

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### THE *EPITOME DE CAESARIBUS* AND ITS SOURCES\*

The Latin epitomators of the fourth century have begun to benefit from increased scholarly interest in the later Roman Empire and its literature. But much remains to be done. A need exists for a proper elucidation of Aurelius Victor: the *Caesares* survives in only two manuscripts, neither older than the fifteenth century, and the text contains many passages which are either corrupt or extremely hard to understand.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, good intentions never guarantee expertise, and some recent work has been of poor quality—a commentary on Festus which passes over some of the most interesting passages in silence and avoids many of the real problems in the text;<sup>2</sup> a study of Florus, Victor, Festus, and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* which makes some strange misstatements of both fact and opinion;<sup>3</sup> and an edition of the anonymous *De viris illustribus* which ranks as a paradigm of incompetence and ineptitude.<sup>4</sup> Everyone, therefore, should welcome most warmly the appearance of Jörg Schlumberger's full study of the *Epitome*, for it is careful, thoughtful, and usually accurate. Until its publication, the only systematic treatments of the sources of the *Epitome* were parts of two articles, admittedly both extremely long, by Theodor Opitz (1872) and Ernst Hohl (1911),<sup>5</sup> and A. Cohn's dissertation on the first eleven chapters (1884).<sup>6</sup>

Schlumberger's book meets an obvious need, and meets it well. The bulk of his treatment comprises a discussion of the work's contents chapter by chapter, and he proceeds with exemplary clarity and fair-mindedness. To be sure, there are some minor errors and misjudgments which do not affect the main argument. That is virtually inevitable, and they are here deliberately ignored. For, if Schlumberger's central conclusion must be pronounced inadmissible, that is the result of three principal causes: the problems which the *Epitome* poses are both difficult and intricate; the conclusions of any inquiry are partly circumscribed by the initial assumptions; and Schlumberger has taken on trust some erroneous opinions about the historical and literary background. Hence the ample proportions of the present

\* *Die "Epitome de Caesaribus": Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* By JÖRG SCHLUMBERGER. Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, vol. 18. Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1974. Pp. xv + 275 + 1. DM 44.

1. The recent Budé edition, with translation and lengthy commentary, by P. Dufraigne (Paris, 1975), is variously unsatisfactory.

2. J. W. Eadie, *The "Breviarium" of Festus: A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary* (London, 1967). For some specific defects, see T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 57 (1967): 263–65; A. Cameron, *CR* n.s. 19 (1969): 305–7.

3. W. den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (Leyden, 1972). In Den Boer's hands, Gallienus' wife Cornelia Salonina Chrysogone becomes "Julia Cornelia Salonina Pipa" (p. 80), and Festus of Tridantum "Festinus" (pp. 178 ff.). Not all reviewers seem to have noticed.

4. W. K. Sherwin (ed.), *Deeds of Famous Men ("De Viris Illustribus")* (Norman, Okla., 1973). For restrained comment, see G. V. Sumner, *Phoenix* 27 (1973): 209 f.

5. T. Opitz, "Quaestionum de Sex. Aurelio Victore capita tria," *Acta Societatis philologiae Lipsiensis* 2.2 (1872): 208–269; E. Hohl, "Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus," *Klio* 11 (1911): 192–229. This section of Hohl's study of the *HA's Vita Taciti* bears the title "Beiträge zur Restituierung der Enmannschen 'Kaisergeschichte.'"

6. A. Cohn, *Quibus ex fontibus S. Aurelii Victoris et "Libri de Caesaribus" et "Epitomes" undecim capita priora fluxerint* (Diss. Leipzig; Berlin, 1884).

critique: the high quality of Schlumberger's treatment of most details encourages a reconsideration of the basic problems—especially since he has caused me to revise some statements which I made about the *Epitome* some years ago.<sup>7</sup>

The identification of the sources of the *Epitome* involves not so much a single problem, or even a single complex of interrelated problems, as a series of very different problems. For the work falls into four parts, which differ from one another in their affiliations (viz., 1–11, 12–23, 24–38, and 39–46). Each part, therefore, will be discussed separately (sections II–V) and apart from general questions which concern the work as a whole (sections I and VI). Further, for the sake of clarity, I shall include in sections II–V tables which depict schematically the two views of the literary relationships of the *Epitome* which are being contrasted in each case. The function of these tables is merely to aid the reader to visualize the particular problem under review: they do not show the full relationship among all the sources, and in each case Schlumberger's implied stemma is shown on the left, whether or not it is argued to be preferable to the stemma on the right.

# I

Schlumberger commences with an introduction (pp. 1–16), which has three main sections. He reviews the textual transmission of the *Epitome*, which indicates that the work originally had no connection with Aurelius Victor. That needed to be said, for there are still scholars who cite the *Epitome* as the work of Victor.<sup>8</sup> The common designation "Pseudo-Victor" is equally inappropriate, because it suggests that the anonymous author intended to pass himself off as Victor. Schlumberger then summarizes previous research into the *Epitome*, and states the nature of his own inquiry.

One very important preliminary question must be faced at the outset. Schlumberger accepts the existence of the lost "Kaisergeschichte" (henceforward KG) which Alexander Enmann postulated in 1883,<sup>9</sup> and consistently employs the postulate in his analysis of the *Epitome* (p. 9, etc.). He also accepts my own argument for 337 as the probable terminal date of the KG (pp. 56, 93, 193, 200, 202).<sup>10</sup> Predictably, I welcome an approach which coincides with my own. But it might have been advisable to buttress the argument in more detail.

Since the author of the KG has recently been derided (albeit inaccurately) as a historian "manufactured in 1874,"<sup>11</sup> a brief restatement may be apposite. Schlumberger accepts the KG for essentially the right reason: the resemblances between Victor and Eutropius for the period 235–284 are of such a nature that a common source must be invoked, which can probably also—at a lower level of cogency—be detected in their accounts of the first and second centuries (p. 9). But Enmann's original formulation was fallacious, since it assumed that the *Historia Augusta* was written under Diocletian and Constantine, and Hermann Dessau deserves explicit

7. T. D. Barnes, "The Lost Kaisergeschichte and the Latin Historical Tradition," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1968/69* (1970), pp. 22–23.

8. Thus *PLRE*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1971), p. xii, etc.

9. A. Enmann, "Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser . . .," *Philologus*, suppl. 4 (1884): 335–501. Although the *Supplementband* as a whole bears the date 1884, *Heft* 3, which includes Enmann's article, was published in June, 1883 (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 4 [1883]: 861).

10. Barnes, "The Lost Kaisergeschichte," pp. 18–20.

11. Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians*, p. 21.

credit for expressing the argument in its valid form: the close coincidence in their selection of facts, the large number of common factual errors, and the frequent parallelism in formulation compel the conclusion that Victor and Eutropius independently used a lost source of comparatively brief compass.<sup>12</sup> It may be added that a common source must also be posited to explain the accounts which Victor and Eutropius give of the reign of Diocletian: Eutropius has not copied the far more individualistic Victor, and it seems impossible that two writers should independently make the appointment of the Caesars in 293 the result of a war which began in 296 and a revolt which broke out in 297 (*Caes.* 39. 22 ff.; *Brev.* 9. 22). In brief, the KG should be defined as the common source of Victor and Eutropius, since its existence is (and must be) deduced primarily from their resemblances. By a second series of arguments, it can then be identified as a source for other writers too (including the author of the *Epitome*).<sup>13</sup>

Another question also requires preliminary discussion. Given that the source of a passage has been securely identified, how can it be established whether it is the immediate or only the ultimate source, whether the derivation is direct or indirect? When the *Epitome* repeats a phrase, clause, or sentence from an earlier author, it does not necessarily follow that the writer has himself read, consulted, or copied the earlier author. The possibility of an intermediate source arises and needs to be examined. For example, a passage in the chapter on Nerva (which Schlumberger surprisingly fails to discuss) repeats a letter of Pliny:

hic ne accessu malivolorum terroreretur, Iunii Maurici, constantis viri, dicto ita admonetur: qui convivio familiari adhibitus cum Veientonem consulari honore functum quidem apud Domitianum, tamen multos occultis criminationibus persecutum adesse vidisset, inter colloquia mentione Catulli facta, calumniatoris praecipui, dicente Nerva: "quid nunc faceret, si Domitiano supervixisset?" "Nobiscum" inquit Mauricus "cenaret." [*Epit.* 12. 5]

cenabat Nerva cum paucis; Veiento proximus atque etiam in sinu recumbebat: dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi. incidit sermo de Catullo Messalino, qui luminibus orbatus ingenio saevo mala caecitatis addiderat: non verebatur, non erubescibat, non miserebatur; quo saepius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. de huius nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator: "Quid putamus passurum fuisse si viveret?" et Mauricus: "Nobiscum cenaret." [Pliny *Epp.* 4. 22. 4-6]

The comparison might seem to prove that the author of the *Epitome* had read Pliny.<sup>14</sup> But can direct derivation be demonstrated? Schlumberger's careful chapter on "Arbeitsweise und literarisches Ziel der Epitome" (pp. 63-77) shows that the author tended to follow a small number of sources very closely. Moreover,

12. H. Dessau, "Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der SHA," *Hermes* 24 (1889): 361-62.

13. For Festus, see Eadie, *The "Breviarium" of Festus*, pp. 70 ff.; for Jerome, R. Helm, "Hieronymus und Eutrop," *RhM* n.s. 76 (1927): 138 ff., 254 ff.; for the HA, R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the "Historia Augusta"* (Oxford, 1971), p. 45, etc. Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians*, p. 117, attributes to Helm a view diametrically opposed to the one he in fact affirmed.

14. The passage is, however, not discussed in A. Cameron, "The Fate of Pliny's *Letters* in the Late Empire," *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965): 289-98, with addendum in *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967): 421-22.

the rank of Veiento (cos. III ?83) must come from elsewhere than Pliny. It is far more probable that the story of the dinner party has reached the *Epitome* through the medium of Marius Maximus than that the author sought it out for himself.<sup>15</sup>

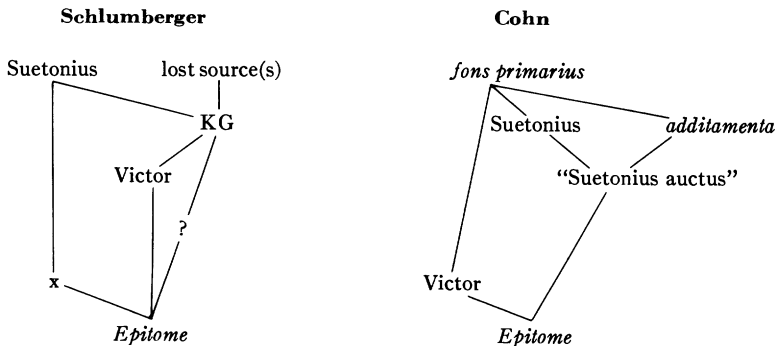
Since a letter-writer like Pliny could not be one of the main sources of the *Epitome*, the decision is relatively easy. With Suetonius, the problem becomes more difficult.

## II

The first eleven chapters of the *Epitome* (see Table 1) describe Roman emperors from Augustus to Domitian, and they alone can be compared with two indubitable sources. The *Epitome* frequently repeats ideas, phrases, and sentences from Aurelius Victor, and there can be little doubt that the author had a text of Victor before him as he wrote this section (Schlumberger, pp. 65-66). The *Epitome* also exhibits some close similarities to Suetonius (the closest being *Epit.* 10. 4 and Suet. *Titus* 6. 2) and clearly reproduces much material which derives from Suetonius (Schlumberger, pp. 17-62). Both Cohn<sup>16</sup> and Schlumberger deny direct derivation from Suetonius, and with good cause. On a careful reading of both the text and of Schlumberger's discussion, I can see no passage where direct consultation of Suetonius by the *Epitome* must be inferred. Hence, since there is authentic material which does not derive from either Suetonius' imperial biographies or Victor (e.g., in 1. 6, 9, 16, 20, 24, 27, 28), either the *Epitome* has combined a multiplicity of sources for the first century or it has employed a source or sources which combined both Suetonian and non-Suetonian material. The character of the work, so Schlumberger judges (rightly in my view), renders the second alternative preferable to the first.

Can the source or sources be identified? The KG meets some of the requirements and can be equated with a source which Cohn in 1884 described as "Suetonius auctus"—by which Cohn meant a lost writer who abbreviated Suetonius while

TABLE 1  
"EPITOME" 1-11



15. Similarly, Maximus probably played a role in transmitting the much-discussed passage with the phrase *quinquennium Neronis* (Victor *Caes.* 5. 2; *Epit.* 5. 2).

16. Cohn, *Quibus ex fontibus . . .*, pp. 21, 36-37. For the meaning of "Suetonius auctus," note the description "ille qui Suetonium excerptis et ornaverit" (p. 48).

working in additional material. But Schlumberger denies that the KG alone can explain all the additional material, and posits another lost source, which will allow him (if necessary) to dispense with use of the KG in these chapters (p. 61). For myself, I think that a confident decision on this question is probably not justified.

The resemblances of the *Epitome* to Aurelius Victor suddenly cease with the accession of Nerva (12. 1). Subsequently, only a very few passages exhibit any close similarity to Victor (the most conspicuous being *Epit.* 34. 3 and *Caes.* 34. 5; *Epit.* 41. 2–3 and *Caes.* 40. 2–4). Instead, the *Epitome* begins to show close resemblances to Eutropius and the *Historia Augusta* (whose lives of Nerva and Trajan are regrettably lost).

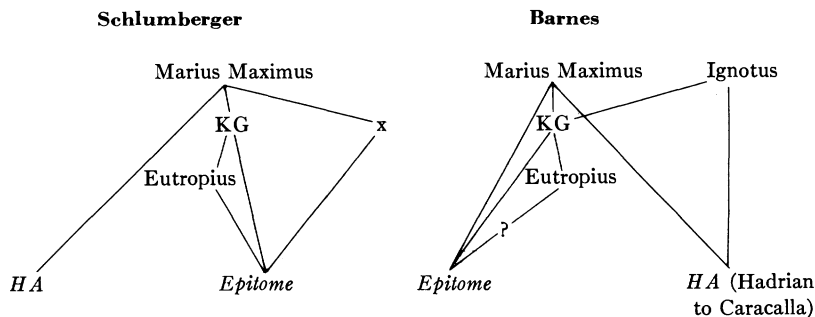
### III

Schlumberger's discussion of *Epitome* 12–23 (see Table 2) does not confine itself to this work: the titles of his two chapters aptly describe their contents, viz., "Epitome und Historia Augusta bis Elagabal" (pp. 78–123), and "Marius Maximus, Nicht Ignotus" (pp. 124–33); and Schlumberger often seems more concerned with the sources of the *HA* than with those of the *Epitome*. Since I am named as one of the two "Hauptverfechter" of a theory about the *HA* which Schlumberger describes as a "wenig überzeugende Hypothese" (p. 104) and "nicht notwendig und in die Irre führend" (p. 131), I shall digress to controvert him.<sup>17</sup>

The postulate of an unknown biographer (for convenience styled "Ignotus") as the main source of the *HA* as far as Caracalla is derived from the *HA* alone, and it rests solely upon a central proposition about the *HA*: that to identify Marius Maximus as the main source, as well as the source of those passages which the *HA* attributes to him by name and those which the specific content indicates as deriving from him, creates more difficulties in understanding the *HA* than it

TABLE 2

"EPITOME" 12–23



17. The hypothesis of Ignotus is set forth and (in my view) demonstrated by R. Syme in the following publications: *Ammianus and the "Historia Augusta"* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 92–93; "Ignotus, the Good Biographer," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1966/67* (1968), pp. 131–53 = *Emperors and Biography*, pp. 30–53; "Not Marius Maximus," *Hermes* 96 (1968): 494–500; *Emperors and Biography*, pp. 113–34; "Marius Maximus Once Again," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1970* (1972), pp. 287–302. For my adherence to Syme's conclusion, see "Hadrian and Lucius Verus," *JRS* 57 (1967): 66, 74; "The Lost Kaisergeschichte," pp. 30, 39–40; "Ultimus Antoninorum," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1970* (1972), p. 73.

solves.<sup>18</sup> This is not the place to restate a full case in favor of Ignotus; it will suffice to observe that nothing in Schlumberger's discussion of the *Epitome* counts seriously against the thesis. The reason is simple. Granted that the *Epitome* derives much of its material from Marius Maximus, then similarities between the *Epitome* and the *HA* will only prove that the main source of the *HA* was Maximus, if they occur in passages which the hypothesis of Ignotus requires to be attributed to Ignotus rather than to Maximus. If they occur in passages which the hypothesis of Ignotus allows to be attributed to Maximus, then they do not impair the hypothesis. The latter is in fact the case: the closest similarities occur in passages of the *HA* which are either obvious or probable additions to the main source (e.g., *Epit.* 14. 2<sup>a</sup> and *HA Hadr.* 1. 5; *Epit.* 14. 2<sup>b</sup> and *HA Hadr.* 14. 9; *Epit.* 18. 1 and *HA Pert.* 15. 8; *Epit.* 18. 6 and *HA Comm.* 18. 1 ff.)—except in the *Vita Heliogabali*, whose main source (for 1–18. 3) I have already argued to be Marius Maximus.<sup>19</sup> On the other side, there are some passages of the *Epitome* which purvey accurate and important information not in the *HA* (esp. *Epit.* 15. 4 [embassies to Antoninus Pius]; 15. 9 [Pius stoned in a food-riot]; 20. 6 [four friends of Septimius Severus]). That seems more easily explicable on the hypothesis that Marius Maximus was not the *HA*'s main source.

For the period A.D. 96–222, the *Epitome* shows itself far superior to Victor and Eutropius as a historical source, and no one will seriously quarrel with Schlumberger's explanation: it reproduces material from Marius Maximus which has escaped the earlier authors. But there is room for difference of opinion on two further questions. First, the relationship of the *Epitome* to Eutropius: Schlumberger argues for frequent recourse to Eutropius, supplemented by less frequent use of the KG (pp. 67–69, 124 ff.). But if Eutropius (as is often supposed) followed the KG faithfully, then it may be that, in some or all of those passages where the *Epitome* appears to copy Eutropius, it has in fact copied Eutropius' source, the KG. Now Schlumberger rates Eutropius' originality more highly than I would be inclined to do (p. 67), and on his estimate his conclusion does indeed follow. On my estimate of Eutropius, however, there are no criteria to permit a confident decision. Secondly, does the *Epitome* draw on Maximus directly? Schlumberger consistently denies it. But since the exact wording of the lost source is *ex hypothesi* unknown, the question cannot be decided conclusively.

In contrast to Schlumberger, I believe that the evidence available allows us to identify Maximus and the KG as the main sources of the *Epitome* for the second and early third centuries, and I am not willing to postulate additional sources until the necessity becomes evident. A good case can perhaps be made for Eutropius, but not (in my judgment) for an intermediate source intervening between the *Epitome* and Maximus.

#### IV

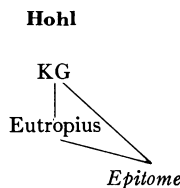
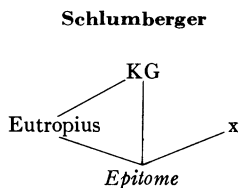
Schlumberger's discussion of the chapters of the *Epitome* which describe the period A.D. 222–285 (see Table 3) represents his most significant contribution to the subject (pp. 134–82). He has succeeded in emancipating himself from Hohl's refutation of F. Graebner,<sup>20</sup> where many (myself included) had followed with

18. Z. Rubin, rev. of Birley, *JRS* 64 (1974): 233.

19. T. D. Barnes, "*Ultimus Antoninorum*," pp. 53–74.

20. Hohl, "Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus," pp. 192–229.

TABLE 3  
 "EPITOME" 24-38



excessive docility. Graebner's theory, it is true, was untenable as formulated; for he derived not only the *Epitome*, but also Victor, Eutropius, and the KG, exclusively from Greek sources.<sup>21</sup> Hohl reacted too violently and, in effect, denied that the *Epitome* owed anything to Greek sources. As a result, he was driven to assert that, in cases where the *Epitome* has the truth while Victor and Eutropius are in error (e.g., two Gordians instead of three), it is the former which represents the KG, not the latter. But if the KG is defined strictly as the common source of Victor and Eutropius, that explanation of the facts must be disallowed. Schlumberger steers a middle course between Graebner and Hohl (pp. 134-35), and establishes that the *Epitome* shows derivation (direct or indirect) from a Greek writer or writers. The following are perhaps the clearest cases:

24. 2 The usurper Taurinus, who threw himself into the Euphrates, should be identical with one or more of the rebels to whom Greek writers allude (Dio 80. 4. 1-2; Herodian 6. 4. 7; Zosimus 1. 12; Syncellus, pp. 674-75 Bonn). He is elsewhere named only by Polemius Silvius (*Chr. min.* 1. 521).
27. 1 Gordian III was indeed *nepos Gordiani ex filia* (Dessau, *ILS* 498, 500; Herodian 7. 10. 7).
27. 2 The *Epitome* agrees with Herodian (8. 8. 8) on the young Gordian's age.
29. 2 Decius died *gurgite paludis submersus*, cf. Zosimus 1. 23. 3; Zonaras 12. 20.
31. 2 Only the *Epitome* and Zonaras 12. 21 have the African origin of Aemilianus.
32. 1 That Valerian was *cognomento Colobius* is nowhere else attested, and, as Schlumberger confesses, "Die Forschung weiss nichts damit anzufangen" (pp. 145-46). The occurrence of Colobius as a *cognomen* is no help (*CIL* 14. 1630: unique according to *TLL*, *Onom.* 2. 534). But some later writers use *colobium* to designate a sleeveless tunic (*TLL* 3. 1693-94). Two explanations of the text can be advanced. "Colobius" may be an opprobrious nickname alluding to Valerian's status in Persian captivity. Alternatively, the *Epitome* may have attributed to Valerian a nickname which in reality adhered to Gallienus and charged him with neglect of his imperial duties: the whole sentence appears more appropriate to Gallienus than to his father (e.g., *imperavit annos quindecim*). In any event, however, the word is originally Greek (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, 972, s.v. *κολόβιον*).
35. 2 Aurelian's battles in Italy in 270-71, at Placentia, by the River Metaurus, and near Ticinum. These precise details should derive from a Greek source: cf. *FGrH* 100 F 6 (Dexippus); Zosimus 1. 49. 1; Petrus Patricius, *Excerpta Vaticana* 175.
35. 3 Septimius is named elsewhere only by Zosimus 1. 49. 2.

21. F. Graebner, "Eine Zosimosquelle," *ByzZ* 14 (1905): 87-159, esp. 154 (stemma).

For the rest, this section of the *Epitome* (24–38) stands in the same relationship to Eutropius as the preceding twelve chapters (12–23). One passage, however, resembles Victor and appears to provide incontrovertible proof that the KG has been used:

Claudius vero cum ex fatalibus libris, quos inspicere praeceperat, cognovisset sententiae in senatu dicendae primi morte remedium desiderari, Pomponio Basso, qui tunc erat, se offerente ipse vitam suam haud passus responsa frustrari dono reipublicae dedit, praefatus neminem tanti ordinis primas habere, quam imperatorem. [*Epit.* 34. 3]

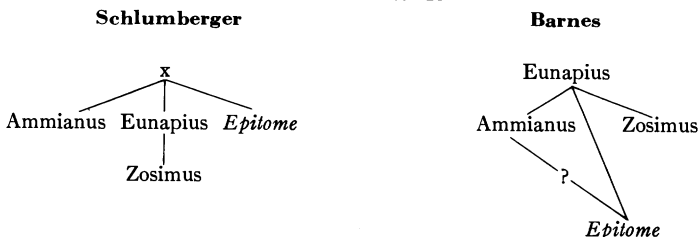
proditum ex libris Sibyllinis est primum ordinis amplissimi victoriae vovendum. cumque is, qui esse videbatur, semet obtulisset, sibi potius id muneris competere ostendit, qui revera senatus atque omnium princeps erat. ita nullo exercitus detrimento fusi barbari summotique, postquam imperator vitam reipublicae dono dedit. [Victor *Caes.* 34. 3–5]

The wording runs closely parallel, but only the *Epitome* supplies the name of Pomponius Bassus (cos. ord. 259, 271, and *praefectus urbi*).<sup>22</sup> The content and the observable techniques of the *Epitome* render derivation from Victor improbable (Schlumberger, p. 155). The KG, therefore, has been employed. Hence, as before, use of Eutropius, even if probable, becomes difficult to demonstrate conclusively

V

For the reign of Theodosius (*Epit.* 48, except 48. 3–4 which relate to the affair of Theodorus in 371), speculation about the sources of the *Epitome* is pointless: there is no comparable historical account, and no systematic written source needs to be invoked. But the account of the emperors from Diocletian to Valens (see Table 4) deserves, and receives, a full comparison with Zosimus and Ammianus (Schlumberger, pp. 183–232). Franz Pichlmayr noted two coincidences with Ammianus in his edition (*Epit.* 42. 14 = Amm. Marc. 16. 12. 63; *Epit.* 45. 2 = Amm. Marc. 30. 7. 2), but the similarities to Zosimus are more frequent and equally striking (e.g., *Epit.* 40. 20 and Zosimus 2. 13. 3 [Domitian Alexander]; *Epit.* 41. 6 and Zosimus 2. 25. 2 [Martinianus]; *Epit.* 41. 11–12 and Zosimus 2. 29. 2 [the deaths of Crispus and Fausta]; *Epit.* 42. 7 and Zosimus 2. 54. 1 [Magnentius]; *Epit.* 45. 10 and Zosimus 4. 19. 1 [the proclamation of young Valentinian in 375]). What is the explanation? Zosimus, it will generally be conceded, reproduces

TABLE 4  
“EPITOME” 39–46



22. On whom see now *PLRE*, 1:155–56, Bassus 17.



Eunapius. Opitz accordingly invoked Ammianus and a continuator of Ammianus as the source of Eunapius and (indirectly) of the *Epitome*.<sup>23</sup> Schlumberger prefers a common source which Ammianus, Eunapius, and the *Epitome* all shared. I wish to propound a still simpler hypothesis: that Ammianus and the *Epitome* both used Eunapius as a source, whether or not the *Epitome* also shows occasional derivation from Ammianus.<sup>24</sup> Schlumberger has shown (I believe) that the resemblances among the three writers indicate a close literary relationship. Conventional chronology then compels the conclusion that at least Eunapius and the *Epitome* employed a common source. For the *Epitome* was clearly composed not long after the burial of Theodosius at Constantinople on 8 November 395 (*Epit.* 48. 20), while it is normally supposed that Eunapius carried the first edition of his *History* down to 395.<sup>25</sup> I wish to propose 378 as its terminal date.

Eunapius' *Vitae philosophorum* was written in 396 or slightly later (7. 3. 4, p. 476), and it refers to the first edition of his *History* in a number of passages.<sup>26</sup> The latest certain references are to the reign of Valens: Eunapius alludes to Musonius, apparently as *vicarius Asiae* in 367–68 (10. 7. 13, p. 493), and to the execution of Maximus of Ephesus, soon after 371 (7. 6. 5, p. 480).<sup>27</sup> Admittedly, there are two passages which are conventionally interpreted as referring to later events. In both cases, however, I believe that Eunapius has been misunderstood. The first can be construed as implying that the *History* described the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391 (6. 11. 7, p. 472)—or as implying that it described the general behavior of monks. The second passage might appear to say specifically that the *History* narrated Alaric's invasion of Greece in 395 (7. 3. 4, p. 476). But there is an anacolouthon in the traditional text (as the Loeb translator, W. C. Wright, notes), and the latest editor prints a text which implies rather that Eunapius hopes to describe Alaric's invasion at some future date.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, a fragment of the second edition of the *History* states that the author mentioned, but was ignorant of, the habits of the Huns when he composed the first edition (frag. 41).<sup>29</sup> That should imply a date not too long after 376. I conclude, therefore, that Eunapius' own references indicate that the first edition of his *History* went no further than the battle of Adrianople or its immediate aftermath.

If this is conceded, then it becomes chronologically possible for both Ammianus and the author of the *Epitome* to have read and used Eunapius. Furthermore, the *Epitome* not only exhibits verbal coincidences with Zosimus; its portrayal of

23. Opitz, "Quaestiones de Sex. Aurelio Victore," pp. 260 ff.

24. I once argued that *Epit.* 34. 3 might owe the name of Bassus to the lost books of Ammianus ("The Lost Kaisergeschichte," pp. 22–23). That is not the best explanation of the phenomena (above, p. 265). But some passages in the last part of the *Epitome* show verbal similarities to Ammianus which are hard to explain as independent copying of the same Greek source (e.g., *Epit.* 45. 6; cf. *Amm. Marc.* 30. 9. 4).

25. C. Müller, *FHG*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1852), p. 8. I know of no dissentient.

26. Listed by W. Chalmers, "The *νέα έκδοσις* of Eunapius' *Histories*," *CQ* n.s. 3 (1953): 169–70.

27. For the dates, *PLRE*, 1: 613, Musonius 2; 1: 583–84, Maximus 21.

28. G. Giangrande (ed.), *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum* (Rome, 1956), p. 46: *καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πολλῶν καὶ ἀδιηγῆτων ἐπικλυσθέντων κακῶν, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπη τὸ θεῖον, λελέγεται, ὃ [τε] Ἀλλάριχος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρήλθεν*.

29. On the interpretation of this fragment, see Chalmers, "The *νέα έκδοσις* of Eunapius' *Histories*," pp. 168–69.

Constantine contains other passages whose content may betray the influence of Eunapius.

39. 7 The version of the death of Diocletian, with its implied date of early 313, finds its only analogue in Socrates *HE* 1. 2. 10.<sup>30</sup> It is probable that Socrates here depends on a source (viz., Gelasius of Caesarea) who knew Eunapius.<sup>31</sup>
41. 4 The passage runs closely parallel to Zosimus 2. 22. 2. The erroneous description of Minervina as a concubine (she was Constantine's first wife; cf. *Pan. Lat.* 7[6]. 4. 1 ff.) should come from a writer who emphasized sexual misdemeanors at Constantine's court (cf. Zosimus 2. 29. 1, 39.1).
- 41.7 The death of Licinius is presented as murder after a promise of safety (*pacta salute*), without the excuses or justification which Christian writers offer—and which some modern students of Constantine believe (e.g., *PLRE*, 1:509: "executed in 325 after plotting to renew the war").
41. 13 Constantine's *bon mot* about Trajan recurs in Petrus Patricius, *Excerpta Vaticana* 191, who probably derived at least some material from Eunapius, either directly or indirectly.
41. 16 The division of Constantine's reign into three decades as *praestantissimus*, then *latro*, and finally *pupillus ob profusiones immodicas* clearly reflects the judgment of an eastern pagan, for whom Constantine's wars against Licinius (316–17 and 324) marked significant points in his reign.<sup>32</sup> It was in fact immediately after the defeat of Maxentius (28 October 312) that Constantine began to grant money and privileges to the Christian church in the West (Eusebius *VC* 1. 39 ff.).

## VI

So far I have deliberately suppressed the identity of Schlumberger's source *x*, for his proposed identification is the weakest and most vulnerable part of his study. He believes that the unknown source in all four sections of the *Epitome* is the *Annales* of Nicomachus Flavianus (pp. 233–48; cf. 60–61, 157, 182, 209–213). Some scholars (I fear) may be tempted to judge the issue on form: a theory whose main proponents have been A. von Domaszewski, W. Hartke, and F. Paschoud is not likely to be correct.<sup>33</sup> More serious, Schlumberger nowhere confronts the most obvious weakness of the theory: can Eunapius really be imagined as transcribing a Latin historian into Greek? Further, his actual arguments rest upon a series of chronological errors.

Schlumberger appears to assume the standard date of circa 395 for Eunapius' first edition of his *History*, and accepts Hartke's date of 382–83 for Flavianus' *Annales* (p. 241). But Eunapius (I have argued above) probably wrote circa 380, and the sole precise fact known about Flavianus' *Annales* is that he dedicated it to Theodosius: "quos consecrari sibi a quaestore et praefecto suo voluit" (Dessau, *ILS* 2948). That should mean that Flavianus dedicated the work when he was pretorian prefect, i.e., no earlier than 390. Admittedly, a law which bears the date

30. On the various versions, see T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," *JRS* 63 (1973): 32 ff.

31. On the obscure question of Socrates' sources, see esp. L. Jeep, "Quellenuntersuchungen zu den griechischen Kirchenhistorikern," *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, suppl. 14 (1885): 105 ff.; F. Winkelmann, *Sb. Berlin*, Klasse für Sprachen, Lit., und Kunst 1965, no. 3, pp. 25 ff.

32. Schlumberger unfortunately dates the first war to 314 instead of 316–17 (pp. 189, 197).

33. A. von Domaszewski, "Die Personennamen bei den *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Sb. Heidelberg*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1918, Abh. 13, pp. 23, 110; W. Hartke, *Geschichte und Politik im spätantiken Rom*, Klio, Beiheft 45 (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 18 ff.; idem, *Römische Kinderkaiser* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 329 ff.; F. Paschoud (ed.), *Zosime*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1971), p. lv.

18 August 382 is addressed *Flaviano p.po. Illyrici et Ital.* (CTh 9. 40. 13). But it has long been recognized that the year is an error for 390, and that Flavianus probably did not become *quaestor sacri palatii* before 389.<sup>34</sup> Hence, whatever the source or sources of the *Epitome* may have been, it is chronologically impossible for the *Annales* of Nicomachus Flavianus to be a source for Eunapius (or perhaps even for Ammianus).<sup>35</sup>

No less serious are two other difficulties in Schlumberger's theory. He assumes without argument that Flavianus wrote about Roman emperors, although the evidence for the literary tastes of Theodosius (*Epit.* 48. 12) ought to suggest rather that the *Annales* were devoted to the history of the Roman Republic.<sup>36</sup> And he has failed to demonstrate that the *Epitome* uses a single lost source throughout. For, if the observable affiliations of the four main sections (1–11, 12–23, 24–38, 39–46) vary, then it cannot be assumed that all four are indebted to the same lost source. Schlumberger, admittedly, is aware of this objection, and advances positive arguments to show that the characteristics of the lost source remain constant in all four sections (pp. 235–46, summarizing points made throughout the book). The argument, however, assumes that the *Epitome* not only reproduces specific passages of the lost source, but also its general tenor. The assumption is unverifiable and dubious: where it has used him, the *Epitome* has hardly preserved the overall tenor of Aurelius Victor. The sad truth appears to be that the available evidence does not permit a complete identification of the sources of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*.

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34. On his career, see O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1919), pp. 93, 278; E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1927), p. 310 = *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1<sup>2</sup> (Paris-Bruges, 1959), p. 524; J.-R. Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1933), p. 68; H. L. Levy, *The Invective "In Rufinum" of Claudius Claudianus* (Geneva, N.Y., 1935), pp. 27 ff. = *Claudian's "In Rufinum": An Exegetical Commentary*, APA Monographs, 30 (Cleveland, 1971), pp. 245 ff.; *PLRE*, 1:347–49, Flavianus 15.

35. On the date at which Ammianus completed his history, see now A. Cameron, rev. of Syme, *JRS* 61 (1971): 259 ff.

36. J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1975), p. 231, n. 3.