

chischen – Vorlagen zum Teil jedenfalls recht geschickt zu kombinieren und weiterzuentwickeln versteht. Die Eigenarten, die an diesem Stück der *Caesares* hervorgetreten sind, müßten auch in den übrigen Teilen der Schrift noch genauer beobachtet werden; man darf vermuten, daß sich dabei ein ähnlicher Eindruck ergeben würde: Der Kaiser hatte durchaus das Zeug zum Literaten, aber in der Regel zu wenig Zeit.

Köln

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

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 399¹). It is clear that Eunapius of Sardis (A.D. 349 – c. 414)²) 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 regime³). 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 power⁴). 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'.

2) R. Goulet, *La Vie et les Œuvres d'Eunape de Sardes*, J.H.S. 100, 1980, p. 64.

3) Zosime *Histoire Nouvelle* III 1, ed. F. Paschoud (Paris 1986). It is generally agreed that Zosimus epitomized Eunapius' *Histories*. Cf. Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 98, and R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, I (Liverpool 1981) p. 2.

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; 785,27⁵). These, too, can be shown to belong to the part of Eunapius' *Histories* which treated Eutropius.

The first is *Suda* s.v. ἄβρός from ὄμωσ⁶) which is thought by Hemsterhusius to be from Eunapius⁷). 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 antiquity⁸). 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, Salmoneus and the Gorgon. There is also stylistic evidence of Eunapius' authorship. The phrase τῶν ἀβρῶν is found in the *Lives* (457), as are ἀβρότεροι (485) and ἀβροτέραν (477)⁹). The word τρυφερώτατον occurs in fr. 86, while τρυφερός is found in s.v. ἄβρός. In fr. 62, Eunapius writes: διὰ γὰρ μαλακίαν καὶ ἀσθénéιαν ψυχῆς; here there is the phrase ὑπὸ μαλακίας τοῦ σώματος. Moreover, the adjectival form μαλακώτερος is found twice in fr. 75,6.

Suda s.v. Δειμαίνει from πάντες τοῖς ἰδόντες¹⁰) names Eutropius and compares the reaction of people on seeing him with the suitors' reaction when they saw Odysseus stripped of his rags. G. Bernhardt ascribes the fragment to Eunapius, saying merely: Oratio prodit Eunapium¹¹). 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*¹²).

C. de Boor attributes s.v. Σπάδων from καὶ εἶθε¹³) to

5) Ada Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, 5 vols. (Leipzig 1938).

6) Adler I 12,24.

7) Thomas Gaisford, *Suidae Lexicon*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1834), ad loc. On p. xlviij of his preface, Gaisford states: Hemsterhusii et Valckenaerii notulas ineditas ex autographis hodie Leidae adservatis descripsi.

8) M. K. Hopkins, *Eunuchs in Politics in the Later Roman Empire*, P.C.P.S., n.s. 9, 1963, pp. 62-80.

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.

11) Godofredus Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon*, 2 vols. (Halis et Brunsvigae 1853) ad loc.

12) E.g., fr. 14,7; 31; 38; 39; 42; 66; 87.

13) Adler IV 414,8.

Eunapius on valid stylistic grounds¹⁴) – valid, that is, for the portion from ὅτι ἐπὶ Εὐτρόπιου (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 βαρῦτητα also suggests Eunapius' authorship, for βαρῦς 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. Ὑπατοι²⁰). 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. Ὑπατοι and s.v. Εὐτρόπιος prove that neither depends upon the other: the source of the *Suda* for s.v. Ὑπατοι cannot have been the fragment of John of Antioch in the *Excerpta*. For example, s.v. Ὑπατοι has the phrase ἐδιφροφροεῖτό 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. Ὑπατοι 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.

15) Avotins, op. cit., p. 40.

16) C. de Boor, loc. cit., n. 14. Fr. 66 is Adler II 475, 26.

17) Adler II 476,7.

18) F.H.G. IV, fr. 189; E.V., no. 68.

19) On John of Antioch as a source for Eunapius, see: A. Koehler, De Ioannis Antiocheni Aetate Fontibus Auctoritate (Bonn 1871) pp. 31–34.

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 *Excerpta*²¹). Similarly, the compiler of the *Suda* could have gained the information in s.v. Ὑπατοὶ from another of John's sources, Eunapius.

S.v. Ὑπατοὶ 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 pontifices 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 Dexippos' *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. Ὑπατοὶ, the phrase which introduces the personal treatment of Eutropius – πρῶτος 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. Ὑπερμαζῶ from ὁ δὲ ὑπερμαζῶν 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. Ὑπατοὶ stands out as the core fragment, but other glosses, especially s.v. Εὐτρόπιος 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.

22) Zosimus IV 36. Cf. F. Paschoud, *Zosime Histoire Nouvelle* II 2 (Paris 1979) n. 173, p. 417.

23) Blockley, *op. cit.*, II, p. vii, remarks on Eunapius' 'bitter sarcasm'.

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.

Charlottetown, Canada

D. F. Buck

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 sixth¹) – 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 discussed⁵). I too shall attempt to disclose the structure, not of the whole epic, but of one

1) Francis Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques, Chants I-II* (Paris 1976) xvi, note 1.

2) Albin Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, trans. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London 1966) 817.

3) Quoted by H.J. Rose in W.H.D. Rouse, *Nonnos Dionysiaca*, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1940) xviii; Rose in Rouse, *op. cit.*, xii; Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley 1959) 74.

4) Gordon Braden, *Nonnos' Typhoon: Dionysiaca, Books I and II*, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, XV.5 (1974) 852.

5) See Vian's introduction, *op. cit.*, xviii-xli, 7-17, 33-43, 69-90, 104-105.