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II**



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Antiochus the *Praepositus*: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II

GEOFFREY GREATREX AND JONATHAN BARDILL

I

ANTIOCHUS' ARRIVAL AT COURT IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The peaceful succession of seven-year-old Theodosius II in January 408 was a remarkable event, as historians both then and later acknowledged. It took place at a particularly difficult time for the eastern empire: the uprising of Gainas had been overcome only recently, and relations with the western empire were at a low ebb. Although the Huns had been successfully repulsed from Asia Minor in 397, and Alaric had moved west in 401, the erection of the massive land walls of Constantinople at just this time bears witness to the unease felt in the capital.¹

The successful transition from Arcadius' reign to that of Theodosius thus requires some explanation. How was it that Arcadius, an emperor "who had not shown himself sagacious in other matters," succeeded in passing on the throne to his son?² Procopius, who poses this question, found an explanation in a remarkable agreement between Arcadius and the Sasanian king Yazdgerd I (399–420), although he has not always been

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¹J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford, 1991), 108–27, on the problems facing the empire at the outset of the fifth century. See A. Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (London, 1993), 149–50, and A. Cameron and J. Long, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1993), 1–9, for a good overview of events in the first part of Arcadius' reign. See also R. C. Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy* (Leeds, 1992), 46 (henceforth Blockley, *ERFP*), on relations with the West; Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 99–100, on Eutropius' defeat of the Huns. On the construction of the land walls by the praetorian prefect Anthemius, completed in 413, see Blockley, *ERFP*, 53, and K. G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982), 88–89.

On the date of Theodosius' succession, see *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 570, and the note of M. Whitby and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale, 284–628 AD* (Liverpool, 1989), 61 n. 205.

²Procopius, *Wars*, ed. G. Hauriy, rev. G. Wirth, I (Leipzig, 1962), 1.2.6 (translation by H. B. Dewing [Cambridge, Mass., 1914]), for the quotation.

believed. According to him, Yazdgerd undertook to adopt the young emperor, and thereby frustrated the designs of potential challengers to the throne.³

The nature of Yazdgerd's adoption of the young Theodosius has long been the subject of some dispute, and it is not the aim of the first part of this article to cover that ground again.⁴ Its purpose instead is to analyze the role of the *praepositus* Antiochus, who is reported by the later Byzantine chroniclers to have been the emissary of the Persian king in securing the throne for Theodosius. It will be argued that he played an important part in the smooth succession of 408; yet his career has been relatively neglected so far by historians. For while the eunuch Eutropius has attracted much attention—then as now—as well as other figures at Theodosius' court, such as Anthemius, Eudocia and Pulcheria, Antiochus has largely been ignored.⁵ It will be argued here that despite this, Antiochus played an important role in the Constantinopolitan court at the time, and that it is not coincidental that the contemporary sources fail to make mention of him.

Although Yazdgerd I turned out to be one of the most popular Persian kings from a Roman and a Christian perspective, relations with the eastern empire were uncertain at the opening of his reign in 399. In an effort to improve the situation, a Roman embassy was despatched, perhaps led by the then *comes sacrarum largitionum* Anthemius. As a result of this, and the efforts of the bishop of Sophanene, Marutha, relations thawed markedly: Yazdgerd even repatriated Roman prisoners captured from the Huns in 397.⁶ At just this time—on 10 April 401—Theodosius was born, and made *augustus* on 10 January the following year.⁷ Already here the first chronological difficulty in the sources appears: when did Arcadius make the will according to which Yazdgerd was to be (in some sense) the guardian of Theodosius? Two explicit pieces of evidence contradict one another. On the one hand, Procopius reports that Arcadius made his will on his deathbed, which points to a date of 408. Yet, at the same time, both he and Sozomen state that at the time of his death Theodosius was still unweaned (οὐπω τοῦ τιθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείν), implying a

³Procopius, *Wars* 1.2.7–10.

⁴For the various views on the adoption, see Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 83 nn. 18–19, and A. Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70), 149. See also G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds, 1997), forthcoming.

⁵On Eutropius, see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 116–21, and Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 92–108. On Anthemius, see Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 84–96, and K. Synelli, *Οἱ διπλωματικές σχέσεις Βυζαντίου καὶ Περσίας ἕως τὸν σ' αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1986), 56–57; on Pulcheria and Eudocia, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, chaps. 2–3. Cp. also A. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982), repr. in idem, *Literature and Society in the Early Byzantine World* (London, 1985), art. III, 254–56, where those influential under Arcadius and Theodosius are discussed, but among whom Antiochus does not number. He is also completely absent from C. Zakrzewski's article on Anthemius, "Un homme d'état du bas-empire," *Eos* 31 (1928), 417–38.

⁶Blockley, *ERFP*, 48–49 on this, and Synelli, *Διπλωματικές σχέσεις*, 45–46. Zakrzewski too, "Un homme d'état," 422, puts Anthemius' embassy to Persia in 399. *PLRE*, II, s.v. Anthemius 1, and Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 87 n. 38, prefer an earlier dating for this embassy, in 383. See also L. Sako, *Le rôle de la hierarchie syriaque orientale dans les rapports diplomatiques entre la Perse et Byzance aux V^e–VII^e siècles* (Paris, 1986), 62–65, for the embassy in 399 and Marutha's role.

⁷On these dates, see H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, "Quand est né l'empereur Théodose II?" *Byzantion* 4 (1927–28), 346–47; also *Chronicon Paschale*, 567–68, and the note of Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 58 n. 191.

much earlier date.⁸ Bound up with this is the role of Antiochus, who is not mentioned in Procopius' account: in Theophanes he appears for the first time as the emissary of the Persian king, and this story is repeated by subsequent chroniclers.⁹

Three factors point toward an early date for the making of the arrangement with Yazdgerd. First, Malalas states that Arcadius' death was sudden (ἀρρωστής δὲ ἐξαίφνης τελευτᾷ), and so it seems unlikely that he could have made elaborate arrangements with the Persian king about the succession in 408.¹⁰ Second, we know for certain that Antiochus arrived at court several years before Arcadius' death, not only from the contemporary writer Synesius, but also later chroniclers.¹¹ Third, several sources suggest that Antiochus was sent by Yazdgerd in response to Arcadius' request (which would provide an adequate explanation for how a Persian became so powerful in the Theodosian court).¹² All this suggests that Arcadius made his request, that it was granted, and that Antiochus arrived in Constantinople, some years before 408.¹³ As a result we may reject the idea that the arrangement was made while Arcadius was dying and tentatively accept that it took place when Theodosius was still being weaned. Such an early date may perhaps indicate that the arrangement was connected with Theodosius' proclamation as *augustus* in January 402. Presumably Antiochus was sent when the agreement was made; a zealous Christian himself, he soon began to lobby Yazdgerd from Constantinople on behalf of the Christians in the Persian empire.¹⁴

⁸Procopius, *Wars* 1.2.1 (for the quotation); Sozomen, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1960), 9.1; cp. Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. D. Keydell, CFHB 2 (Berlin, 1967), 4.26.7. The evidence assembled by V. Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford, 1988), 6–8, 23, implies that weaning usually lasted between six months and three years; the young emperor Julian, however, was still being weaned in 337, at the age of five or six, according to the somewhat rhetorical account of Libanius, *Or.* 18.10, ed. and trans. A. F. Norman (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

⁹See Theophanes, A.M. 5900 (ed. C. de Boor [Leipzig, 1883], 80), for his version. Further elaboration of the story may be found in Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), I, 586, who introduces a gift to Yazdgerd of 1000 lbs. of silver. See also Bar Hebraeus and Michael the Syrian on this (references in Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 149). An Oriental tradition was also aware of the story: see U. M. Daudpota, "The Annals of Hamzah al-Isfahâni," *K. R. Camal Oriental Institute Journal* 22 (1932), 71–72. According to this account, a certain Sharwin Barmiyân was sent to act as the emperor's regent, a duty which he discharged for twenty years. Hamzah, although writing in 961, appears to have had indirect access to the *Khvadhâyânâmagh* (the Sasanian Book of Kings). See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 59.

¹⁰Malalas, *Chronicle*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 349.

¹¹Synesius' evidence will be dealt with in detail below. See Malalas, 361 = Priscus fr. [7] in R. C. Blockley, *The Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, II (Liverpool, 1983), henceforth Blockley, *FCH*, quoted and discussed in detail below, Part II, pp. 180–81.

¹²E.g., Theophanes, A.M. 5900 (placing Antiochus' arrival in 408, evidently only because he connects the event with the death of Arcadius). Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses*, 83, realizing that Antiochus arrived at court before Arcadius' death, suggests that he claimed in 408 to be the emissary of Yazdgerd. But if the "guardianship" had been negotiated around 402, there is no need to suppose that Antiochus was not sent by Yazdgerd.

¹³Although relations with the western empire improved a little in the early years of the fifth century, the Sasanian king may have seemed a more reliable guardian. On the improvement in relations between Honorius and Arcadius, see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 247–49. See Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses*, 83, on good Roman-Sasanian relations at this time, although he accepts the notion of a deathbed decision. Cp. Blockley, *ERFP*, 51.

¹⁴Theophanes, A.M. 5900. J. Haury, *Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibers Procopius von Cäsarea* (Munich, 1896), proposed just such an early date, based on the youth of Theodosius, though his suggestion was rejected by J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (New York, 1958), II, 2 n. 1. B. Baldwin, "Nicholas Mysticus on Roman History," *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 174–75, has drawn attention to a further shred of evidence in support of an early date: the tenth-century patriarch Nicholas recounts the episode in one of his letters,

Procopius speaks of Arcadius seeking an ἐπίτροπος for his child, and it is possible to find precedents for such a “guardian” in this same period. Rufinus had been appointed ἐπίτροπος by Theodosius I for Arcadius in 394, and Stilicho had likewise claimed this position in the case of both Arcadius and Honorius.¹⁵ Evidently, then, the notion of some type of guardian for an emperor was not unheard of. Antiochus’ formal rank at court appears to have been that of *cubicularius*, as well as acting as tutor to the young emperor: Malalas describes him as *cubicularius* during the reign of Arcadius, while Theophanes and the later chroniclers refer to him as Theodosius’ tutor.¹⁶

The balance of probabilities thus favors the view that Yazdgerd’s undertaking to Arcadius—of whatever type it was—and the despatch of Antiochus occurred soon after Theodosius’ birth, and hence well before Arcadius’ death.

Further light is shed on the arrival of Antiochus in Constantinople by a more contemporary piece of evidence—that of Synesius.¹⁷ In one of his *Letters*, he provides the first record of Antiochus, and it is worth quoting the second part of this letter in full:

Our wonderful John, to put it briefly, is in the same position as ever. Fortune is showing herself as prodigal as possible to him, and is even seeking to surpass herself. He has the ear of the emperor, and more important still, his good will to use for his own needs. Then again Antiochus does for him whatever he can; and Antiochus can do whatever he wishes. When I speak of Antiochus, do not confound him with Gratian’s favorite, the sacred little man, honorable in character, but very ugly. The man to whom I am referring is young, has a paunch, held office under Narses the Persian, and even after Narses. Since then his fortune has only gone on increasing. Under these circumstances it is likely that he [Chilas]¹⁸ will be in command among us as long as is a raven’s life, this most righteous general, the near relation of the one [Antiochus] and the intimate of the other [John].¹⁹

ep. 5.128–43, in R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*, CFHB 6 (Washington, D.C., 1963). Nicholas, while erroneously naming the Persian king as Khusro (perhaps thinking of a later adoption attempt, on which see p. 178), states that Theodosius was three years old (line 132). His account bears some similarity to that of Theophanes—both mention a threatening letter from the king to the Senate or senators—but whether he had access to another source concerning the episode cannot be determined. On contacts between the Persian and Roman courts in 408, see p. 179.

¹⁵P. Pieler, “L’aspect politique et juridique de l’adoption de Chosroès proposée par les Perses à Justin,” *RIDA*, ser. 3, 19 (1972), 41–15, for a detailed discussion of the term ἐπίτροπος; see also Blockley, *ERFP*, 197 n. 36, who notes the parallel with the case of Stilicho (in John of Antioch fr. 188, *FHG*, IV, 610); Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 5, for the parallel with Rufinus (from Eunapius fr. 62.1–2 in Blockley, *FCH*, II).

¹⁶Procopius, *Wars* 1.2.3; Theophanes, A.M. 5900, refers to him as ἐπίτροπόν τε καὶ παιδαγωγόν. Cp. Cedrenus, I, 586, and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos 14.1, PG 146, col. 1058. Malalas, 361, refers to Antiochus ἀναθρεψάμενος (“bringing up”) Theodosius, where he also calls him *cubicularius*. Sozomen, 9.1, refers to Pulcheria too as the ἐπίτροπος of Theodosius.

¹⁷Although Synesius’ works have been the subject of detailed study recently, attention has focused largely on the period he spent in Constantinople and what light he can shed on events in the capital at this time: see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 91–102, on his embassy, argued by them to have taken place from autumn 397 to autumn 400 (but placed by others from 399 to 402). On Synesius, see now D. Roques, *Études sur la correspondance de Synésios de Cyrène* (Brussels, 1989), and idem, *Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du bas-empire* (Paris, 1987).

¹⁸This letter, addressed to Synesius’ brother, concerns this former pimp, Chilas, who was appointed the commander of the ineffectual Marcomani in Cyrenaica. See Roques, *Synésios*, 246–47, and *PLRE*, II, s.v. Chilas.

¹⁹Synesius, ep. 110, in *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Rome, 1979), 195–97 (also in PG 66, cols. 1492–94); translation from A. Fitzgerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (London, 1926), 205–6, with minor changes. The last sentence is rather obscure, but is explained by a scholiast. See Garzya’s edition, 197 note to line 5s.

The date of this letter requires some discussion, as does the identity of the John referred to. Chilas, the subject of Synesius' ironic praise, is nowhere else attested, and hence of little help in the inquiry. The Narses referred to, apparently dead, or at least superseded, by the time of the letter, also merits attention.

Consensus favors dating the letter to around 404/405, largely on account of the existence of a John in office as *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 404, who was rumored to be the father of the emperor Theodosius II through his intimacy with Eudoxia.²⁰ While such a dating of the letter is unexceptionable, it is worthwhile nonetheless to examine the termini on either side. A date after 406 is unlikely: another *comes sacrarum largitionum* is attested in office in that year.²¹ Even if the identification of Synesius' John with the *comes sacrarum largitionum* is doubted, it is clear that the letter predates Arcadius' death in 408; the notion of John "having the ears" of a young child makes little sense. One other letter may also be of help here. John Chrysostom, during his period in exile (404 to 407), sent one of his letters to a certain Antiochus, addressed as ἡ εἰς μεγαλοπρέπεια and σου ἡ θαυμασιότης—titles quite compatible with a position as *cubicularius*. A letter of Isidore of Pelusium, addressed to an influential eunuch, Antiochus, in which he is exhorted to act justly, contains no chronological clues.²²

A *terminus post quem* is more difficult to reach. The *comes* John was influential, it seems, from 400 to 404 at least. If, however, as has been argued above, Antiochus' entry to the Roman court is connected with the birth of Theodosius, then a date before 401 becomes unlikely.²³

There is, then, no need to challenge the conventional dating of the letter. The Narses with whom Antiochus had served might be expected to shed some light on his arrival in Constantinople, but it is difficult to determine who this Narses is. It is frequently sup-

Ὁ θαυμαστὸς Ἰωάννης μικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἐπιτιδοῦσης τῆς τύχης ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασιν ὅσον ἐπίδοσεως χωρεῖ καὶ τινα καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐξευρούσης. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἀνεῖται τὰ βασιλέως ὄντα καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἡ γνώμη χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὃ τι δέοιτο. καὶ ὅσα Ἀντίοχος δύναται, τούτῳ δύναται· δύναται δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὅσα βούλεται. Ἀντίοχον ἡγοῦ μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ Γρατιανοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνθρώπιον, τὸ βέλτιστον μὲν τοὺς τρόπους εἰδεχθέστατον δὲ τὴν ὕψιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ νεανίσκος ὁ πρόκοιλος, ὁ Ναρσῆ τῷ Πέρρῃ παραδυναστεύσας τε καὶ ἐπιδυναστεύσας. τοῦτον ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν ἡ τύχη μέγαν ποιεῖ. τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, εἰκόσ ἐστι κορώνης ἐνιαυτοῦς ἄρξαι παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν δικαιοτάτον ἄρχοντα, τοῦ μὲν ὄντα συγγενῆ τοῦ δὲ οἰκεῖον γενόμενον.

²⁰On the date of the letter, see originally O. Seeck, "Studien zu Synesius," *Philologus* 52 (1894), 474; more recently, Roques, *Études*, 13, 166–67 ("110 paraît se rapporter à l'année 405," p. 166), Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 134 n. 15. *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 4, offers the period 405/10, while under Antiochus 5, referring to the same letter, prefers ca. 404.

On John (Ioannes 1 in *PLRE*, II) and his intimacy with Eudoxia, see Zosimus, *New History*, 3.1, ed. and trans. F. Paschoud (Paris, 1986), V.18.7–8, and below; Roques, *Études*, 167, on the identification of Synesius' John with the *comes sacrarum largitionum*; cp. Paschoud's notes, op. cit., 149–50, and A. Garzya, *Opere di Sinesio di Cirene* (Turin, 1989), 285 n. 3.

²¹Philometor (see *PLRE*, II), who is attested in June 406.

²²John of Chrysostom, *Ep.* 189 (in PG 52, cols. 717–18), dated by *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 3, to 404/7. Isidore of Pelusium's letter is in PG 78, col. 204 (ep. 36). See on this letter, *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 5. On the titulare applied to Antiochus by John, see P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Jena, 1903), 118 and 74; similar titles were applied to a *tribunus et notarius* in this period. Note also that in 431 a *cubicularius* is addressed as ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ φιλόχριστος κουβικουλάριος. See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Scholasticus 1. A Lausus is also called ἡ εἰς μεγαλοπρέπεια in the early or mid-fifth century (*PLRE*, II, s.v. Lausus 3). His position at the time is unknown, but he may have been addressed thus when he was *cubicularius*, if he is to be identified with Lausus 1 and 2, as seems likely.

²³On John, see above, note 20; on the date of Antiochus' arrival, see above, p. 173.

posed that Synesius is referring to the well-known minister of Yazdgerd I, Mihr-Nerseh, who commanded Persian forces in the Roman-Persian war of 420–422.²⁴ This is possible, but Synesius' text does not favor such an interpretation: it reads *παραδυναστεύσας τε καὶ ἐπιδυναστεύσας*, which implies that Antiochus continued in an important office *after* Narses.²⁵ The general Mihr-Nerseh, however, served not only Yazdgerd I, but also his successors, Bahram V and Yazdgerd II. It seems more likely, therefore, that the Narses to whom Synesius is referring is someone who died (or fell from power) early in Yazdgerd's reign. Unfortunately our information on Persian affairs in this period is insufficient to do any more than put forward a (faint) possibility: there was a general Narseus, defeated by the emperor Julian near Ctesiphon in 363, although this is forty years before Synesius' letter. The identification of Synesius' Antiochus with his homonym in Theophanes (A.M. 5900) is generally accepted: that there can have been two influential figures of Persian origin in imperial service at the start of the fifth century by the name of Antiochus is highly improbable.²⁶

Synesius' letter thus shows that Antiochus was playing a prominent role at the court of Arcadius by 404/5; and to have acquired such influence by this point, it is likely that he had arrived some years earlier, ca. 402, as has already been suggested. His remarkable position should be placed in a wider context—of deteriorating relations with the western empire and a high watermark in relations with the Sasanians. For Antiochus is by no means the only Persian attested in Roman service in this period. In the previous century the Persian prince Hormisdas had received shelter and high office, and his son, also called Hormisdas, served under Theodosius I in the campaign against the usurper Procopius. Furthermore, between 399 and 401, as is convincingly argued by Cameron and Long, there was a city prefect of Constantinople known as “the Persian.” Whether this was the younger Hormisdas, or someone actually called Perses is unclear. Evidently, however, Antiochus was not the only high-ranking Persian in the capital around this time.²⁷

²⁴ See, e.g., *PLRE*, II, s.v.v. Antiochus 5 and Narses 1, and Blockley, *ERFP*, 51. On the 420–422 war, see G. Greatrex, “The Two Fifth-Century Wars Between Rome and Persia,” *Florilegium* 12 (1993), 2. Tabari, it is true, does report that Mihr-Nerseh was promoted as soon as Yazdgerd succeeded: T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leiden, 1879), 76 (henceforth Nöldeke, *Tabari*), although Nöldeke doubts this (n. 1).

²⁵ The reason for *PLRE*'s equation of Synesius' Narses with Mihr-Nerseh seems to be at least partially due to the omission of the *τε καὶ ἐπιδυναστεύσας* in its entry, which is also missing from Migne's text in PG. A Liddell and Scott (*Greek-English Lexicon*) of 1869 (sixth edition) renders *ἐπιδυναστεύω* as “to reign next to, after,” referring to Synesius; the word will not be found in the most recent Liddell and Scott, however.

Garzya suggests two possible identifications in his edition of Synesius' letters, 197: one is Yazdgerd's uncle/father, Narses, but he was killed ca. 336 in a battle against Constantius. See *PLRE*, I, s.v. Narses 2, with Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 436a (Stammtafel der Sasaniden) and n. 7. The other is the Narses of *CTh* 6.32.1, attested as *comes et castrensis sacri palatii* in February 416; see *PLRE*, II, s.v. Narses 2. But given that this Narses is holding office in 416, this again makes little sense of Synesius' description.

Cp. also the phraseology of Zonaras, *Epitome* 13.22, ed. M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1841–97), III, 102, on Antiochus' behavior under Theodosius—*δυναστεύων, οὐ παραδυναστεύων*—for which he was dismissed.

²⁶ The Narseus here put forward is in *PLRE*, I, s.v. Narseus. While it remains possible that the Narses referred to by Synesius was in Roman service, one would expect to find a record of such a figure in the extant sources. The identity of Synesius' and Theophanes' Antiochus is argued for by Seeck, *RE* 1:2491f (s.v. Antiochus 52) and accepted by Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses*, 81, and *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 5.

²⁷ On the two Hormisdases, see *PLRE*, I, s.v.v. Hormisdas 1 and 2. On the city prefect, recorded in Eunapius, fr. 68 (in Blockley, *FCH*, II), see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 218–23, esp. 222, on the dating of the

Nor was this process entirely one way, although evidence on the Persian side is much scantier; there is record in Tabari and Firdausi, nonetheless, of a certain Tinush (Constantinus), who helped to resolve a dispute between Yazdgerd I and his son Bahram. Hence it appears that until shortly before the war of 420–422, relations between the two powers were cordial indeed, and numerous contacts established between Constantinople and Ctesiphon.²⁸

We are presented then with a period in which there appears to have been more enmity between Ravenna and Constantinople than between Ctesiphon and the eastern capital. To any Persians in the eastern empire, this may not have been unwelcome, and the letter of Synesius, associating John with Antiochus, can perhaps be used to connect Antiochus—albeit indirectly—with this state of affairs. For, in the words of Liebeschuetz, “John was accused of working for conflict with the West, and was held to be indirectly responsible for the death of the general Fravitta, who had favoured a policy of concord between the two emperors.”²⁹ The change in relations between the three powers may, then, be more than coincidence.

The evidence assembled thus far establishes the presence of a powerful Persian eunuch in Arcadius’ court some years before the emperor’s death, whose formal position, however, was that of *cubicularius*.³⁰ Yet there is no word about Antiochus in contemporary histories—in, for instance, Sozomen, Theodoret, Socrates, or Eunapius. Moreover, these same sources also pass over the adoption of Theodosius by Yazdgerd entirely. In the case of Eunapius, the fragmentary state of his work may be to blame, but another explanation is required for the church historians. One is not hard to find: the drastic turn for the worse in Roman-Persian relations, which led to the war of 420–422. The church histori-

prefecture and whether the prefect might be Hormisdas or someone called Perses. Note also the eastern consul for 410, Varanes (*PLRE*, II, s.v. Varanes 1).

Evidence for another Persian (Hordad) in the capital, perhaps at this time, comes from a Pehlevi inscription discovered in Istanbul (and dated to the fifth century): see D. Feissel, “Aspects de l’immigration à Constantinople d’après les épitaphes protobyzantines,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron with G. Greatrex (Aldershot, 1995), 371, and P. Gignoux and D. Feissel, “Encore un mot sur l’inscription pehlevie de Constantinople,” *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986), 121.

²⁸On Tinush/Constantinus, see Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 90. Tabari reports the envoy as having been Theodosius, “a brother of the emperor”: cp. Nöldeke’s n. 3. Firdausi gives the name Tinush in *Le livre des rois*, ed. and trans. J. Mohl (Paris, 1866), V, 414; also see on this Z. Rubin, “Diplomacy and War in the Relations between Byzantium and the Sassanids in the Fifth Century A.D.,” in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman and D. Kennedy, BAR International Series 297 (Oxford, 1986), 686–87, as well as Z. Rubin, “The Mediterranean and the Dilemma of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1.1 (1986), 34; also Blockley, *ERFP*, 54. Sako, *Le rôle de la hiérarchie*, 62, prefers to place this episode in Arcadius’ reign.

A further instance of cooperation between the two sides may be found in CIC, *CI* 4.63.4 (relating to cross-border trade), on which see Blockley, *ERFP*; B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), 407; and Synelli, *Διπλωματικές σχέσεις*, 89–94. Note too the evidence presented by O. J. Schrier, “Syriac Evidence for the Romano-Persian War of 421–422,” *GRBS* 33 (1992), 75–78, on good relations continuing until Yazdgerd’s death; also Sako, *Le rôle de la hiérarchie*, 68–74.

²⁹Quotation from *Barbarians*, 64 and n. 133. The source on the death of Fravitta is Eunapius, in Blockley, *FCH*, II, fr. 71.3. On the decline of relations between the two *partes imperii* after the brief reconciliation of 401–402 and John’s role, see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 249–50, and Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 64 and 123–24, both dating Fravitta’s fall to 403/5.

³⁰See above, note 22, on Antiochus’ rank. For the titles he subsequently acquired, see below, Part II.

ans were writing their accounts in a period when the court remained hostile toward Persia—another Persian invasion took place in 440—and earlier events were interpreted in the light of current realities. An influential Persian eunuch at the Constantinopolitan court and a non-Christian king acting as guardian for a Roman emperor were scarcely suitable material.³¹

The elimination of Antiochus from the contemporary record is thus quite explicable, and in fact Theophanes is the first surviving source in which he is explicitly associated with the story of the adoption. Before Antiochus' career under Theodosius is examined, a glance at the various sources concerning the adoption and his role in it is in order.

Just as writers during the latter part of Theodosius' reign had an incentive not to include such a story in their account, so Procopius had good reason to include the story in his account of Roman-Persian affairs before Justinian's day. For it was in his lifetime—around 525—that the Sasanian king Kavadh I approached Justin I to ask him to adopt his son Khusro I, a proposal effectively refused by the emperor. Agathias furnishes more information on the story, which remained popular in his own time; no doubt, like the writers in Theodosius' day, he had difficulty in understanding how Arcadius could place his trust in a heathen Persian king. He further states that he could find no record of the guardianship save in Procopius' account, although he accepts that Procopius, "who with his encyclopaedic knowledge has read practically every historical work ever written," must have come across it somewhere.³² The question of Procopius' source has attracted some attention, but no consensus has been achieved. The matter remains insoluble, with various names being put forward and disputed; since Agathias is not believed to have been a scrupulous researcher, numerous possible intermediary sources have been countenanced. That Procopius was using such a (written) account, rather than merely relying on the oral tradition, is made more likely by the fact that Theophanes' version of events, giving the text of a letter from Yazdgerd to the Constantinopolitan Senate as well as naming Antiochus, seems to be making use of a source other than Procopius.³³

³¹Although the extent of Antiochus' power as *cubicularius* is unclear (see below, Part II, pp. 192–93, esp. note 120), the church historians must certainly have been aware of his later elevation to the rank of *praepositus*, of the misuse of the power that he thus acquired, and of his dismissal ca. 439. Socrates (whose *Church History* covered the period 305–439) was writing between 438 and 443: see G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*² (Macon, Ga., 1986), 175 (and n. 1). Sozomen composed his work (covering 324–425) after 443: *ibid.*, 201. Theodoret of Cyrhus composed his church history (spanning the period 323–428) between 441 and 449: *ibid.*, 208. On the power of *cubicularii* and *praepositi*, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964), II, 568–70, and R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1967), I, 275 ff.

On the 440 invasion, see Greatrex, "Fifth-Century Wars," 2. On historians under Theodosius, see, e.g., J. Harries, "Pius Princeps: Theodosius II and Fifth-Century Constantinople," in *New Constantines*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 37–39. Note also Agathias' horror at the story, 4.26.6–7, discussed above.

³²On the context of Procopius' account, see Blockley, *ERFP*, 51. Agathias 4.26.3–7, for his account, 26.4 for the quotation (from the translation of J. D. Frendo, *Agathias, The Histories*, CFHB [Berlin-New York, 1975]). On the date of Kavadh's proposal, see e.g., E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, II (Amsterdam, 1949), 269 and n. 3.

³³It is just possible that Theophanes (A.M. 5900) was only expanding on Procopius, who does refer to a letter sent by Yazdgerd (1.2.10). But the mention of Antiochus cannot have come from Procopius. For a discussion of the possible sources for the story—Priscus and Eustathius of Epiphania being the most plausible—see, e.g., P. Sauerbrei, "König Jazdegerd, der Sünder, der Vormund des byzantinischen Kaisers Theodosius des Kleinen," *Festschrift Albert von Bamberg* (Gotha, 1905), 95; Haury's reply in *BZ* 15 (1906), 291–94; and Pieler, "L'aspect politique," 413. Bardill (see below, Part II, p. 182) suggests ultimately Priscus, but not by way of Eustathius. Other possible sources are Eunapius (on whom, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 119 n.

But even without seeking to determine Procopius' source of information for the story, traces of close relations with Persia at this time can be found in the surviving contemporary sources: Socrates refers to frequent diplomatic contact between Constantinople and Ctesiphon, and both he and Sozomen record a peace treaty concluded in 408/9. Sozomen adds that just prior to the conclusion of this treaty (due to last for a hundred years), the Persian king threatened war, although this evidently came to nothing. This may be connected with the account of Procopius, according to which Yazdgerd promised to attack any who conspired against the young emperor. But whereas Procopius can ascribe the survival of Theodosius to this arrangement, the contemporary sources have to find alternative explanations. Sozomen and Theodoret find theirs in the piety of the emperor, while the most contemporary tradition, as evidenced by Socrates, attributes Theodosius' survival to the genius of Anthemius—a more acceptable figure than the eunuch.³⁴

Anthemius is not attested again after April 414, and it seems from the chroniclers that Antiochus was ousted from the palace at this point also.³⁵ Both were quickly expunged from contemporary accounts. Socrates felt able to mention Anthemius, if not Antiochus, but only a few years later both disappeared from the works of Sozomen and Theodoret.³⁶ In the case of Antiochus, he remains "written out" of history for many centuries, and is only finally brought to our attention through Theophanes and the later chroniclers. It is not surprising therefore that the chroniclers found it difficult to know quite how to fit him into the picture: the best example of this problem is provided by fourteenth-century church historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos. He reports that Antiochus stayed with Theodosius for four years, and then departed from the palace, and that he was then succeeded by Anthemius. Theophanes, on the other hand, places the dismissal of Antiochus in 412/3, but states that it was Pulcheria who took over the reins of government. Nicephorus Callistus' four years of service by Antiochus fit well with the date of 412/3 of Theophanes; and Nicephorus Callistus' entry, coming at the start of Theodosius' reign, must refer to the period from 408. This disagreement between the sources can easily be resolved, however. Nicephorus Callistus, faced on the one hand with the account of Theophanes—in which no mention was made of Anthemius whatsoever, but Antiochus is present—and on the other by Socrates' work—where Anthemius is an important figure but Antiochus completely absent—tried to combine these two traditions. His mistake lay not in trying to make this combination, but in seeking to place

50, dating publication of his work after 414) and Olympiodorus (on whom, see below, Part II, pp. 189–90). Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 149, is skeptical regarding Agathias' research.

³⁴Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte* 7.8, ed. G. C. Hansen, GCS (Berlin, 1995), and Sozomen, 9.4.1, on this treaty, on which see Blockley, *ERFP*, 196 n. 17. Synelli, *Διπλωματικές σχέσεις*, 62, unnecessarily wishes to place the treaty recorded by Sozomen in 422 rather than 408. See Procopius, *Wars* 1.2.10, for Yazdgerd's threat. Haury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 294, suggested that Socrates deliberately suppressed Antiochus' prominent position.

On the piety of the emperor, see, e.g., Sozomen, 9.1, Theodoret, *Church History* 5.36.3–5, ed. L. Parmentier (Berlin, 1954), and Harries, "Pius Princes," 38–40. Socrates, 7.1, for his praise of Anthemius, on which see Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 84; Pseudo-Dionysius follows Socrates here, *Chronicon pseudo-dionysianum vulgo dictum*, trans. J.-B. Chabot (Louvain, 1949), 165. Holum attributes the difference between the church historians' explanations to the ascendant position of Pulcheria in the 440s after the disgrace of Eudocia; Socrates, he notes, pays little attention to Pulcheria (pp. 95–96).

³⁵See below, Part II, pp. 189–93, on Pulcheria's takeover ca. 414; pp. 180–88, on the continuation of Antiochus' career.

³⁶On the omission of Anthemius from Sozomen, see below, Part II, p. 189.

the two men in succession, rather than in parallel. Once this is realized, the accounts of Theophanes and Nicephorus fit together quite satisfactorily.³⁷

It has been argued here that Antiochus left Persian service and entered the Roman court early in the fifth century—probably as early as 402/3, in the wake of the birth of Theodosius II—against a background of improving Roman-Persian relations and of continuing hostility between the two halves of the Roman Empire. The letter of Synesius, quoted above, attests his influence probably ca. 404/5, and clearly associates him with a certain John, most likely the *comes sacrarum largitionum* of 404; this John, moreover, may have strengthened his position through his hostility toward the western empire. Antiochus survived the fall of John, however, serving both Arcadius and Theodosius as *cubicularius*. He presumably collaborated with Anthemius, the figure preferred by the contemporary historians, in assuring Theodosius' succession, but did not retain his post once Pulcheria had gained control of the court.³⁸ On account of his Persian connections, it has been suggested, he was written out of the accounts that survive from Theodosius' reign; they preferred to concentrate on Anthemius' role or Theodosius' piety in 408. The surviving chroniclers, however, from the time of Theophanes, preferred to focus on Antiochus, and the novel story of a Persian eunuch at the Constantinopolitan court.³⁹

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II

ANTIOCHUS' CAREER IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND HIS PALACE

The broad lines of Antiochus' career in Constantinople are clear from the sixth-century chronicle of Malalas,⁴⁰ who states that while Arcadius was alive, Antiochus held

³⁷Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 94, makes the connection between Anthemius and Antiochus. See Theophanes, A.M. 5905, on Antiochus' dismissal; Nicephorus Callistus, 14.1, on the departure of Antiochus and his replacement by Anthemius. For full discussion of the dismissals, see below, Part II, pp. 189–93. On Nicephorus Callistus and his sources here, see G. Gentz, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos und ihre Quellen* (Berlin, 1966), 124–25.

³⁸For discussion of Antiochus' departure in 414, and the possible reasons for it, see below Part II, p. 192.

³⁹The failure of any chronicler, Malalas included, to refer to Anthemius—generally accepted now as a highly important figure in this period—is remarkable indeed, even given the capriciousness of what is picked up by the chroniclers.

⁴⁰Malalas, 361:

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεοδοσίος βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε κακῶς Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ πραιποσίτῳ καὶ πατρικίῳ, δυναμένῳ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ κρατήσαντι τῶν πραγμάτων. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀναθρεψάμενος τὸν αὐτὸν Θεοδοσίον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς κουβικουλάριος καὶ διοικῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς Ἀρκαδίου τὴν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἔμεινε μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι αὐτόν, ὡς πατρικίος καταυθεντῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίου. καὶ ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐδήμειυεν αὐτόν καὶ κουρεύσας ἐποίησε παπᾶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ποιήσας διάταξιν μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς ἀξίαν συγκλητικῶν ἢ πατρικίων τοὺς εὐνούχους κουβικουλαρίους μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς αὐτῶν στρατείας, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων παλατίου. καὶ ἐτελεῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀντίοχος, ὢν πρεσβύτερος.

The words μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι αὐτόν have been consistently taken to mean “after Theodosius had grown up.” See the translations of Dindorf, Blockley (*FCH*, II, 232–35), and E. M. Jeffreys et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne, 1986), 197. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961–68), 1094, has only this reference for “grow up, come of age.” The Slavic translation (according to Jeffreys et al., 197) has “after

the position of *cubicularius* and brought up the young Theodosius. At some point after the emperor's death in 408, he was elevated to *praepositus sacri cubiculi* or grand chamberlain. When he had completed his service in the Great Palace, the emperor conferred upon him the title *patricius*. Even having left imperial service, however, Antiochus continued to meddle in affairs of state, until the emperor became angry and forced him to become a priest of the Great Church. A law was passed preventing future *ex-praepositi* from becoming *patricii*.

The reliability of Malalas' account of Antiochus' life may be judged primarily on the basis of its antiquity, some indication of which can be gained from its context. Accounts of Attila's invasion of the West, the battle of Mauriacus, Attila's death, and Cyrus' career appear in that order in Malalas, in the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale*, and in the fourteenth-century history of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos. As Blockley has shown, the sequence seems to have been derived from Eustathius of Epiphania, who wrote under Anastasius I.⁴¹ The justification for this conclusion may be briefly repeated. In their reporting of the battle of Mauriacus, both Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* contain an acknowledgment to Priscus of Panium, the author of a lost fifth-century history, for the information.⁴² Since the acknowledgments are identically phrased, and the accounts of the battle similarly garbled, Blockley has suggested that both authors, rather than referring directly to Priscus, copied the account and acknowledgment from the same intermediary. That this intermediary was probably Eustathius is clear from Nicephorus Callistus' history, which contains a similar, garbled account of the battle, followed by an acknowledgment to Eustathius.⁴³ Since the battle of Mauriacus took place in 452, Attila's death in 453, and Cyrus' rise and fall in the period 439 to 441 or 439 to 443, Eustathius' account appears to have contained a retrospective passage at this point, or to have been chronologically confused. In Malalas alone, the account of the fall of Antiochus appears in this sequence, immediately before the fall of Cyrus, and it is possible that this story, too, was derived from Priscus by way of Eustathius.

Theophanes, who assembled his chronicle in the early ninth century, has a lengthy account of Cyrus' fall at A.M. 5937, and it is similar to that derived from Eustathius by Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*. His account of Attila's invasion (A.M. 5943, 5945),⁴⁴ however, is not the garbled account that occurs in Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Nicephorus Callistus. Furthermore, although Theophanes' account of Attila's death (A.M. 5946)⁴⁵ is similar to that in Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*, he remarks on the death of Aetius immediately beforehand, whereas in Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*, Aetius

the death of Theodosius's father." But the words do not apparently provide any chronological indication, since they are clearly parallel to μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς αὐτῶν στρατείας, and should be taken to mean "after he [Antiochus] had completed [his service]."

⁴¹Blockley, *FCH*, I, 116–17, and II, 391, n. 111.

⁴²Malalas, 358–59. *Chronicon Paschale*, 588 (= Priscus fr. 21 in Blockley, *FCH*, II, 308–9).

⁴³Nicephorus Callistus, 14.57. Whitby and Whitby agree that Malalas' account of the battle, like Nicephorus', was probably derived from Eustathius, although they consider that the account of the *Chronicon Paschale* was taken from Malalas rather than from Eustathius. See *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, n. 260. This seems unlikely, since it fails to explain why the *Chronicon Paschale* (like Theophanes and Zonaras) has Cyrus exiled to Smyrna, whereas Malalas (as the *Suda*) has him exiled to Cotyaeum. Blockley, *FCH*, I, 117, suggests that Eustathius "gave alternative versions of events."

⁴⁴A.M. 5943 (= Priscus fr. [21.2] in Blockley, *FCH*, II, 308–9).

⁴⁵A.M. 5946 (= Priscus fr. 24.2 in Blockley, *FCH*, II, 318–19).

is still alive at this point. Blockley observes that placing Attila's death after Aetius' is a feature of Procopius' account, too, and that Theophanes' account contains vocabulary identical to that used in the Priscan *Excerpta de Legationibus*.⁴⁶ For these reasons, it seems that Theophanes had access to a source that drew on Priscus, other than Eustathius.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Theophanes has the same juxtaposition of Antiochus' disgrace (A.M. 5936 = 443/4) and Cyrus' fall (A.M. 5937 = 444/5) that is found in Malalas, so this juxtaposition presumably occurred in the same source that provided him with his account of the battle.⁴⁸ Furthermore, although Theophanes' dates in this part of his *Chronicle* are not necessarily reliable,⁴⁹ he has certainly placed Cyrus' fall in roughly the correct position in his chronological list of events (A.M. 5937 = 444/5). The position is clearly quite different from that to which Eustathius assigned it, after the battle of Mauriacus and the death of Attila. Theophanes, unlike Malalas and the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*,⁵⁰ has not been influenced by Eustathius' arrangement. His source, which provided an accurate account of the battle of Mauriacus and juxtaposed the stories of Antiochus and Cyrus, may also have given him an accurate indication of the date of Cyrus' fall. This source perhaps also contained the other details about Antiochus—his being the emissary of Yazdgerd and his writing on behalf of the Christians in Persia—that are not found in Malalas, but appear for the first time in Theophanes, A.M. 5900. Given that the juxtaposition of Antiochus' disgrace and Cyrus' fall apparently occurred in two separate transmissions of Priscus, it seems unnecessary to reject its reliability.

A law in the Codex Justinianus refers to Cyrus as city prefect in 426, but his power reached its height around 439, when he is recorded as being city prefect again, and as becoming, sometime between 26 November and 6 December of that year, prefect of the East. He is also recorded as consul in the East (without a colleague in East or West) in 441, and as holding the distinction *patricius*.⁵¹ The assertion of Malalas and the *Chronicon*

⁴⁶Blockley, *FCH*, II, 391 n. 117.

⁴⁷Blockley, *FCH*, I, 167 n. 33. For Priscan material in Theophanes, see Blockley, *FCH*, I, 117.

⁴⁸Theophanes, A.M. 5936:

Τούτω τῷ ἔτει Θεοδοσίος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχον τὸν πραιπόσιτον καὶ πατρικίον, τὸν καὶ βάγυλον αὐτοῦ, ἐποίησε παπᾶν, δημεύσας καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ὡς κατεπαιρομένου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καταφρονοῦντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ νόμον ἔθετο μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς πατρικίου ἀξίαν εὐνοῦχον.

In this year, the emperor Theodosius made Antiochus the *praepositus* and *patricius* and his tutor a priest, having confiscated his palace, since he had treated the emperor with contempt and scorned him. And therefore he passed a law so that a eunuch could not enter into the rank of *patricius*.

X. A. Sideropoulos, "Βυζαντιναί επιγραφαί," *Ο εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, suppl. 19 (1891), 24–27, and I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *ArtB* 44 (1962), 1–27, following Bekker's edition of Theophanes, incorrectly give the equivalent of A.M. 5936 as A.D. 436 (as noted by R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, *Istanbul Forschungen* 25 [Berlin, 1966], 19 n. 40). They also assert that Antiochus was consul in 431, which results—as Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 20 points out—from confusion with Antiochus Chuzon the elder, on whom see *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus (Chuzon I) 7.

⁴⁹For the unreliability of Theophanes' dates in this period, see the references given by Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet," 261 n. 148.

⁵⁰Malalas, 360–62, misled by the sequence of events given in Eustathius, tells the stories of Antiochus and Cyrus after recording the death of Attila (450). Similarly, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, 587–89, incorrectly places Cyrus' fall under the same entry as the battle of Mauriacus and the death of Attila. See *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, nn. 261–62, and above, note 43.

⁵¹For Cyrus' career, see *PLRE*, II, s.v. Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus 7.

Paschale that Cyrus held the two posts of city prefect and prefect of the East for four years cannot be wholly correct, nor can the Suda's statement that he completed the two prefectures at about the same time.⁵² An unknown Thomas is known to have succeeded Cyrus as prefect of the East early in 442, but it is possible that Cyrus retained the city prefecture for four years.⁵³ Cameron believes that Cyrus was relieved of his city prefecture shortly after 18 August 441, when he is last attested in office, and suggests that he may have been appointed four years earlier, in late 437.⁵⁴ Holum, however, argues that Cyrus became city prefect early in 439 and held the post for four years, until his downfall in early 443.⁵⁵ Whichever is correct, Cyrus' power reached its peak from the end of 439, when he obtained the prefecture of the East in addition to the city prefecture. It would, therefore, seem that Antiochus was deposed before the end of 439.

The Suda, Cedrenus, and Michael the Syrian also discuss Antiochus and Cyrus. These late texts deserve a mention, but since it is difficult to determine the origin and the reliability of the information they contain, their testimonies cannot be used in any reliable reconstruction of Antiochus' career. The first part of the Suda's entry,⁵⁶ which describes Theodosius' weakness and the influence that eunuchs, especially Chrysaphius, had over him, is evidently from the same source as a fragment of the seventh-century chronicle of John of Antioch.⁵⁷ Blockley considers that the first part of the Suda's entry probably ultimately derives from Priscus.⁵⁸ Baldwin, however, cautions us that John of Antioch did use other sources, and argues that "unsparing criticism of Theodosius was not in the manner of Priscus."⁵⁹ Nor is there any guarantee that the second part, which describes the disgraces of Antiochus and Cyrus, derived from the same source as the first part.⁶⁰ The second part is clearly in the Malalas tradition, since, as in Malalas, Cyrus is said to have been exiled to Cotyaeum (whereas in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Theophanes, and Zonaras, he is said to have been exiled to Smyrna).⁶¹ Of particular interest, however, is that the Suda—unlike our other texts, which simply juxtapose Antiochus' disgrace and Cyrus' fall—explicitly states that "Theodosius [granted?] Cyrus, Antiochus' successor, his

⁵²Malalas, 361–62 (= Priscus fr. [8] in Blockley, *FCH*, II, 234–35). *Chronicon Paschale*, 588. Suda, Θ 145 (ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. [Leipzig, 1928–38]).

⁵³Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 189–91.

⁵⁴Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet," 257–58.

⁵⁵Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 190 n. 69. Placing Cyrus' fall in 443 would seem to be supported by Theophanes, who discusses Cyrus at A.M. 5936 (443/4). But again, Theophanes' dates are not necessarily reliable, and Cameron rejects them (cp. above, note 49). B. Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, Byzantina Australiensia 7 (Sydney, 1995), 84, prefers Cameron's reconstruction.

⁵⁶Suda, Θ 145:

ὅτι Θεοδοσίος ὁ μικρὸς καταλύσας Ἀντιόχον τὸν πραιπόσιτον ἐν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις κατέταξεν. ὁ αὐτὸς Κύρον τὸν τοῦτου διαδεξάμενον τὴν δυναστείαν [lacuna?] καὶ τὰς δύο μεγίστας τῶν ἐπάρχων ἀρχὰς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διανύοντα χρόνον.

Theodosius the Younger, having dismissed Antiochus the *praepositus*, appointed him among the presbyters. The same Theodosius [granted?] Cyrus, Antiochus' successor, his power, and these two greatest prefectures he completed at about the same time.

⁵⁷John of Antioch, fr. 194 in *FHG*, IV, 612.

⁵⁸Blockley, *FCH*, I, 118–19 with 168 n. 45.

⁵⁹B. Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 32–33 (the quotation is from p. 33). (Article reprinted in idem, *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language* [Amsterdam, 1984], 255–98.)

⁶⁰Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," 59. Blockley, *FCH*, I, 118 with 168 n. 45.

⁶¹Blockley, *FCH*, I, 116 with 166 n. 29.

power.”⁶² We do not know whether the author had a reliable source for this information or whether he simply deduced it, without any firm evidence, from the juxtaposition that he noted in Malalas.

The account and dating of Antiochus’ fall in the eleventh-century chronicle by Cedrenus is clearly derived (indirectly, by way of Pseudo-Symeon) from Theophanes,⁶³ but, wrongly thinking that Cyrus constructed the land walls of Constantinople in sixty days in 439, Cedrenus shifted the story of Cyrus’ disgrace to an earlier point in his narrative.⁶⁴ In the twelfth-century chronicle of Michael the Syrian, the accounts of Antiochus and of Cyrus are again juxtaposed, and discussed immediately after the First Council of Ephesus and the exile of Nestorius in 431.⁶⁵ Although Michael seems in general to be ultimately dependent on Socrates at this point in his text,⁶⁶ the information about Antiochus and Cyrus must have been taken from elsewhere. One possibility is that it was derived ultimately from Malalas by way of the (now lost) second book of John of Ephesus’ sixth-century *Church History*; but this seems unlikely when we consider that Malalas retains

⁶²Suda, Θ 145 (see above, note 56).

⁶³Cedrenus, I, 600:

Τῷ λς' ἔτει Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχον πραιπόσιτον καὶ πατρίκιον, τὸν βαΐουλον αὐτοῦ, πάπαν ἐποίησε, δημεύσας καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ὡς κατεπαιρομένου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καταφρονούντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ νόμον ἐξέθετο μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς πατρικίου ἀξίαν εὐνοῦχον.

In the thirty-sixth year [of his reign], the emperor Theodosius made Antiochus, *praepositus* and *patricius* and his tutor, a priest, having confiscated his palace, since he had treated the emperor with contempt and scorned him. And therefore he passed a law so that a eunuch could not enter into the rank of *patricius*.

⁶⁴Cedrenus’ mistaken belief that Cyrus built the land walls in sixty days is shared by Theophanes (A.M. 5937) and several other late authors. Cedrenus’ biography of Cyrus is inserted immediately after reference is made to the marriage of Valentinian to Eudoxia. The *Chronicon Paschale*, 582, dates the occasion to 437, and the same source (p. 583) informs us that it was followed two years later by the construction of the sea walls. Cedrenus has clearly conflated the original completion of the land walls in 413 with the alleged construction of the sea walls in 439 and with a repair that was made to the land walls by the prefect Constantine in sixty days after the devastating earthquake of 447. For a more detailed discussion of the confusion of the sources on the construction of Constantinople’s fortifications, see P. Speck, “Der Mauerbau in 60 Tagen,” in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 14 (Munich, 1973), 135–78, and B. Croke, “Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and Their Liturgical Commemoration,” *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 122–47 (reprinted with addendum in B. Croke, *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th–6th Centuries* [Aldershot 1992], art. ix). There is no doubt that Cyrus reconstructed much of Constantinople, but there is no evidence for any connection with the land walls. It is often suggested that the mistaken ascription of the land walls to Cyrus, rather than to Anthemius, in the later sources in fact reflects his involvement in the construction of the sea walls. See A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), 51; Croke, “Earthquakes,” 135–36; Cameron, “The Empress and the Poet,” 240–42; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e–VII^e siècles)*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1990), 25 n. 12; *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, n. 243.

⁶⁵Michael the Syrian, 8.4: “In the twenty-first year of the reign of the emperor Theodosius, which is the year 742 in Greek calculation, and the year 423 of Our Lord, the first synod at Ephesus was assembled.[. . .] At that time, the emperor Theodosius made Antiochus, his tutor, who was *praepositus* and *patricius*, a cleric, and seized all he possessed. He passed a law that eunuchs should not rise to the rank of *patricius*. At this time the prefect Cyrus restored the wall of Constantinople; and the citizens began to praise him saying, ‘Constantine built it, and Cyrus rebuilt it’. When the emperor heard that, he was afraid and deposed Cyrus from his post saying, ‘See how Cyrus thinks as the pagans’” (from *Chronique*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, II [Paris, 1901], 16).

⁶⁶For Socrates and Theodoret as Michael’s sources at this point (possibly from John of Ephesus), see Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. Chabot, introduction (Paris, 1924), xxv, xxviii–xxix.

Eustathius' incorrect sequence of events in this period, whereas Michael places Cyrus' fall somewhat more accurately.⁶⁷

In the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Martindale has placed Antiochus' fall in 421.⁶⁸ The evidence for this comes from Zonaras' early twelfth-century chronicle, in which it is stated that Antiochus was dismissed after Theodosius' marriage to Eudocia, which took place in 421.⁶⁹ Zonaras also writes that Antiochus was made a priest of the church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. Malalas, however, states that he entered the Great Church in Constantinople.⁷⁰ Zonaras' account may well have been influenced by the knowledge that Antiochus' palace in Constantinople was converted into a church of St. Euphemia when the saint's relics were transferred from Chalcedon to the capital in 680.⁷¹

⁶⁷For John of Ephesus excerpting Malalas, see W. Witakowski, "Malalas in Syriac," in *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, and R. Scott, Byzantina Australiensia 6 (Sydney, 1990), 299–311. Michael the Syrian evidently referred directly to John of Ephesus, since he contains information from John that is not found in Pseudo-Dionysius. See W. Witakowski, "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the Third Part of His *Chronicle*," *Orientalia Suecana* 40 (1991), 252–75. Antiochus and Cyrus are not mentioned in Pseudo-Dionysius. Michael also has an account of Antiochus' arrival in Constantinople (*Chronique*, 8.1, trans. Chabot, II, 2), which cannot have been derived from either Socrates or Malalas, and which appears for the first time in Theophanes, A.M. 5900.

⁶⁸*PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 5.

⁶⁹Zonaras, *Epitome* 13.22.14–16:

Γήμας δὲ ταύτην ὁ Θεοδοσίος τῶν Ἀντίοχον, ὃς τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ὑπῆρχεν ὁ κράτιςτος καὶ πάντα συνεκίκα δυναστεύων, οὐ παραδυναστεύων, ἀποσκευάζεται. καὶ οὕτως παραλύεται ὁ Ἀντίοχος τῆς τοῦ πραιποσίτου τιμῆς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπαρξίν· αὐτὸς δὲ κείρεται κληρικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ναὸν τῆς πανευφήμου μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας καὶ θνήσκει μετ' οὐ πολὺ.

Having married this woman [Eudocia], Theodosius sent Antiochus packing. He had become the most powerful of the emperor's eunuchs and, governing alone rather than beside the emperor, was throwing everything into confusion. Thus Antiochus was both dismissed from the post of *praepositus* and deprived of all his possessions. He was tonsured and died not long after as a cleric in the church of the celebrated martyr Euphemia in Chalcedon.

⁷⁰We know from CIC, *CI* 1.2.24 that, in 530, Justinian established a *scrinium* of the Great Church with eight *chartularii* to oversee estates that had previously belonged to a certain Antiochus, who may be our *praepositus* but could equally be his namesake in the same post in 499. For the possible identifications, see *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 15. P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, III (London, 1966), 1091 nn. 12 and 15, assumes Antiochus was director of the *scrinium* when the law was passed in 530, and that he may later have been *praepositus* in 558. No *praepositus* is known at this date. Even if the property concerned belonged to our Antiochus, its acquisition by the Great Church in Constantinople does not necessarily indicate that he became a priest there. We know from Malalas, Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Michael the Syrian that on deposing Antiochus, Theodosius also confiscated his property. Cp. R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata: l'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome, 1989), 224–25, who puts the confiscation in 421, evidently following Martindale. The proportion of confiscated property that passed to the *res privata* could vary (*ibid.*, 603–6), and it is possible that some passed to the church (*ibid.*, 599–603). See also R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine développement urbain et répertoire topographique*² (Paris, 1964), 310. Antiochus' wealth is indicated by the *Patria*, 3.70 (ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II [Leipzig, 1907]) and perhaps by CIC, *CI* 1.2.24.

⁷¹Given the conversion of the palace of Antiochus into a church of St. Euphemia in the late seventh century, it seems unlikely that Zonaras' story of the exile simply reflects a variant given by Eustathius. The liturgical fittings added to the hexagonal palace hall during the conversion are probably to be dated to the sixth century, but they seem to be spoils added at a later date. Berger has dated the transference of the relics of Euphemia from Chalcedon to Constantinople to 680, and has suggested that the conversion of the palace into a church occurred at this time. See A. Berger, "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel," *Hellenika* 39 (1988), 311–22. E. Torelli Landini, "Note sugli scavi a nord-ovest dell'Ippodromo di Istanbul (1939/1964) e loro identificazione," *Storia dell'Arte* 68 (1990), 29–30, has

His discussion of Antiochus' fall is closely related to an entry in the earlier chronicle of Cedrenus, which states that Antiochus was stirring up trouble at the time of Honorius' death (423).⁷² Cedrenus, however, does not state that Antiochus was forced to enter the clergy at this point, since, concerning this event, he gives a similar account to that which appears in Theophanes' chronicle entry for A.M. 5936.⁷³ The entries in Zonaras and Cedrenus are related not only by their chronological position (ca. 421 in Zonaras, ca. 423 in Cedrenus), but also by a verbal similarity. Cedrenus uses a quotation from Aristophanes' *Acharnians* to describe Antiochus' troublemaking, and Zonaras states that "he was throwing everything into confusion," employing one of the words (συνεκύκα) from this quotation.⁷⁴ It is unclear from where Cedrenus obtained this reference to Antiochus' activities in the 420s, and it is equally uncertain on what grounds Zonaras associated these activities with Antiochus' final dismissal, rejecting the later date given in Theophanes and Cedrenus. Zonaras is, admittedly, well known for having used unusual sources, and often providing very reliable accounts,⁷⁵ but his order of events, being unprecedented, and his reference to the church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon do not inspire confidence. Martindale seems to have accepted Zonaras' testimony, not only because he believed that his unique account must also be a reliable one, but because of the Suda's statement that after Antiochus' fall, Cyrus became powerful. Martindale seems to have taken the *terminus ante quem* for Antiochus' fall to be Cyrus' first city prefecture of 426, and hence to have accepted Zonaras' date for his removal (ca. 421) in preference to Theophanes' (A.M. 5936).⁷⁶ But Cyrus' first city prefecture is known only from the Codex Justinianus, and the Suda entry concerned mentions only Cyrus' two simultaneous prefectures of 439.⁷⁷ The Suda is, therefore, as suggested above, in agreement with Malalas, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and Michael the Syrian in indicating that Antiochus fell shortly before 439, and it would seem illogical to accept Zonaras' twelfth-century account of unknown origin in preference to the sources apparently following the Priscan tradition.

Blockley, who fails to question Martindale's dating of Antiochus' fall, attempts to explain the apparent misplacement of the event in Malalas, Theophanes, Cedrenus, the Suda, and Michael the Syrian as resulting from a misinterpretation of the account in Priscus' history. He suggests that when discussing Cyrus' fall, Priscus may have made an attack on the eunuch Chrysaphius, who engineered his downfall and whom Priscus despised, and entered into a discussion of all the eunuchs—including Antiochus—who had controlled the weak emperor Theodosius. According to Blockley, Priscus' discussion of Antiochus' dismissal in conjunction with Cyrus' downfall may have led the dependent

suggested (without reference to Berger) that as early as the mid-fifth century the palace hall may have been converted into a chapel by Pulcheria after the deposition of Antiochus. Antiochus' fall is placed there, without discussion, in 436–439 (pp. 11, 28, 29, without reference to *PLRE*).

⁷²Cedrenus, I, 589: 'Ο δὲ τούτου τροφεὺς Ἀντίοχος, κατὰ τὴν κωμῶδιαν, ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, συνεκύκα τὰ πράγματα (Antiochus, his tutor, as the comedy says, was lightening, thundering and throwing affairs into confusion.)

⁷³See above, notes 48, 63.

⁷⁴See Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (ed. R. T. Elliott [Oxford, 1914]), 531: ἤστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

⁷⁵See Scott in Jeffreys, Croke, and Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, 47–48.

⁷⁶See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus 7, p. 337.

⁷⁷Suda, Θ 145, cited above, note 56.

authors to infer incorrectly that the two events occurred within a short period of each other.⁷⁸ Blockley suggests that it was Eustathius who introduced the additional error of discussing Cyrus' fall after the battle of Mauriacus and the death of Attila.⁷⁹ Since Martindale's dating of Antiochus' fall may be dismissed, there is no need to question the juxtaposition of Antiochus' and Cyrus' fall in Theophanes and Malalas. The natural conclusion to draw is that, like Cyrus after him, the *patricius* Antiochus was a victim of Chrysaphius' ambition. Our evidence therefore suggests that Antiochus' career spanned the period ca. 402 to ca. 439, and if Zonaras' late and unreliable account is to be believed in any regard, he died soon after his entry into the clergy.⁸⁰ Even if our Antiochus is to be identified with the Sharwin Barmiyân recorded in Hamzah, the statement that the latter served Theodosius for twenty years need not be taken literally, since the figure is clearly a round one.⁸¹

It has been suggested above that the references to Attila's invasion of the West, to Antiochus, and to Cyrus in Theophanes and the Malalas tradition ultimately derive from Priscus. Priscus' history covered the period ca. 434 to ca. 474,⁸² so there is no need to believe that his reference to Antiochus' disgrace (before 439) was made in a flashback (as Blockley suggested, believing Antiochus was disgraced in 421).⁸³ It would seem that in Priscus' text, Antiochus' disgrace and Cyrus' fall were correctly juxtaposed and in their proper place in the chronological narrative—hence Theophanes' dating—but that Eustathius rearranged Priscus' account, placing both Antiochus' disgrace and Cyrus' fall after the battle of Mauriacus, an arrangement that he transmitted to his dependent sources.

According to Malalas, after Antiochus' dismissal, Theodosius passed a law preventing *ex-praepositi* becoming *patricii*. The promulgation of such a law is also mentioned in Theophanes, the Suda, Cedrenus, and Michael the Syrian,⁸⁴ but Malalas, unlike the other sources, makes it clear that the law concerned *ex-praepositi*. It should not be inferred from the accounts of Theophanes, Cedrenus, Michael the Syrian,⁸⁵ and the *Patria*,⁸⁶ which describe Antiochus' downfall and refer to him as *praepositus*, *patricius*, and tutor of Theodosius, that he held all these posts at the time of his entry into the clergy; the posts are listed simply for the purpose of identification. The same may be said of the accounts of the Suda and Zonaras,⁸⁷ in which Antiochus is wrongly called *praepositus* at the time of his fall. Antiochus was *ex-praepositus* and *patricius* when he entered the clergy in 439, and Martindale's reconstruction, which has Antiochus as *praepositus* and *patricius* at the time, must be emended accordingly.

⁷⁸Blockley, *FCH*, I, 117, and II, 381 n. 16. Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," 34, has argued that Chrysaphius, rather than being hated by Priscus, was "treated with signal and uncommon favour" in his work. Blockley, *FCH*, I, 63, with 148 n. 90, disagrees.

⁷⁹Blockley, *FCH*, I, 167 n. 32.

⁸⁰See above, note 69.

⁸¹See above, note 9.

⁸²Blockley, *FCH*, I, 50.

⁸³Blockley, *FCH*, II, 381 n. 16. Similarly, Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," 61, believing that Antiochus fell from power in 414, warned that any reference to Antiochus in Priscus would have to have been in a flashback.

⁸⁴See above, notes 48 (Theophanes), 56 (Suda), 63 (Cedrenus), 65 (Michael the Syrian).

⁸⁵See above, notes 48 (Theophanes), 63 (Cedrenus), 65 (Michael the Syrian).

⁸⁶*Patria*, 3.70.

⁸⁷See above, notes 56 (Suda), 69 (Zonaras).

The legal codes do not preserve the law that prevented *ex-praepositi* becoming *patricii*. However, we have no good reason to believe that it was not promulgated, for, after Eutropius, Lausus, and Antiochus, we do not know of any *praepositus* who obtained the rank of *patricius* until Narses in 559.⁸⁸ Also, we know that under Zeno (474–491) only consuls and prefects among the *illustres* could become *patricii* (to the exclusion of *praepositi*).⁸⁹ The passing of the Theodosian law was presumably recorded in Priscus, since it is mentioned by both Malalas and Theophanes, who, as we have seen, were probably deriving their material from different intermediary sources. If the law described in Malalas was promulgated, it was apparently not obsolete before the sixth century, which suggests that it was lost during the transmission of the texts of the Theodosian Codex and Novels or was accidentally omitted when they were compiled.⁹⁰ If the *Patria*'s statement that Lausus possessed the title *patricius* is to be believed,⁹¹ he must have obtained the distinction before the disgrace of Antiochus and the promulgation of the law preventing *ex-praepositi* becoming *patricii*. However, even if the information is correct, it does not provide us with an accurate *terminus post quem* for Antiochus' entry into the clergy, since we do not know when Lausus was given the distinction. Lausus is known to have been *praepositus* in 420, and it is conceivable that he was made *patricius* shortly after. If so, it would follow that Antiochus entered the clergy after 420. But our knowledge of Lausus is slight, and he could conceivably have become *patricius* before 420.⁹²

A law of 422 in the Codex Theodosianus promoted the *praepositus* from the lower to the upper grade of the *illustres*.⁹³ It may reasonably be asked whether Theodosius would have been prepared to promote *praepositi* in this way if he had recently had to remove Antiochus from the patriciate and pass a law preventing *ex-praepositi* becoming *patricii*. The law would perhaps better be seen as allowing Antiochus to become as powerful as he did, and as indicating that he had not entered the clergy by 422.⁹⁴ This law may, therefore, corroborate our conclusion that Antiochus was finally dismissed as late as ca. 439.

⁸⁸ For the *praepositi* known in this period, see *PLRE*, II, 1263–64. For Narses as *patricius*, see *PLRE*, III, s.v. Narses 1, esp. 914, 924–25. The sixth-century law allowing any *illustris* access to the rank of *patricius* is preserved in *Nov* 62.2.5. W. Ensslin, *RE*, suppl. 8, s.v. *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, cols. 559–60, considered that Zonaras was using a reliable source here (as, apparently, did Martindale). He observed that Zonaras neither mentions the law nor accords Antiochus the title *patricius*, and suggested that Malalas' account should be questioned. As noted, there is no evidence that Zonaras obtained his information about Antiochus from a particularly reliable source, and the reference to St. Euphemia in Chalcedon may point to its unreliability (see above, pp. 185–86). Since the law is mentioned by Theophanes as well as by Malalas, it was presumably recorded in Priscus.

⁸⁹ *CIC*, *CI* 12.3.3.

⁹⁰ There is some controversy over whether the Codex Theodosianus was compiled using central legal archives, and was supposed to incorporate all current laws, or whether many laws were omitted because research was far less systematic. See the contributions of B. Sirks and J. Matthews to *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Harries and I. Wood (London, 1993).

⁹¹ *Patria*, 2.36.

⁹² For Lausus, see *PLRE*, II, s.v.v. Lausus 1 (where the reference to the *Patria* is omitted), *LAVSVS* 2, and *Lausus* 3.

⁹³ *CTh* 6.8.1. See J. E. Dunlap, *The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires*, in E. R. Boak and J. E. Dunlap, *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration* (New York, 1924), 186, 195.

⁹⁴ It is clearly for this reason that Dunlap (*Grand Chamberlain*, 196–97)—although without expansion—discusses Lausus' patriciate before Antiochus' downfall.

In Theophanes, A.M. 5905 (412/3), we read, “Antiochus the Persian departed, and the blessed Pulcheria controlled affairs entirely.”⁹⁵ There can be no doubt, given the epithet “Persian,” that this Antiochus is the same man described by Theophanes at A.M. 5900, who was sent from Persia by Yazdgerd to be guardian and tutor (ἐπίτροπόν τε καὶ παιδαγωγόν) to the emperor. Nor can there be any doubt that he is the same Antiochus who entered the clergy ca. 439, as described by Malalas, 361, and by Theophanes, A.M. 5936, for Malalas describes Antiochus as bringing up (ἀναθρεψάμενος) Theodosius, and Theophanes gives him the title of tutor (βάλυλος).⁹⁶

At A.M. 5905, Theophanes is following the sixth-century *Church History* of Theodore Anagnostes,⁹⁷ who was in turn relying on Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, none of whom made any reference to Antiochus. The absence of Antiochus in Socrates and Sozomen has been discussed in Part I.⁹⁸ Socrates, who wrote not long after 439 and enjoyed Eudocia’s patronage, chose to ignore Pulcheria as well as Antiochus, describing Anthemius as controller of the state; whereas Sozomen disregarded Eudocia, Anthemius, and Antiochus, but discussed Pulcheria’s piety and her rise to power at the age of fifteen, which suggests that he wrote after Pulcheria’s return to power in 450.⁹⁹ Theophanes’ reference to Antiochus at A.M. 5905 suggests that he was supplementing Theodore, 308–310, by consulting another source. In fact, Theophanes has several details in this period that Theodore does not contain, such as the date of the capture of Rome and the death of the usurper Constantine at A.M. 5903, and the executions of Iovinus, Sallustius, Sebastianus, and Heraclianus at A.M. 5904. These facts were evidently obtained from Olympiodorus, whose history covered the years 407 to 425, and may also, therefore, have provided Theophanes with his reference to Antiochus’ dismissal and Pulcheria’s supremacy

⁹⁵Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἀντίοχος ὁ Πέρσης ἐκποδὼν γέγονεν, καὶ ἡ μακαρία Πουλχερία τελείως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκράτειν. Cp. Cedrenus, I, 589: Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἡ μακαρία Πουλχερία τελείως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκράτει, τοῦ Πέρσου Ἀντίοχου ἐκποδὼν γενοτότος. Classen renders “e vivis excessit,” whereas at Cedrenus, I, 589, Xylander has “submoto Persa Antiocho.” There is certainly no reason to assume that Antiochus died at this point. Nicephorus Callistus, 14.1, apparently relying on Theophanes, understood Antiochus to have “departed” (ἀπηλλάγη) after four years in the emperor’s service. In Dio Cassius, the use of ἐκποδῶν γίνεσθαι always concerns absence rather than death (Dio Cassius 38.15.3; 38.17.6; 51.13.5; 55.9.5), although Procopius uses the phrase more freely to describe absence due to murder (*Wars* 5.4.26, 7.25.21; *Secret History* 1.32, 2.3), natural death (*Wars* 3.8.2) or simply travel elsewhere (*Wars* 3.3.17; 6.26.12). Only the use of ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖν by these two historians seems to refer consistently to death at another’s hands (Procopius, *Wars* 2.28.30; 3.3.18; 3.4.25; 7.2.10; Dio Cassius 57.22.2).

⁹⁶Sauerbrei, “König Jazdgerd,” 98 ff, argued that there were two Antiochi at the court of Arcadius—one a representative of the Persian king, who was called away from Constantinople in 412/3, and the other the powerful eunuch who was Theodosius’ tutor, *praepositus*, and *patricius*. Haury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 291–94, objected on the grounds that Nicephorus Callistus, 14.1, believed that the Persian who departed in 412/3 was the “tutor” of Theodosius, and added later that he had said enough about the “tutors” Antiochus and Anthemius. However, the value of Nicephorus’ testimony for disproving the theory of two Antiochi is questionable, since it probably reflects only the author’s personal interpretation of Theophanes. Compare how Nicephorus simply assumed that Anthemius succeeded Antiochus as tutor in an attempt to reconcile the accounts of Socrates and Theophanes (see above, Part I, pp. 179–80), and how he apparently deduced Antiochus’ four-year term in the palace from Theophanes (who puts Arcadius’ death in A.M. 5901 and Antiochus’ departure in A.M. 5905), whereas Antiochus seems to have remained in the palace as late as 413 or 414.

⁹⁷See Theodore Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1971), xi–xvii, for his sources.

⁹⁸See above, Part I, pp. 177–80.

⁹⁹See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 95–96, and Cameron, “The Empress and the Poet,” 265–66. See also above, note 31.

at A.M. 5905.¹⁰⁰ It might be objected that Olympiodorus seems to have concentrated on events in the West, and therefore would not have contained such information.¹⁰¹ Sozomen, 9.1, however, refers to Pulcheria taking control of affairs, which may suggest that the information of Theophanes, A.M. 5905, derives from a source that Sozomen had used—and Sozomen made considerable use of Olympiodorus in his ninth book.¹⁰²

Theophanes' date for Antiochus' departure (A.M. 5905 = 412/3) is, again, probably not precise.¹⁰³ More significant than the fact that the event is described under A.M. 5905 is that it is intimately related to Pulcheria's assumption of power. Theophanes has already mentioned Pulcheria's government at the age of fifteen years at A.M. 5901 (408/9). In fact, Pulcheria's fifteenth birthday fell several years later on 19 January 414.¹⁰⁴ The reason for this misplacement is clear, since Theophanes' information, as he himself indicates, is derived from Sozomen, 9.1, although indirectly, by way of Theodore, 302. Theophanes has simply inserted Theodore's information (including the reference to Pulcheria's power) in his chronological entry for Theodosius' first year, A.M. 5901 (408/9). Consequently, Theophanes has two references to Pulcheria's assumption of power, one at A.M. 5901 (from Sozomen, by way of Theodore) and another at A.M. 5905 (possibly from Olympiodorus, who may also have been Sozomen's source for the information at 9.1). Contrary to Theophanes' statement at A.M. 5901, Sozomen, 9.1, and Theodore, 301, record that Pulcheria was not yet fifteen years of age when she took her vow of perpetual virginity and came to power, which suggests a date between 19 January 413 and 19 January 414.¹⁰⁵ Sozomen may not himself be completely reliable here, and it has been suggested that Pulcheria took her vow as late as 4 July 414, when Theodosius proclaimed her *augusta*.¹⁰⁶

Literary sources, therefore, provide only two fixed dates in Antiochus' career—his departure from an uncertain position in the palace in 413 or 414, and his entry into the clergy as *ex-praepositus* and *patricius* in about 439. There seems to be no good reason for rejecting either piece of information, nor for arguing that they refer to different individuals.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰See Blockley, *FCH*, II, 156–63 (frs. 6–8 on Alaric), 176–81 (fr. 17 on Constantine), 182–85 (frs. 18, 20 on Iovinus and Sebastianus), 184–85 and 186–87 (frs. [21], 23 on Heraclianus). For the span of Olympiodorus' work, see J. F. Matthews, "Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407–425)," *JRS* 60 (1970), 79–97, esp. 80, and Blockley, *FCH*, I, 29.

¹⁰¹See Matthews, "Olympiodorus," 82. However, Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses*, 115–21, points out that Olympiodorus provides descriptions of events in his own career, from which his connections with Anthemius' government and with Leontius, the father of Eudocia, become clear.

¹⁰²On the authors who made use of Olympiodorus, see Matthews, "Olympiodorus," 80–82 (who suggests, p. 82, that Sozomen's use of Olympiodorus began at 9.4.1) and Blockley, *FCH*, I, 28–32, 108–9. G. Schoo, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos* (Berlin, 1911), is of little help here, simply ascribing much of Sozomen's unique Book 9 to oral tradition (p. 154 ff). Similarly, F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus* (Leipzig, 1898), 65, states that when Socrates came to record contemporary events, his use of oral sources would have become far greater, and (p. 130 ff) assigns much of his Book 7 to oral tradition.

¹⁰³Cp. above, note 49.

¹⁰⁴See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Aelia Pulcheria.

¹⁰⁵Sozomen 9.1.

¹⁰⁶Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 401 n. 15. For the date at which Pulcheria became *augusta*, see Marcellinus Comes, A.D. 414 (*Chronica Minora*, ed. T. Mommsen, II [Berlin, 1894], 71, reprinted with translation in Croke, *Chronicle of Marcellinus*, 10–11) and *Chronicon Paschale*, 571.

¹⁰⁷E. W. Brooks in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, I (Cambridge, 1957), 466, accepts the consensus of the sources, placing Antiochus' fall shortly before Cyrus'. In addition, he accepts Theophanes' date of Antiochus' dismissal at A.M. 5905 (p. 462). It is not clear to me on what basis he puts Antiochus' appointment as *praeposi-*

Holum has ignored the apparently Priscan tradition according to which Antiochus held considerable influence over the emperor after his departure from the palace as *ex-praepositus* and *patricius*. Nevertheless, he presents an interesting theory concerning Antiochus' departure from the palace in 414, and this requires attention.¹⁰⁸ Sozomen states that Pulcheria and her sisters took their vow of perpetual virginity to prevent the possibility of ambitious men marrying into the imperial family and threatening Pulcheria's government.¹⁰⁹ Holum suggests that Sozomen—who, it has been noted, probably wrote after Pulcheria's return to power in 450—deliberately makes no reference to Anthemius, since it was Anthemius who had plotted against Pulcheria, and the latter consequently despised his memory. Anthemius, Holum argues, had hoped to have Pulcheria married to a young relative of his in order to prevent her making an extraneous marriage connection that would threaten his own government. Holum further suggests that Antiochus conspired in the plot,¹¹⁰ and that as a result Pulcheria arranged for the removal of both him and Anthemius, and decided that she and her sisters should take the vow to protect her hold on power.

Although doubt has been expressed concerning the truth of Sozomen's statement (reasserted by Theophanes at A.M. 5901 and A.M. 5905) that Pulcheria governed from around the time of her fifteenth birthday,¹¹¹ Holum's reconstruction cannot be rejected on the grounds that Pulcheria was not powerful enough to arrange for the removal of Antiochus and Anthemius and to install replacements who were more to her liking. Holum has pointed out that the dedication of a portrait bust of Pulcheria in the Senate house by the praetorian prefect Aurelian on 30 December 414, less than six months after she had been proclaimed *augusta* on 4 July, "confirms that more than encomiastic exaggeration lurks behind Sozomen's description of her position."¹¹² Furthermore, Cameron and Long have observed that Monaxius' unusually short tenure of the praetorian prefecture (April to December 414) after Anthemius' extremely long tenure (July 405 to April 414) may indicate that Monaxius underestimated Pulcheria. The dedications made by Aurelian, Monaxius' successor in the praetorian prefecture, suggest that he was more aware of the necessity of courting Pulcheria's goodwill. He had previously won a prefecture in 399 with the support of Eudoxia, and his appointment after Monaxius was presumably fixed by Pulcheria.¹¹³

Cameron objects to Holum's conspiracy theory, believing that Sozomen omitted to refer to Anthemius, not because he was Pulcheria's enemy, but simply in order to exaggerate Pulcheria's role in the government. Rather than plotting against Pulcheria, Cameron suggests, Anthemius was loyal to her: "If he had had such ambitions, he would certainly have married or at least betrothed her to a son or grandson well before the age

tus shortly after the construction of the sea walls (which he chooses to ascribe to Cyrus) (p. 465). W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1977), 122, puts Antiochus' fall in 438/9, but without providing any discussion of the sources.

¹⁰⁸See Holum, *Theodosian Emperors*, 93–96.

¹⁰⁹Sozomen 9.1.

¹¹⁰Holum, *Theodosian Emperors*, 94.

¹¹¹Sozomen 9.1. For doubts, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 129, 134; Harries, "Pius Princes," 36.

¹¹²Holum, "Pulcheria's Crusade and the Ideology of Imperial Victory," *GRBS* 18 (1977), 161; idem, *Theodosian Emperors*, 97.

¹¹³Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 400–403.

of fourteen. The implication, rather, is that she took the vow because she knew that the loyal Anthemius was about to step down. She may even have acted on his advice.”¹¹⁴

Anthemius is last attested in office in the Codex Theodosianus on 18 April 414,¹¹⁵ and Theophanes seems to indicate that Antiochus’ departure was closely connected with Pulcheria’s assumption of power in 413 or 414, both of which he assigns to 412/3.¹¹⁶ The date of Anthemius’ last attestation suggests that his departure, like Antiochus’, may well have been connected with Pulcheria’s assumption of power.

Since Antiochus’ career did not end in 413 or 414, but continued until 439, he must have returned to imperial service while Pulcheria was still powerful.¹¹⁷ For this reason, Holum’s explanation for his departure in 413 or 414 is unacceptable. Whether or not Anthemius’ disappearance in 414 is to be explained by Pulcheria’s hatred for him, Antiochus’ dismissal is probably better explained not as a result of his own misconduct, but as a precaution, since in this case Antiochus would have been able to re-enter the imperial household when circumstances changed. We may suggest that when Pulcheria determined to take control in 413 or 414, she realized that she had to be able to act—and to be seen to be able to act—independently, and could not allow any suggestion that she was a puppet of Anthemius and Antiochus.¹¹⁸ She had to put her stamp on the government by selecting her own ministers. But, as Sozomen indicates, she also needed to be sure that these new ministers could not attempt to marry into the imperial family, hence the vow. Whether Anthemius and Antiochus stepped down willingly we do not know, but Monaxius’ brief tenure as praetorian prefect suggests that Pulcheria took great care in choosing who replaced the former.

Martindale has suggested that Antiochus was simply relieved of his responsibilities as tutor at this point, and that Pulcheria took charge of Theodosius’ education.¹¹⁹ But Pulcheria’s vow of virginity to preserve her hold on power, the disappearance of Anthemius from our records, and Theophanes’ statement that she “took complete control

¹¹⁴Cameron, “The Empress and the Poet,” 271–72.

¹¹⁵*CTh* 9.40.22. See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Anthemius 1.

¹¹⁶Holum accepts Theophanes’ A.M. 5905 (412/3) dating for Antiochus’ dismissal and Pulcheria’s assumption of power. See Holum, “Pulcheria’s Crusade,” 152; K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, “The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen,” *DOP* 33 (1979), 128; Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 93, where—for what reason I do not know—the vow is placed specifically “before July 1, 413.” This leaves Holum with a considerable gap between Antiochus’ fall and the disappearance of Anthemius (after 18 April 414). His chronology detracts from his conspiracy theory, since, if Antiochus and Anthemius had both been plotting against Pulcheria, they would surely have been dismissed swiftly and simultaneously.

¹¹⁷Pulcheria lost her power only temporarily after Eudocia returned from her pilgrimage to Palestine (probably early in 439, when Cyrus came to power) and during the time that Chrysaphius was influential. See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 188–92.

¹¹⁸It is also possible that the dismissal of Antiochus and Anthemius was associated with a change in relations between Rome and Persia under Pulcheria. Although signs of a breakdown can be traced only as far back as 419 or early 420, when a Christian destroyed a Zoroastrian fire altar in Persian Khuzestan (see Holum, “Pulcheria’s Crusade,” 156; idem, *Theodosian Empresses*, 102), considering the change in attitude to Jews and Hellenes from 415, Holum thinks that “it is reasonable to assume that devotees of the fire cult no longer enjoyed official benevolence in Roman territory after 414” (“Pulcheria’s Crusade,” 162). Anthemius had once been an ambassador to the Persian court (in 383 or 399, see above, note 6) and “probably deserves credit for good relations with Yazdgard I and his benevolence toward Christians” (Holum, “Pulcheria’s Crusade,” 159). Antiochus is also said to have written letters to secure the good treatment of Christians in Persia (Theophanes, A.M. 5900).

¹¹⁹See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 5.

of affairs,” all strongly suggest that Antiochus left imperial service altogether. Malalas, 361, clearly states that Antiochus was *cubicularius* while Arcadius was alive (before 408), and Theophanes gives him the title *praepositus* only when describing his entry into the clergy in 439 (A.M. 5936). It seems likely, therefore, that in 413 or 414 Antiochus was still *cubicularius*. The threat posed to Pulcheria’s ambitions by a *cubicularius* was, perhaps, not as immediate as that posed by the praetorian prefect Anthemius, but Pulcheria could not afford to take any risks and determined to replace all her ministers.¹²⁰

It remains to discuss the archaeological evidence bearing on Antiochus’ career. In 1939, frescoes depicting the life and martyrdom of St. Euphemia were discovered to the northwest of the Hippodrome in Constantinople, and the first excavations were undertaken by Schneider in the summer and autumn of 1942.¹²¹ The hexagonal hall in which the paintings were found was therefore identified as the church of St. Euphemia, known from literary sources to have been located in the Palace of Antiochus, near the Hippodrome (see Fig. 1).¹²² A column base bearing the inscription ANTIOXOY ΠΡΕΠΙΟ(CITOY) (of Antiochus the *praepositus*) was found in situ in the sigma-plan portico of the hexagonal hall during Duyuran’s excavations in 1951–52, confirming that the site was indeed associated with a *praepositus sacri cubiculi* named Antiochus.¹²³

Belting argued that the column bases that refer to Antiochus as *praepositus* suggest that construction took place when he held that position.¹²⁴ The inscriptions were surely carved when Antiochus held the post, and there is no reason to think that the bases are

¹²⁰Malalas’ statement (361, above, note 40) that Antiochus “ran the Roman state after Arcadius” may refer to a time many years after 408, when Antiochus had obtained the rank of *praepositus*. Thus, Malalas, 361, writes that, as *praepositus* and, later, *patricius*, Antiochus “was powerful in the palace and controlled affairs” and that as *patricius* he treated Theodosius overbearingly. Writing of his final dismissal ca. 439, Theophanes, A.M. 5936, states that he “had treated the emperor with contempt and scorned him,” and the Suda’s statement (Θ 145) that Cyrus succeeded to Antiochus’ position of power in 439 also suggests that Antiochus was extremely powerful by this time. That Pulcheria “took total control of affairs” (Theophanes, A.M. 5905, above, note 95) after Antiochus’ departure in 413 or 414 was perhaps due in greater part to the dismissal of Anthemius than of Antiochus. But if the Antiochus who “can do whatever he wishes” mentioned by Synesius is indeed the same as the Antiochus sent from Persia by Yazdgerd, as has been argued above, Part I, p. 175, then he would seem to have been particularly influential as *cubicularius* as early as ca. 404/5. The letter from Isidore of Pelusium, which observes that Antiochus could direct the imperial dominion however he desired, cannot be dated, and may have been written when Antiochus was *praepositus* (cp. *PLRE*, II, s.v. Antiochus 5). Holum’s dating prior to 412 wrongly assumes that Antiochus’ career ended at this date (*Theodosian Emperors*, 81 n. 8).

¹²¹A. M. Schneider, “Grabung im Bereich des Euphemia-Martyrions zu Konstantinopel,” *AA* 58 (1943), 255–89.

¹²²On the church, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople*, III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 120–24, and on τὰ Ἀντιόχου, see idem, *Constantinople byzantine*, 310.

¹²³R. Duyuran, “Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul,” *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 6 (1953), 75. A base with the unabbreviated inscription ANTIOXOY ΠΡΕΠΙΟCITOY had been found in the vicinity in Üçler Sokak many years before the excavations (Sideropoulos, “Βυζαντινοί επιγραφοί”). Torelli Landini, “Note sugli scavi,” 22–30, rightly rejects the hypothesis that the remains to the north of the Hippodrome became the Palace of Daphne and the Triclinium of the 19 Couches. I discuss the rotunda and adjoining hall (excavated by Duyuran in 1951 and Naumann in 1964, respectively) in “The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study,” *AJA* 101 (1997), 67–95.

¹²⁴Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 20.

any earlier or later than the rest of the palace. It would therefore seem that Antiochus built his magnificent palace while holding the post of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*.

Although they constitute evidence crucial for the dating of the palace hall, the majority of brickstamps from this most important excavation have not yet been published. Belting devotes six lines of text to them in the final excavation report,¹²⁵ and their relevance has been overlooked in both Martindale's and Holum's consideration of the chronology of Antiochus' career. Schneider states that about 300 stamped bricks were recovered,¹²⁶ and Mamboury found 82.¹²⁷ Duyuran writes that during his excavation at the end of 1950, "More than 100 brick stamps were found singly among the rubble, others in situ. Some are very unusual,"¹²⁸ although it is not clear how many of the bricks discovered in this excavation came from the Hippodrome rather than the palace hall.

Schneider reported that of the 300 stamped bricks recovered, 78 referred to either a fourteenth (ΙΔ') or first (Α') year in an indiction cycle, and 190 referred to a fifteenth year (ΙΕ').¹²⁹ Of the 82 stamped bricks that Mamboury recovered (which must represent a proportion of those noted by Schneider), 20 bore indiction fourteen, 35 bore indiction fifteen, and 17 bore indiction one.¹³⁰ An analysis of Mamboury's brickstamp records, of the photographs in the archive of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, and of the bricks stored in the Hagia Sophia Museum reveals a similar distribution of indications.¹³¹ The earliest indiction, which occurs on a small number of stamps is the thirteenth (399/400, 414/5, 429/430), and the latest is the first (402/3, 417/8, 432/3). The indications indicate the years in which the bricks were made, and it should be borne in mind that the bricks may have been stockpiled and used later. Strictly speaking, the date of the manufacture of the bricks provides only a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the palace, and hence Antiochus' residence could have been built at any time during his service in Constantinople (ca. 402–ca. 439). It seems unlikely, however, that the bricks would have been stockpiled for very long in this period of intensive building activity, which saw the completion of the Baths of Honorius and of Constantius II, the reconstruction of the Troadesian porticoes, the construction of the Baths of Achilles, the land walls, possibly the sea walls, the open cistern of Aetius, the forum called the Sigma, Eudocia's church of St. Lawrence, Pulcheria's church of St. Stephen in Daphne, and the second church of St. Sophia.

Schneider suggested that Antiochus' palace hall was constructed around A.D. 400,¹³² but Belting rejected the suggestion on the grounds that Antiochus' career had only just

¹²⁵Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 20 with n. 50.

¹²⁶Schneider, "Grabung," 256.

¹²⁷E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul et ses environs et les trouvailles archéologiques faites au cours de constructions ou de travaux officiels et privés depuis 1936," *Byzantion* 21 (1951), 431–33.

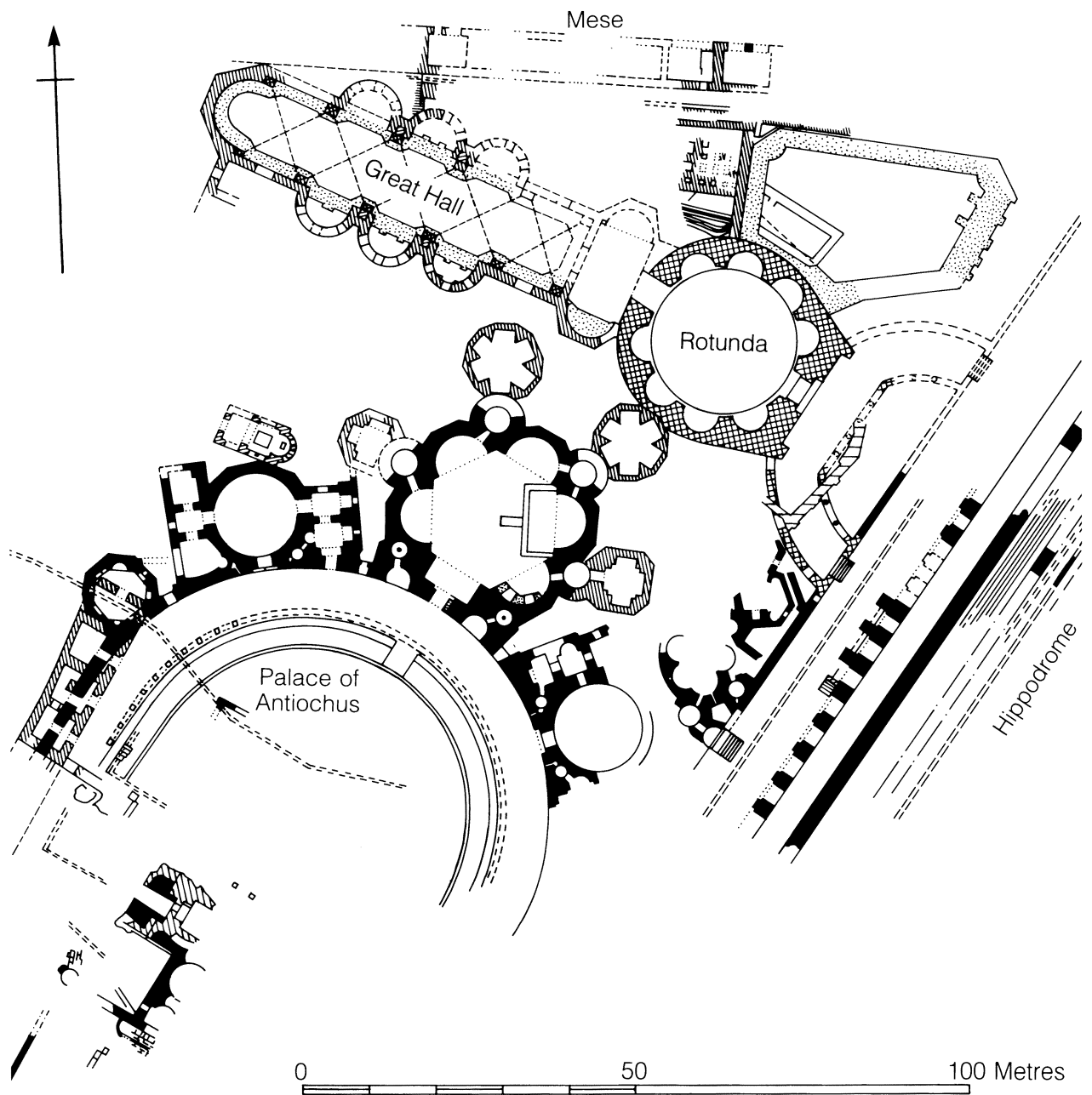
¹²⁸R. Duyuran, "First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul," *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 5 (1952), 38.

¹²⁹Schneider, "Grabung," 256. For an explanation of the system of dating by indications, see V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, I: *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 192–203.

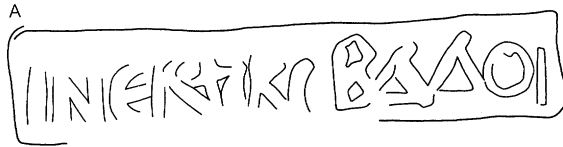
¹³⁰Mamboury, "Les fouilles," 431–33.

¹³¹The author is preparing for publication a catalogue and analysis of the Byzantine brickstamps from Istanbul, based on published examples and unpublished archives, particularly the valuable notes of the late Ernest Mamboury (the property of Professor Cyril Mango) and the photographs in the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul. He is also compiling a catalogue of the stamped bricks in the Hagia Sophia Museum.

¹³²Schneider, "Grabung," 273.



1 Plan of the discoveries made at the northwest corner of the Hippodrome in Istanbul between 1939 and 1964 (drawing by Alison Wilkins after Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*)



- 2 Two 5th-century brickstamps from the Palace of Antiochus (drawings by Alison Wilkins from photographs in the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul)

begun at this date, and that he would not yet have obtained a rank as high as *praepositus*.¹³³ As has been noted, Antiochus had probably only just arrived in Constantinople ca. 402, Malalas clearly states that he was *cubicularius* while Arcadius was alive (before 408), and Theophanes calls Antiochus “guardian and tutor” when describing his appointment ca. 402 (A.M. 5900), using the title *praepositus* only when he enters the clergy in 439 (A.M. 5936). It therefore seems unlikely that the bricks were made in the period 399 to 403 and that the palace was built shortly after Antiochus’ arrival in Constantinople ca. 402.

Belting considered 414 to 418 the most likely building period.¹³⁴ Mamboury had come to the same conclusion, but from comparative dating of the brickstamps rather than from consideration of the literary evidence.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, Mamboury gave no further details of the comparisons that he had in mind, but presumably they were with stamps from the land walls, completed in 413 and perhaps begun around 408.¹³⁶ The material from the land walls, however, is particularly difficult to interpret owing to the number of occasions on which the fortifications were repaired, and its value for comparative analysis is therefore diminished. Antiochus departed from the palace (possibly while *cubicularius*) in 413 or 414. If Pulcheria removed Antiochus in order to safeguard her position in the palace, then we would have to allow the passage of several years before she would have been prepared to reinstate him, and appoint him to the powerful post of *praepositus*. Furthermore, if we assume (for the sake of argument) that Antiochus had already reached the rank of *praepositus*, then he would have had to have left the palace before 9 April 414, when Musellius is attested in the post.¹³⁷ The earliest indiction on the brickstamps is the thirteenth, which could refer to September 414 to August 415. Thus, even if Antiochus had begun his palace as early as September 414, he would already have been *ex-praepositus*, whereas the inscribed column bases suggest that Antiochus was *praepositus* when his palace was constructed. For these reasons, it would seem preferable to date Antiochus’ praepositure and the construction of the palace as late as possible.

Chryseros and Paulus are the names preserved for *praepositi* in 431¹³⁸ (the former being the *praepositus* of the emperor, the latter of the *augusta* Pulcheria),¹³⁹ and in 432, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria’s archdeacon, wrote to Pulcheria urging her to persuade the emperor to have Chryseros replaced with Lausus, who is probably to be identified with the eunuch of the same name who had been *praepositus* in 420. Whether Lausus was in fact appointed in 432, and again in 436, is unknown.¹⁴⁰ Sometime between 434 and 442, a Felix is known to have held the post for a time. The names of the emperor’s

¹³³Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 20.

¹³⁴Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 20–21.

¹³⁵Mamboury, “Les fouilles,” 433: “par certains recoupements avec d’autres monuments datés, il y a lieu de penser que l’édifice fut commencé en 415–416 et terminé en 417–418, mais la date de 400–403 n’est toutefois pas exclue.”

¹³⁶Holum has suggested that Anthemius re fortified Constantinople in reaction to the Hun advance across the Danube that followed Arcadius’ death in 408 (*Theodosian Empresses*, 88–89). But if Arcadius was making arrangements with Yazdgerd to secure his son’s succession as early as January 402, as suggested in Part I, pp. 172–73, then it is possible that he instructed Anthemius to begin the fortification of the city when he became praetorian prefect in 405.

¹³⁷See *PLRE*, II, s.v. Musellius 1.

¹³⁸See *PLRE*, II, s.v.v. Chryseros 1 and Paulus 10.

¹³⁹Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 131 n. 85, 180 n. 21.

¹⁴⁰See *PLRE*, II, s.v.v. Lausus 1, LAVSVS 2, and Lausus 3.

praepositi sacri cubiculi for the years 423 to 430 and 432 to 439 are therefore largely unknown to us. From a prosopographical point of view, it is certainly possible that Antiochus built his palace between September 429 and his entry into the clergy in 439, while in the post of *praepositus*.

There is some evidence that may indicate that the bricks were manufactured in the period 429 to 433, rather than 399 to 403 or 414 to 418. A large number of brickstamps from the site carry a cross contained within a leaf or, possibly, a heart, followed in most cases by the letters KE, presumably an abbreviation for Κ(ύρι)E. These elements are quite unusual on the brickstamps of this period, and have so far been noted only on stamps referring to a fifteenth indiction (see Fig. 2).¹⁴¹ It is conceivable that these elements are to be explained by an event that occurred in the year concerned—an event of religious significance, considering the cross and KE abbreviation. No event in 416/7 may explain this, but at the synod in the church of the Theotokos in Ephesus in June 431, Cyril of Alexandria persuaded the delegates to depose Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who held that the Virgin was not the Mother of God (Theotokos), but only the Mother of Christ (Christotokos).¹⁴² When a counter-synod was convened, those Constantinopolitans who supported Pulcheria and Cyril, against Nestorius and the emperor, entered the Great Church and demanded that the first synod's decision be enforced. In Chalcedon in September of the same year, therefore at the beginning of the fifteenth indiction, the emperor abandoned Nestorius and gave his support to the theological principles of his Alexandrian opponents. It is therefore possible that the cross within the leaf or heart and the abbreviation KE on the brickstamps refers to the victory of the Theotokos over Nestorian heresy,¹⁴³ which would support the case for placing the construction of the palace between September 429 and Antiochus' entry into the clergy in 439.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Fig. 2A is after German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul, negs. KB 1498 and 1506 (apparently from the same die). It reads IN(δικτιῶνος) ΕΙ' (= IE') + (within a leaf or heart) Κ(ύρι)E BA(. . .) ΔΟ(. . .) I. The completion of the abbreviation BA(. . .), common on Byzantine brickstamps, is uncertain. ΔΟ(. . .) represents the first two letters of the name of the manufacturer. The final I is an accessory letter, probably indicating a workshop or kiln. Fig. 2B is after German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul, neg. KB 1505. It reads IN(δικτιῶνος) ΕΙ' (= IE') + (within a leaf or heart) Κ(ύρι)E BA(. . .) ΠΑ(. . .) T. The elements are the same, except for the manufacturer's name, which is abbreviated to ΠΑ(. . .), and for the accessory letter, which is unclear, but which may be T. In this case it is possible that the final letter is not an accessory but part of the name abbreviation.

¹⁴² On this religious controversy, see, e.g., Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 147–74.

¹⁴³ Mamboury interpreted the symbol on the brickstamps in his unpublished notes as “+ (dans le coeur de la V. Marie).”

¹⁴⁴ Some of the abbreviated names on the stamps from the palace of Antiochus occur at either the second St. Sophia (ca. 415) or St. John of Stoudios (ca. 450). This may indicate that a date mid-way between the two (i.e., ca. 430) is most likely. I am most grateful to Professor U. Peschlow for allowing me to see drawings of the brickstamps he found at St. John. It may also be noted that the bands of stone in the palace are 0.90 m high and the bands of brick 0.80 m high (see Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*, 35–36, 40, fig. 8). The ratio of stone to brick is therefore about the same as in St. John of Stoudios (ca. 450), where the stone bands are 0.60 m high and the brick bands are 0.43–0.44 m high. In the land walls (completed in 413), there was a much greater proportion of stone to brick (stone bands 1.5 m high, brick bands 0.42 m high). Since pure brick masonry with occasional single courses of limestone had become the norm by the sixth century, it is tempting to suggest that there was a tendency to reduce the proportion of stone to brick used as the fifth century progressed, and that the hexagon is therefore somewhat later than the land walls. We should not,

I conclude with a summary of Antiochus' career in Constantinople. Having arrived in the city ca. 402 to act as guardian and tutor to the young Theodosius, Antiochus left the palace in 413 or 414. His departure, and that of Anthemius at about the same time, was probably arranged by Pulcheria in order to establish a stronger power base of her own in the palace. It is, however, unlikely that Antiochus was disgraced, since he continued to influence Theodosius until 439, during which time Pulcheria was powerful in the palace. If the inscribed column bases from Antiochus' palace record his rank accurately, then he was *praepositus* when it was constructed. The bricks were manufactured in either the period September 414 to August 418 or September 429 to August 433, and these dates probably indicate the date of construction to within a few years. If Antiochus was *cubicularius* when he departed in 413–414, then the earlier construction dates can be ruled out, and we must assume that he was reinstated, obtaining the rank of *praepositus* and building his palace shortly after September 429. If Antiochus was *praepositus* in 413–414, then he will have left imperial service before 9 April 414; and if we reject the evidence of the bases, then it is possible that he built the palace as *ex-praepositus* either shortly after 414 or shortly after 429. It would, however, seem simpler to accommodate the testimony of the bases, and assume that Antiochus built his palace when he became *praepositus* for a second time shortly after September 429. Therefore, whether Antiochus was *cubicularius* or *praepositus* in 413–414, it seems likely that he built his palace as *praepositus* shortly after 429. In fact, the names and some stylistic features on the brickstamps would also appear to support the case for placing construction after September 429. As *ex-praepositus*, Antiochus was granted the distinction *patricius*. As *patricius*, he continued to influence Theodosius until 439, when the emperor, possibly under the influence of the eunuch Chrysaphius, forced him to enter the clergy, and passed a law preventing future *ex-praepositi* becoming *patricii*. Cyrus then became highly influential over the government of the Roman state, holding the prefecture of the East in addition to the city prefecture from the end of 439.

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however, place too much emphasis on this suggestion since we have far too few closely dated Constantinopolitan monuments in this period and the large proportion of stone in the land walls may not be typical of the early fifth century. Indeed, already in the second church of St. Sophia, a contemporary of the land walls, the proportion of stone to brick (stone bands 0.52 m high, brick bands 0.56 m high) was much less than in the land walls, St. John of Stoudios and the Palace of Antiochus.