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Ammianus Marcellinus: An Annotated Bibliography, 1474 to the Present

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Ammianus Marcellinus

An Annotated Bibliography, 1474 to the Present

Fred W. Jenkins

In memory of Archie Christopherson, who taught me Latin, and
for my granddaughter, Alison Louise Frerich, whom I hope to teach Latin

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Introduction

ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται
Herodotus 1.1

Why a Bibliography?

When I first encountered Ammianus as a graduate student more than thirty years ago the literature seemed manageable. Not only has the volume of scholarship grown geometrically over the intervening years, but also one gradually discovers how much did not find its way into the standard bibliographical sources such as *L'annee philologique* and how much of what did was not sufficiently analyzed to call the relevant content to our attention. Much has been published in regions not well covered by *L'annee philologique*, such as Eastern Europe and Latin America. New interests in reception studies and the history of scholarship have expanded the range of the relevant. The Web has made much more scholarship available, but not necessarily easy to find. You cannot find everything worth finding with a Google search.

Aside from surveys that are highly selective or cover a brief span of years, there has been only one previous bibliography of Ammianus. Klaus Rosen's *Ammianus Marcellinus* (B1982-02) focuses on the middle years of the twentieth century, with scant attention to works of the nineteenth century and earlier. Also, Rosen wrote at the beginning of the modern boom in Ammianus studies; almost as much has been published since then as in the whole time before. Wolfgang Seyfarth's Teubner edition of Ammianus (E1978-01) also includes a substantial bibliography, one that provides more generous coverage of earlier literature. Yet it is a bare listing of citations, and also falls before the great expansion of Ammianus studies. More recently, Gavin Kelly (B2011-01) surveyed the literature for *Oxford Bibliographies Online*. While he provides an excellent guide to the high points of Ammianus scholarship, Kelly is highly selective and provides very brief annotations.

My foremost purpose in compiling this bibliography has been to make it easier for scholars and students of Ammianus to do their research. A second purpose, no less important, has been to compile as complete as possible a record of scholarship on Ammianus, so that the contributions of our predecessors, great and humble alike, do not fall into oblivion. Classics, as befits a great humanistic enterprise, has always valued its past. I hope that this tradition will endure *in saecula saeculorum*.

What is covered?

I have begun with Sabinus' *editio princeps* of 1474, the last items included are from 2016; coverage of the last few years will inevitably be incomplete. Obviously I have

included all works that have Ammianus in the title, that are primarily about Ammianus, or that devote significant space to Ammianus and/or make a significant contribution. All works indexed under Ammianus in *L'année philologique* are included, even if the attention devoted to him is nugatory; the very few exceptions to this are works that have nothing on Ammianus and were apparently indexed under him by mistake. Historical works that use Ammianus as a source are normally included only if there is some significant discussion of him. The more extensive existing bibliographies of Ammianus, such as Rosen and Seyfarth, include many peripheral background works, important for understanding Ammianus but not actually about him. My coverage of these grey areas is selective and not always coextensive with that of others.

Aside from editions and commentaries, the literature before 1800 is largely *terra incognita*. Many works mention or cite Ammianus, some engage with him significantly, but few are primarily about him. I have tried to include anything with significant content on Ammianus or that has been influential on later studies of him. Some works with very limited content of direct relevance have been included as illustrative of attitudes toward Ammianus at various times. In the end, I have made some choices that others may have made otherwise, but I hope that it will give a fair picture of Ammianean studies from 1500 to 1800.

I have made a special effort to cover regions largely neglected in traditional classical bibliography. Readers will find many works from Eastern Europe and Latin America, as well as a few from Japan, Turkey, and Armenia. These often represent different perspectives and theoretical orientations; it is well worth the time to become familiar with them. Likewise, I have included all theses and dissertations on Ammianus that have come to my attention. Some are readily available in digital form, others only in printed copies in the archives of the institution where they were written, and a few appear to survive only through published citations.

Some Trends in Work on Ammianus

From Sabinus' *editio princeps* (E1474-01) until well past 1900, much work on Ammianus focused on providing a readable text and basic exegesis. It was only with the editions of the brothers Valesii (E1636-01 and E1681-01) that a reasonably sound text and commentary became available for the surviving books. The text, based on a slender and corrupt manuscript tradition, remained problematic. Charles Upson Clark's edition (E1910-01), followed by that of Wolfgang Seyfarth (E1978-01), finally provided scholars with reliable critical editions.

While work on the text of the *Res Gestae* began with Sabinus, the study of its manuscripts and the exercise of textual ingenuity became a growth industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially in Germany. Scholars such as Victor Emil Gardthausen and Theodor Mommsen examined the manuscripts and their relationships. A veritable river of conjectural emendations came forth, many based on a faulty understanding of the differences between classical and later Latin and on an

ignorance of the accentual prose rhythms of Ammianus. It is difficult to believe that a single sentence of Ammianus, much less a section or page, remained untouched by the ministrations of such scholars as Moriz Haupt, Michael Petschenig, and Robert Novák. While relatively few of their efforts have found their way into the texts of our current critical editions, their notes still reflect a close knowledge of the text and sometimes offer useful parallels and observations on Ammianus' Latin.

In tandem with efforts to understand and improve the text of the *Res Gestae*, the study of literary borrowings took root in the nineteenth century with the work of Eduard Wölfflin, Martin Hertz, and Hugo Michael on Ammianus' use of Tacitus, Sallust, Cicero, and Aulus Gellius. Later scholars expanded their attention to borrowings from numerous other writers, especially Vergil. The compilation of borrowings and parallels continued into the twentieth century, most notably in the works of Geoffrey Bernard Abbott Fletcher and Ernest Edwin Legard Owens. Scholars such as Karl Georg Neumann, Francesco Araldi, Dieter Flach, Leland E. Wilshire, Leone Rose Roselle, and Roger Charles Blockley have continued to debate the influence of Tacitus, both in style and historiography. More recent studies, such as those of Peter Hart O'Brien and Gavin Kelly, have moved on from compilation to the study of how Ammianus integrates allusions to earlier writers into his narrative and uses them for rhetorical purposes.

The nineteenth century was also the great age of *Quellenforschung*. Gardthausen and Mommsen debated his geographical sources. Hermann Hecker, Emil von Borries, Wilhelm Wiegand, Heinrich Nissen, and Wilhelm Koch argued over Ammianus' sources for the battle of Strasbourg. As with the *cacoethes emendandi* of their contemporaries, there was small return on so much scholarly effort. Edward Arthur Thompson largely put paid to their convoluted theories in his influential monograph (1947-06).

A number of persistent themes run throughout. Many have studied Ammianus' complex relationship with the city of Rome and its elites; a few examples include Edward Arthur Thompson, Alan Douglas Edward Cameron, Manfred Fuhrmann, Guy Sabbah and John Frederick Matthews. Students of regional and local history have always found Ammianus congenial. From Felix Dahn to Eduard Norden and beyond, German scholars have mined his works for nuggets of national history. French scholars from Jean-Jacques Chifflet in the seventeenth century to Delphine Acolat in the present have used him as a source on Roman Gaul. More recently, Russian and Turkish scholars have turned to Ammianus for material on the history of Central Asian peoples. Since the late twentieth-century, many studies of Ammianus and the "barbarians" on Rome's borders have shifted from seeking historical fact to examining the influence of literary tradition on his descriptions of them; the works of Thomas Wiedemann and Alain Chauvot provide good examples of this. Ammianus has likewise been an important source for the conflict between Christianity and paganism from Louis-Sébastien Le Nain Tillemont and Edward Gibbon through Arnaldo Momigliano, Valerio Lieta Salvatore Neri, Roy Loxley Rike, and Jason Peter Davies. Military historians have long studied Ammianus on fourth-century military organization, siegecraft, and specific battles; notable examples include Hermann August Theodor Köchly and Wilhelm Rüstow, Norman James Edmonstone Austin, Gary Allen Crump, and Vladimir A. Dmitriev.

While scholars continue to examine Ammianus as a source of historical data, most current work focuses on Ammianus as a literary artist who used his rhetorical and narrative skills to influence his readers. Far from being Gibbon's impartial guide, he is now viewed by most as a writer with an agenda. His identity, as expressed in the *miles quondam et Graecus* of the *sphragis* (Amm. 31.16.9), has been revisited frequently, with varying interpretations. Our Ammianus has become a much more complex and interesting character than the simple soldier with literary pretensions of previous generations.

Organization

In general, I have followed the organizational pattern of earlier volumes in the Brill's Annotated Bibliographies series. The basic tools of scholarship are gathered in chapters by type: Bibliographies (B), Editions (E), Translations (T), Commentaries (C), Concordances, Indexes, and Lexica (L), and Web sites (W); for these the characteristic letter for each begins its entry numbers. Secondary works follow, arranged by date of publication. Within each chapter works are ordered by year of publication, then alphabetically by author and title. Entry numbers consist of year of publication and its sequential number within each year.

Entries normally consist of a full citation, a brief descriptive annotation, and information about online availability. References to standard bibliographies are included for works published before 1800. Biographical notes and references are included for many scholars who flourished before 1950, to assist those who want a broader context. Citations of reviews are always included for books primarily about Ammianus, selectively for other books. Within annotations I have frequently noted relations between works and provided cross-references. Journal titles are cited in full. I have used abbreviations for a small number of reference and online resources; these are explained in the list of abbreviations following the introduction.

I have examined most works in physical or digital versions (sometimes both); for those that were unavailable to me, I have relied on descriptions in standard bibliographical sources and library catalogs. Bare citations are included for works that I was unable to obtain or that are in languages that I am unable to read and which lacked summaries in one that I can.

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