeon and Cedrenus from the plague) while campaigning against the Sarmatians; Numerian then campaigned against the Persians and was captured and flayed; Carinus avenged Numerian by defeating the Persians; and Carinus was then killed by Diocletian. Ammianus' preferred narrative, the one chosen by Eutropius, Victor, and Syncellus, was that Carus first defeated the Sarmatians and then, accompanied on his campaign by Numerian, defeated the Persians and was killed by lightning; Numerian, while returning from this campaign, was killed by Aper; Aper was executed by Diocletian; and finally Diocletian killed Carinus in the West.

Ammianus' preferred narrative, most of which has been accepted by modern historians, was that of Victor's lost history, which said that Diocletian killed Carinus in a battle on the Margus River, though Zonaras and George Syncellus say that he was killed at Rome. The narrative that Ammianus rejected was badly muddled, assigning to Carus a death from the plague that had actually happened to Claudius II and assigning to Numerian a capture by the Persians that had actually happened to Valerian. This rejected version probably came from the obituary chronicle that was com-

¹⁷³ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 235 with Ammianus XXX 8.8.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Ammianus XXII 16.15 with Zosimus I 61.1.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Symeon 85 and Cedrenus 296 with Ammianus XXIII 6.24 and XXV 8.5.

¹⁷⁶ Zonaras XII 30 pp. 611.9–612.2.

piled after 337, since its errors seem too blatant to attribute to the secular Eusebius writing soon after 285. Eusebius' version, most of which has disappeared in a lacuna in Zosimus' text, probably resembled that of Victor's lost history, except that Eusebius, who was apparently less well informed about events in the West than in the East, probably said that Diocletian killed Carinus at Rome, as is recorded by Zonaras and George Syncellus¹⁷⁷.

For the reign of Carinus, which is missing from our text of Zosimus because of the lacuna, we can compare an excerpt from Eunapius with an excerpt from John of Antioch that is evidently derived from Ammianus by way of Eustathius¹⁷⁸. Although the full excerpt from Eunapius is not attributed to him by the *Suda* in its article on Carinus, in other articles the *Suda* attributes four different passages within it to Eunapius, showing that Eunapius was the source of the whole excerpt¹⁷⁹. As Stover and Woudhuysen have pointed out, part of this excerpt from Eunapius shows clear parallels of content to Eutropius' *Breviarium*, which they take as evidence that Eunapius somehow consulted Victor, Eutropius' source, although we have no grounds to suppose that Eunapius knew Latin¹⁸⁰. Yet Eunapius' excerpt also shows verbal parallels with Paeanius' Greek translation of Eutropius¹⁸¹. Since Paeanius' translation can be dated before 380, and Eunapius completed the first edition of his history around 397, the obvious explanation for these parallels is that Eunapius found and consulted Paeanius' translation of Eutropius¹⁸². Eunapius then combined this material from Paeanius with material from the secular Eusebius, the Greek source that Eunapius shared with Ammianus¹⁸³. The combined accounts of the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus in all the Byzantine sources for fragments of Ammianus support the conjecture that the secular Eusebius concluded his history with the death of Carinus in 285 rather than the death of Carus in 283.

Ammianus naturally needed to rely on written sources for the years up to 285, some 45 years before he was born and around a century before he composed the first installment of his history. His main sources after Herodian's history ended with 238 were evidently Victor's lost history, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle. When these sources disagreed, as they often did, Ammianus seems to have recorded their different accounts, expressing a preference for one of them in some cases and perhaps in all cases, since his text has reached us only in incomplete summaries. Eustathius, copied by John of Antioch, apparently preserved most of Ammianus' different versions in his summary of Ammianus. George Syncellus, Symeon, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Scutariotes usually recorded only whichever one of John of Antioch's versions they preferred and omitted the remaining material that they rejected.

¹⁷⁷ As usual, see the Appendix for full references, and on the secular Eusebius' account of these years see above, Section IV and n. 73. The possibly correct report of George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14 that Numerian reigned alone for just 30 days may derive from either the secular Eusebius or Victor's lost history but probably not from the obituary chronicle, which apparently recorded only the length of the combined reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 246 with Eunapius of Sardis fr. I 5.1 (ed. and trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* II 2–150. Liverpool 1983).

¹⁷⁹ See PASCHOUD, *Zosime* I 188–189 n. 102 and STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 395 n. 118.

¹⁸⁰ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, *Lost History* 395–396.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Eunapius fr. I 5.1 (ὄβρεις ... ὄβρεις ... ἐγκλήματά τε ἀνέπλαττε) with Paeanius IX 19.1 (πλάττων ἐγκλήματα ... ὄβριζεν) (ed. H. DROYSEN, *Eutropius Breviarium cum versionibus graecis et Pauli Landolfique additamentis* [*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* II], new ed. Berlin 1961).

¹⁸² For the date of Paeanius' translation, see DROYSEN, *Eutropius Breviarium* p. xxi, and for the date of Eunapius' first edition, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 81–83.

¹⁸³ It follows that Blockley's Eunapius fr. I 5.2 is not a fragment of Eunapius and Paschoud's Zosimus I 73 is not a fragment of Zosimus, though since Zosimus followed Eunapius closely Paschoud is doubtless right that his Zosimus I 72, which he correctly attributes to Eunapius, must have been very similar to the relevant passage of Zosimus.

X. AMMIANUS ON THE YEARS FROM 284 TO 353

Besides Zonaras, our best source for Ammianus' narrative of Diocletian's reign is Theophanes Confessor. Theophanes presumably inherited George's copy of John of Antioch, since on his deathbed Syncellus had begged Theophanes to continue the work George had left unfinished and left him "the materials to complete what was lacking."¹⁸⁴ Among the otherwise unattested facts evidently transmitted by Zonaras and Theophanes from John of Antioch and Ammianus are that Diocletian had been Duke of Moesia before becoming emperor and visited Rome at the beginning of his reign¹⁸⁵. In a particularly clear case, John, copied by Zonaras and Theophanes, repeats a misinterpretation of Ammianus' Latin by Eustathius. Following Eutropius and Victor, Ammianus mentioned the *Quinquegentiani* ("men of the five tribes"), Moors who raided Roman Africa under Maximian. Eustathius, however, misread QVINQVEGENTIANI as "five Gentiani" (*quinque Gentiani*) as if Gentianus were a family name¹⁸⁶. This mistake was so natural for someone unfamiliar with the *Quinquegentiani* that Paeanius made it independently in his Greek translation of Eutropius¹⁸⁷.

In describing the triumph that Diocletian and Maximian celebrated before they abdicated in 305, Ammianus evidently included a digression on triumphs, which unlike most of his digressions was summarized by Eustathius and copied by Malalas, John of Antioch, Theophanes, Symeon, Cedrenus, and Zonaras¹⁸⁸. Even though Diocletian's persecution of Christians was notorious, both John of Antioch and George Syncellus praise Diocletian for his virtue, intelligence, and diligence, criticizing only his absolutism¹⁸⁹. The apparent reason for their praise is that they were copying Ammianus' obituary of Diocletian, which was itself based on Victor's lost history. To judge from Malalas, John of Antioch, Symeon, and Cedrenus, Ammianus recorded, probably correctly, that Diocletian died at age 72 after twelve years of retirement, having been born in 244 and dying in 316¹⁹⁰. Malalas says that Maximian (whom Malalas wrongly describes as Diocletian's successor, not his colleague) was 57 when he died in 310, which may also be correct and depend on Ammianus¹⁹¹. Malalas is in fact our best source for the birthdates of the tetrarchs, which he copied fairly accurately from Eustathius' version of Ammianus, who had in turn relied on the obituary chronicle¹⁹². John of Antioch's laudatory account of Constantius I, copied by Theophanes, Zonaras,

¹⁸⁴ Theophanes, preface pp. 3–4 (ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vols. Leipzig 1883–1885). On Theophanes' use of John of Antioch, see TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine Historians* 70–73.

¹⁸⁵ On Ammianus' treatment of the years from 285 to 337, see also TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 555–562.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 247.12–13 (ἐ' ἀνδρῶν Γεντιανῶν), Zonaras XII 31 p. 615.12 (πέντε τινῶν Γεντιανῶν), and Theophanes A.M. 5788 p. 8.1–2 (πέντε Γεντιανοί) with Eutropius IX 22.1 (*Quinquegentiani*) and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 39.22 (*nationes Quinquegentanae*, presumably not the form used by Ammianus, because it was clear enough that Eustathius should have understood it).

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Paeanius IX 22.1 (Γειτιανοί, πέντε δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι), where the independence of the error is apparent from Paeanius' misspelling "Geitiani" (not noticed by ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta* cxxxiii, who believes John of Antioch used Paeanius' translation).

¹⁸⁸ John of Antioch fr. 250; Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.14–17, Symeon 86.2, Cedrenus 299.1, Zonaras XII 32 pp. 618.14–619.9; cf. Malalas XII 45.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 251.1 and George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.25–26 with Eutropius IX 26 and *Historia Abbreviata* ("Aurelius Victor") 39.26–29 and 48.

¹⁹⁰ See the discussion of the evidence in BARNES, *New Empire* 30–32. The texts dependent on Ammianus indicate that Diocletian, who abdicated on 1 May 305, was born on 22 December 244 and died on 3 December 316. John of Antioch frs. 251.1 and 251.2 contradict each other, the first saying that Diocletian lived three years after abdicating and the second saying twelve years; but the first fragment, from the *Suda*, was probably altered because of a misreading of Zosimus II 7.2–8.1, who says that Diocletian died three years after the third consulship of Constantine and Licinius in 313 (i.e., in 316).

¹⁹¹ See BARNES, *New Empire* 32–35 and 46.

¹⁹² The obituary chronicle included ages for Constantius I, Galerius, Licinius, and Constantine, but apparently not for Severus, Maxentius, and Maximinus, though Malalas, our only source for all the ages but Constantine's, may possibly have omitted

and Scutariotes, is closely paralleled in Eutropius, evidently because it came from Victor's lost history by way of Ammianus, Eustathius, and John of Antioch¹⁹³.

Eustathius' treatment of Constantine, as it appears from John of Antioch and the chroniclers who consulted him, owed more to Christian sources than to Ammianus¹⁹⁴. Yet even for Constantine's reign Eustathius did consult Ammianus, including Ammianus' obituary of Constantine, based on Victor's lost history, which Eustathius apparently modified to make it less critical of Constantine's extravagance¹⁹⁵. Symeon and Cedrenus also record how a "philosopher" named Metrodorus caused a war with Persia by giving Constantine jewels but falsely claiming that the Persian King Sapor II had stolen other jewels from Metrodorus that the emperor then demanded from Sapor. This incident is mentioned both by Victor (as epitomized in the *Libellus Breviatus*) and by Ammianus himself, who says in Book XXV that he had described earlier how Constantine provoked the war when he "greedily accepted the lies of Metrodorus." Presumably Ammianus took this story from Victor, and Symeon and Cedrenus took it from John of Antioch¹⁹⁶. A report that Constantine insulted previous emperors, recorded by Victor (in the *Libellus Breviatus*) and repeated by Peter the Patrician, seems also to derive from Ammianus, whose Book XXVII refers to one of the insults they mention, Constantine's calling Trajan "wall-weed" because his inscriptions appeared on so many walls¹⁹⁷.

Another criticism preserved by John of Antioch reveals its transmission by Ammianus through a misunderstanding by Eustathius: that Constantine "killed the son of his sister Commoda by treachery (τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κομμόδης διαφθείρει δόλῳ)." A passage that Eutropius evidently copied from Victor's lost history says that Constantine "killed his sister's son, a youth of agreeable character (*sororis filium commodae indolis iuvenem interfecit*)."¹⁹⁸ Here Eutropius may well have been Ammianus' direct source, because in Eustathius' manuscript Ammianus' wording must have been either the same or almost the same as that of Eutropius: SORORISFILIVMCOMMODAEINDOLISIVVENEMINTERFECIT¹⁹⁹. Eustathius evidently misunderstood "agreeable (*commodae*)" as the sister's name "Commoda (*Commodae*)" and "character (*indolis*)" as "amid deceits (*indolis*)," omitting "youth (*iuvenem*)" as an unnecessary detail. Like Eustathius' mistake about Nerva's adoption of Hadrian, this was a misreading rather than a true mistranslation, and need not mean that Eustathius' Latin was defective. Eustathius may have relied mostly on Christian sources for Constantine's reign not so much because Ammianus criticized Constantine, since Eustathius and Zonaras repeated several of Ammianus' criticisms, as because Ammianus had less to say about

some of them. Most of Malalas' ages seem plausible, as noted by BARNES, *New Empire* 46 (where the "implied birth date" for Galerius should be 258 instead of "249").

¹⁹³ Cf. Eutropius X 1.2–3 with John of Antioch fr. 194, Theophanes A.M. 5796 pp. 10.17–11.2, Zonaras XII 33 p. 622.15–22, and Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 64 and *Synopsis* 41.20–23.

¹⁹⁴ See BANCHICH – LANE, *History* 189–210. The question is complicated by parallels between Zonaras' *Epitome* and a hagiographical text on Pope St. Sylvester attributed to Zonaras himself; see KAMPIANAKI, John Zonaras' *Epitome* 19 and 56. In any case, this Christian material must be independent of Ammianus.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Zonaras XIII 4.29–34, John of Antioch frs. 254 and 255, and Cedrenus 300.3 and 314.1 with Eutropius X 6.3–8.1 and *Libellus Breviatus* ("Epitome de Caesaribus") 41.14 and 41.16 (ed. M. FESTY, *Pseudo-Aurélius Victor: Abrégé des Césars*. Paris 1999). Ammianus seems therefore to be the pagan source identified by BLECKMANN, *Die Chronik des Johannes Zonaras und eine pagane Quelle zur Geschichte Konstantins*. *Historia* 40 (1991) 343–365.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Symeon 88.4, Cedrenus 314.1, and John of Antioch fr. 255 with *Libellus Breviatus* ("Epitome de Caesaribus") 41.14 and Ammianus XXV 4.23.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. *Libellus Breviatus* ("Epitome de Caesaribus") 41.13 with Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 271.4–8 and Ammianus XXVII 3.7. While STOVER – WOUDEHUYSEN, *Lost History* 355–357 conclude that this passage "gives us good reason to think that the common source of Ammianus and the later Greek tradition was indeed Victor's *Historia*," it can be interpreted at least as well as evidence that Victor was the source of Ammianus and Ammianus was the source of "the later Greek tradition."

¹⁹⁸ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 254.1–2 with Eutropius X 6.3; cf. also DIMAIO, *Antiochene Connection* 167–168.

¹⁹⁹ Again, for evidence that Ammianus sometimes used Eutropius directly, see above, Section III and n. 61.

Constantine than Eustathius' Christian sources did, since Ammianus took most of his information from Victor's lost history, which was shorter than his own²⁰⁰.

Beginning with the succession of Constantine's sons in 337, Ammianus' treatment must have become much more comprehensive and was probably introduced by a new preface. Now that Ammianus was writing about events that had occurred within his own lifetime, he should have had reasonably good written and oral sources. The other Byzantine historians apparently found John of Antioch's treatment of this period too lengthy to include in their concise chronicles, but Zonaras includes thorough descriptions of the wars of Constans and Constantine II, Constantius II's war with the Persians, the usurper Magnentius' murder of Constans, and Constantius' war against Magnentius. Cameron identified John of Antioch as "almost certainly" the direct source of Zonaras' extensive narrative of the early reign of Constantius II, including the usurpation of Magnentius ("by far the fullest account that has come down to us")²⁰¹. Zonaras gives prominence to Magnentius' brother Desiderius, who appears to be an entirely historical figure, though his existence has been doubted because it is attested only by Zonaras and the fifth-century church historian Socrates²⁰².

In Zonaras' account of the reigns of Constantine's sons, a detailed description of the flight of the Persian prince Hormisdas to the Romans parallels an excerpt from John of Antioch and corresponds to a cross-reference in Ammianus' Book XVI²⁰³. Zonaras' account of Magnentius' usurpation similarly parallels four excerpts from John of Antioch and an extract from Peter the Patriarchian²⁰⁴. In one of these excerpts, John of Antioch observes that Constans was successful in foreign wars but not in domestic affairs, while Constantius II was successful in domestic affairs but not in foreign wars; Ammianus' surviving books repeat this questionable judgment of Constantius²⁰⁵. The death of Magnentius in 353 should have immediately preceded the beginning of Ammianus' surviving Book XIV, where the parallels between Ammianus and Zonaras begin at once²⁰⁶.

Zonaras, who sometimes rearranges material in his sources, includes in his account of Julian's reign a report that before Julian's birth his mother had dreamed that she would bear Achilles²⁰⁷. Since this story must come from a pagan source, Zonaras probably took it from Ammianus' lost books, perhaps from Ammianus' account of how as a child Julian escaped being killed along with his father Julius Constantius in 337²⁰⁸. Even after our text of Ammianus' Book XIV begins with 353, Zonaras' summary of Ammianus' surviving books remains useful, not only to illustrate Zonaras' methods of summarizing but also to correct corruptions in Ammianus' text and to help fill the lacuna in Ammianus' Book XXIV²⁰⁹. As DiMaio was the first to demonstrate, this lacuna in Ammianus' description of Julian's Persian expedition corresponds to a story preserved by Zonaras and Malalas that two Persians posing as deserters persuaded Julian to burn his ships in preparation for an invasion of Persian lands that turned out to be a desert²¹⁰. This story provides a crucial explana-

²⁰⁰ On the length of Victor's history, see below, Section XI and n. 219.

²⁰¹ CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 688; see also TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 549–555.

²⁰² Cf. TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 550–553 with *PLRE* I *!Desiderius!* ("He does not appear in earlier accounts and is probably fictitious").

²⁰³ Cf. Zonaras XIII 5.17–34 and John of Antioch fr. 266 with Ammianus XVI 10.16.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Zonaras XIII 6.1–19 and XIII 7.15–9.8 with John of Antioch frs. 257–60 and Peter, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32.

²⁰⁵ Cf. John of Antioch fr. 258 with Ammianus XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15.

²⁰⁶ For the references, see TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography*, 544–549.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Zonaras XIII 10.2–4.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Theophanes A.M. 5830 p. 35.12–16, which is probably also derived from Ammianus by way of John of Antioch.

²⁰⁹ See the discussion in TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Historiography* 544–549 and above, Section I and n. 8 and Section III and n. 47.

²¹⁰ DiMAIO, *Infautis Ductoribus Praeviis*. Cf. the lacuna after Ammianus XXIV 7.2 with Zonaras XIII 13.4–7 and XIII 13.9 and Malalas XIII 22.

tion for the failure of Julian's expedition that is missing from Ammianus' account in our manuscripts.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

If, as seems likely, the part of Ammianus' history preserved in our Latin manuscripts represents the second of two volumes of roughly equal length, the Byzantine summaries of the lost books, excluding many overlapping passages, would amount to about ten per cent of their original extent. Alternatively, if each of the thirteen lost books was on average about as long as each of the eighteen surviving books, the Byzantine summaries would amount to some fifteen per cent of the lost books' original length. Those scholars who think that Ammianus' books are misnumbered in our manuscripts would naturally assume that the summaries preserve a smaller percentage²¹¹. In either case, the Byzantine summaries represent a significant portion of the content of Ammianus' lost books.

Although some of the information in these summaries has been distorted in the complicated process of its transmission, we have seen that the distortions can often be detected and corrected once we realize how they occurred. While the summaries hardly ever reveal Ammianus' exact Latin wording, Ammianus' history has usually been appreciated more for its informative content than for its mannered style. Although the Byzantine summaries omit most of Ammianus' digressions, the digressions in Ammianus' surviving books are of limited historical value. The summaries also omit most of the material that Ammianus took from Dio and Herodian; but much of Dio's text and all of Herodian's survive independently. Because Eustathius and Zonaras seem both to have been conscientious and intelligent summarizers, and John of Antioch appears to have copied Eustathius faithfully, these Byzantine summaries probably preserve most of the information that the full text of Ammianus' Books I–XIII could have contributed to our historical knowledge.

The importance of identifying many previously unidentified fragments of a major Latin author should be obvious, especially when those fragments can serve as a major source for a long period that is otherwise known from particularly scanty sources. The fragments of Ammianus' lost books listed in the Appendix below include fragments of another major source for this period, the secular Eusebius, and of Eusebius' own source, Dexippus. Identifying these summaries of Ammianus' history supports the reliability of much information found in several Byzantine sources that has previously been considered dubious because of its late date. This material adds to our knowledge of such matters as the Persian invasion of Syria and the revolt of Uranius around 230, the emperor Maximinus' murder of his wife, the vexed history of the year of the six emperors in 238, and the ephemeral but not necessarily spurious emperors Marcus and Hostilianus. Ammianus' fragments, especially those derived from the secular Eusebius, also inform us about the false but contemporary propaganda with which partisans of the emperors Gordian III, Philip, and Decius tried to strengthen those emperors' weak claims to legitimacy. Subsequent fragments add many details to our knowledge of the reigns of Diocletian, Constantine, and Constantine's sons and the usurpation of Magnentius. A thorough discussion of the historical implications of these summaries of Ammianus' Books I–XIII would require a separate study or studies.

These newly identified fragments also enhance our knowledge of Ammianus as an historian. The apparent fragment from his preface indicates that even though he wrote in Latin he saw himself primarily in the tradition of historians writing in Greek, whom he considered more important

²¹¹ Cf. BARNES, Ammianus 20–31 (arguing for 18 lost books) with the objections in TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine Historians* 60–61 and n. 65. CAMERON, *Last Pagans* 749–750 discusses various hypotheses about the number of lost books.

than Latin historians²¹². Admittedly, our Byzantine sources may have omitted references in Ammianus' lost books to Latin sources like Tacitus and Suetonius, both of whom Ammianus continued, and to Victor's lost history and Eutropius' *Breviarium*, both of which Ammianus used. Yet Ammianus' sources, apart from Victor and sometimes Eutropius, were almost all in Greek: Dio, Herodian, the secular Eusebius, and the obituary chronicle. To a much greater extent than the preserved books, which covered Ammianus' own times, the fragments of the lost books show Ammianus grappling with the problems of discordant sources, including those for the year 238, for the Gallic usurper Marius, and for the reigns of Carus, Numerian, and Carinus. Although the Byzantine summaries generally show that Ammianus was a trustworthy historian, they also show that he made some mistakes, like misreporting Constantius II's age, giving a confused account of the year 238, and accepting the legend that Anazarbus was restored by a senator named Anazarbus.

The Byzantine fragments are also relevant to the question of determining the number of Ammianus' lost books. Those who believe that the books are misnumbered in our manuscripts of Ammianus have postulated not thirteen but eighteen or even twenty-three lost books²¹³. No doubt the material in Ammianus' identifiable sources—especially Dio's Books LXVIII–LXXX and Herodian's Books I–VIII—could have supplied enough material to fill as many as twenty-three lost books. Yet Ammianus' main sources for the period after 238 were only the apparently skeletal obituary chronicle and the histories of Victor and the secular Eusebius, both of which were substantially shorter than Ammianus' own work²¹⁴. Copying Dio and Herodian at length would have produced a history with expansive treatment of the period from 98 to 238 but disproportionately brief treatment of the period from 238 at least to 285 and probably to 337, followed by much more detailed treatment of Ammianus' own times. The result would have been an oddly proportioned history and would contradict Ammianus' implication in Book XV that he began to write at length only with the reign of Constantius II²¹⁵. In any event, we should be extremely reluctant to disregard the book numbers in all our manuscripts, which are confirmed by Priscian's explicit and accurate citation from “[Book] XIV of the *Res Gestae* (*rerum gestarum xiiii*)” in the sixth century²¹⁶.

Stover and Woudhuysen's identification of Aurelius Victor's lost history helps to illuminate the circumstances in which Ammianus wrote his *Res Gestae*. Ammianus seems to have arrived at Rome from Antioch around 372 when, terrified by Valens' treason trials of learned pagans like himself, he took refuge in the Western territory ruled by Valentinian I²¹⁷. The first edition of Victor's *History* had appeared in 360, and had been epitomized as part of Eutropius' *Breviarium* around 370. If Ammianus had not already thought of writing a history before he arrived in the West, he must have decided to do so not long afterwards. In deciding to undertake this ambitious project, he must have believed that he could improve upon Victor's history. Although Ammianus treated Victor's *History* with respect and made ample use of it, the fact remains that he tried to supersede most of it²¹⁸.

²¹² Cf. A. ROSS, Ammianus and the Written Past, in: Sources et modèles des historiens anciens, ed. O. Devillers – B. Sebastiani. Bordeaux 2018, 326–328, with his suggestion that “Ammianus apparently conceives of the writing of history as an overwhelmingly Greek pursuit” (p. 327).

²¹³ See above, n. 211.

²¹⁴ See above, Section III and nn. 51–54 (the obituary chronicle) and Section IV and nn. 71–79 (the secular Eusebius) and below, n. 219 (Victor).

²¹⁵ Ammianus XV 1.1.

²¹⁶ On Priscian's reference, see THOMPSON, Historical Work 19 and n. 2.

²¹⁷ See TREADGOLD, Early Byzantine Historians 56–58.

²¹⁸ Somewhat more favorably to Victor, STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 351–352 suggest that Ammianus' history was “a sort of riposte to Victor's view of Roman history,” being more military and less political. “This would mean that Victor's work had some impact on the nature of Ammianus' historical project—that what he set out to do in the *Res gestae* was shaped by what Victor had already done.”

Stover and Woudhuysen estimate that Victor's full history included six books and was about ten times as long as each of its epitomes, which would have been about half as long as Ammianus' complete history. They however concede that Victor's history might have been a good deal shorter, perhaps about six times as long as its epitomes and about thirty per cent as long as Ammianus' thirty-one books²¹⁹. Their latter estimate seems more probable, especially because Victor, who made little or no use of the histories of Dio, Herodian, or the secular Eusebius, cannot have had very abundant sources²²⁰. Ammianus' longer history also covered a period about a third shorter than Victor's history did: 282 years (AD 96–378) to Victor's 419 years (31 BC–AD 389)²²¹. Thus Ammianus' treatment of the period he covered was substantially more detailed than Victor's. Ammianus also differed from Victor by beginning his narrative with Nerva, thereby continuing rather than competing with Tacitus and Suetonius. Besides making use of extensive material from Dio, Herodian, and the secular Eusebius that Victor had not used, Ammianus presumably thought that as a military man he understood military history better than Victor did. Ammianus was not deterred from his task when Victor brought his history up to date around 379 and 388²²².

Around 390 Books I–XXV of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* appeared, and he added his Books XXVI–XXXI around 395. To judge from Libanius' letter to him in 392, at first his work enjoyed a certain measure of success²²³. The appearance of Victor's *History* may even have stimulated interest in Roman history among the small circle of well-educated people at Rome, who may well have been curious to see how Ammianus handled the same subjects that Victor had treated²²⁴. Nonetheless, both Ammianus' *Res Gestae* and Victor's *History* seem to have been rather longer and more difficult to read than most Western readers wanted, because Victor's work was eventually lost except for its three epitomes, while only about half of Ammianus' work eventually survived in a single manuscript. At least through its epitomes, Victor's history undoubtedly had much more impact in the Latin West than Ammianus' history did. Ammianus' notorious lack of influence was definitely the rule during the Latin Middle Ages, much like the exiguous influence of Ammianus' predecessor Tacitus, whose work was also only partly preserved and almost entirely neglected.

In the Greek East, a small part of the contents of Victor's *History* entered the historical tradition through two Greek translations of Eutropius, but otherwise Victor's work was known almost exclusively because Ammianus had used it²²⁵. By contrast, the Byzantine summaries of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* show his influence on almost every significant Byzantine historian of the Roman Empire. To be sure, Ammianus' influence was anonymous and indirect, mediated by Eustathius of Epiphania, John of Antioch, and to a lesser extent John Malalas, but it was pervasive. No surviving Byzantine text mentions Ammianus by name, though our material from Eustathius and John of Antioch

²¹⁹ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 414–418, estimating Victor's full history at c.120,000 words but admitting that it might have been as short as 70,000 words. (They add that "it is unlikely that it exceeded 150,000 words.") Ammianus' surviving text is c.120,000 words, so that if it represents one of two original volumes of roughly equal size the full text would have been c.240,000 words.

²²⁰ See above, Section III and nn. 66–70.

²²¹ For the span of Victor's history, see STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 85–86 and 99 (beginning with the Battle of Actium) and 416–418 (ending with 388).

²²² For these dates, see STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 416–418.

²²³ See above, Section I and n. 15.

²²⁴ Cf. STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 420: "Ammianus may have had scant regard for the history being written in his own day—but he was living at a time when more history was being written in Latin than at any point in the previous quarter millennium."

²²⁵ STOVER – WOULDHUYSEN, Lost History 353 appear to overstate Eutropius' importance when they write, "Eutropius' *breuiarium* clearly had an enormous impact on Greek historiography: translated by Paeanius and Capito, used by John of Antioch, Theophanes, and others." The passages from Eutropius that entered the Greek tradition were few and brief, and John of Antioch, Theophanes, and most other Byzantine historians knew of Eutropius' work only as it was transmitted by Ammianus and Eustathius.

is so fragmentary that we cannot be sure that Ammianus' name never appeared in their full texts. Yet Byzantine historians, like all ancient historians, habitually left out the names of their sources, and most of the users of Eustathius and John of Antioch also failed to mention those historians' names. A major part of the Byzantine historians' account of the whole period covered by Ammianus' history can be attributed to Ammianus himself. Unless a plausible alternative explanation can be found for the material that has been discussed in this paper and appears in the Appendix below, we should conclude that Ammianus played an important role in transmitting Roman history to posterity through the works of more than a dozen Byzantine historians.

APPENDIX: PROPOSED LIST OF FRAGMENTS OF THE LOST BOOKS OF AMMIANUS' RES GESTAE

{ } denotes a passage seriously distorted by the summarizer.

1. Preface (?) listing sources for Roman history: Evagrius V 24, pp. 218.17–219.10 (at p. 219.9, for Κάπου probably read Καρ<iv>ου).
2. Nerva adopted Trajan: John of Antioch frs. 191 and 192; Symeon 61.2; Cedrenus 261.1.
3. Nerva refounded Anazarbus: John of Antioch from *Suda* A 1866; {Malalas X 53.32–52}; cf. Ammianus XIV 8.3.
4. Nerva forbade gladiatorial games and castration: Malalas X 54.56–58; John of Antioch fr. 191.4; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.19–21 and *Chronicle* II 9; Symeon 61.3; Cedrenus 261.2.
5. Nerva reigned 1 year, 4 months, 9 days: Malalas X 53.30–31 (1 year, 1 month); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.17 (1 year) and *Chronicle* II 29 (1 year, 4 months)²²⁶.
6. Nerva died aged 71: Malalas X 54.59; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.22–23 and *Chronicle* II 29²²⁷.
7. Trajan (and Severus) failed to take Hatra, suffering heavy losses: Ammianus XXV 8.5²²⁸.
8. Trajan reigned 19 years, 6 months, 15 days: Malalas XI 1.4–5 (19 years, 6 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 30.23 and *Chronicle* II 30 (same)²²⁹.
9. Trajan died aged 66: Malalas XI 12.
10. Digression (?) on Egypt (under Trajan): Ammianus XXV 15.1²³⁰.
11. Hadrian reigned 22 years, 10 months: Malalas XI 13.73–75 (22 years, 5 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.3–4 (22 years, 10 months) and *Chronicle* II 30 (same)²³¹.
12. Hadrian died aged 65: Malalas XI 20.29–30; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.14 and *Chronicle* II 31²³².
13. Antoninus Pius reigned 24 years: Malalas XI 21.31–32 (23 years); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.15 (24 years) and *Chronicle* II 32 (same)²³³.

²²⁶ Cf. Dio LXVIII 4.2 (1 year, 4 months, 9 days); Zonaras XI 20 p. 507.13 (1 year, 4 months); Symeon 61.1 (same); Cedrenus 261.1 (1 year, 4 months, 9 days).

²²⁷ Cf. Dio LXVIII 4.2 (65 years, 10 months, 10 days).

²²⁸ Cf. Dio LXVIII 31.1–32.1.

²²⁹ Cf. Dio LXVIII 33.3 (19 years, 6 months, 15 days); Zonaras XI 22 p. 513.18–19 (19 years, 6 months); Symeon 62.1 (same); Cedrenus 262.1 (19 years, 6 months, 15 days).

²³⁰ Cf. Dio LXIX 11.1–4.

²³¹ Cf. Dio LXIX 3.1 (20 years, 11 months); Zonaras XI 24 p. 521.17–18 (21 years less 1 month); Symeon 63.1 (20 years, 11 months); Cedrenus 263.1 (24 years [confused with Antoninus Pius?]).

²³² Cf. Dio LXIX 3.1 (62 years, 5 months, 19 days); Zonaras XI 24 p. 521.16–17 (same).

²³³ Cf. Dio LXX 4.2 (24 years); Zonaras XII 1 p. 525.18–19 (same); Symeon 64.1 (same); Cedrenus 264.1 (same).

14. Antoninus died aged 72: Malalas XI 27 (77 years); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.22 (72 years) and *Chronicle* II 32 (same).
15. Verus' generals captured Seleucia: Ammianus XXIII 6.24²³⁴.
16. Verus reigned 8 years: Malalas XI 32.79–80.
17. Verus was killed aged 39: Malalas XI 33.83–84.
18. Marcus defeated the Quadi near Aquileia: Ammianus XXIX 6.1²³⁵.
19. Digression on the customs of the Saracens (under Marcus): Ammianus XIV 4.2.
20. Marcus reigned 19 years, 9 months: Malalas XI 28.63–64 (18 years, 9 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 31.23 (19 years, 9 months) and *Chronicle* II 33.7 (same)²³⁶.
21. Marcus died (age not specified): Malalas XI 31.78²³⁷.
22. Digression on the statue of Magna Mater (under Commodus): Ammianus XXII 9.6.
23. Commodus reigned 14 years, 8 months: Malalas XII 1.4–5 (22 years, 8 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.18 (14 years, 8 months) and *Chronicle* II 34 (18 years, 8 months)²³⁸.
24. Commodus died aged 41: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.23–24 (41 years) and *Chronicle* II 34 (same)²³⁹.
25. Pertinax reigned 2 months, 18 days: Malalas XII 14.34–35; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.24 (3 months) and *Chronicle* II 35 (same)²⁴⁰.
26. Pertinax was killed aged 80: Malalas XII 14.36–38; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.24–26 (same) and *Chronicle* II 35 (lacuna)²⁴¹.
27. Didius Julianus reigned 2 months: Malalas XII 15.39–40 (7 months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.27 (2 months) and *Chronicle* II 36 (same)²⁴².
28. Didius Julianus was killed aged 60: Malalas XII 17; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 28–29 (same) and *Chronicle* II 36 (same)²⁴³.
29. Severus failed to take Hatra, suffering heavy losses: Ammianus XXV 8.5²⁴⁴.
30. Digression on Egypt (under Severus): Ammianus XXII 15.1²⁴⁵.
31. Severus reigned 17 years, 8 ½ (?) months: Malalas XII 18.51–54 (17 years, 9 ½ months); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 32.30 (17 years, 9 months) and *Chronicle* II 37 (17 years, 8 months)²⁴⁶.
32. Severus died aged 65: Malalas XII 22.38–39²⁴⁷.
33. Geta reigned 1 year: {Malalas XII 23.40–41 (before Caracalla)}; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.15–16 (1 year with Caracalla) and *Chronicle* II 38 (same).
34. Geta was killed aged 51: {Malalas XII 23.42–43}²⁴⁸.

²³⁴ Cf. Dio LXXI 2.3–4.

²³⁵ Cf. Dio LXXI 8.1–4 and 10.11–5.

²³⁶ Cf. Dio LXXII 34.5 (19 years, 11 days); Zonaras XII 3 p. 531.15–16 (same); Symeon 65.1 (19 years); Cedrenus 265.1 (19 years, with Verus 10 years, 9 months).

²³⁷ Cf. Dio LXXII 34.5 (58 years, 10 months, 22 days); Zonaras XII 3 p. 531.14–15 (59 years less 38 days).

²³⁸ Cf. Dio LXXIII 22.6 (12 years, 9 months, 14 days); Zonaras XII 5 p. 538.11–12 (same); Symeon 66.1 (12 years, 5 months); Cedrenus 266.1 (12 years, 9 months).

²³⁹ Cf. Dio LXXIII 22.6 (31 years, 4 months); Zonaras XII 5 p. 538.12–13 (same).

²⁴⁰ Cf. Dio LXXIV 10.3 (87 days); Zonaras XII 6 p. 542.14 (same); Symeon 67.1 (same); Cedrenus 267.1 (same).

²⁴¹ Cf. Dio LXXIV 10.3 (67 years less 4 months, 3 days); Zonaras XII 6 p. 542.13 (67 years less 4 months).

²⁴² Cf. Dio LXXIV 17.5 (66 days); Zonaras XII 7 p. 545.23–24 (60 days); Symeon 68 (66 days); Cedrenus 268 (same).

²⁴³ Cf. Dio LXXIV 17.5 (60 years, 4 months, 4 days); Zonaras XII 7 p. 545.22–23 (same).

²⁴⁴ Cf. Herodian III 9.3–8 and Dio LXXVI 10.1–13.1.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Dio LXXVI 13.1–5.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Dio LXXVII 17.4 (17 years, 8 months, 3 days); Zonaras XII 10 p. 555.21 (same); Symeon 69.1 (17 years, 8 months); Cedrenus 269.1 (same).

²⁴⁷ Cf. Dio LXXVII 17.4 (65 years, 9 months, 25 days); Zonaras XII 10 pp. 555.21–556.2 (65 years, 9 months, 29 days [read 25?]).

²⁴⁸ Cf. Dio LXXVIII 2.5 (aged 22 years, 9 months); Zonaras XII 12 p. 560.15 (same).

35. Caracalla reigned 6 years, 22 days: {Malalas XII 24.44–45 (as the successor of Geta)}; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.14–15 (6 years with Geta) and *Chronicle* II 38 (same)²⁴⁹.

36. Caracalla was killed aged 60: {Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.7–9}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 38²⁵⁰.

37. Macrinus reigned 1 year, 8 months: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.21–22 and *Chronicle* II 39 (same); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.10 (1 year)²⁵¹.

38. Macrinus was killed aged 52: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.12; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.27–28 and *Chronicle* II 39²⁵².

39. Elagabalus (“Heliogabalus”) reigned 3 years, 9 months: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 33.29 and *Chronicle* II 39; Cedrenus 273; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 498.13 (4 years): cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20²⁵³.

40. Elagabalus was killed aged 36: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.3–4 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 499.9–10; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 34.31 and *Chronicle* II 40²⁵⁴.

41. The Persians raided Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis but were expelled by Alexander: Zonaras XII 15, pp. 572.22–573.2; George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.21–22.

42. Uranius rebelled at Edessa but was killed by Alexander: George Syncellus A.M. 5710 p. 437.19–20 and A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–8.

43. Severus Alexander reigned 13 years 8 months: Symeon 73.1 (same); Cedrenus 274.1 (same); John of Antioch fr. 220.63–64 (14 years); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 499.10 (13 years); Zonaras XII 16 p. 575.8–9 (10 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 41 (12 years) and *Synopsis* 35.1–2 (same)²⁵⁵.

44. Alexander was killed at Mogontiacum: George Syncellus A.M. 5715 p. 439.7–9; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.11–13.

45. Alexander was killed aged 30 (?): Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.11–13 (30); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 41 (39) and *Synopsis* 35.16 (same)²⁵⁶.

46. Maximinus killed his own wife: Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.11–12; George Syncellus A.M. 5728 p. 442.10; cf. Ammianus XIV 1.8.

47. Differing accounts of the reigns of Maximinus, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordian I, Gordian II, and Gordian III: Zonaras XII 16 p. 576.5–578.13, XII 17 pp. 578.14–580.14 (at p. 579.13–14, for ἑτερόν τινα. μεθ’ ὃν Πούπλιον read ἑτερόν τινα μεθ’ οὗ Πούπλιον), and XII 18 pp. 581.17–582.21.

48. Gordian I reigned 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.18–22; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 and *Synopsis* 36.13–15 (“Gordian the Old”)²⁵⁷.

49. Gordian II died aged 50: Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 45 and *Synopsis* 36.17–19.

50. Gordian I hanged himself aged 79: Zonaras XII 17 p. 580.1–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (no cause of death) and *Synopsis* 36.15–16 (died of illness); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 502.3–4 (“Gordian Senior,” died of illness); cf. Ammianus XXVI 6.20 (hanged himself).

²⁴⁹ Cf. Dio LXXIX 6.5 (6 years, 2 months, 2 days); Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.4–5 (same); Symeon 70.1 (6 years, 2 months); Cedrenus 271.1 (2 months with Geta, then 6 years).

²⁵⁰ Cf. Dio LXXIX 6.5 (29 years, 4 days); Zonaras XII 12 p. 564.3–4 (29 years).

²⁵¹ Cf. Dio LXXIX 41.4 (1 year, 2 months less 3 days); Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.17–18 (same); Symeon 71.1 (1 year, 2 months); Cedrenus 272.1 (4 years).

²⁵² Cf. Dio LXXIX 40.3 (55 years less 3 months); Zonaras XII 13 p. 566.16–17 (54 years).

²⁵³ Cf. Dio LXXX (c.4 years), p. 452.8–9 Boissevain; Zonaras XII 14 p. 570.17–18 (3 years, 9 months, 4 days [presumably from the full text of Dio]); Symeon 72.1 (“Avitus” ruled 3 years, 9 months); Cedrenus 273 (“Avitus” or “Pseudo-Antoninus” ruled 3 years, 9 months, 4 days).

²⁵⁴ Cf. Dio LXXX 20.2 (18 years).

²⁵⁵ Cf. Herodian VI 9.8 (14 years).

²⁵⁶ Herodian V 3.3 says Alexander (then called Alexianus) was 9 in 218, thus about 26 at his death in 235.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.6 (“Gordian Senior,” 6 years).

51. Maximinus reigned 3 years: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 500.15–16; John of Antioch fr. 224.127–29 (same); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 and *Synopsis* 35.19 (same); Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.9–10 (6 years); Symeon 74.1 (6 years); Cedrenus 275.1 (6 years).

52. Maximinus was killed aged 65: Zonaras XII 16 p. 578.9–10; Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.15–17 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.2–3; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 (60 years) and *Synopsis* 36.11 (same).

53. “Puplius” Maximus [Pupienus] reigned either 3 months or 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 (“Maximus,” some say 22 days, others “not quite 3 months”); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.4–5 (“Puplius,” 100 days); George the Monk, p. 461.5–6 (“Puplianus,” 3 months); Symeon 75.1 (“Maximus and Balbinus,” 22 days); Cedrenus 276.1 (“Maximus Balbinus and Gordian,” 2 months) and 276.2 (“Puplianus,” 2 months)²⁵⁸.

54. Balbinus reigned either 3 months or 22 days: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.5–7 (some say 22 days, others “not quite 3 months”); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (3 months) and *Synopsis* 36.13 (“Galbinus,” 3 months); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 501.3–4 (3 months).

55. Maximus [Pupienus] was killed aged 60: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 (“Maximus”); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 42 (“Maximus”) and *Synopsis* 36.10–11 (“Maximinus”)²⁵⁹.

56. Balbinus was killed aged 74: Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.2–5 (“Albinus”); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 44 (79)²⁶⁰.

57. Gordian III defeated the Persians, recovered Nisibis and Carrhae, taken under Maximinus by the Persians, and was killed because of a plot by Philip: Zonaras XII 18 pp. 581.19–582.14; John of Antioch fr. 225; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.4–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20–32; cf. Ammianus XXIII 5.7 and 5.17²⁶¹.

58. Gordian III reigned 6 years: Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.11–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.20; George Syncellus A.M. 5731 p. 443.8–9 (5 or 7 years).

59. Gordian III was killed aged 28: Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 36.29–31²⁶².

60. Marcus the Philosopher was chosen by the senate but died “at once,” aged 43: Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.14–18 (no age given); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 46 and *Synopsis* 36.31–37.2; Cedrenus 276.6 (“Marcus,” 3 years).

61. Hostilianus Severus became emperor but died aged 46 of disease after being bled: Zonaras XII 18 p. 582.18–21 (no age given); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 47 (“Stillianus,” no age given) and *Synopsis* 37.2–4 (“Ustillianus,” 46); Cedrenus 276.7 (“Iustilianus,” 2 years).

62. Account of the reign of Philip: Zonaras XII 19 pp. 583.1–9 and 584.1–23; {John of Antioch fr. 226}; George Syncellus A.M. 5737 p. 444.16–18; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.5–7 and 37.17–19.

63. Philip reigned 5 years, 6 months: Zonaras XII 19.21–22 (5 years, or “according to others” 5 years, 6 months); John of Antioch fr. 226.9–10 (in his 5th year); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 502.5–6 (“Philip Junior,” 6 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 48 and *Synopsis* 37.5 (6 years, 6 months); Symeon 76.1 (5 years); Cedrenus 277 (7 years).

64. Philip was killed aged 63: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.27–28; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.5–10 and 16–17.

65. Account of the reign of Decius: Zonaras XII 20 pp. 585.1–5 and 589.1–14; George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.5–13; Symeon 77.1; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 37.26–30.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Zonaras XII 17 p. 579.8–13 (“Pompeianus,” under 2 months); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 43 (“Pompianus,” 2 months) and *Synopsis* 36.12 (“Pompianus,” same).

²⁵⁹ Cf. Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.20–21 (“Pompeianus,” 52, “killed in battle in Parthia”).

²⁶⁰ Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*), p. 159.18–19 (“Albinus,” 60, “killed by his own relatives”).

²⁶¹ Cf. Zosimus I 18–19, Eutropius IX 2, and *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 27.8.

²⁶² Cf. Herodian VIII 8.8, who says that Gordian III was “around 13” at the beginning of his reign, making him about 19 six years later.

66. Decius reigned 1 year 9 months: Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 50 and *Synopsis* 37.23; Zonaras XII 20 p. 589.1–3 (less than 2 years); Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 503.6 (1 year); George Syncellus, A.M. 5744 p. 445.3 (2 years); Symeon 77.1 (2 years); Cedrenus 280.1 (2 years).

67. Decius was killed aged 60: Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.34–36 and from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.4–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 50 and *Synopsis* 37.30; cf. Ammianus XXXI 5.16 and XXXI 13.13.

68. Account of the reign of Gallus: Zonaras XII 21 pp. 589.15–22 and 589.24–591.8; John of Antioch frs. 228 and 229; George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.13–17; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 51 and *Synopsis* 37.31–38.8; Symeon 78.1; {Cedrenus 279.1–3}.

69. Gallus reigned 2 years 8 months: Zonaras XII 21 p. 591.6; Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.8 (3 years); John of Antioch fr. 229.5–6 (less than 3 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5746 p. 459.15–16 (Dexippus says 18 months, others say 2 or 3 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 51 (2 years 3 months) and *Synopsis* 37.31 (same); Symeon 78.1 (2 years 8 months); Cedrenus 279.1 (2 years 8 months).

70. Gallus died aged 62: Malalas from *Paschal Chronicle* 505.13 (same) and from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.29–30 (60).

71. Account of the reign of Aemilianus: Zonaras XII 22 pp. 591.9–592.5; John of Antioch fr. 229.7–9; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 264.10–12; Symeon 79.1–2.

72. Aemilianus reigned 4 months: Zonaras XII 22 p. 592.2–3 (not yet 4 months); John of Antioch fr. 229.7–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 52 and *Synopsis* 38.9; Symeon 79.1.

73. Aemilianus was killed aged 40: Zonaras XII 22 p. 592.2–4; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 52 and *Synopsis* 9–14; Malalas XII 25 (37).

74. Account of the reign of Valerian: Zonaras XII 23 pp. 592.20–21 and 593.3–596.10; George Syncellus A.M. 5748 p. 466.1–23; Symeon 80.1–2; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 53 and *Synopsis* 38.15–19.

75. Valerian reigned 6 years and was captured by the Persians: Malalas XII 26.52; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 53 (16 years) and *Synopsis* 38.15 (same); Symeon 80.1 (“Valerian and Galenus,” 15 years); Cedrenus 282.1 (“Valerian and Gallienus,” 15 years).

76. Account of the reign of Gallienus: Zonaras XII 24 pp. 596.15–600.23 and XII 25 pp. 601.1–603.6; George Syncellus A.M. 5748 pp. 466.23–467.28; John of Antioch frs. 231–233; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 and *Synopsis* 38.20–29; Symeon 80.3; cf. Ammianus XIV 1.9 and 21.16.9–10.

77. Marius “the Unworthy” was proclaimed emperor but was soon killed: John of Antioch fr. 230.4–6 (for ἐπὶ Γαλλιηνῷ Ποστούμῳ and the manuscripts’ Γαλλιηνὸς read ἐπὶ Γαλλίων Ποστούμῳ with Eutropius IX 9.1 (*Postumus in Gallia*)); {Malalas from *Historical Excerpts* III (*On Plots*) p. 159.30–33}; {Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 49 and *Synopsis* 37.10–11}²⁶³.

78. Gallienus reigned 15 years with his father: Zonaras XII 26 p. 602.12–15; Malalas XII 27 (“Gallienus Licinianus,” 14 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 (9 years [by himself]) and *Synopsis* 38.20 (same).

79. Gallienus died aged 50: Malalas XII 27.5–6; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 54 and *Synopsis* 39.28–29.

80. Account of the reign of Claudius II: Zonaras XII 26 pp. 603.22–606.6; George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.16–22; Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 267.7–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 and *Synopsis* 38.30–39.3; Symeon 81.1–3; Cedrenus 283; cf. Ammianus XXXI 5.17.

81. Claudius reigned 1 or 2 years: Zonaras XII 26 p. 606.2–3 (some say 1 year, some 2 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.16–17 (1 year); Malalas XII 28.17–18 (2 years, reading β’ for

²⁶³ Cf. Eutropius IX 1–2, *Historia Abbreviata* (“Aurelius Victor”) 33.8–12, and *Historia Augusta*, XXIV 8.

θ' with *Paschal Chronicle* 508.3); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 (2 years, reading β' for η' with manuscripts V and A) and *Synopsis* 38.30 (same); George the Monk p. 467.15 (1 year); Symeon 81.1 (1 year); Cedrenus 283 (2 years).

82. Claudius died aged 56: Malalas XII 28.28–30; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 55 and *Synopsis* 38.30–39.3.

83. Quintilianus reigned 17 days: Zonaras XII 27 pp. 605.16–606.1 (“some say”); George Syncellus A.M. 5763 p. 469.21–22; Malalas XII 29.31–32; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 56 and *Synopsis* 39.3–7 (17 days, reading ιζ' for ζ' with *Chronicle*); Cedrenus 284 (7 days); John of Antioch fr. 234 (no length of reign given).

84. Quintilianus died aged 41: Malalas XII 29.34–35; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 39.7–8.

85. Account of the reign of Aurelian: Zonaras XII 27 pp. 606.7–13 and 607.1–608.4; John of Antioch frs. 235–238; Peter, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 268.5–12; {Malalas XII 30}; George Syncellus A.M. 5764 pp. 469.25–470.15; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 57 and *Synopsis* 39.9–16; Symeon 82.1–2; Cedrenus 285.1; cf. Ammianus XXII 16.15 and XXX 8.8.

86. Aurelian reigned 6 years: Zonaras XII 27 p. 608.1–4 (6 years less a few months); John of Antioch fr. 238; Malalas XII 30; George Syncellus A.M. 5764 p. 469.25; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 57 and *Synopsis* 39.9; Symeon 82.1; Cedrenus 285.1.

87. Aurelian was killed aged 65: Malalas XII 30.70 (65, reading ξε' for ξα' with *Historical Excerpts* III [*On Plots*] p. 160.3–4 and *Paschal Chronicle* 509.1); Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 39.12–16 (60).

88. Account of the reign of Tacitus: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.5–20; John of Antioch fr. 239; {Malalas XII 31}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 and *Synopsis* 39.18–20; Symeon 83; Cedrenus 294.

89. Tacitus reigned either 7 months or 2 years: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.17–20 (not yet 7 months or not yet 2 years); George Syncellus A.M. 5765 p. 471.1 (6 months); John of Antioch fr. 239 (6 full months); Malalas XII 31.71–72 (7 months); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 (7 months) and *Synopsis* 39.18 (7 months); Symeon 83 (2 years); Cedrenus 294 (2 years).

90. Tacitus was killed aged 75: Zonaras XII 28 p. 608.5–6 (75 at accession); Malalas XII 31.76–77 (75); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 58 (same) and *Synopsis* 39.18–20 (same).

91. Account of the reign of Florianus: Zonaras XII 29 pp. 608.21–609.5; John of Antioch fr. 240.

92. Florianus reigned 2 months 20 days: John of Antioch fr. 240; Zonaras XII 29 p. 609.2–5 (not quite 3 months); George Syncellus A.M. 5765 p. 471.2 (88 days); Malalas XII 32.78–79 (2 months).

93. Florianus was killed aged 65: Malalas XII 32.82.

94. Account of the reign of Probus: Zonaras XII 29 pp. 608.21–610.19; John of Antioch frs. 240–243; George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.11–13; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 and *Synopsis* 39.21–40.5; Symeon 84.1–2; Cedrenus 295.1–4.

95. Probus reigned 6 years 4 months: John of Antioch fr. 243; George Syncellus A. M. 5765 p. 471.3; Zonaras XII 29 p. 610.18–19 (not quite 6 years); Malalas XII 33.83–84 (6 years 3 months, reading ἔτη ζ' for ἔτη γ' with *Paschal Chronicle* 509.5); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 (2 years, a mistake for 2 emperors?) and *Synopsis* 39.21 (same); Symeon 84.1 (Probus and Florianus, 2 years); Cedrenus 295.1 (Probus and Florianus, 2 years, 4 months).

96. Probus was killed aged 50: Malalas XII 33.93–94; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 59 and *Synopsis* 40.4–5.

97. Account of the reign of Carus: Zonaras XII 30 pp. 610.20–611.14; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.10–26; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 and *Synopsis* 40.6–8; Symeon 85.1 (at 85.1.5 for Κάρου καὶ Καρίνου read Κάρου ὑπὸ λοιμικῆς καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ with manuscripts PHK and Cedrenus 296); Cedrenus 296; {Malalas XII 34}; cf. Ammianus XXIV 5.3.

98. Carus reigned 2 years, including the reigns of Numerian and Carinus: George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.14–15; Symeon 85.1–2; 296; Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.6–7 (“not 3 years”); Malalas XII 34.95–96 (2 years, Carus alone); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 (2 years, Carus alone) and *Synopsis* 40.6 (2 years, “Sarus” alone).

99. Carus was killed aged 60½: Malalas XII 34.8–9; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 60 (60 years) and *Synopsis* 40.6 (“Sarus,” 60 years).

100. Account of the reign of Numerian: Zonaras XII 30 pp. 611.15–612.2; John of Antioch frs. 244; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14–20; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 and *Synopsis* 409.13; Symeon 85.1–2; {Malalas XII 35}; Cedrenus 296.

101. Numerian reigned 30 days: George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.14²⁶⁴.

102. Numerian died aged 36: Malalas XII 35.30; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 and *Synopsis* 40.11–13.

103. Account of the reign of Carinus: Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.3–7; John of Antioch frs. 245–246; George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.20–25; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 62 and *Synopsis* 40.14, 16–20, and 26; {Malalas XII 36}.

104. Carinus reigned 2 years with Carus and Numerian: George Syncellus A.M. 5770 p. 471.14–15; Symeon 85.1–2; Cedrenus 296; Zonaras XII 30 p. 612.6–7 (“not 3 years”); Malalas XII 36 (Carinus alone); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 62 (Carinus alone) and *Synopsis* 40.14 (same).

105. Carinus died aged 32: Malalas XII 36.72–73.

106. Account of the First Tetrarchy: John of Antioch frs. 247–249²⁶⁵; Zonaras XII 31 pp. 613.14–614.7 and 614.16–617.14; George Syncellus A.M. 5715 p. 441.1–10 (at 441.9, for ἄλλος δ’ read ἄλλως δ’ <μῆνας>) and A.M. 5776 p. 472.22–26; Theophanes A.M. 5777–5786, 5788, and 5793 pp. 6.4–7.13, 7.30–8.15, 9.1–20; {Malalas XII 38–41}; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 63 and *Synopsis* 40.27–41.12; Symeon 86.1–2; Cedrenus 297.1–298.2, 298.4, and 299.1.

107. Retirements of Diocletian and Maximian, with digression on triumphs: Zonaras XII 32 pp. 618.4–7 and 618.10–619.14; John of Antioch frs. 250 and 251.1–2; Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.11–19; Symeon 86.2–3; Cedrenus 299.1; {Malalas XII 44–45}.

108. Diocletian reigned 20 years: Malalas XII 37.74–75 (20 years 9 months); Zonaras XII 32 p. 618.4–6 (after completing his 20th year); George Syncellus A.M. 5776 p. 472.22–26 (20 years); Theophanes A.M. 5777 p. 6.4–7 (same); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 63 (same) and *Synopsis* 40.27 and 41.10–11 (same); Symeon 86.1 (same); Cedrenus 297.1 (22 years).

109. Diocletian died after his abdication aged 72: Malalas XII 44.75–76; John of Antioch fr. 251.2 (no age given, but died 12 years after his abdication); Symeon 86.3 (same); Cedrenus 300.1 (same).

110. Maximian died after his abdication aged 57: Malalas XII 46.3–4.

111. Breakdown of the Second Tetrarchy: Zonaras XII 33, pp. 621.24–623.2; John of Antioch frs. 252 and 253; Theophanes A.M. 5796 pp. 10.17–11.13; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 41.15–42.4.

112. Constantius I reigned 11 years: Zonaras XII 33 p. 622.15–22 (“Constans”); Theophanes A.M. 5796 p. 10.26–27.

113. Constantius I died aged 60: Malalas XII 48.37–38.

114. Reign of Constantine I: Zonaras XIII 1.4, 13.1.21–29, and 13.4.29–34; John of Antioch frs. 254 and 255; Symeon 88.2–5 and 88.7–8; Cedrenus 314.1; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* IV (*On Proverbs*), p. 271.4–8; cf. Ammianus XXVII 3.7 and XXV 4.23).

115. Galerius died aged 53: Malalas XII 47.21–22 (“Maxentius Galerius”).

²⁶⁴ Cf. Malalas XII 35.10–11 (2 years, evidently confusing Numerian’s sole reign with that of his colleagues); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 61 (same) and *Synopsis* 40.9 (same).

²⁶⁵ Note that “Carausius” in John of Antioch fr. 247.1 (Καραύσιός τις) was miscopied as “Crassus” in the text of John used by Zonaras XII 31 p. 615.10 (Κράσσον) and Theophanes A.M. 5788 p. 8.1 (Κράσος).

116. Licinius died aged 46; Malalas XII 50.68–69.
 117. Constantine I reigned 32 years less 2 months: Zonaras XIII 4.27; Symeon 88.1 (31 years); Malalas XIII 1.6 (32 years); Theophanes A.M. 5797 p. 11.25–26 (32 years); Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 68 (32 years) and *Synopsis* 43.9–10 (same); Cedrenus 315 (32 years 10 months).
 118. Constantine I died aged 65: Malalas XIII 14.65 (65 years 3 months; for ξ' read ξ<ε>'); Zonaras XIII 4.27; Scutariotes, *Chronicle* II 68 and *Synopsis* 43.10–11; Theophanes A.M. 5828, p. 33.22–23; Symeon 88.1; Cedrenus 315.
 119. Constantine's sons divided the empire: Zonaras XIII 5.1–4; Symeon 88.8; Theophanes A.M. 5829 pp. 34.16–18 and 35.7–10; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 53.18–23; Cedrenus 315.
 120. Birth and education of Julian: Zonaras XIII 10.2–4; Theophanes A.M. 5830 p. 35.12–16.
 121. Constantine II fought Constans: Zonaras XIII 5.7–16; Theophanes A.M. 5831 p. 35.30–33; Scutariotes, *Synopsis* 53.24–54.3; Symeon 89.1 (confusing Constans with Constantius); Cedrenus 316.1 (same); cf. Ammianus XX 1.1, XXVII 8.4, and XXVIII 3.8.
 122. Constantine II reigned 12 (22?) years: Malalas XIII 15.71–72 (for ιβ' perhaps read κβ').
 123. Constantine II was killed aged 20 (24?): Malalas XIII 15.72–74 (for κ' perhaps read κ<δ>').
 124. Constantius II fought the Persians, and Hormisdas fled Persia: Zonaras XIII 5.5–6 and 5.17–34; John of Antioch fr. 266; cf. Ammianus XVI 10.16, XVIII 9.3, XX 6.5, and XX 11.32.
 125. Magnentius killed Constans and took his place: Zonaras XIII 6.1–19; Symeon 89.2; John of Antioch frs. 257 and 258; cf. Ammianus XIV 10.16 and XXI 16.15.
 126. Constans reigned 17 years: Zonaras XIII 6.12; Symeon 89.2; Malalas XIII 16.75–76 (16 years).
 127. Constans was killed aged 30: Zonaras XIII 6.12; {Malalas XIII 16.76–77 (27)}: cf. Ammianus XV 5.16.
 128. The Persians besieged Nisibis: Zonaras XIII 7.1–14; Cedrenus 317.8.
 129. Constantius II fought Magnentius: Zonaras XIII 7.15–8.31; John of Antioch fr. 259; Peter the Patrician, *Historical Excerpts* I 2 (*On Foreign Embassies*), p. 395.1–32; cf. Ammianus XV 6.4, XVI 6.2, XXI 8.1, and XXII 13.3.
 130. Constantius defeated Magnentius: Zonaras XIII 9.1–8; John of Antioch fr. 260.1–15.
- (Note also, for the lacuna after Ammianus XXIV 7.2 on Julian's Persian expedition: Zonaras XIII 13.4–7 and XIII 13.9; Malalas XIII 22).

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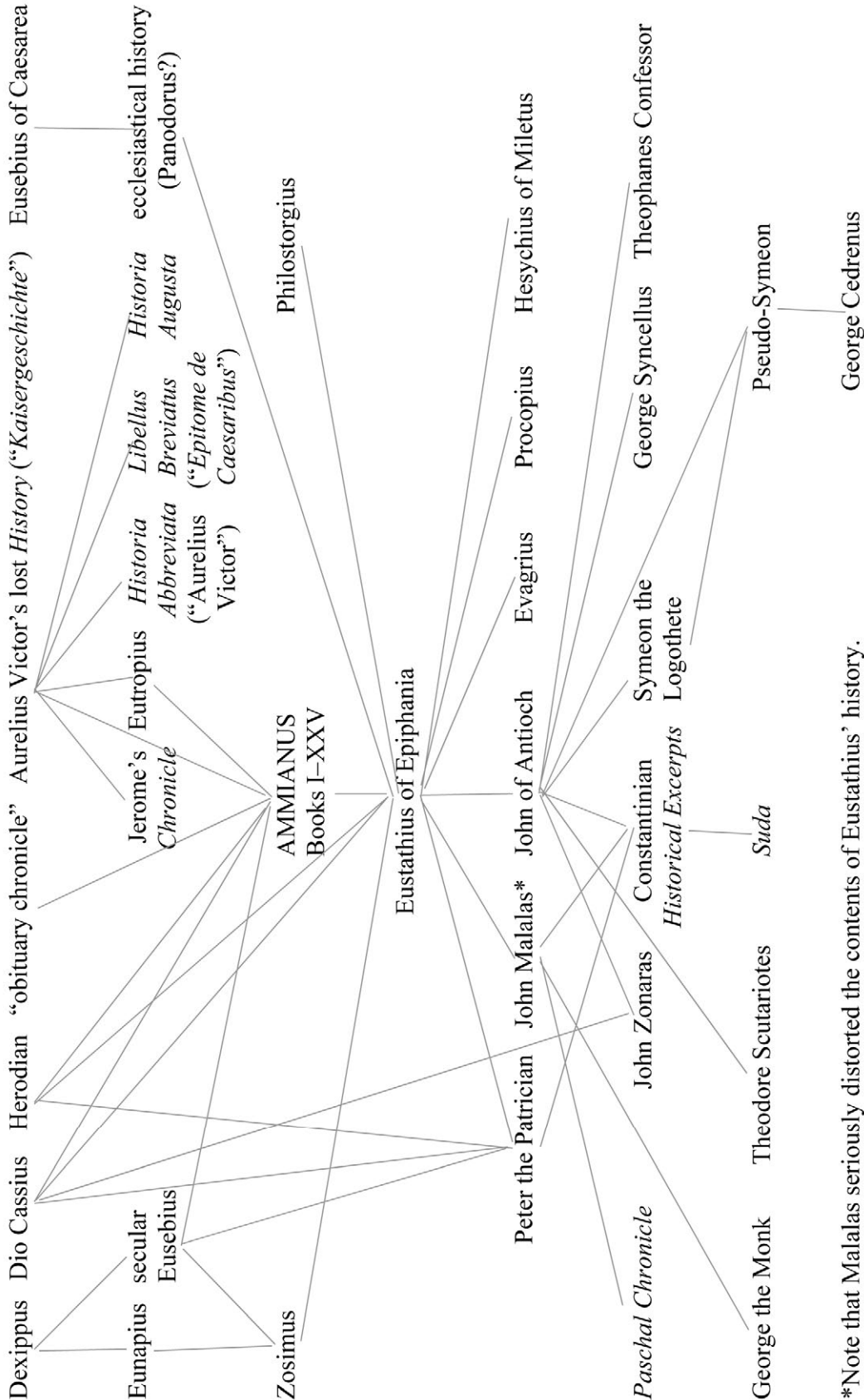
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TABLE OF SOURCES AND USERS OF AMMIANUS, BOOKS I-XXV

This table omits connections that have no bearing on the Byzantine summaries of Ammianus.



*Note that Malalas seriously distorted the contents of Eustathius' history.