

THE BATTLE OF MARGUM OR WHERE EMPEROR CARINUS DIED?

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Abstract: Eusebius in his lost *Chronicon* mentions that Emperor Carinus died in Cornacum that contradicts the Latin tradition based on the lost *Kaisergeschichte*. Based on this tradition the emperor was killed in the battle of Margum against Diocletian. In this paper the author examines the written sources of this event, the several Byzantine variants and comes to the conclusion that Carinus was killed after the battle around the Pannonian fort Cornacum as he tried to flee.

Keywords: Emperor Diocletian; Margum; Carinus; Eusebius and his later Byzantine tradition.

It is a well-known fact that Diocletian seized the control over Rome and the European provinces only after Emperor Carinus' death in the summer of 285 and it is generally accepted that Carinus died in the battle of Margum in the Balkans¹. In my paper I will deal with these sources of this event.

Latin sources

A major group of Latin sources named the place of battle as *Margum*. All these sources have a common source, the lost *Kaisergeschichte* (EKG).

Margum: The common source is the EKG:

Chronographus anni CCCLIII, *Chronica urbis Romae* a. 354, *Chron. Min.* I, p. 148,20. *occisus campo Margense*.

Consularia Constantinopolitana a. 285 (before 395 AD) *Chron. Min.* I, p. 229. *His cons. occisus est Carinus Margo...*

Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 39,11. (after 360 AD). *At Carinus ubi Moesiam contigit, illico Marcum iuxta Diocletiano congressus, avide premeret, suorum ictu interiit, quod libidine impatiens militarium multas affectabat, quarum infestiores viri iram tamen doloremque in eventum belli distulerant.*²

Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* 9.20.2. (cca. 370 AD). *Postea Carinum omnium odio et detestatione viventem apud Margum ingenti proelio vicit, proditum ab exercitu suo, quem fortiorem habebat, aut certe desertum, inter Viminacium atque Aureum montem*³.

¹ Seston 1946, p. 53; Ensslin 1948, 2424; Meloni 1948, p. 168-170, 189-190; Bird 1976, p. 131-132; Barnes 1982, p. 50; Kolb 1987, p. 11; Leadbetter 1994, p. 54-59; Kuhoff 2001, p. 25; Kreucher 2008, p. 423; Leadbetter 2009, p. 50-51.

² Bird 1984, p. 109; Bird 1994, p. 163-164, note 7.

³ Bird 1993, p. 147, note 31; Eutrope, *Abrégé d'histoire romaine, texte établi et traduit par J. Hellegouarc'h*, Paris 1999, p. 125, notes 2-4.

Hieronymus, Chronicon 225b (380-381 AD). *Carinus proelio victus apud Margum* (in codd. *Marcum*) *occiditur*.⁴

Historia Augusta vita Cari et Carini et Numeriani 18.2. (end of the 4th century) *nec ei tamen defuit ad vindicandum sibimet imperium vigor mentis. nam contra Diocletianum multis proeliis confligit, sed ultima pugna apud Margum commissa victus occubuit*⁵.

Prosper Tiro, Epitoma Chronicon 934 (before 455 AD), Chron. Min. I, p. 445. *Porro Carinus proelio apud Margum victus occubuit*.

Cassiodorus, Chronicon Chron. Min. II, p. 149 (after 519 AD). *Carinus apud Margum proelio victus interiit*.

Jordanes, Romana 295 (after 552 AD). *Carinus vero apud Margum proelio victus occiditur*.

Fredegarius Scholasticus, Chronicon II.41. (middle of the 7th century). *Carinus in proelio vinctus apud Margum occidetur*.

Marianus Scottus, Chronica clara III.300. (12th century): *his consulibus Carinus proelio victus, apud Margum occiditur*.

Eutropius' Greek translation:

IX.20. (Paeianius, cca. 380 AD) Χωρήσας δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Καρῖνον, τῷ τε στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς προεστηκότα, νικᾷ τε μάχῃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων προδοθέντα περὶ Μάργον τὴν πόλιν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ γίγνεται μόνος αὐτοκράτωρ.

Other sources are based also on the same source but they do mention a place-name:

Orosius, Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII.25.1 (415-417 AD). *Carinum deinde, quem Carus Caesarem in Dalmatia reliquerat, flagitiose uiuentem difficillimo bello et maximo labore superauit*.

Polemios Silvius, Laterculus a. CCCCLXIX 55, Chron. Min. I, p. 522 *Carinus filius occisus*.

The place of battle was generally and correctly identified with the *municipium* of Margum (today Orašje: It. Ant. 132,4, It. Burd. 564,7, Tab. Peut. Seg. VII.3, Geogr. Rav. IV.7, Not. Dig. Or. XLI, 24, 39, Prisc. Frag. FHG IV,72, Ennod. Pan. 12.63, Marc. Com. Chron. XIII a. 505 Chron. Min. II p. 96, Jord. Get. LVIII.300, CIL III 8141, 8253, 14598, ILJ 575) or with the river Margus (Morava: Plin. Nat. hist. III.149, Ptol. I.453, Marc. Com. Chron. XIII a. 505 Chron. Min. II p. 96, Jord. Get. LVIII.300, IMS 2, 50) in Moesia Superior.⁶

Most probably based on the same source, a false record was added in the Itinerarium Burdigalense (composed after the year 333) to the neighbouring Viminacium (the next station of the road but cf. the description of Eutropius: *inter Viminacium atque Aureum montem*). It cannot be dated before the EKG and it cannot be an independent source because it is probably a later addition in the itinerary⁷.

⁴ Here, Jerome used the EKG as his source and he changed Eusebius' text: Burgess 1995, p. 349-369; Burgess 1999, p. 91 with similar cases from the 3rd century AD.

⁵ Paschoud 2001, p. 391-392, notes 4.2.

⁶ TIR-L34 Aquincum - Sarmizegetusa - Sirmium, Budapest 1968, p. 77-78.

⁷ Festy 2002, p. 248-249.

Viminacium:

It. Burd. 564.8-9. *ciuitas Viminacio milia x, ubi Diocletianus occidit Carinum.*

Greek/Byzantine sources

In the Byzantine Greek tradition and their Eastern (Armenian and Syriac) translations quite different versions are known. In this paper I will deal with all of them. As we will see, the Greek sources are derivating from similar sources as the Latin tradition (EKG) and the influence of the EKG (through the use of a late Roman Latin source (probably Nicomachus Flavianus)⁸ and Eutropius' Greek translations) can be pointed here e. g. in Georg. Syncellus' chronicle⁹. The only exception is Eusebius' Chronicon. At least seven different versions exist, most of them are based on the misunderstanding of their sources.

Version 1

Persians (instead of Carus and Valerianus):

Anonymus, Chronicon Paschale 510,8-17 (after 629 AD). Καρίνος δὲ ἠττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς Κάρρας τὴν πόλιν. καὶ παραφωσεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἔλαβον αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ ἐκδείραντες αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ σάκκον, καὶ συμυρνίσαντες ἐφύλαξαν εἰς ἰδίαν δόξαν. τελευτᾶ δὲ οὗτος Καρίνος ὧν ἐτῶν λς'. καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ Νουμεριανὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Περσῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ Καρίνου, καὶ περιεγένετο αὐτῶν δυνατῶς.

Εἶτα σφάζεται Νουμεριανὸς ἐν Περίνθῳ τῆς Θράκης τῇ νῦν καλουμένη Ἡρακλεία ὑπὸ Ἄπρου ἐπάρχου.

Cf. Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia 303,5-304,6 (after 574 AD) (where instead of Carinus Numerian was mentioned, Georg. Mon. 477,5-8, Ephr. Chron. 240 and Psellus Hist. Synt. 53 where a different version can be found, Carinus fought against the Armenian Arsaces)¹⁰.

Version 1/a

A slightly different version given by Malalas, here Carinus fought against the Persians but he won and died later by natural causes (mixed up with Carus) and it was followed by the Chron. Pasch. According to Malalas, Numerian was defeated by the Persians (confused with Valerian: 303,5-304,6 and Georg. Mon. 477,5-8, Syn. Sath - 40,9-13).

Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia p. 304,7-14, 306,7-8 = XII.36.404, 306 (after 574 AD).

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Νουμεριανοῦ ἐβασίλευσε Καρίνος Αὐγουστος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη β. ἦν δὲ κονδοειδής, παχύς, πλατόψις, λευκός, οὐλόθριξ, ἀναφάλας, σπανός, μεγαλόψυχος. ἐφίλει δὲ τὸ Πράσινον μέρος.

⁸ Bleckmann 1997, p. 14-31.

⁹ On the Greek chronicle tradition on the 3rd century Roman history (esp. after Dexipp) see Bleckmann 1992, Brecht 1999.

¹⁰ Michaelis Pselli Historia syntomos. Recensuit, Anglice vertit et commentario instruxit W. J. Aerts. Editio princeps. Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae; Series Berolinensis 30, Berlin 1990, p. 129.

Ἦ μόνον δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ Περσῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Νουμεριανοῦ καὶ περιεγένετο αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος. ...

Here comes the story of the martyrism of Saint Cosmas and Damian (and the healing of Carinus by them).

Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ τοῦ πολέμου ὁ αὐτὸς Καρίνος τελευτᾷ ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ, ὧν ἐνιαυτῶν λβ¹¹.

Here in the sources the person of Carinus was confused with his father Carus and his campaign against Persians and the circumstances of his death, but Malalas and the compiler of the *Chronicon Paschale* who followed here Malalas added even Emperor Valerian's story. Malalas' source remain unknown¹².

Version 2

Carinus was killed by Aper in Thrace (instead of Numerian)

a. killed in Thrace

Misunderstanding the source and instead of Numerian, Carinus was killed in Thrace in a town called Numerian.

Nicephorus, *Chronographia brevis* 95.12. καὶ ἐσφάγησαν καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάρος ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τελευτᾷ, ὁ δὲ Καρίνος ἐσφάγη ἐν πόλει Νουμερία τῆς Θράκης.

Nicephorus Patriarch obviously misunderstood his source as he abbreviated the sentence (coming from Eusebius (or one of his followers, the *Chronicon Paschale*) because they were the only ones who also mentioned Thracia) dealing with Numerian's and Carinus' death and the Eusebius' restored passage is very similar¹³.

b. killed by Aper

Cod. Vindob., *Hist. Graec.* 40.

καὶ Καρίνου τυφλωθέντος, ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν Ἄπρος, Ῥωμαῖος τις ἀνὴρ. ἐβασίλευσε Νουμεριανός ... τοῦτον ἀνείλε Διοκλητιανός, δοῦξ τυγχάνων Μυσίας.

Symeón Logothetes, *Chronicon* 85.1-2 (10th century)¹⁴.

καὶ Καρίνου τυφλωθέντος ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν Ἄπρος καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Νουμεριανός ... τοῦτον ἀνείλε Διοκλητιανός, δοῦξ τυγχάνων Μυσίας.

Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum* 568,3-5 (beginning of the 12th century).

κτίζει δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐν Θράκῃ, Θεοδοσιόπολιν ὀνομάσας, τὸν πρὶν λεγόμενον Ἄπρων ἀπὸ τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν Ἄπρου, ὃς ἦν πενθερὸς Καρίνου, ὃς καὶ ἀνείλεν αὐτόν.

Cf. 464,10, where Numerian was correctly mentioned.

The origin of this version 2b was correctly observed by C. Boor, who could point out comparing the texts in Codex Vind. (coming from the Logothete Chronicle - redaction B), Symeon Logothetes and Cedrenus that in the original source, in the Epitome of the Logothete tradition Carinus's death was shortly and correctly

¹¹ Schenk 1931, p. 396-397; Malalas, p. 140, 240; Bleckmann 1992, p. 135; Anm. 293.

¹² On Malalas' sources see E. Jeffreys, Malalas' sources, in Malalas, p. 167-216.

¹³ Krumbacher 1897, p. 349-352; Burgess 1999, p. 27, 60.

¹⁴ Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae *Chronicon*, Ed. S. Wahlgren. CFHB, Series Berolinensis 44, Berlin 2006, 85.5, 104.

mentioned: καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Καρίνος, ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ... τοῦτον ἀνείλε Διοκλητιανὸς. – killed by Diocletian but in Vind. and Symeon's works the text was changed in order to mention saint Babylas' martyrdom. The problem was caused by the addition of St Babylas' martyrdom and that is why Numerian was mixed up with Carinus and Carinus was killed by Aper. Cedrenus (originally correctly followed his source, but in a later passage the same mistake can be observed) and Symeon also followed the mistake and falsely attributed Carinus' death to Aper¹⁵.

Version 3

In Italy, after the victory over Julian, he was killed by his own officer because of jealousy:

Ioannes Antiochenus, *Historia Chronica Frag.* 163 (6th century) = Zosimos, *Historia Nova* I.73.3. (498–518 AD). Ἐτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, συμβαλὼν ὁ Καρίνος τοῖς Σαβινοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ στρατιώταις, καὶ στρέψας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τούτους, τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τινῶν ἐπελθόντων, αἰφνίδιον ἀναιρεῖται, τῶν χιλιάρχων ἑνὸς, οὗ τὴν γυναῖκα διαφθείρας ἔτυχεν, ἀνελόντος αὐτόν.¹⁶

Anonymus, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 38.8. (end of the 4th century). *Ad extremum trucidatur eius praecipue tribuni dextera, cuius dicebatur coniugem polluisse.*¹⁷

Synopsis Sathas 40,26 (probably Teodorus Scutariota, second half of the 13th century) ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Καρίνος ὑπὸ τινος χιλιάρχου¹⁸.

The former Zosimus' passage remained only among Ioannes Antiochenus' fragments because the end of Book I of Zosimus' *New History* is missing. Almost the same version can be found in the *Epitome de Caes.* Here, most probably the use of a common source (Eunapius?) can be observed who probably mixed up the battles of Verona against Iulianus and Margum against Diocletian.

Version 4

Killed by Diocletian in Rome or on the way to Rome:

Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica* 427,20–26. (after 806 AD): ἦν δὲ τότε κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Καρίνος ὁ Κάρου παῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖ καταλειφθεὶς, ἠνίκα ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσεν, χαλεπὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φανείς. Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν μὲν ὑπαρχον Ἄπερα τὸν τοῦ Νομεριανοῦ σφαγέα παραχρήμα φονεύει, τὸν δὲ Καρίνον ἀδίκως τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενον ἀναζεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ ἄριστος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φανείς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐβασίλευσεν κ' χρόνους¹⁹.

¹⁵ Boor 1893, p. 13–15; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*. Edidit. C. de Boor. Editionem anni MCMIV correctiorem curavit Peter Wirth I, Stuttgart 1978, p. XXXIV.

¹⁶ Ioannis Antiocheni *fragmenta ex Historia Chronica*. Introduzione, edizione critica e traduzione a cura di Umberto Roberto, Berlin-New York 2005, *Frag.* 246, p. 426–427, note 1; Zosimos, *Neue Geschichte*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von O. Veh. Durchgesehen und erläutert von Stefan Rebenich, BGL 31, Stuttgart 1990, p. 298; *Ann.* 136; Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle I* (Livres I et II). Texte établi et traduit par F. Paschoud, Paris 2003², p. 188–189, note 103.

¹⁷ Schlumberger 1974, p. 171.

¹⁸ E. Patzig, *Über einige Quellen des Zonaras*, BZ 5, 1896, p. 50.

¹⁹ Bleckmann 1992, p. 24, 28, 47; Bleckmann 1997, p. 28; *Ann.* 56.

Based on Syncellus but abbreviates the story:

Anonymi Matritensis Chronographia 55,6. (10th century) τὸν δὲ Καρίνον Διοκλητιανὸς ἀναίρει²⁰.

Ioannes Zonaras, Epitome XII.30. (before 1150 AD): Θάτερος μέντοι τῶν Κάρου υἱῶν ὁ Καρίνος εἰς Ῥώμην διάγων χαλεπὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτύγχανεν, ἀσελγῆς γενόμενος καὶ ὠμὸς καὶ μνησίκακος ὃς ὑπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπιδημήσαντος διεφθάρη.

Here, the use of a Latin source (not Eutrop) through Syncellus is likely as it was correctly pointed by B. Bleckmann²¹.

Version 5

Killed by the people:

Nicephorus Callistus, Historia Ecclesiastica VI.33 (1197). (before 1317) Ἄλλὰ καὶ Καρίνος αἰσχρῶς τῇ ἀρχῇ κεκρημένος παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ σφάττεται.

In his Ecclesiastical History, the 14th century writer followed here his 10th century unknown source as usually²². A previous passage that mentions Carus' and his sons' rule is derivating clearly from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History (VII.30.22), the martyrdom of St Babylas is coming from Malalas (303,12-20) but Numerian's death is coming from the Logothete tradition. The use (influence) of a Latin source in the case of the above cited sentence is also likely because in the Byzantine sources this variation is unknown: cf. Aur. Vict. 39.11. *suorum ictu interiit*.

Version 6

Killed by Numerianus:

Georgius Monachus, Chronicon breve 477,2-3 (before 867 AD): Μετὰ δὲ Κάρου ἐβασίλευσε Καρίνος υἱὸς ἔτη β' καὶ ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ Νουμεριανοῦ.

Joel, Chronographia compendiana 35,9-10 (13th century): Μετὰ δὲ Κάρου ἐβασίλευσε Καρίνος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη β', καὶ ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ Νουμεριανοῦ.

In this passage, Joel followed Georgius Monachus word for word as usually who mixed up the reign of Numerian and Carinus and attributed Carinus' death to Numerian instead of Diocletian²³. It is highly likely that Georgius had no further information with the exception of the names of the emperors (in correct order - Carinus acclaimed Augustus before Numerian) and their reignal years²⁴.

²⁰ A. Bauer, Anonymi Chronographia syntomos e codice Matritensi no. 121 (nunc 4701), Leipzig 1909, p. 55.

²¹ Bleckmann 1992, p. 313-315; Bleckmann 1997, p. 18-19; The history of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great. Translation by Thomas M. Banchich and Eugen N. Lane. Introduction and commentary by Thomas M. Banchich, New York 2009, p. 63, 133-134, note 116.

²² Krumbacher 1897, p. 247, 291-293.

²³ de Boor 1893, p. 12-14.

²⁴ de Boor 1893, p. 13-15.

Version 7

Cornacum: from Eusebius' Chronicon²⁵:

The Armenian and Syriac translations of Eusebius' Chronicon

Armenian Chron. 227 (Karst): *Caro in Mesopotamia extincto, Numeriano quoque interea contigit occidi in Thracia, pariter et Carino in Cornacis praelio* (H. Petermann, var. aduersum Cornacum).

„Nach des Karos Tode im Zwischenstromland erfolgte unterdessen auch die Tötung des Numerianos in Thrakien und ebenso die des Karinos in dem Krige des Kornakos“ (Karst).

Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domin 724 pertinens or Liber Calipharum. (CSCO 4 p. 99) (between 724-743 AD): *Carus mortuus est in Mesopotamia. et Numerianus occisus est ab eo in Thracia, et Carinus similiter in pugna cum Carinino.*

Et Numerianos occisus est ab eo (sc. Caro) in RTKA (Thracia), itemque Karinos in proelio cum KVRININVS (Cornace) commisso (Petersmann in Ed. Schoene p. 218).

Dionysius Telmarensis 78. (= Pseudo-Dionysius 110, 30-31/147, 27-28) (after 775 AD): *Carinus pariter interfectus est in proelio, quo cum Carnace contendit.*

Moses Khorenats'i History of Armenia 2.79. (second half of the 5th century): *Carinus adversus Cornacum in deserta progressus, comite Tiridate, ipse cum copiis periit.*

Samuel Aniensis, Summarium temporum 40/661-662 (late 12th century) (PG XIX (1857) p. 661): *Dum Carus occumberet in Mesopotamia, Numerianus item periit in Thracia, necnon Carinus in praelio adversus Cornacum* (translation of Zohrab).

According to the fictitious continuation of his story, Cornacus was a military commander with magical power who extended his life: *Magni Chosrois patris Tiridatis copiarum dux summus Cornacus, qui vitam ad annum CLX corporis iuvenilibus. Hic Caesarem Carum, qui cecidit in pugna, cum filio debellavit*²⁶.

Because of the confusion of the names, another side version is known in the work of Michael the Syrian; here Carinus fought against the Germans.

Michael Syrus Chronicon 6.9 p. 198/118a 11-14 (before 1199 AD): « *Ensuite Carinus, l'autre fils de Carus, fut tué accidentellement dans la guerre avec les germains* » (translation of J.-B. Chabot)²⁷.

As it was recently pointed out by Burgess in the Syriac translations, the name was misunderstood and it was connected to a fictitious person against whom Carinus would have been fought but in the Armenian translations of the Chronicon Cornacum was correctly translated as a place-name²⁸. The text was restored by him as follows²⁹:

Τελευτήσαντος Κάρου ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, Νουμεριανὸς [ἐν τοῦτῳ] ἐσφάγη ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Καρίνος ὡσαύτως [τῇ κατὰ Κόρνακον μάχῃ].

²⁵ B. Borghesi, Eusebii Chronicon. Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere, Ed arti 5, 1820, p. 355-356; Thomson 1978, p. 227, note 9, Dodgeon-Lieu 1991, p. 271, 319, note 21; Burgess 1999, p. 49, 85-86, 99; Festy 2002, p. 248-252; Kreucher 2008, p. 423.

²⁶ Thomson 1978, p. 227, note 9.

²⁷ Chabot 1895, p. 198.

²⁸ Burgess 1999, p. 86.

²⁹ Burgess 1999, p. 60.

The place-name was correctly identified by Burgess with the Pannonian auxiliary fort *Cornacum* (today Sotin in Croatia).³⁰ As far as I know, no other Roman place-name or personal-name is similar to *Cornacum*. The translators did not know the name of the fort that is why they interpreted it as a personal-name (probably the use of the preposition *κατά* or *ἐπί* with the meaning „in” or „against” confirmed them). This confusion reflects in the fact that Pseudo-Dionysius interpreted the name as plural (Qʹrnʹqs) or in Michael’s work, where the author could not understand the name, he changed the story and according to him, Carinus would have fought against the Germans. In the Chron. a. 724 a corrupted form, Carininus, can be found.

The same form of the name *Cornacum* is given in the antique sources: Ptol. II.15.1. Ἡ κατὰ Κορνακὸν ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ, 16.5 Κόρνακον, It. Ant. 243,3. Cornaco, Tab. Peut. VI.2. Cornaco, Not. Dig. Occ. XXXII,3 Cornacu (Cornatii), 12 Cornaco, 22 cuneus equitum scutariorum Cornacu (Cornatii), 31 equites Dalmatae Cornaco, V.122. Corniacenses, V,272. Corniacenses, VII,102, Cornacenses, Rav. Geogr. IV.20. *Cornacum*. The fort was the center of the *civitas peregrina* of the Pannonian tribe *Cornacates* (Plinius, Naturalis hist. III.148; CIL V 6985–6986; CIL XVI 2; RMD 169). The name is obviously Celtic and it means probably ‘hornartig’ (concerning the Danube) = ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ Δανουβίου by Ptolemy³¹.

Eusebius’ data was not interpreted by Burgess, who added only that it is probably erroneous and nothing is known on Eusebius’ source³². Festy explained Eusebius’ location based on the HA v. Carini 18.2 and Oros. VII.25.2³³. According to him, there were several battles between Carinus and Diocletian, and the final one was located around Margum: *nam contra Diocletianum multis proeliis conflixit, sed ultima pugna apud Margum commissa victus occubuit*. The battle at *Cornacum* might have happened earlier. This hypothesis seems to be at least problematical because:

a. *Cornacum*, located 164 MP west of Margum (cf. It. Ant. 243,3–242,1, 131,6–132,4)³⁴. *Cornacum*, located along the limes road, and not on the imperial roads that connected East and West/Italy: road Treveri-Mursa-Cibalae-Sirmium. and Aquileia-Cibalae-Sirmium: It. Ant. 131, 232, 261, 267, It. Burd. 563³⁵. The troops in civilian wars used these roads as in the case of the great battles of 314 around Cibalae and of 260 and 351 around Mursa³⁶. In my opinion, a decisive battle around *Cornacum* cannot be reasonable.

b. These sources do not speak about Diocletian’s withdrawal eastward.

c. The *Historia Augusta* (and Orosius) cannot be treated as authentic source because the sources derivating from the EKG speak about only one battle: Aur. Vict. 39,11, Eutr. 9.20.2, Hier. Chron. 225b, Jord. Rom. 295, Epitom. Chron. 934,

³⁰ Holder 1896, p. 1129; Graf 1936, p. 113; TIR L-34 Budapest. Aquincum - Sarmizegetusa - Sirmium, Budapest 1968, p. 49; Anreiter 2001, p. 165-167.

³¹ Anreiter 2001, p. 165-167.

³² Burgess 1999, p. 86.

³³ Festy 2002, p. 248-252.

³⁴ Löhberg 2006, p. 140, 203-204.

³⁵ Miller 1916, p. 435-436; Löhberg 2006, p. 203-204, 213, 219, T. 21.5.

³⁶ TIR L-34 Budapest. Aquincum - Sarmizegetusa - Aquincum, Budapest 1968, p. 46-47, 82.

Cassiodori Chron. Chron. Min. II p. 149, Fredegarius Scholasticus Chron. II.41, Marianus Scottus III.300. The breviaria followed the EKG, more precisely than the *Historia Augusta*³⁷. The battle of Verona against Iulianus at the same year might have had a role in the confusion where Carinus defeated the usurper. In the case of Zosimus' and of the *Epitom. de Caes.*, it is likely that the battles were mixed up, but here Carinus was killed in the battle of Verona.

Another possibility must be considered: it is a congruent data of Latin and Greek sources that Carinus was deserted (*Eutrop. 9.20.2*) and killed by his own people. The written sources are confirmed by the fact that Carinus' several military commanders might have held their positions. The best example can be Carinus' *praefectus praetorio* Aurelius Aristobulus, who was *consul ordinarius* in 285 (later *procos* Africa, urban prefect) or Pomponius Ianuarianus (Carinus' *praef. Aegypti*, *cos. ord.* in 288) as it was explicitly emphasized by Aurelius Victor 39.14: *Ceteris venia data retentique hostium fere omnes ac maxime vir insignis nomine Aristobulus praefectus praetorio per officia sua*.³⁸ Carinus' troops showed also loyalty based on a coin struck at Siscia with legend FIDES MILITVM³⁹. The battle and Carinus' death did not happen necessarily at the same place. The possibility cannot be ruled out that Carinus after the battle at Margum tried to flee when he was killed by one of his officers. Losing the battle, Carinus obviously had to flee westward. In this case he was probably killed around Cornacum by one of his officers.

The arising question why this tradition did not survive in the Byzantine chronicle tradition can easily be answered. Eusebius' *Chronicon* was not so widely used as his *Ecclesiastical History* and this event did not seem to be noteworthy to mention⁴⁰. As for example nothing is known on Carinus' death in several Byzantine works: *Sym. Log. 81,3-13*, *Cedrenus 464,6-13* and *Suda K 391*, *Ephr. Chron. 240*, *Anon. Chron. brev. 223,20*, *Glycas Ann. 456,13*, *Euagr. III.41*⁴¹. It is also a fact that in his *Church History*, Eusebius did not mention this story because it had no importance in the point of view of the Church (cf. *Eccl. Hist. VII.30.22*). Another fact is that Emperor Carus (and his campaign against the Persians) was confused by the chroniclers with his sons, Numerian and Carinus, but in some of the sources the sons were also mixed up (see versions 2, 5). Instead of Eusebius, the use of Latin sources can be pointed out e. g. in the works of Zosimus, Syncellus and Zonaras. It is also a problem that the other important Greek source after Dexipp, the work of Anonymus post Dionem (*Continuator Dionis* who can most probably be identified with *Petrus Patricius*)⁴² has been lost. Carinus' death was mentioned by Diocletian only in a later fragment: *Frag. 181*: "Ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ οἰκειᾷ ἀναγορεύσει ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς τὰ τότε σεβόμενα θεῖα μαρτυρόμενος ἔλεγεν μὴ διὰ <τὸ> τῆς βασιλείας ἐφίεσθαι Καρίνον ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐλεεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν (cf. *HA v. Car. 10.2*).

³⁷ Paschoud 2001, p. 392.

³⁸ Leadbetter 2009, p. 50-51.; PLRE I, Aristobulus 106, Ianuarianus 2, 452-455.

³⁹ RIU V 2, 266.

⁴⁰ Krumbacher 1897, p. 319-408; Brecht 1999, p. 38-65.

⁴¹ Burgess 1999, p. 23-27.

⁴² Brecht 1999, p. 48-49, 56-58.

To sum up: the Latin and Greek sources concerning Carinus' death do not necessarily contradict each other. The first possibility is that there were several battles, and one of them happened near Cornacum. If the other tradition is the authentic one, there was only one battle and it took place around Margum, as the sources derivating from the EKG show. After his defeat, Carinus tried to flee, but he was killed by his own people. The most authentic seems to be the interdependent fragments of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* and *Ioannes Antiochenus*. According to them, Carinus was murdered by one of his officers. The Latin sources do not mention where Carinus died but the place of battle. Beside the Latin tradition, another independent one existed, *Eusebius' Chronicon* (his source is unknown). Based on this tradition, during his flee westward, Emperor Carinus died in the Pannonian auxiliary fort Cornacum.

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