EUNAPIUS, EUTROPIUS AND THE SUDA

The eunuch Eutropius, who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, consul and patrician, dominated Arcadius' government from the assassination of Rufinus in 395 until his own ouster and execution in 399. It is clear that Eunapius of Sardis (A.D. 349 – c. 414) dealt at length with Eutropius in his *Histories*. The scale of Eunapius' treatment of Eutropius is reflected in Book V of Zosimus' *New History* where chapters 3 and 8 to 18 are devoted to the eunuch and the events which took place during his regime. Of the fragments which can be securely attributed to Eunapius' *Histories*, 66, 71, 72, 74, 75.5, 75.6 and 76 [b] and [c] concern Eutropius and his period in power. In addition, a second group of fragments about Eutropius, fr. 67, 68 [a] and [b], 70, 76 [a], and 77, is generally considered to derive from the *Histories*. The subject of this article is a number of entries in the *Suda* which have

1) For Eutropius' career, see P.L.R.E. II, s.v. 'Eutropius 1'.
4) These fragments are preserved either in the *Excerpta de Sententiis* or in the *Suda* where they are ascribed to Eunapius. The fragments of the *Histories* will be cited according to the conventional numbering of Müller, F.H.G. IV.
sometimes been attributed to Eunapius, but which do not appear in F.H.G. IV. In Adler’s edition of the Suda, they are found at II 30,26; III 249,1; and IV 35,15; 108,32; 414,17; 551,1; 785,27. These, too, can be shown to belong to the part of Eunapius’ Histories which treated Eutropius.

The first is Suda s.v. Ἀβρός from ὁμως which is thought by Hemsterhusius to be from Eunapius. The content is suggestive of Eutropius, for the elaborate description of effeminacy, the profiting from the common disasters, and the recourse to the emperor are features of the conventional picture of eunuchs in late antiquity. It is known from fr. 66 that Eunapius made similar remarks about Eutropius, and, in both fr. 66 and this Suda gloss, the portrayal is decorated with references to classical myths. Here it is Midas and, in fr. 66, Salome and the Gorgon. There is also stylistic evidence of Eunapius’ authorship. The phrase των ἄβρον is found in the Lives (457), as are ἄβροτεροι (485) and ἄβροτερον (477). The word τοῦτοῦποστατον occurs in fr. 86, while τοῦτοποστο is found in s.v. Ἀβρός. In fr. 62, Eunapius writes: διὰ γὰρ μαλακίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς; here there is the phrase ὑπὸ μαλακίας τοῦ σώματος. Moreover, the adjectival form μαλακωτέρος is found twice in fr. 75,6.

Suda s.v. Δεμαίνει from πάντες to ιδόντες names Eutropius and compares the reaction of people on seeing him with the suitors’ reaction when they saw Odysseus stripped of his rags. G. Bernhardy ascribes the fragment to Eunapius, saying merely: Oratio prodit Eunapium. The most persuasive feature of the style is the comparison to Odysseus, for Eunapius appears to have referred frequently to Homer and the myths in his Histories. C. de Boor attributes s.v. Σπάδων from και εἴθε to

6) Adler I 12,24.
9) Ivars and Miriam Avotins, Index in Eunapii Vitas Sophistarum (Hildesheim 1983) p. 1. The Lives of the Sophists will be cited according to the conventional Didot pagination.
10) Adler II 30,26; Blockley, op. cit., II, fr. 65,6.
12) E.g., fr. 14,7; 31; 38; 39; 42; 66; 87.
13) Adler IV 414,8.
Eunapius, Eutropius and the *Suda*

Eunapius on valid stylistic grounds14) – valid, that is, for the portion from ὅτι ἐπὶ Εὐτροπίου (IV 414, 17), since Adler detects that the prior part comes from a different author of Byzantine date. This fragment laments the plethora and prosperity of eunuchs in Eutropius’ time; furthermore, the word βαρύτητα also suggests Eunapius’ authorship, for βαρύς appears in various forms fifteen times in the *Lives of the Sophists*15). De Boor wishes to attach this fragment to the end of fr. 66 – which is the second *Suda* gloss s.v. Εὐτρόπιος16). Yet he is mistaken since a shortened, but often closely parallel, version of the s.v. Σπάδων gloss completes the third *Suda* gloss s.v. Εὐτρόπιος, the one which relates his deposition and death17).

A fragment of John of Antioch preserved in the *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*18) is identical to the third *Suda* gloss s.v. Εὐτρόπιος – apart from a few insignificant variations at the beginning – except that it completely lacks the material in the gloss s.v. Σπάδων. Hence the compiler of the third Eutropius entry in the *Suda* combined the passage from John in the *Excerpta* with a version of the gloss s.v. Σπάδων. This was fitting since John’s source for the material in his fr. 189 was most probably Eunapius19).

There is yet another version of Eutropius’ fall, the second part of the gloss s.v. “Ὑπατοί”20). This is a different and often fuller version of the third entry s.v. Εὐτρόπιος, but it, like the passage from John of Antioch, lacks any elements of s.v. Σπάδων. The differences between s.v. “Ὑπατοί” and s.v. Εὐτρόπιος prove that neither depends upon the other: the source of the *Suda* for s.v. “Ὑπατοί” cannot have been the fragment of John of Antioch in the *Excerpta*. For example, s.v. “Ὑπατοί” has the phrase ἐδιαφοροφειτό τε διὰ τῆς πόλεως which is absent from the Eutropius entry. The latter, however, gives fuller information on Eutropius’ death, for instance, the damnatio memoriae. Indeed, the relationship between John of Antioch fr. 189 and s.v. “Ὑπατοί” may be the same as that between fr. 194 and s.v. Θεοδόσιος where the entry in the

14) C. de Boor, Die Chronik des Georgius Monachus als Quelle des Suidas, Hermes 21, 1886, n. 1, p. 15.
17) Adler II 476, 7.
18) F.H.G. IV, fr. 189; E.V., no. 68.
20) Adler IV 646, 24.
Suda is also fuller than the account in the Excerpta de Virtutibus. In this case, C. de Boor concludes that the Suda is drawing on John’s source, Priscus, from the lost second volume of the Excerpta21). Similarly, the compiler of the Suda could have gained the information in s.v. "Υπατος from another of John’s sources, Eunapius.

S.v. "Υπατος must be read as a unity. The first half of this gloss is a discussion of the Roman consulship in the context of its historical development. It is typical of Eunapius to include an historical digression on a Roman political institution in the midst of a narrative of contemporary history. Thus he digressed on the Roman pontificates in his account of Gratian’s repudiation of the pontifical robe and his subsequent overthrow by the usurper Maximus22). Eunapius was familiar with Roman history, for he knew Dexippus’ Chronicle with its consular dating (fr. 1) and he drew upon exempla from the Republic like Marius and Sulla (fr. 14,2) to decorate his Histories. In s.v. "Υπατος, the phrase which introduces the personal treatment of Eutropius – προτός δὲ ὑπατος εὐνούχων – reveals that the history of the office is given in order to emphasize the enormity of a eunuch’s being consul. Moreover, the failure of the system of checks and balances to prevent Eutropius’ tyranny as consul is a good example of Eunapius’ irony23).

One more fragment in the Suda may come from Eunapius’ account of Eutropius. Adler says that a sentence in the entry s.v. "Υπερμάχα from ὅ δὲ Υπερμάχα is ‘fort. Eunap.’24). Eutropius is quite possibly the former slave now flaunting his great wealth, for Eunapius does call Eutropius a slave – δοῦλος (fr. 72) – and the style is appropriately flamboyant. If the subject of the fragment is Eutropius, then the author is almost certainly Eunapius who appears to be, at least ultimately, the source of the material on Eutropius in the Suda.

It is thus reasonable to conclude that important remnants of Eunapius’ account of Eutropius are to be found in the Suda. S.v. "Υπατος stands out as the core fragment, but other glosses, especially s.v. Ἐυτρόπιος and s.v. Σπάδων, provide valuable material. Although Zosimus remains by far the most useful source for reconstructing Eunapius’ Histories, the Suda does make a significant

21) C. de Boor, Zu Iohannes Antiochenus, Hermes 20, 1885, pp. 328–9.
24) Adler IV 657,15.
contribution to recovering the section on Eutropius. This is because Zosimus, while he retails the main events and retains the personal focus on the eunuch and his henchmen, removes the disquisition on the consulship so characteristic of Eunapius’ historiography.

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NONNUS’ TYPHONOMACHY:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE
OF DIONYSIACA II

Whichever century can justly claim him – and Vian lists three candidates in his introduction, the fourth, fifth, and sixth\(^1\) – Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca* is “the last great poem preserved from antiquity”\(^2\). But Nonnus has not enjoyed critical acclaim. He is dismissed as a “very ordinary poet” by Bentley, the *Dionysiaca* is termed a “faded... tapestry” by Rose, and Fontenrose characterizes the *Typhonomachy* as “long-winded”\(^3\). Braden more usefully remarks on the “heady, lurid feel of Nonnus’ Greek, its every move cloyed with the memory of a thousand good and bad poems”\(^4\). But Nonnus’ art is not simply derivative; his pet words are not Homer’s, nor yet Apollonius’ nor Quintus’; and the tactile nature of Nonnus’ language is very much his own.

When the *Dionysiaca* has received serious study the structure or organization of the epic has usually been discussed\(^5\). I too shall attempt to disclose the structure, not of the whole epic, but of one


