

PROCOPIUS IN FRENCH LANGUAGE RESEARCH, 1885–2005

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Introduction

The detailed survey by Brian Croke in this volume (above, Ch. 1) covers, among other things, philological studies during the period 1590–1650 in Paris and Lyons which obviates the need to cover the same ground here. Brian Croke reminds us of how long scholars waited for the first complete *opera omnia* of Procopius (1662/1663), two volumes published in Paris, with a Greek text and a Latin translation. This ample enterprise coincided with the efforts of scholars at the court of Louis XIV and the Jesuits of Clermont College to produce a whole series of works delving into Byzantine civilisation. Scattered studies had appeared before then, including a version of the *Secret History* (*Anecdota*) in Lyons edited in 1623 by Niccolo Alemanni (1588–1626) with a Latin translation. Meanwhile another group of humanists, including Jean Bodin and Guillaume Paradin (1510–90), began looking at Procopius as a significant and useful historian. Paradin's translation of *The Gothic Wars* appeared in Lyons (1578). Notable as well was the translation by Martin Fumée, lord of Genillé (1540–90), which appeared with a royal privilege in 1587 (*Guerre contre les Vandales et les Goths*), and the work of Pierre Pithou (1539–96). Nor should we overlook François de la Mothe le Vayer (1588–1672), who scrutinised Procopius and Agathias in his *Jugements sur les anciens et principaux historiens grecs et latins dont il nous reste quelques ouvrages* (Paris, 1646). More essential,

however, were the studies by the Jesuits of Clermont College, the future lycée *Louis-le-Grand*. They ambitiously proposed a new Greek text, a new translation, and a new commentary. One of them, Claude Maltret (1621–74), a Jesuit scholar from Toulouse and rector of the College of Montauban, edited a new Greek text accompanied by a Latin translation which paved the way for Louis Cousin (1627–1707) to publish a French translation in 1670–1, based upon Maltret and Alemanni. Before him, Léonor de Mauger had published a French translation in 1667 of the *Guerre contre les Goths*, followed by the *Guerre contre les Perses* in 1669 and the *Guerre contre les Vandales* in 1670, relying no doubt on Maltret's text as well. For the rest, we refer the reader to Brian Croke and simply note that for far too long Louis Cousin's translation remained the reference French-language text, proof indeed that Procopius was not an author in high demand, even though historians needed to use him. The monumental work of Charles Lebeau (1701–78) for instance, the *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, led M. Dureau de la Malle to publish *L'Algérie: Histoire des guerres des Romains, des Byzantins et des Vandales* which included large sections in French from *La Guerre des Vandales*. No doubt the French interest in Algeria encouraged this kind of publication. In any event it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that Byzantine studies emerged as an autonomous discipline in Munich with Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), who founded *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892) and *Byzantisches Archiv* (1898), while also publishing his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches, 527–1453*. This was the context in which Jacob Haury worked on his *opera omnia* of Procopius, published in four volumes between 1905 and 1913. The result of these twenty years of effort was a product which at long last did justice to his author (the text was revised by G. Wirth, 1962–4).

Translations

In the early twentieth century, English-language researchers gained access to an edition/translation of *The Wars of Justinian* by H. B. Dewing (Loeb Classical Library, 1914–40) which Anthony Kaldellis revised in 2014 (*The Wars of Justinian*); Kaldellis had earlier edited and translated the *Secret History* (2010), while Spanish scholars brought out a *Historia Secreta* in 2000, a *Historia de las guerras*, 1–2 and 7–8, and a *Historia de las guerras*, 3–6 (José A. Flores Rubio, J. Signes Codoñer, and Francisco A. García Romero between 2000 and 2007).¹ Meanwhile French language readers still suffer from the absence of an edition/translation in the equivalent CUF collection known as the *Budé* published by *Les Éditions des Belles Lettres*. In 2012, a *Histoire de la guerre contre les Perses* appeared in Clermont Ferrand, but this was simply a modernised version of Louis Cousin (seventeenth century), available on the Internet. However, in 1989 and 1990 the collection *La Roue à Livres*, also published by *Les Belles Lettres*, brought out a translation of the *Guerre contre les Vandales* and the *Histoire secrète*, in 2015 a translation of the *Histoire des Goths*, and there soon will appear the *Guerre contre la Perse* (Geoffrey Greatrex and Janick Auberger). Meanwhile in 2011, *Procope de Césarée, Constructions de Justinien I^{er}* came out with the Edizioni dell'Orso, a posthumous translation by D. Roques with the assistance of Eugenio Amato and Jacques Schamp, published in Alessandria, Italy.

French Scholarship

Let us hope that these publications will launch French-language research, but as it is, we have no French equivalent of the initiatives taken by English language scholars in 2014 at Oxford and Mainz, not to mention the *Brill Companion to Procopius* (Leiden/Boston), which should

¹ See Signes Codoñer's contribution to this volume.

soon appear (M. Meier and F. Montinaro, edd.).² More evidence of the vitality of English-language scholarship is found in the monographs of C. Whately and A. Sarantis, and in the thesis of M. Kouroumalis.³ To be fair, the *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* downplayed our author's voice but since then, research in English has, if anything, accelerated, which is definitely not the case in French.⁴ Still, we should mention the *Thesaurus Procopii Caesariensis*, whose 7,981 lemmata, 28,997 forms and 292,552 occurrences demonstrated a will to produce new tools for research.⁵ That this particular publication found a place in the *Corpus Christianorum* and the *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum* verges on stunning, but it is understandable given that Procopius references the same world and the same period as the Greek Fathers, and his work is written in their language: 'Thus Procopius shared with the Fathers of the Church the task of continuing the transmission of their common classical heritage in Byzantium' (Preface). Invaluable as well is the work of R. Delmaire, which sought to assemble a prosopography of the Empire's financial officials.⁶ Finally, unpublished doctoral dissertations on Procopius, such as the thesis of G. Pournaras, should not go unrecognised, or F. Montinaro's works (in particular his doctoral thesis at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris), even if they are generally published in English.⁷

For a very long time, French-language research devoted its attention to the so-called 'classical' periods, be they Greek or Roman. In France, national history and the

² Note also the edited volumes of Lillington-Martin and Turquois (2018), entirely in English, and of Greatrex and Janniard (2018), with contributions in English, French, and German.

³ Whately (2016); Sarantis (2016); Kouroumalis (2015). See also Kouroumalis (2013).

⁴ ed. Maas (2005), on-line 2006.

⁵ Coulie and Kindt (2000).

⁶ Delmaire (1989). In particular, see chapter 6, 'Les comtes financiers de la mort d'Honorius à l'avènement de Justinien (423–527)', pp. 203–51, and chap. 7, 'Les comtes financiers après 527', pp. 253–89.

⁷ Pournaras (1994).

history of revolutions probably encouraged historians to inquire into Athens and its democracy, or Rome and its republic. Late Antiquity and Byzantium took more time to emerge as fields of interest, and the latter was long the victim of ideological controversies that swept across Europe during the first half of the twentieth century. Take, for example, the structure of P. Courcelle's *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* published after the Second World War: (1) Invasion; (2) Occupation; (3) Liberation.⁸ It took some time to detach this period from the projections of its historians and the impression that the 'Low-Empire' (*Bas-Empire*) corresponded with 'decline', 'fall', and 'ruin'—ideas shared by Montesquieu as well as Gibbon. It is true, of course, that the Belgian Henri Pirenne proposed a sort of continuity for the period between the fourth and the ninth centuries, and H. I. Marrou tiptoed in the same direction: in 1937, the title of his *Saint-Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* displayed his convictions, but a second edition announced his *retractatio*, while finally, in *Décadence romaine ou Antiquité tardive*,² even if the title still posed the question, it was the pertinence of decadence as a historical question that receded.⁹

Fortunately, some truly great French historians have contributed to developing Byzantine history over the last forty years. Gilbert Dagron (1932–2015) for example, beginning with his thesis on Constantinople, ceaselessly cultivated the field both at the Collège de France and at the Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 1975–1997).¹⁰ J. L. Cheynet directed a team project in Paris, *Monde Byzantin*,¹¹ while in 1993 Noël Duval created the first *Revue internationale d'histoire et d'archéologie IV^e–VIII^e s., Antiquité tardive*, at Brepols.

⁸ Courcelle (1948).

⁹ Pirenne (1939); Marrou (1949); Marrou (1977).

¹⁰ Dagron (1974).

¹¹ UMR 8167 *Orient et Méditerranée* (<http://www.orient-mediterranee.com/spip.php?rubrique474>).

Having thus rapidly laid out the broader scene, we can now ask how Procopius was read and used in the world of French language research in the twentieth century, mostly between 1885 and 2005 but with a few references to more recent work, in order to complement the contributions of Brian Croke in this collection of essays and of Geoffrey Greatrex's earlier surveys.¹² Our survey concerns work written in French, even when their authors themselves used it as a second language: what is important is that their French publications were different from work published in other languages.

The nineteenth century was naturally filled with discussions of a *Secret History* (*Anecdota*) so surprising as to raise the question as to whether it truly was a work of Procopius of Caesarea. F. A. Isambert (1792–1857), a well-known jurist, politician, and founder of the Société française pour l'abolition de l'esclavage, wrote a 'new' translation of *ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ* ou *Histoire secrète de Justinien*, whose first volume included an article published the previous year, which addressed the objections of Lévesque de la Ravalière, who had assigned the work to Evangelius.¹³ Isambert, faithful to a tradition passed down from antiquity and taken up by Montesquieu and Gibbon, argued for Procopius. In the twenty-three pages of his introduction, he harked back to the debate over authenticity, and displayed some sympathy for the vehemence Procopius displayed towards Justinian by recalling the immense waste of blood and treasure of which the emperor was guilty in the course of his conquests, as well as the 'intolerable despotism' which was his alone. He underscored how Procopius' vehemence might be deemed illogical if we were to identify Procopius with the 'prefect of the city of Constantinople' whose functions 'garnered him the presidency of the corrupt senate five years after having so belittled power' (p. XII). And how, he asked, are we to reconcile the praise of *On Buildings* (*De Aedificiis*) with the invective of the *Anecdota*? Perhaps by dating the treatise *On*

¹² Greatrex (1994), (2003), and (2014).

¹³ Isambert (1855) and (1856); Lévesque de la Ravalière (1753) 73–5.

Buildings to several years before the *Anecdota*? In short, Isambert produced a synthesis of the question of Procopius' authorship as it presented itself in his time, and chose to consider the treatise as authentic. At the same time, the lawyer in him took up the text anew, devoting himself to a new and more profound study of the laws of Justinian, the councils, *bullae*, and other ecclesiastical documents. That same year, he also published another work for Firmin-Didot, which led into the *Anecdota* with a *History of Justinian*.

The possible confusion between Procopius of Gaza and Procopius of Caesarea was definitively resolved in the nineteenth century.¹⁴ In 1823, Pierre Claude François Daunou asked himself whether Procopius of Caesarea was Christian or pagan, a question which, as Greatrex points out, is still relevant now.¹⁵ He laid out the arguments of those engaged in the debate (Eichel, Lamothe le Vayer, Vossius, Guillaume Cave), and with G. Cave argued that he was 'neither completely Christian nor completely pagan', a position which anticipates Geoffrey Greatrex's assertion that 'there exist both a pagan and a Christian Procopius'.¹⁶ Daunou also took into account the offices attributed to him: a 'man of letters, statesman, public figure, secretary, historian, senator, prefect'. For some (Tiraqueau, Freind) he was also a doctor, which gained him a place in both the *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine* (Éloy) and the *Histoire de l'anatomie et de la chirurgie*.¹⁷ Daunou credited Procopius with three works: eight books of history, one book of the *Secret History* (*Anecdota*), and six *Lectures or Books on Buildings*. He reminds us of the dispute over the *Secret History*, even though the Suda (*Suidas* at the time), had already attributed it to Procopius. He went back to the arguments of Montesquieu

¹⁴ See, for example, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne: ou, Histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes. Ouvrage entièrement neuf, redigé par une société de gens de lettres et de savants* (Paris, L. G. Michaud, 1823).

¹⁵ Greatrex (2014) 91–2.

¹⁶ Greatrex (2014) 91.

¹⁷ M. Portal, vol.1, p. 120; cf. above, Ch. 1, text to n. 67.

and Gibbon and, above all, clearly distinguished between Procopius of Caesarea and Procopius of Gaza, author of the *Epistles* and *Commentaries on the Bible* (discussed in the next section). Nevertheless, traces of confusion between these two authors of the same period with the same name survived well into the twentieth century. For example, in a paper which Jean Irigoien published (with Gabriel Rochefort) in the *Annuaire 1976–1977 de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, the two researchers referred to the ‘*Épitome of the catena of Procopius of Caesarea on Ecclesiastes*’.¹⁸ *Lapsus calami ...*

Surveys

At the start of the twentieth century, Charles Diehl (1859–1944, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Sorbonne professor, and specialist in the Byzantine Empire, was one of the great architects of the renaissance of Byzantine studies in France. His synthetic *Byzance: Grandeur et décadence* came nearly two decades after his works on Justinian and Theodora.¹⁹ If ever proof of the authority of his 1919 synthesis was lacking, it came in 1957 with an American translation of the original text, notwithstanding the research accomplished since its first publication. Diehl’s vision of the imperial couple was trenchant, portraying Justinian as an ambitious man, lost among his dreams and ‘formidable ambitions’, exhausting with more ‘apparent than real greatness’ an empire in the service of excessive ambition, an empire ‘to which he did more harm than good, despite the glitter in which he wrapped it’. In both *Byzance. Grandeur et décadence*, and in his work on Theodora, he emphasised the talent of an empress who held a ‘clearer and more precise feeling for political realities’. Procopius provided the basis for the synthesis, although Diehl seldom referred directly to him. As for the study of Theodora, while he could not overlook the *Secret History*, Diehl insisted upon the need to use other sources, like John of Ephesus’ *Lives of*

¹⁸ Irigoien (1977) 251.

¹⁹ Diehl (1919), (1901), and (1904).

the Eastern Saints, fragments of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and chronicles like that of Zachariah of Mytilene. We can sense how essential these complementary materials were for Diehl. His Theodora emerged from them magnified by a ‘virile firmness’ (304), and with the ‘lucid, powerful intelligence of a statesman’. Such rhetoric did not fail to evoke that of antiquity. The ‘virile firmness’ of Theodora called to mind the virility of Procopius’ Amalasuintha, and this aspect of Diehl’s style marked the writing of others of the period, like Paul Lemerle. Several decades afterwards, Lemerle, in his *Histoire de Byzance*, dwelt upon the dreams of Justinian, and his immense ‘mistake’, ‘a mistake of gigantic proportions’.²⁰ The word recurs often in the course of the work along with ‘dream’ and ‘mirage’. Dreams and mirages, pride and authoritarianism, all conspired to turn Justinian’s resolute gaze back towards the western past, while Theodora looked to the future rising in the East. ‘Upon reaching the throne, she was without blame, and thus she gave her all to the greatness of her task’, as witnessed by her speech during the Nika revolt. As for Justinian, Lemerle concluded that ‘his reign over the destiny of the empire was one long mistake, albeit not without greatness’. Like Diehl, Lemerle scarcely mentioned Procopius, who underlies the work like a hypotext. In contrast, the second volume of Ernest Stein’s *Histoire du Bas-Empire* clearly devoted a substantial section to Procopius (and a whole chapter (691–734) to the literature, both Greek and Latin, of the ‘Golden Age’ of Justinian). Stein’s use of the French language was intended as a political protest against the Nazis, from whom he had had to flee; his first volume had been in German.²¹

Lucien Musset wrote *Les invasions: les vagues germaniques* with hardly a word about Procopius, mentioning him in the bibliography only in connection with Italy (*The Gothic Wars*).²² The sole reference in the text (303) concerned

²⁰ Lemerle (1956).

²¹ Stein (1949), vol. 2; (1928), vol. 1.

²² Musset (1965).

poetic legends of the great beyond, which Procopius inextricably tied to a twinned Britain, *Brittia* and *Brittania*.²³ Writing between Lemerle and Musset, Auguste Bailly saw Justinian's century as the classic period of Byzantium, borrowing from Diehl the idea that an illusory dream drove Justinian to reconquer the Roman West.²⁴ Bailly judged the *Secret History* (*Anecdota*) severely, or rather we might say that he put it into perspective: 'Employing the dark tones of a critic, it represents the perfect picture of a veritable statesman, of Louis XI and Mazarin' (67). We should mention that Bailly wrote in 1935 and 1936 biographies of Louis XI and Mazarin, whence his comparison—and his projection. Meanwhile Diehl's student Louis Bréhier turned towards art history, but he also wrote a number of books on Byzantium, including *Le monde byzantin* in three volumes. The second of these, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, frequently relied upon Procopius in order to clarify points about clothing (42), barbarian populations (77), Byzantine commerce, and institutional definitions. He took the time to characterise Procopius' style, 'a classical language, but one [in which we see] the degradations of classical syntax'. Although Bréhier noted Procopius' borrowings from Herodotus and Thucydides, and indeed from Polybius in his method of composition, he saw him as an independent author 'whose models do not blind him'. Witness Procopius' description of the plague of 542 in Constantinople. While referring to that of Athens described by Thucydides, he treats it differently. According to Procopius, the pathology of the epidemic of 542 was not the same.²⁵

Forty years later, P. Maraval would of course cite more precisely his sources in a new volume for the 'Que sais-je'

²³ Camby (2008), about the 'Arborykoi'.

²⁴ Bailly (1939).

²⁵ See also Bazin-Tacchella-Quéruel-Samama (2001). É. Samama compares the plague reports by Thucydides and Procopius, who witnessed dissimilar epidemics and were separated by almost one thousand years. Their similarity, a military perspective, reveals more about the writing of history than about the understanding of epidemics.

series, *L'Empereur Justinien*.²⁶ He discussed Procopius objectively alongside other sources, but when mentioning him specifically Maraval was critical, for example, of his treatment of Theodora (24): 'The sexual excesses he attributes to her ... reveal an orchestration of literary themes that can scarcely be taken seriously'. He casts doubt on Procopius' figures when they appeared exaggerated, like the 150,000 men who besieged Rome under Vitiges. Though Maraval never failed to note Procopius' faults while steadfastly ignoring his merits, we nevertheless can perceive in him progress towards a more nuanced judgement of our author.

With the passage of time and the renewal of interest in history generally, more and more surveys and studies of Byzantium began to cite Procopius as a source. Gilbert Dagron referred to him in all his books, including the 1984 *Constantinople imaginaire* which uses *On Buildings* to deepen an analysis of the *Patria of Constantinople*. References to Procopius also became increasingly precise in more academic studies. Take, for example, the first volume of *Le monde byzantin* edited by C. Morrisson, in the collection 'Nouvelle Clio';²⁷ or studies of women in Byzantium, notably the second volume of *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e s.)* in which J. Beaucamp draws material from the *Anecdota*, *On Buildings*, and the *Wars* for her chapter on 'Société et législation'.²⁸ *On Buildings* (*Constructions* or *Édifices* in the French translation) often makes an appearance in surveys and monographs, like that of Michel Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* or the collaborative study, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin IV^e–VII^e s.*²⁹ And yet in 1984 it was still possible to write an entire book about the Goths without ever calling upon our author, as

²⁶ Maraval (1999), (2016).

²⁷ Morrisson (2004).

²⁸ Beaucamp (1992), (1994).

²⁹ Kaplan (1992); Abadie-Reynal (1989), a collection of fifteen contributions to the seminar organised by C. Morrisson and J. Lefort, among which is that of J. Durliat (107–19).

did S. Teillet in a study that used the *Chronicle of Marcellinus*, Corippus, Eugippius, Ennodius, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Gregory the Great, and Gregory of Tours, but managed to avoid the slightest allusion to Procopius.³⁰ Of course, that was thirty years ago, and such an approach would now hardly be feasible. M. Kazanski cited Procopius on the Tetraxite Goths because ‘he is the only author of antiquity to mention this Gothic group’ (124), no doubt the Eudoses described by Pseudo-Arrian (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*).³¹ Archeological excavations directed by A. V. Dmitriev in a necropolis near Novorossijsk, north-east of the Black Sea, would confirm their existence. However M. Kazanski used the *Getica* of Jordanes more than Procopius, in particular in discussing when Theodoric’s migration and the conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths (109–10).

Archaeology

The vast majority of works in French which used Procopius in the twentieth century employed him to identify places, monuments, and inscriptions in archaeological studies, be they in Byzantium, Alexandria, Africa (particularly the Maghreb), the Near East, or Syria. This is hardly surprising, since the wars of Justinian covered a vast expanse and *On Building* mentions many fortifications and structures.³² It was natural for archaeologists to rely upon these indications in order to illuminate their research. So Procopius ended up sharing much the same destiny as Pausanias: first exploited, then rejected as a record for recovering the landscapes of their times. It took a long time before Pausanias achieved the dignity of being studied as a writer in his own right; as for our Procopius, philologists and literary scholars have never examined his work in the manner it deserves.

³⁰ Teillet (2011 [1984]).

³¹ Kazanski (1991), quotation from p. 124; http://www.cfeb.org/curriculum/mb_kazanski.pdf.

³² Sodini (1993).

We begin in the West with Gaul and the Maghreb, areas closer to the interest of French scholars, and from there follow our historian to the East.

Gaul

Gaul was obviously not the area Procopius knew best, and studies using him have often focused upon details. In 1973, Jean-François Duneau analysed what ‘Orientals’ like Procopius and the anonymous author of the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* knew about southern Gaul. Which was not much, as their horizon was limited. For Procopius it extended as far as the land around Vienne in the north, and Carcassonne to the south-west, encompassing basically the region between the Rhone and the Alps. His approximate description of the site of the battle of Vouillé demonstrates his limits. He deliberately clung to the Mediterranean regions which maintained their contacts with Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, the ‘heartland of Mediterranean unity bequeathed by the classical world’.³³ Indeed, an article by Charles Delaplace explored the treatment the Battle of Vouillé as reported in Gregory of Tours, Jordanes, Procopius, and Cassiodorus.³⁴ In 1983 É. Demougeot (1910–94), who specialised in the western barbarians, examining Gaul in the works of Cassiodorus and Procopius, concluded that ‘for him [Procopius], Gaul after Theodoric no longer had a Roman existence.’³⁵ *Gallia* was a simple geographical term, described summarily, and with a very approximate chronology. After the sixth century, in the Francia of the Franks, there no longer existed a Gallo-Roman *patria* corresponding to ancient Gaul.³⁶ Still, J. M. Rospars, using a text of Gregory of Tours that relied indirectly upon Procopius, found former Breton auxiliaries in the Loire

³³ Duneau (1973) 135–46.

³⁴ Delaplace (2000) 77–89.

³⁵ Demougeot (1988).

³⁶ Demougeot (1983) 375–96.

valley who continued to live as Roman Franks, as did J. C. Cassard in 1986.³⁷

Procopius has also served as a quarry for the research of historians and archaeologists studying medieval and ancient technology. Henri Amouric used the *Gothic Wars* (1.19) to study floating mills in the Middle Ages, whose oldest antecedents a besieged Belisarius constructed in Rome on barges moored on the Tiber. Amouric doubted whether Belisarius was their inventor, although Procopius asserts that the ship mill was born there out of the necessities of war.³⁸

Africa

The French presence in North Africa naturally led French scholars to Procopius. As P. Morizot wrote in a 1993 conference paper published in the *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 'In the aftermath of the French conquest of Algeria, historians of ancient Africa delved into the writings of Procopius of Caesarea in the hope of discovering the stages of the Byzantine conquest on the ground'. He went back to the work of M. Dureau de La Malle (see above, p. 4.2), and mentioned that of C. Courtois.³⁹ French researchers on the ground in North Africa sought to identify places cited by Procopius in the *Vandalic Wars*. For example, A. Papier wanted to rediscover at Djebel-Nabor, near the frontier with Numidia, the celebrated *Mons Pappua* where Gelimer sought refuge after the Battle of Tricamarum.⁴⁰ In the same vein, in 1906, F. Cambon went back to Polybius, Vitruvius, and Procopius in order to describe the Rock of Geminianus where Iaudas, a Moorish king, had left his treasure and his women under

³⁷ Cassard (1986) 3–27 and Rospars (1993) 3–17 (cf. 13 n. 28). Cf. Proc. *G.G.* 1.12.9–19.

³⁸ Amouric (1985) 55–65.

³⁹ Courtois (1955).

⁴⁰ Papier (1980 [1879]). He rejects the other hypotheses (Edough, Babouah, the mountains of Babor, etc.). On this identification, see Desanges (1959).

the guard of an old soldier (*Vandalic Wars* 2.20.4).⁴¹ Cambon hunted over these lands on horseback and took the opportunity to describe the flora and fauna with a lyricism that owes more to the French colonist (he was a landowner, mayor, and officer of local government) than to the scientist ('green artemisia our horses trod', p. 33). In 1896, Charles Diehl had already published *L'Afrique Byzantine* after two missions on the ground in 1892 and 1896.⁴² Indeed, the years 533–65 occupied three-quarters of his synthesis, proof positive that he drew heavily upon the *Vandalic Wars* of Procopius and the *Johannid* of Corippus, as would C. Courtois likewise twenty-five years later. Diehl's judgement of the Byzantine domination harmonised nicely with the 'civilising' vision of colonialism: 'A final ray of Roman civilisation: without Justinian, the Vandal kingdom would have rapidly yielded to Berber savagery'.

This explains why French work on this part of the world is so important, and why the Maghreb remained a popular subject for research, e.g., in the *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* by Stéphane Gsell.⁴³ Morizot took up anew the *Vandalic Wars* (2.13) so as to cover the campaigns of Solomon in Numidia, and the study of anthroponyms and toponyms which he explored both in manuscripts and on foot in the Aurès mountains.⁴⁴ Several articles in the journal *Antiquités africaines* covered 'onomastica africana', while other researchers tried to identify toponyms, for example, Jean-Marie Lassère who studied the region called 'The Centuries' (Κεντουρίαι) (*B.V.* 1.13.2–5).⁴⁵ Denis Roques also brought the text of Procopius to bear upon archaeological

⁴¹ Cambon (1906).

⁴² Diehl (1893) and (1896).

⁴³ Gsell (1901) 344–95 and (1911).

⁴⁴ Morizot (1993) 83–106; (Morizot's work (1999) on the toponyms south of the Aurès cited by Procopius will continue). Similarly his work on anthroponyms (1989): Masties/Mastigos; Vartaia/Ortaias, *B.V.* 4.13.21–9).

⁴⁵ Lassère (1982) 167–75.

reality, as did J. Desanges before him in 1993 with a passage from *On Buildings* (6.7.1–11), and J. Durliat in 1981.⁴⁶

Still, readings of Procopius strove for more nuance at the end of the twentieth century. Researchers were no longer satisfied to quarry him for incidental items of information; they worked on the organisation of his narrative, and tried to understand his perspective. Paul-Albert Février made good use of Procopius for his archaeological research on Thamugadi (the subject of the 1981 thesis of J. Lassus), the fortifications of Sabratha, and Leptis Magna, using the *Vandalic Wars* as well as *On Buildings*, and Corippus.⁴⁷ His reading included a reflection on the relationship between the city and its walls, which opened up issues of urbanism, which, he argued, must be studied without being swayed by the *a priori* conceptions of Corippus and Procopius. Procopius had arrived in Africa, thought Février, with the idea that walls were an indispensable feature of urbanism. He held a vision of the city determined by ‘strategies of power as well as defence’ because he was the ‘heir of a classical tradition, and because life with soldiers had become second nature to him’. Février put this vision of the city to the test in order to better understand ‘the ordering of an urban network, or its consolidation, in the development of economic activities or the extension of cultivated soil’. The questions raised by Février and a group of scholars (J. Durliat, J. Lassus, N. Duval), demolished the idea of urban decline in the Maghreb during the Byzantine period.

In doing so, Février alluded to the work of Diehl and C. Courtois, for a long time the basic reference works for those studying the history of North Africa. In 1986, Y. Modéran shed light upon the larger flaws in Diehl and Courtois, despite their undeniable merits.⁴⁸ Both of them used texts, and in particular those of Procopius (*Wars*, *On Buildings*), without putting them into context, questioning their objectives, or seeking out their intended audiences. In short,

⁴⁶ Roques (1994) 259–64; Desanges (1959); Durliat (1981).

⁴⁷ Février (1983).

⁴⁸ Modéran (1986).

they mined these texts in order to compile their data without engaging in a critical analysis of their sources. For Modéran that was problematic. A Roman poet born in provincial Africa and a Greek historian from Byzantium had more to offer than facts and practical information. Modéran compared their texts, demonstrating their divergences and contrasting a historian who wished to be lucid, hiding nothing of the mutinies of the Byzantine army, and primarily interested in its reaction to war in foreign lands, and a militant, resolutely pro-Byzantine, poet who systematically forgot to mention Byzantine blunders, while casting the blame for all the woes of Africa onto king Antares and his refractory Moors. Once they got beyond archaeology, researchers discovered Procopius and Corippus the writers through a critical examination of their discourse. The comparative approach was again taken up by Février in 1996, in ‘Le Maure ambigu ou les pièges du discours’ as a way to question the still current idea of Roman decline and berberisation of the Maghreb, in order to understand ‘everything that remained of Rome, all that had been renewed and enriched in the life of town and countryside, as well as everything carried forward through necessary mutation.’⁴⁹ ‘Thus will we wipe away an all too pessimistic portrayal based on our faith in literary witnesses of the situation in the Maghreb before the Arab conquest.’⁵⁰ It should be noted that Y. Modéran published a synthesis of his research in a 2003 monograph whose first chapter is entitled ‘Procope, Corippe et les Maures’.⁵¹

These readings of Procopius formed part of wider polemics in France over Algeria, its identity, and French colonisation, polemics that related or opposed French colonisation to that of the Arabs, or even the Romans. Views oscillated between an insistence upon the enduring Romanisation of the Maghreb—its ‘westernisation’—and a

⁴⁹ Février (1996).

⁵⁰ Février (1996) 304. The author cites Casson (1982) and Cameron (1982) as supporting this view.

⁵¹ Modéran (2003). See also a posthumous book (2014).

contrary tendency to underscore the vitality and coherence of local cultures. M. Janon, for example, showed how some modern historians served up Procopius ‘to prove how the Moors were incapable of conceiving and maintaining a political plan in the face of the Byzantine project to restore an imperial order’ at the same time that archaeology demonstrated a ‘continuity of political independence firmly established on geographical, economic and political foundations’.⁵² Cl. Lepelley warned in 1979 against a received historiography that would portray Roman Africa as an illusion supported exclusively by literary and juridical sources.⁵³ He accepted, however, the separation between the east, ‘rich, romanised, peaceful, from the Mauretaniae where Berber tribes, impenetrable to Romanisation in their impregnable mountains, permanently menaced the few cities.’ Here we sense the dangers of generalisations when they concern such vast areas, and the absolute necessity to correlate literary and archaeological sources without pushing them to say what we want to hear. We should also note the research of G. Traina (1990), and *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2003), *L’Afrique vandale et byzantine*, and in particular the article by D. Feissel on the distances Procopius provides in his itineraries and movements on land; and articles by Troussel, Laporte, Lepelley, Modéran, Zuckerman *et alii* in this issue of the journal.

We should also mention an entirely different genre: biography. An army general, Lionel-Max Chassin, wrote a nearly hagiographical life of Belisarius inspired by the Indochina war in which the author compared the tactics of the French army with those that allowed Belisarius to defeat the Goths, ‘who had superior numbers, but inferior arms, command structure, and discipline. ... Antonina was the source of all the low blows for which he bore the blame.’⁵⁴ Algeria and Indochina passionately inflamed public life in

⁵² Janon (1980).

⁵³ Lepelley (1979).

⁵⁴ Chassin (1957) 218.

France, and could not fail to have an impact on the work of historians, as we have seen.

The Balkans

According to A. Sarantis, the Balkans were the step-child of Procopius' *Wars*: he had little interest in the region, compared to Italy, the East, and Africa, and only book IV of *On Buildings* paid them much attention. Hence Sarantis had to write his recent book using Marcellinus, Malalas, Agathias, Menander, and, of course, archaeology.⁵⁵ That being said, the *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* occasionally publishes research derived in particular from the toponymic lists of Procopius in order to detect and prove the Latin identity of these regions. These lists have been the focus of regular research, for instance by M. Perrin-Henry.⁵⁶ Archaeological studies and excavation reports that link the Balkans and Procopius are also published intermittently, in order to follow the movements of Avar-Slavs in Byzantine Illyria,⁵⁷ to sound out the continuities between Illyria and Albania and the identity of the Albanian people,⁵⁸ to locate ancient Euroroia (Glyki in Epirus), mentioned in *On Buildings* (4.1.39–42),⁵⁹ or to identify the *emporion* of Pistiros in Thrace.⁶⁰ Researchers naturally have used Procopius' work, in conjunction with epigraphy, in work on Justinian's fortresses, for example in order to retrace the Danubian frontier in Romanian terri-

⁵⁵ Sarantis (2016).

⁵⁶ Perrin-Henry (1981). See in the same work articles by Arrignon and Duneau.

⁵⁷ Popović–Bosković–Duval–Gros (1975); Popović (1984).

⁵⁸ Anamali (1976). See also Senn (1961) and Lukaszewicz (1998): Sporoi may perhaps be identical with Sorpi/Sorbi/Serbi and Sclavini. The association of Sclavini with people of servile condition was a result of the massive trade of Slavonic prisoners taken by German invaders in Central Europe in the tenth century and later.

⁵⁹ Vanderheyde (1997).

⁶⁰ Bosnakov (1999).

tory,⁶¹ or in studying a particular site like Pautalia,⁶² or the army in Illyricum. In his article, Pillon attempts a reconstruction of Justinian's military system in Illyricum. Modern historians are generally critical of Justinian's military policies, but Pillon seeks to prove that they were very effective. During the Avar and Slav invasions at the end of the sixth century, the Byzantine defence was very determined and allowed the creation of the Balkan Themes through the 'City's armies' of the seventh century.⁶³ Issues of identity and origins generally hover in the background in such studies.⁶⁴

The Caucasus

Here we find the same kind of research as in the Balkans. L. G. Khrouchkova undertook prospection work in the region of Pityus, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, inhabited in Justinian's time by peoples known as the Lazi, the Apsili, the Abasgi, and the Tzani (Macrones). She worked on Sebastopolis (*On Buildings* 3.7), and followed the tracks of the Absagi and the Apsili (*BG* 4.3), in general looking for evidence of Christian culture in the region.⁶⁵ Several articles by Khrouchkova studied palaeochristian structures in the same area using literary texts to complement archaeology (Pityus/Pitzunda, Sebastopolis/Soukhoumi, or Archaeo-

⁶¹ Patoura (1980). Patoura also studied Justinian's policies in the region of the Danube (1997).

⁶² Goceva (1971).

⁶³ Pillon (2005). See also Kazanski (2009), who studies the tactics of Slavic mounted units in the army of Belisarius during the Gothic war in Italy. According to him, the texts of Procopius show that the Slavs and the Antae during the Gothic war were part of the Hunnic detachments and were mounted archers, like the Huns, who conducted battle at a distance, avoiding close contact with the enemy. Beyond all doubt, the Slavs and Antae, or rather a small part of them, learned this fighting technique from the Huns, whose neighbours they were on the Lower Danube and in the wooded steppes of modern-day Ukraine.

⁶⁴ Moravcsik (1934).

⁶⁵ Khrouchkova (1989a).

polis/Nokalakevi).⁶⁶ ‘Notes d’épigraphie chrétienne’ in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* related epigraphy to Procopius’ texts,⁶⁷ which are universally acknowledged to be insufficient as a source. Hence the excavations necessary to complete them. Research on the Black Sea testifies to this complementarity to the extent that finances were available to support the required archaeology.⁶⁸

Researchers have naturally also studied the fortresses of the region, like Kutaisi, the Kutaia/Kotiaion/Kotais of Procopius (*Wars* 8.14.48), Tmutorokan, and all the connections to the Phasis River which, according to Procopius, marked the border with Colchis (Kolkhis), and necropoleis (Orgamé/Argamum/Argamô, *On Buildings* 4.11.20; Roques 2011).⁶⁹

The Near East

The fortifications that Justinian built near the eastern frontier are abundantly described by Procopius in *On Buildings*, which has served as the point of departure for studies, complemented by archaeology, like those of J.-P. Fourdrin, along with other work on the Caspian Gates.⁷⁰ See also O. Collinet and his study of Dara or J. Lauffray on Halabiyé/Halabiyya-Zenobia (*Wars* 2.5.4), and H. Dillemann who uses the *Persian Wars* (1.13.2, 1.16.7) to examine the foundation of Mindon/Minduos.⁷¹ Religious buildings like the monastery of Sinai or the buildings in Porphyreon (*Anecdota* 30.19) have benefited from this approach as well.⁷²

⁶⁶ Khrouchkova (1989b).

⁶⁷ Feissel (1992).

⁶⁸ Gamkrélidzé (1990).

⁶⁹ Berdzenisvili and Kvirkvelja (1996) 339; Litavrin (1965) 230 n. 2; Lungu (2000–2001) 171.

⁷⁰ Fourdrin (1994) and (1998); Aleksidzé (2000).

⁷¹ Collinet (1924); Lauffray (1946) and (1983–91); Dillemann (1962), esp. 313–8, ‘Deux épisodes du *De bello persico* de Procope: la campagne de 502–503 et la construction de Mindon’.

⁷² Grégoire and Benesevic (1924); Guillou (1955) on Sinai; Lemaire (1972) on Porphyreon.

In general, Christianity in this region has been particularly well studied, as attested by many articles in *Revue Biblique*.⁷³

A Source for the Social, Cultural, and Political History of the Byzantine World

Beyond archaeology, Procopius is of course an essential source for all historians of the Byzantine Empire. He is among those sixth century authors whose literary culture we may try to delineate by examining the degree to which they still know the authors of antiquity. G. Cavallo, writing from the conviction that works of religious edification and juridical and ecclesiastical texts which buttressed imperial power had led to the replacement of reading by erudition, sought to trace the circulation of books and ideas under Justinian through the texts of Procopius, Agathias, and others. Cavallo shares nearly the same perspective as Johannes Zonaras, who accused Justinian ‘of bringing about the triumph of *ἀγροικία*’ (boorishness); in this reproach, Cavallo saw ‘something more than a typical *topos* of political invective’.⁷⁴

An interest in Justinian’s wars informs thematic studies, like those of M. Dumoulin concerning the government of Theodoric, although Dumoulin was primarily interested in Ennodius.⁷⁵ A. Knaepen did the same for Gelimer’s rule and Amalasuintha.⁷⁶ T. C. Lounghis used Procopius to understand the Byzantine concept of the mountain, reputed to be a quasi-mythic world of danger both literally and figuratively, although Procopius is sometimes quite precise in describing the openings and passages separating steep

⁷³ Abel (1938); Devresse (1940), etc.

⁷⁴ Cavallo (1987). Cf. Athanassidi (2010) 114–19 on Procopius and Justinian’s intolerance.

⁷⁵ Dumoulin (1902). Dumoulin left the last word in his conclusion to Procopius ‘who made the most equitable and truest judgement of [Theodoric],’ (*B.G.* 1.5–6). On portrayals of Theodoric see Goltz (2008).

⁷⁶ Knaepen (2001) and (2005).

clefts.⁷⁷ He can also be employed with other authors to study a theme diachronically, as was done by J. Schamp, who addressed the ‘pediculous’ illness of Huneric in Procopius.⁷⁸ When K. Hannestad looked at the armed forces presented in the *Gothic Wars*, he perceived that Procopius became a little more objective in giving figures about the relative size of armies as his admiration for Belisarius flagged.⁷⁹

P. E. Pieler studied an episode in which the emperor Arcadius, fearful for the future of his son Theodosius II, wanted to hand him over for safekeeping to the Persian king Isdigerdis (Yazdgird), and its counterpart in the willingness of the Persians to have Khusro adopted by the emperor Justin.⁸⁰

Researchers have also used our author to gain a better understanding of the religious world of the sixth century, the relation between Christianity and polytheistic religions,⁸¹ the origins of Christianity in the Sinai, the date of Totila’s journey to visit Saint Benedict (comparing Procopius with the *Chronicle of Marcellinus*),⁸² and the date of Alexander’s embassy to Carthage.⁸³

Students of Byzantine institutions have also consulted Procopius. For example the replacement of Pope Silverius by Vigilius touches upon the relationship between imperial and pontifical power. Procopius viewed it as a political decision, while the *Liber Pontificalis* suggested that it was an ecclesiastical conspiracy.⁸⁴ A whole series of articles ap-

⁷⁷ Lounghis (1989). On Vesuvius/Somma, see Henry (2008).

⁷⁸ Schamp (1991).

⁷⁹ Hannestad (1960); cf. now Whately (2015). See also, for the army in Africa, Ambrosini (1999).

⁸⁰ Pieler (1972). See also Greatrex (2008), who argues that the guardianship supposedly exercised by the Sasanian king Yazdgird I over the young Theodosius is credible, and notes the publication of recent relevant evidence.

⁸¹ Elferink (1967).

⁸² Mundo (1949).

⁸³ Delmaire (1999).

⁸⁴ Sotinel (1992).

peared in the *Revue des Études byzantines* or *Byzantion* by Rodolphe Guiland, a student of Charles Diehl who succeeded him to the chair of Byzantine history and civilisation at the Sorbonne. Guiland looked at Byzantine titles like consul,⁸⁵ despot,⁸⁶ *domesticus* of the *scholae*,⁸⁷ eunuch,⁸⁸ quaestor,⁸⁹ commander of armies,⁹⁰ deacon, *referendarius*,⁹¹ logothete,⁹² and master of petitions.⁹³ Some of these dispersed studies were gathered into a single volume, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, while J. Darrouzès compiled a useful bibliographical catalogue of Guiland's re-edited and collected materials.⁹⁴ L. Bréhier also devoted a volume to Byzantine institutions.⁹⁵

Procopius also illuminates the financial policies of Justinian. C. Zuckerman, in a study of a town in the Thebaid, explained Justinian's monetary changes.⁹⁶ He manipulated the relationship between the carat and the 'diminished', 'light-weight' *solidus*, using a hidden devaluation in order to profit from the gold-copper ratio.

Studying the city of Byzantium also requires digging into Procopius' texts. A particular incident concerning thieves who lightened the purses of passers-by in the dark and the imprisonment of Bouzes contributed to an article of 1948 on the prisons of Byzantium where 'the lives of prisoners were extremely harsh and often nothing more than a prolonged

⁸⁵ Guiland (1957).

⁸⁶ Guiland (1959a).

⁸⁷ Guiland (1950).

⁸⁸ Guiland (1943).

⁸⁹ Guiland (1971a).

⁹⁰ Guiland (1959b).

⁹¹ Guiland (1947).

⁹² Guiland (1971b).

⁹³ Guiland (1965).

⁹⁴ Guiland (1967), Darrouzès (1980).

⁹⁵ Bréhier (1970 [1949]).

⁹⁶ Zuckerman (2004).

martyrdom'.⁹⁷ Traina's work can also shed light on this topic, for example the fortress of Oblivion in Susiana, where Kavadh was incarcerated in 496.⁹⁸

When A. Fabre wanted to understand what actually was done by those whom Procopius called the builders (*mêchanikoi*) of Hagia Sophia, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, he naturally made good use of *On Buildings*. It would appear, concluded Fabre, that one had 'the brains which conceived and the other the hand that executed'. An architect thus, and a contractor.⁹⁹

In order to write an economic study of silk, which Procopius discusses in the *Gothic Wars* (4.7), R. Guiland studied the monks who brought to Byzantium hidden silkworm eggs in 552.¹⁰⁰ According to R. Henning, the land of *Serinda* may correspond to Sogdiana. Every history of silk in the West begins with this story of its origins, e.g., that of G. Chavancy and M. Marié in *Les filières de la soie lyonnaise*.¹⁰¹

Of course, researchers find in Procopius elements to study the Sasanian kingdom, e.g. Traina who is involved in a long-term research project about ancient Armenia, central Asia, and relations between Rome and Oriental kingdoms.¹⁰²

A Source for Medievalists and Specialists of the Renaissance

The theme of identity has been important in pushing researchers to seek the classical origins of later cultures, like

⁹⁷ Koukoulès and Guiland (1948). See also Patlagean (1981), *B.P.* 2.1.8; *B.G.* 4.29; *Anecd.* 18.41–4).

⁹⁸ Traina (2002).

⁹⁹ Fabre (1923). On architects, in particular Viktōrinos (*On Buildings* IV), see also Feissel (1990).

¹⁰⁰ Guiland (1934). On the date and other aspects of silk in Procopius' account, see now Zuckerman (2013).

¹⁰¹ Chavancy and Marié (1991). The same applies to the economy of purple *όλόσθηρον*, on which see, for example, Mrozek (1980) 235–43 about *Anecdota* 25.51.

¹⁰² Traina (2005) and (2015).

those of the Balkans. Other researchers have examined ancient texts for literary sources of themes handed down by tradition which survived as myths and *topoi*. The endurance of schemata, like that of the Thules mentioned by Procopius, whose important kingdom might be situated in Scandinavia, confirmed their significance.¹⁰³

C. Sanspeur's study of *Histoire des Arméniens* de Lazare de P'arpi uncovered a correspondence between the fragment of Lazar and *Persian Wars* 1.3, although he did not find the common source of both texts.¹⁰⁴ G. Traina is also interested in the history of Armenia and finds common elements in Faustus 'of Byzantium' (P'awstos Buzand, an Armenian historian of the fifth century) and Procopius.¹⁰⁵ In 1937, A. Baschmakoff took off with Procopius in search of the Crimean Goths, the Tetraxites (*Gothic Wars* 4.4–5).¹⁰⁶

E. de la Vaissiere, a specialist of Central Asia in the Middle Ages who writes in English and French, used Procopius to trace back the history of the Huns, particularly the Hephthalites. See notably, 'Huns et Xiongnu', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 49/1 (2005) 3–27, which is complemented by his work in English.¹⁰⁷

In a somewhat different domain, Ph. H. Blasen studied the character of Honorius in France during the nineteenth Century (in Orosius, Olympiodoros, Sozomen, and Zosimus as well as Procopius),¹⁰⁸ while A. Knaepen considered that of Amalasuintha (in Procopius and Gregory of Tours).¹⁰⁹

Each successive edition or translation of Procopius has moved its editor to write articles, like those of D. Roques,

¹⁰³ Mund-Dopchie (1990).

¹⁰⁴ Sanspeur (1974).

¹⁰⁵ Traina (2001), (2015), and (2018).

¹⁰⁶ Baschmakoff (1937), cf. also above, n. 30.

¹⁰⁷ 'Is there a Nationality of the Hephthalites' (2003); 'The Steppe World and the Rise of the Huns' (2014).

¹⁰⁸ Blasen (2012).

¹⁰⁹ Knaepen (2005).

which preceded his translation of *On Buildings*.¹¹⁰ Indeed, this edition gave rise to a special issue of the journal *Antiquité tardive*, devoted to *De Aedificiis: Le texte de Procope et les réalités*, which included articles in French by B. Flusin, D. Roques, and D. Feissel.¹¹¹

As Conor Whately put it in a holistic evaluation of his work, ‘Procopius is an historian who needs to be taken seriously as a writer as well as a source of information.’

Addenda

Below is a brief list of work published in French after 2005, which completes the earlier surveys by Geoffrey Greatrex. While not claiming to be exhaustive, this list may reveal a growing interest in the study of Procopius. Works are arranged chronologically.

Bletry, S. (2008) ‘Le *De Aedificiis* de Procope: la propagande à l’aune de la réalité, l’exemple de Zénobia-Halabiya’, in F. Rousseau and J.-F. Thomas, edd., *La fabrique de l’évènement* (Montpellier).

<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01166823/>

Janniard, S. (2010) *Les transformations de l’armée romano-byzantine (III^e–VI^e siècles ap. J.-C.): le paradigme de la bataille rangée*, thesis (Paris).

<http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/4005>

Saliou, C. (2010) ‘La montagne d’Antioche et ses designations: Réflexions sur l’apport des sources textuelles à la connaissance de l’histoire de l’espace urbain d’Antioche sur l’Oronte: le site de la ville’, *Mélanges de l’Université St. Joseph* 63: 569–78.

Blasen, Ph. H. (2012) ‘Images de l’empereur Honorius in France au XIX^e siècle’, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 47–48/1 (2010–2011) 241–63.

Mészáros, T. (2014) ‘Remarques sur les *histoires perses* de Procope (*De Bellis* I, 2–6)’, in *Byzanz und das Abendland II*.

¹¹⁰ Roques (1998) and (1999).

¹¹¹ Flusin (2001); Roques (2001); Feissel (2001).

- Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia* (Eötvös József Collegium) 161–77.
- Vaissière, É. de la (2014) ‘The Steppe World and the Rise of the Huns’, in M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila* (Cambridge): 175–92.
- Auberger, J. (2015) ‘On est toujours le barbare de quelqu’un: les Barbares dans la *Guerre des Goths* de Procope’, *Revue de philologie, de Littérature et d’histoire ancienne* 89.2: 7–29.
- Bonner, M. R. J. (2015) ‘Six problèmes d’interprétation historiographique dans les règnes de Pērōz, Balāš, Jāmāsp et Kavād’, *Historia i Świat* 4: 103–21.
- Popescu, E. (2015) ‘Constantiana: un problème de géographie historique de la Scythie mineure’, *BZ* 66: 359–82.
- Knaepen, A. (2016) ‘Procope de Césarée’, in B. Dumézil and S. Joye, edd., *Dictionnaire des barbares* (Paris) 1075–8.
- Sartor, G. (2016) ‘Des chefs fédérés, un Empire, des hommes’, in Chr. Freu, S. Janniard, and A. Ripoll, edd., *Libera Curiositas: Mélanges d’histoire romaine et d’Antiquité tardive offerts à Jean-Michel Carrié* (Turnhout) 151–66.
- Becker, A. (2017) ‘Théodora: de la femme de l’empereur à la conseillère du prince’, *DHA* 17: 387–401. Theodora put the title of Augusta to good use in order to overcome the limits imposed by her feminine nature.
- Ronconi, F. (2017) ‘L’histoire secrète de Procope, rapport Justinien ou Justinian Leaks?’, *Écrire l’histoire* 17: 19–29 (available on-line in Sept. 2020).
- Greatrex, G. and S. Janniard, edd. (2018) *Le monde de Procope/The World of Procopius* (Paris).

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- (1669) *Histoire secrète de Procope* (Paris, G. de Luyne)
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- (1906) *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 3.1 (*Historia Arcana*), rev. G. Wirth (Leipzig 1963)
- (1913) *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 3.2 (*De Aedificiis*), rev. G. Wirth (Leipzig 1964).

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