

Die im Jahre 1975 begründete 'Neue Folge' der Würzburger Jahrbücher hat zwei angesehene Vorläufer: um 1930 schufen Carl Hosius, Friedrich Pfister und Joseph Vogt die "Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft" als eine Reihe von Monographien. In den Kreis der Herausgeber sind später noch Alexander Graf Stauffenberg und Josef Martin eingetreten. Meist waren es herausragende Würzburger Dissertationen, die in den Heften veröffentlicht wurden. Aber auch Festgaben für Carl Hosius (unter dem Titel 'Studien zu Tacitus') und für Heinrich Bulle gehörten zu dieser Reihe, die mit Unterstützung der "Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften bei der Universität Würzburg" (des späteren "Universitätsbundes Würzburg") herausgegeben wurde. Sie ist dem 2. Weltkrieg zum Opfer gefallen.

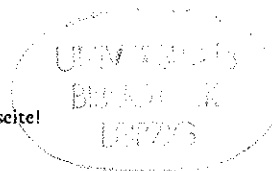
Unmittelbar nach dem Ende des Krieges haben dann Josef Martin und Friedrich Pfister unter Mitwirkung von Wilhelm Ensslin, Hans Krahe und Hans Möbius die "Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft" ins Leben gerufen. Als Verleger gewannen sie Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn-Würzburg. Diese Jahrbücher erhielten – entsprechend den veränderten Bedürfnissen – den Charakter einer Zeitschrift mit breiter Thematik, die z.B. auch das Weiterleben der Antike mit einbezog. Vom Bayerischen Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, von der Stadt Würzburg und vom Universitätsbund Würzburg wurden sie unterstützt. Den Herausgebern gelang es, zahlreiche erstrangige Gelehrte zur Mitarbeit zu gewinnen. Viele Beiträge sind noch heute gültig. Vier stattliche Jahrgänge (1946-1950) liegen von dieser ersten Folge der Jahrbücher vor.

Hier möchten die neuen Herausgeber anknüpfen; auch sie streben danach, nicht nur ein Forum für die Würzburger Altertumswissenschaftler zu schaffen, sondern darüber hinaus angesehene Gelehrte des In- und Auslandes zur Mitarbeit zu gewinnen. Sie wollen zu ihrem Teil das rege Leben, das in diesen Disziplinen herrscht, spiegeln, das wissenschaftliche Gespräch unter den Fachgenossen fördern, neuen Ergebnissen ans Licht verhelfen.

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Die Anschriften der Mitarbeiter dieses Bandes s. 3. Umschlagseite!



The main reason for his fall was the evident incapability which he evinced during the revolution of the East-Gothic Greuthungi, who had been colonized in Phrygia by Theodosius some years before. The Goths had participated in a battle against the Huns in 398. Their commander was Tribigild, a tribune in the Roman army. Since Eutropius denied him and his troops special honours for their accomplishments, Tribigild took revenge by plundering Phrygia in the spring of 399 (Eutrop. 2, 174 ff.). Eutropius' subsequent gifts and promises could not reconcile Tribigild (Eutrop. 2, 316b - 324). When the latter threatened neighbouring provinces, Eutropius sent two armies against him, one led by Leo, the other by Gainas; both men were '*magistri militum*'. In the year 395 Gainas, a West-Goth, had been ordered by Stilicho to bring the demanded troops to Byzantium. He was to defend the European coasts against the invading Goths, while Leo remained to fight them in Asia Minor. Tribigild evaded Leo's troops by heading south to Pisidia and Pamphylia. He was trapped and conquered by a force of natives, but was able to escape and assemble a new troop of soldiers. Many of them were deserters who joined Tribigild as Leo advanced (Zosimos 5, 17, 1 f.); the rest of Leo's soldiers were subjugated during an invasion at night. Leo died of excitement (Eutrop. 2, 432 ff.). Thereafter Gainas entered Asia Minor and made peace with Tribigild instead of fighting him. Many ancient authors claim that Gainas and Tribigild had conspired secretly from the start, that Gainas had even instigated Tribigild's revolt⁶. This reproach, very common in antiquity, is certainly unjustified⁷. Gainas more probably simply preferred not matching his Goths against Tribigild's Goths. Gainas' army was smaller than that of Tribigild. After his negotiations with Tribigild, Gainas had a messenger inform Emperor Arcadius that Tribigild would be reconciled only if Eutropius left his seat (Zosimos 5, 17, 2 - 5). — In contrast to other descriptions, the church historians Philostorgios (11, 6) and Sozomenos (8, 7, 3) ascribe the fall of Eutropius to the disfavour of Empress Eudoxia, whom he had insulted very crudely. The two explanatory versions do not exclude each other: Eudoxia might have prompted Eutropius' fall after his position had been weakened due to the revolt.

In July of the year 399 Eutropius was overthrown⁸. He feared for his life, as he had bred much enmity and hatred during his rule. He sought refuge from his guards in a church. When Gainas' soldiers demanded his release, Johannes Chrysostomos reprimanded them. The bishop held his famous *δημία εἰς Ἐβτροπίου ἐβνούχων πατρίκων καὶ ὑπατον*, while Eutropius, kneeling at the altar, requested the congregation to beg the emperor to pardon him⁹. But Eutropius' enemies were not reconcilable. Eutropius had to flee when his presence in the church was no longer secure; he was caught. Based upon the decree cod. Theod. 9, 40, 17 (its date

6. Sokrates 6, 6; Eunapios frg. 75,7 (FHG Müller 4, 47); Johannes Ant. frg. 190; Sozomenos 8, 4, 2.

7. Cf. the note by Cameron, Claudian, 135.

8. On July 25, 399 cod. Theod. 9, 14, 3, the law supporting Eutropius, is nullified: cf. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.*, Stuttgart 1919, 299.

9. Migne P.G. 52, 1859, 391 - 396; cf. Chr. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomos und seine Zeit*, vol. 2, Munich 1930, 39 ff. for information on Johannes Chrysostomos and Eutropius.

The second book begins with Claudian's blaming the Eastern Empire for having neglected all warning concerning Eutropius' imminent consulship. Once the prevailing mischief becomes a matter of fact, radical means of fighting the evil are as necessary as those used against advanced disease (2, 1 - 23). Following this introduction, Claudian describes in retrospective the prodigies which preceded Eutropius' consulship (24 - 49); it is a pitiable mistake to entrust this position to a eunuch with so many unfavourable characteristics (50 - 94). Then Claudian narrates the events during 399, which led to Eutropius' fall. In the spring, the court prepared to move to the summer residence in Ankara in order to return triumphantly as it had in the past. Mars turned to Bellona in rage when he saw all this: apparently the Eastern Empire could not stand the peace. If Stilicho had not refused to recognize Eutropius' consulship, the honour of this position would have been threatened. But the Byzantine senate and people accepted the disgrace of the consul! Mars wants to take revenge for this disgrace: Bellona is sent to seduce the East-Goths of Phrygia to a revolt. Upon Tribigild's return from Eutropius with empty hands, Bellona appears to him as his wife and urges him to fight against Eutropius. She vanishes in the form of a bird, whereupon Tribigild and his men plunder Phrygia. Cybele complains about all the destruction in her country. At first Eutropius shuts his eyes to any threats like an ostrich, but then he tries to pacify Tribigild with gifts — in vain. Finally he summons a military council in the palace: it consists of a bunch of spoiled sissies. Here Leo, a former weaver, boasts that he can defeat the intruders in no time. His poorly led army is vanquished by Tribigild, and Leo dies while escaping (95 - 461). When the people of Constantinople hear of this and the rumor that the Parthians had revolted, they lose all hope and courage; like Epimetheus they now recognize the evil signs (462 - 501a). They therefore long for Stilicho's arrival instead of dreading it. They regret their past attitude, and the lictors throw the *fasces* away (501b - 526a). The Goddess Aurora beseeches Stilicho (526 - 533), and her speech (534 - 602) constitutes the end of the book. First Rufinus planted discord between the two empires. After his death Eutropius, *Rufini castratus ... beres* (550), continued his politics against Stilicho. Along the frontiers, as well as internally, East-Rome is helpless in the face of its enemies. Stilicho is the only hope; may he protect the east as he does the west!

In summary, the first book of the invective discusses Eutropius' life until the year 398; the second book describes the events of 399, which lead to Eutropius' ruin.

The primary political topic of Book I centers Claudian's reproaches against Eutropius' administration¹⁵. Book II is still more important. The story of Tribigild's revolt is introduced in a mythical scenery; this introduction allegorizes Eutropius' fall as punishment for having degraded the position of a consul. In keeping with most ancient testimonies, Claudian also describes Eutropius' fall as mainly due to Tribigild's revolt. Yet, he makes no mention of Gainas, as do the other authors. Seeck claims that Claudian refrained from mentioning him because of the "friendly relationship between Stilicho and Gainas". Gainas was "Stilicho's creature"¹⁶; this

15. Cf. the notes by Cameron, Claudian 127 - 133, for each reprimand.

16. O. Seeck, Studien zu Synesios, in: Philologus 52, 1893, (442 - 483), 456, n. 39.

something that had already happened occur as an object of expectation? An example of this procedure would be Roma's requesting Honorius not to recognize Eutropius' consulship (1, 431 f.). When Claudian began to write the book, Honorius had already done this. — An objection from another perspective may be of greater importance: that which is raised upon consideration of the role the poem plays if the early dating is taken for granted. If Claudian had written and published the book at the beginning of 399, he would have gotten into trouble with Eutropius, who was at the peak of his career at this time. To demand Eutropius' head, as Claudian did in 1, 23, would have meant declaring war against the Eastern Empire — that is, beginning a revolution. Therefore, as Stilicho's advisor Claudian could not have dared making such bold remarks.

Consequently, the first book cannot have been written at the beginning of the year but only after Eutropius' overthrow. This conclusion contradicts in no way whatsoever Roma's beseeching Stilicho to fight Eutropius. "*Quid vincere differs?*", Roma asks him (1, 500). When she notices his willingness to consent (504 f.), she holds him back with the remark that the whip is the appropriate means of punishment for a mere former slave. This remark cannot be taken seriously¹⁹, but must be interpreted as a humorous comment after the overthrow. Had Claudian written Book I at the beginning of 399 with the intention of instigating Stilicho against Eutropius, he would not have written it in Stilicho's favour as his other poems, but would have tried his own hand at politics — without success. As mentioned above, Stilicho took no steps against Eutropius. This essential fact has not been taken into consideration by those who prefer the early dating²⁰.

Claudian's ambitions only make sense if the tale is comprehended in its entirety. But first it must be clarified when the second book was written. It is generally assumed that it was composed after Eutropius' fall; only Cameron and P.L. Schmidt²¹ believe most of it was compiled and made public before his condemnation. Cameron maintains that Claudian completed the book without awaiting the final outcome and therefore supplemented it in the Praefatio.

Decisive for any attempt to date Book II is a close examination of its beginning as well as its end. In the poem Claudian reproaches the Eastern Empire because it was blind to all warning against Eutropius' consulship. After destruction and decay had struck the East thanks to Eutropius, only radical measures could save the country, even if it meant banning the villain:

*at vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam,
Eutropium si Cyprus habet vindictaque mundi
semivir exul erit? qui vos lustrare valebit
oceanus? tantum facinus quae diluet aetas?*

(2, 20 - 23)

At the end of the book Aurora requests Stilicho to protect not only the Western Empire but also the endangered Eastern Empire:

19. In contrast to Schmidt, *Politik und Dichtung in der Panegyrik Claudians*, 15 f.

20. Concerning the entire topic cf. my review on Cameron's book: *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 28, 1975, (28 - 34), 32 ff.

21. Cameron, *Claudian*, 137; Schmidt, *Politik und Dichtung in der Panegyrik Claudians*, 62.

magistrates in public, carrying the *fascēs* with the *secures* over the left shoulder. The gesture of throwing away the *fascēs* can mean nothing else except that the magistrate has forfeited his post. In 520b - 521 the abrogation of Eutropius' consulship and his downfall are sketched in a few words²⁵. Claudian is not interested in giving a detailed account of it, since Stilicho did not (and could not) claim the merit for himself. The procedure of Eutropius' overthrow itself is of little importance, as Claudian is more interested in an alleged persuasion of the public into a favourable attitude towards Stilicho. A precise description of the details of Eutropius' fall would distract all attention from Stilicho; however, Claudian aims at praising him as the awaited redeemer. Aurora's long speech at the end of the second book serves this purpose. When Aurora bids Stilicho:

eripe me tandem, servilibus eripe regnis!

(2, 593),

she does not mean simply: "Save me from Eutropius immediately!" but also: "Redeem me from the sorry fate of being ruled by men like Eutropius by becoming master yourself!"²⁶ As a matter of fact, her speech ends with the wish that Stilicho govern both empires:

*armorum liceat splendore tuorum
in commune frui; clipeus nos protegat idem
unaque pro gemino desudet cardine virtus!*

(2, 600 - 602).

In contrast to Cameron's viewpoint²⁷, Claudian does not describe a decline in Eutropius' power at the end of the second book. Rather he typifies the situation after the fall, as seen through the eyes of a poet living at the western court. Therefore, no discrepancy exists between the end and the beginning sections. Jeep's supposition that Claudian's text was altered, and Cameron's idea that Claudian revised the poem of the second book under the impact of the events have no ground. So Book II as well as Book I must have been written after Eutropius' fall. Neither book is independent of the other: in all probability they were written in one stretch. The Praefatio in front of the second book discusses Eutropius' fall, which Claudian only hints at in the second book: especially because Stilicho had nothing to do with the situation, it should not be the culmination of the narrative. No one else than Claudian himself wrote and placed the Praefatio before the second book. It mediates between the end of Book I, where Stilicho is playfully requested to fight Eutropius, and the poem of Book II, where the East-Roman government's decree to banish Eutropius is decried as an insufficient punishment. If the Praefatio were missing, it would be difficult to find a link to the second book.

The question is of importance: how does this conclusion (which varies from all other datings) influence our judgement of Claudian's intentions when he wrote

25. The correct interpretation was already advanced by Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren* 50, n. 2; Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, vol. 4, 2, 17.
26. That *servilia regna* should be understood in this sense can be concluded from the fact that in the entire paragraph Claudian not only has Eutropius but also Rufinus in mind, as the use of the plural *famuli* in 2, 517 and 535 shows; cf. also 2, 594 *paucorum*.
27. Cameron, Claudian, 141.

that Eutropius' fall would subsequently justify Stilicho's influence on Honorius. It is understandable that the poet cannot admit Stilicho's revenge against his rival. Therefore, Claudian contents himself with representing the present principate as a perfect guardian of Roman tradition (1, 435 - 479). This coincides mainly with the attitude of the senatorial aristocracy, which was aware and proud of its tradition. Claudian's poem is clearly advertising for the approval of the Roman senators.

It should furthermore be asked whether or not the invective, in which East-Roman affairs are primarily discussed, could reach the Byzantine public beyond the West-Roman Empire. A central motif throughout the entire tale are the reproaches against the East³¹, especially against the government and the senators (who had decided to outlaw Stilicho); the public is also scolded and mocked³². At first glance, this circumstance seems to rule out the idea that Claudian was advertising for Byzantine applause. However, Claudian does not limit himself to scolding and mocking the East-Romans; at the end of his poem he describes a change in their attitude: he has them all regret their dislike for and opposition to Stilicho; he now differentiates between *iusti* and *sontes* (2, 508); and he has Aurora expressly declare that only a few had made themselves guilty (2, 594). So the invective cannot be interpreted as a document of "antibyzantinism". Claudian's poem, which so harshly criticizes East-Rome, ends with a reconciliatory gesture: Claudian does not want to sever all ties between Rome and Byzantium; in view of Stilicho's political ambitions, that is more than understandable. It is clear that Claudian is addressing East-Roman readers as well³³. Claudian uses the downfall of Eutropius, who was deeply despised in the Eastern Empire, as an opportunity for recommending Stilicho as a politician who is willing and capable of serving the entire Empire.

31. Cameron, Claudian, 143 and 367, is mistaken believing that only in the second book the Eastern Empire is attacked: cf. Chr. Gnilka, Dichtung und Geschichte im Werk Claudians, 114; cf. also Gnomon 49, 1977, 39.
Except for the passage mentioned by Gnilka, namely 1, 427 ff., verses ff. 308 ff. 1, 396 ff. and 1, 471 ff. should be cited.
32. Cf. especially Eutrop. 2, 135b - 137.
33. Cf. N.H. Baynes, Byzantine studies and other essays, London 1960, 338, n. 10.