

How Claudian changed epic to praise Stilicho

**A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy
by Dominic S. Solly**

Department of Classical Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
The Open University

Submitted on January 2nd, 2023

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my three children, Elizabeth, Victoria
and Justin

With grateful thanks for your support and encouragement.

Thesis Abstract

How Claudian changed epic to praise Stilicho.

Claudian, whose surviving works in Latin date from 394 to 404, wrote a variety of poems, including the first traditional epic for three hundred years, *De Raptu Proserpinae*. His most substantive works other than that are the ten political poems, known as the *Carmina maiora*, that describe current events; one other poem is relevant, the *Epithalamium*, composed to celebrate the wedding of Honorius and Maria, daughter of Stilicho, in early 398. The political poems fall into three types: panegyrics especially of Stilicho, the effective ruler under the child-emperor Honorius; vituperations of their opponents, Rufinus and Eutropius; and two short mini-epics. These poems are the subject of my thesis. It has been argued, notably by Cameron in 1970, that Claudian should be viewed primarily as a propagandist for Stilicho. More recently there has been a concentration on the poet's role as heir of the epic tradition. Claudian is a politically engaged poet rather than a propagandist; his success in this role was rewarded by a statue awarded by the decree of the Senate and the two emperors; only the base has survived where the inscription

declares him to be the equal of Homer and Virgil. As a poet writing within the epic tradition he was remarkably innovative.

I begin with an examination of his epic heritage and then his new creation (chapters 2-3). The poet shows a detailed knowledge of the different types of epic, which he adapts to create a new type, panegyric epic. Next I move to analyse various elements of his poetics, in terms of structural changes such as his use of verse prefaces (chapter 4), and his use of similes (chapter 5), both those adapted from his predecessors and his own inventions. I then examine his creation of the goddess Roma (chapter 6), and his treatment of heroes and villains (chapter 7): Roma is his most enduring creation and it is clear that the goddess had a special meaning for the poet. His characters, both good and evil, lack the moral complexity of the creations of his epic predecessors. I conclude with a separate analysis, to allow an evaluation of Claudian as an historical source; here I suggest that neither Claudian nor his audience were especially interested in accuracy. Throughout the thesis I show that the effectiveness of his adaptations to epic is shown by his influence on his successors.

Contents

<u>Front Papers</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Table of Contents</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>1. Introduction</u>	<u>8</u>
Section I	
2. Claudian's Poetry as the (Re)creation of a Genre	23
3. Claudian's Creation of Panegyrical Epic	62
4. Claudian's Prefaces	83
5. Claudian's Use of Similes	98
6. Claudian's Recreation of Roma	148
7. Claudian's Treatment of Heroes and Villains in his Epics	181
Section II	
8. Contemporary Events: an Evaluation of Claudian as an Historical Source	216
9. Conclusion	260
Appendix: Similes in Claudian	265
Bibliography	320

Acknowledgments

The debt of gratitude that I owe to my supervisors Trevor Fear, Gavin Kelly and Naoko Yamagata is immeasurable. Throughout the thesis process, which at times must have seemed to them as interminable, they have been unstinting in their advice and support. I report with sadness Trevor's sudden death in February; he was a sympathetic and inspiring teacher whom I am sure will be much missed by his colleagues. In the last several weeks both Gavin and Naoko have been remarkable for the speed with which they supplied comments and corrections. Their attention to detail is awesome. Gavin is of course one of the leading scholars of Claudian and his times; he has constantly shown the depth of his knowledge via many helpful suggestions. Naoko has proved masterful in her proof reading and I hope she will have enjoyed learning about Claudian's poetry. We have given up hope of trying to persuade her to like cricket. I should also like to thank the broader classical community for its willingness to share knowledge and to listen to my hare-brained suggestions. Unfortunately conferences have become a thing of the past in the last three years. On a lighter note, I also thank my late cat Shadow

without whose help the thesis would have been finished in half the time. She chose my computer keyboard as her favourite place to lie down. I would end by saying how much I have enjoyed the whole doctoral process.

Abbreviations

I use *the Oxford Classical Dictionary* abbreviations for Greek and Latin texts. Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire is abbreviated as PLRE. I use the following abbreviations for the works of Claudian.

<i>Carm. min.</i> 1-54	<i>Carmina minora</i>
<i>III Hon.</i>	<i>Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>III Hon. praef.</i>	<i>Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti praefatio</i>
<i>IV Hon.</i>	<i>Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>VI Hon.</i>	<i>Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>VI Hon. praef.</i>	<i>Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti praefatio</i>
<i>Eutr.</i> 1, 2	<i>In Eutropium</i>
<i>Eutr. praef.</i> 2	<i>In Eutropium praefatio</i>
<i>Fesc.</i> 1-4	<i>Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>Get.</i>	<i>De bello Pollentino sive Gothico</i>
<i>Get. praef.</i>	<i>De bello Pollentino sive Gothico praefatio</i>
<i>Gild.</i>	<i>De bello Gildonico</i>
<i>Nupt.</i>	<i>Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>Nupt. praef.</i>	<i>Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti praefatio</i>
<i>Olybr.</i>	<i>Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino consulibus</i>
<i>Rapt.</i> 1-3	<i>De raptu Proserpinae</i>
<i>Rapt. praef.</i> 1, 2	<i>De raptu Proserpinae praefatio</i>
<i>Ruf.</i> 1, 2	<i>In Rufinum</i>
<i>Ruf. praef.</i> 1, 2	<i>In Rufinum praefatio</i>
<i>Stil.</i> 1-3	<i>De consulatu Stilichonis</i>
<i>Stil. praef.</i> 3	<i>De consulatu Stilichonis praefatio</i>
<i>Theod.</i>	<i>Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro consuli</i>
<i>Theod. praef.</i>	<i>Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro consuli praefatio</i>

Chapter 1: Introduction.

In this thesis, I intend to show how innovative Claudian was as a poet, in terms of both the structures that he created for the poems that he wrote and the poetry within. Traditionally he has been viewed as the last poet of imperial Rome, the heir of a tradition of quantitative poetry that can be traced back to Ennius, but this is to underestimate his original contribution. Evidence for the latter is shown by the enthusiasm with which his successors, most notably Sidonius Apollinaris, adopted his innovations.

We know very little of the poet's life, save for the information that he himself supplies. It is virtually certain that he was a native of Alexandria, with Greek as his first language, and educated there as he makes clear in his Greek *Gigantomachia*. Although Cameron has suggested both that Claudian was part of a poetic community based in Egypt, the Wandering Poets, and that he was the author of several works in Greek that have not survived, notably aetiologies, there is no evidence.¹ The preface in *Rapt.* is clear evidence of both his bravery in moving directly to Rome² and his poetic confidence, as it was his first poem in Latin.

The surviving works of Claudian are found in two classifications, which form two discrete units in the manuscript tradition. The first is the *corpus maius*, which is made up of twelve of his political poems, as follows: *In Rufinum* (two books); *In Eutropium* (two books); five panegyrics, *De consulatibus tertio, quarto and sexto Honorii Augusti*, *Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro* and *De consulatu Stilichonis* (three books); and two short epics, *In Gildonem* and *De bello Gothico sive Pollentino*. The *Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii Augusti* and the *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii*

¹ Cameron 2016, 1-34.

² There is no evidence to suggest that he traveled in the East before moving to Rome; the only cities we can be certain that he visited are Rome and Milan, before his visit to Libya with his wife.

Augusti are also part of the *corpus maius*.³ There is one other political panegyric, *Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino consulibus*, which is separate in the manuscript tradition but seems to belong better to the *corpus maius*.⁴ It is possible that the *corpus maius* was published as a separate omnibus edition, but we have to rely on surmise, in particular about whether it was published under the auspices of Stilicho.⁵ Certainly any such posthumous publication did little to benefit the general politically. The remainder of his work which can loosely be defined as the *corpus minus/ carmina minora* were published variously over the poet's working life or posthumously. The three books of *De raptu Proserpinae*, his reclamation of traditional epic, were published separately, over a number of years, as the preface to the second book confirms.⁶ The *carmina minora* number 60 and range in length from two to 236 lines. The longest, number 30, is titled *Laus Serenae* and is addressed to Serena, niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius and wife of Stilicho. Some are addressed to other patrons of Claudian; others are occasional poems on a variety of subjects, for example the phoenix and crystals. One, *De Salvatore*, has been cited as evidence of Claudian's knowledge of Christianity.

I will focus on the longer political poems, which fall into three broad categories: the panegyrics, invectives that are perhaps the mirror images of the former, and short epics (*Gild.* and *Get.*). It was only the first that was used as a format by his successors. His versatility as a poet will not be ignored: *Rapt.* was the first full-scale traditional epic for three hundred years since Statius as he describes the abduction of Proserpina. In particular, I agree with Charlet that the first book of *Rapt.* was created in Alexandria and served to win him his fame in Rome and his

³ Schmidt 1989, 406.

⁴ Cameron's arguments (2015, 115) that it is qualitatively different from the other panegyrics are unconvincing

⁵ Cameron 1970, 407 is speculative; I prefer Schmidt's scepticism (1989, 391).

⁶ *Rapt. praef.* 2.49-52.

commissions to write poems honouring the great leaders of the western empire, especially Honorius and Stilicho, and vilifying their opponents.⁷

1. The structure of this thesis

Any evaluation of the poet's innovations must start with an analysis of the genre of epic: Claudian celebrated the inscription that survives from the honorary statue that was erected in his honour by the Senate and the two emperors in which he was described as the heir of both Homer and Virgil.⁸ Claudian's response to traditional epic is the subject of chapters 2 and 3. It is convenient to begin with a summary description of Homeric epic to allow easier identification of the changes that were made by the writers that followed. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are presented as accounts of a somewhat distant past, the first of the series of events that culminated in the death of Hector and the ransom of his corpse and the second an account of Odysseus' slow return to Ithaca. There is no mention in either of events happening at the time of the poems' creation, although the similes that play such a prominent part in both works often depict scenes of ordinary life that could have been taken from the poet's own observations. A notable feature is that the gods of Olympus are active participants, especially in battle, where they are ready to assist or hinder an individual hero.

Virgil inherited and made use of much of this poetic machinery, even if the role of the gods is much changed, to serve more as advisers rather than as active participants in battle. Jupiter has a preeminent role, in particular as the ultimate arbiter of the fate of Troy. A notable feature of the *Aeneid* is the *concilium deorum*

⁷ Charlet 1991, xx-xxxi. Hall 1969, 102-3, Gruzelier 1993, xvii, and Bernstein 2022, 1 concur, although proof is impossible.

⁸ *CIL* 6.1710. Claudian's pride in the statue is evident (*Get. praef.* 9-10).

which forms the opening of Book 10.⁹ The council is summoned by Jupiter. After he has heard the complaints of both Venus and Juno, he ends the conference by stating that he will take no steps to assist either the Trojans or the Latins, as he says *rex Iuppiter omnibus idem. Fata viam invenient.*¹⁰ ('King Jupiter will be the same for all. The Fates will find a way.') He notably disciplines Juno, predicting that she will be honoured in time by the Romans above all.¹¹ A major change is the introduction of the theme of the destiny of Rome, *genus unde Latinum/ Albanique patres et altae moenia Romae.* ('From whom (sprang) the Latin race and the Alban fathers and the walls of lofty Rome.')¹²

Virgil also describes historical figures who played important roles in Rome's rise to empire. The mechanisms to allow the poet to introduce characters that are not contemporaneous to Aeneas include prophecy, as in Jupiter's address to Venus, where he describes major events and personages of Roman history.¹³ The visit of Aeneas to the Underworld in company of the Sibyl allows the dead Anchises to display future events to his son.¹⁴ He is not only portraying Aeneas's path to Italy but the history of the Roman struggles that followed. The shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas enables its maker to picture notable events of Roman history, with a culmination in the battle of Actium.¹⁵

Their successors also adapted epic to suit their own purposes, especially when they were writing about historical events. Before Virgil, Ennius had

⁹ *Aen.* 10.1-117.

¹⁰ *Aen.* 10.112-3. All translations are my own save otherwise indicated.

¹¹ *Aen.* 12.791-840.

¹² *Aen.* 1.5-6.

¹³ *Aen.* 1.257-96

¹⁴ *Aen.* 6.756-892.

¹⁵ *Aen.* 8.626-731.

introduced contemporary events and political figures as he extended his poem to his own time. Others changed the roles of the gods, with Lucan virtually eliminating them. His portrayal of Roma was an important model for Claudian.¹⁶ Indeed, it is evident how innovative the later poet was as he adopted and adapted the epic of his predecessors. In chapter 2 I describe the different types of epic that he inherited and then in chapter 3 I outline some of the changes he made, in particular his creation of epic panegyric to praise and blame contemporary figures.

An important element of his poetics that I analyse is his use of verse prefaces in chapter 4, the consistent use of which is probably his own invention, both to introduce his themes and to flatter his audience. Its attraction is shown by its ready adoption by his successors, most notably Sidonius in his three panegyrics and possibly Merobaudes. A major element of his poetic technique is his use of similes; they play a prominent role in his versification and deserve a separate analysis as he not only adopts and adapts those of his predecessors but demonstrates his own powers of observation as he creates novel examples. Here in my fifth chapter I have created a comprehensive classification, with a listing of the similes forming an appendix. In chapter 6 I examine how Claudian created his characterisation of Roma, which was enthusiastically adopted by his successors, as they adapted epic to suit their own purposes.

I analyse his treatment of the heroes and villains in his poetry in chapter 7. The heroes, most notably Stilicho, are flawless, while his opponents and rivals are painted in the deepest dye; Eutropius is spectacularly reserved for an astringent mockery that owes much to Juvenal. My eighth chapter takes a different approach. While the previous chapters focus on the epic poetics of Claudian's longer poems with occasional consideration given to the historical content and context, here I evaluate Claudian as a source for information on contemporary events, where his

¹⁶ *BC* 1.186-90.

accounts of events are often the only witness that has survived. I emphasise that neither he nor, probably, his audience appear to have been very interested in the details of current affairs or the minutiae of the imperial court and that his use as a source must be handled cautiously.

2. Claudian's literary environment

Another pervasive theme is that of Claudian's connections with literary contemporaries in what was one of the most fecund periods of Latin literary history; these include authors whose religious or generic affiliations may appear at first sight to dissociate them from Claudian. But he seems aware of their activity and vice versa. Others writing at the time included Augustine, Paulinus, Symmachus and Prudentius; the latter's engagement with the poet from Alexandria has been well documented.¹⁷ The Christian poet asserts in opposition to Claudian (and is followed by Augustine) that Christ played a prominent role in the victories of Theodosius and Stilicho, including Pollentia.¹⁸ Ammianus was certainly a source of information for the poet, especially about the Huns.¹⁹ The description of Honorius' triumph is also modeled on the historian's earlier description of the *adventus* of Constantinus II in 357.²⁰ Claudian's immediate successors, especially Rutilius Namatianus, show the influence of his poetry in terms of both language and structure. The latter knew the *Laus Romae* from the third book on Stilicho's consulship²¹ as well as having a very different view of the merits of Stilicho.²² He also knew other works of Claudian,

¹⁷ Dorfbauer 2012, 69.

¹⁸ See chapter 8 below.

¹⁹ Maenchen-Helfen 1955, 394.

²⁰ Kelly 2016, 343, citing Ammianus 16.10.6-8.

²¹ *Stil.* 3.130-73.

²² *De reditu suo* 2.44-61; Rutilius makes clear his debt to Claudian in his reshaping of the latter's *Laus Romae* (1.47-164).

including *Ruf.*, *Gild.*, *Get.* and *VI Hon.* It is probable that there were others similarly engaged whose works have not survived.

3. Overview of current scholarship

The actual text of Claudian's poetry is the obvious starting point; I shall then summarise some recent interpretations of his work, whether as an historical source or as poetry. Theodor Birt's omnibus edition of his poems remains fundamental; it was published in 1892 as Volume 10 of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.²³ Birt's edition is preceded by a substantial introduction of 230 pages, in which he concentrates on the manuscript tradition. A notable feature of the edition is his identification of Claudian's allusions to his predecessors and of the 'borrowings' made by his successors; it is an invaluable resource. His text has generally been accepted, notably by Cameron,²⁴ as standard, although there have been alternative readings of individual lines in the omnibus editions of Hall and Charlet, published in 1969/1985 and 1991-2018 respectively.²⁵ It seems clear that a rivalry grew up between the two as in their reviews of the other's works they often criticise proposed emendations in vitriolic fashion but it does allow them to view the work as an oeuvre.²⁶ There have also been editions of individual poems which I discuss

²³ Notable earlier editions that provide valuable interpretations of specific passages are those of Heinsius (Leiden, 1650), Pyrrho (Paris, 1677), Burmann (Amsterdam, 1760) and Jeep (Leipzig, 1876-9).

²⁴ Cameron 1970, xii.

²⁵ Hall 1989, 3-89 and Schmidt 1989, 391-415 give detailed analyses of the manuscript tradition.

²⁶ Dewar 2003, 112 summarises nicely their two differing approaches to editing. Hall 1993, 114 in his review of Charlet's edition of *Rapt.* ends, after criticising his approach and proposed emendations by saying 'Charlet's standing as a worthy

below, as well as Platnauer's translation of the corpus, published in 1922 for the Loeb Library; although often criticized for its archaic language and its frequent inaccuracy²⁷, it has had great influence on Anglophone scholarship. His low opinion of his author is made clear, as he wrote in his introduction that Claudian 'is not wholly despicable as a poet.'²⁸ He also accuses the poet of (self-)plagiarism.²⁹ It has now been superseded for the Anglophone world by Bernstein's new translation of his complete works with useful introductions and notes on individual poems.³⁰

This omnibus format has been followed by Hall and Charlet; the latter's edition contains useful commentary on individual poems, notably in his 2018 edition of *Carm. min.* As Kelly has noted, there have been recent editions with commentary of all of his individual poems save *III Hon.* and his poetry in Greek.³¹ Valuable editions include those for *Rapt.* (Hall 1969, Gruzelier 1993), *Olybr.* (Taegert 1993), *Ruf.* (Levy 1971), *Eutr.* (Schweckendiek 1992), *Stil.* (Keudel 1970) and *VI Hon.* (Dewar 1996). The utility of the individual editions is variable: for example Dewar is primarily focused on detailing the exact meaning of Claudian's text, rather ignoring its poetic elements. It should be noted that Keudel's work is not a typical edition with commentary designed to illuminate the meaning of a work but an *Imitationskommentar*. One might also add that book-length studies of individual poems in forms other than commentary are notable by their absence: the exception is Long (1996), a fine and detailed study of *Eutr.*

representative of the modern tradition of French textual scholarship.' Charlet 2013, 340 n.93 is similarly catty on Hall's proposed emendation of *VI Hon.* 601-2.

²⁷ Kelly 2013, 173.

²⁸ Platnauer 1922, vii.

²⁹ Platnauer 1922, xiii-iv.

³⁰ Bernstein (2023, 15) in a useful innovation has his translation match the line numbering of the Latin original.

³¹ Kelly 2013, 173.

There has been an abundance of articles on both individual poems highlighting specific aspect of a poem and on elements of Claudian's poetics. In the first category, I list in alphabetical order by author Balzert (1974) *Get.*, Barr (1979) *Ruf.*, Barr (1981) *IV Hon.* (1981), Braden (1979) *Rapt.*, Burrell (2003) *Eutr.*, Hinds (2013) *Rapt.*, James (1998) *Ruf.* and Olechowska (1978) *Gild.* Studies of elements of his poetics include Felgentreu (1999) *Praef.* and Perrelli (1992) *Proemi.*

3.2 Claudian as a historical source.

The first historian writing in English to make use of Claudian as a source of historical information was Edward Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,³² and he adopts a very literal interpretation, accepting as true not only the poet's vilification of Rufinus but his praise of Stilicho. Indeed he suggests that Claudian was executed as part of the slaughter of the general's followers following the latter's assassination in 408. Bury, an editor of Gibbon, took a very different view of the general's abilities, in particular in the second edition of his *History of the Later Roman Empire*, where he effectively blames Stilicho for the collapse of the western empire, largely due to his inability or unwillingness to eliminate Alaric.³³

Earlier studies which concentrated on Claudian as a historical source include Crees (1908) and Fargues (1933) but there has been a renaissance of interest in Claudian since the publication of Cameron's seminal monograph of 1970. This interest wavers between whether he should be viewed as a rapporteur, verging on a historian even if not a very accurate one, or at least a source of historical

³² Gibbon 1776-88, especially chapters xxix-xxx.

³³ I discuss Gibbon and Bury at greater length in chapter 8.

information, or as a poet, either the last poet of imperial Rome or one who created a new version of epic. I hope to bridge the gap between literary scholars and those who read his poetry primarily in the light of the events he was describing.

Cameron's portrait of Claudian is remarkable in its revisionist views: in contrast to Gibbon who viewed the poet as a largely trustworthy guide to the events of Honorius' reign, Cameron viewed him as unreliable in his accounts of fact, willing and able to elide the truth in order to portray Stilicho in the best possible light. Indeed, he has been seen as the mouthpiece of the general, writing virtually to order.³⁴ This emphasis on the poet as primarily a propagandist has been widely criticised as extreme, in particular by the German scholars Döpp (1975) and Gnilka (1977): they argue that the modern concept of propaganda is foreign to the Roman world. They also argue that Claudian's poems illustrated the break up of the two halves of the empire. Certainly a poet was expected to glorify the deeds of his patron, but the detailed formulation of the taxonomy of propaganda that Long – a pupil of Cameron – takes from Ellul appears anachronistic.³⁵ Cameron himself moderated his rhetoric as he grew older.³⁶

A principal motivation for Cameron was the view he took of the general's skills, or lack thereof. He will often read an account by Claudian of his deeds or those of his foes as both partial and often dictated by Stilicho. To further this message, he parses the poetry to try to identify the changes in Claudian's differing accounts of the same event; one example that he highlighted was the two of Gildo's rebellion in *Gild.* and *Stil.* His reading of the poetry is strictly chronological. Gillett also viewed the poems as political communication/ propaganda issued for the imperial court and suggests that Stilicho had a prominent role in Claudian's choice of subject

³⁴ Cameron 1970, 42.

³⁵ Long 1996, 205-12.

³⁶ Cameron 2000, 127-44 (slightly revised 2016, 133-46).

matter.³⁷ The question of the actual role that the general had in the creation of Claudian's panegyrics and invectives is both vexatious and unanswerable; it ties in with the question of whether the poetry should be viewed as propaganda. Certainly it is intended to flatter the general.

Only a year after Cameron's *Claudian*, Peter Brown published a very different book, *The World of Late Antiquity*, which was groundbreaking in its study of that world and has come to be seen as a watershed in scholarship. Just as Brown so also Michael Roberts has in *The Jeweled Style* strongly influenced our understanding of the poetics of Late Roman literature; Jean-Louis Charlet's 1988 study on the aesthetics of poetry of the same period is also useful. Since 1970 there have been a multiplicity of studies not necessarily primarily concerned with Claudian that nevertheless contribute considerably to my understanding the world in which he lived. Different elements of relevance to Claudian that have been studied include the idea of Rome (Paschoud 1967), the western aristocracy (Matthews 1975), the walls of Rome (Dey 2011), the relationship between Rome and Constantinople (Grig and Kelly 2012a) and the roles of child-emperors (McEvoy 2013). Alan Cameron's work *The Last Pagans of Rome* (2011) gives a detailed analysis of the decline of paganism in the fourth and early fifth centuries; there is a vituperative review by François Paschoud which largely contradicts any conclusions that Cameron has drawn. All these works have given me a much clearer idea of the circumstances in which Claudian wrote and his audience lived. One subject of particular interest is the size of the effective forces available to Stilicho in battle; the works of Marrón 2013 and Wijnendaele 2016 have been especially informative as they have demonstrated the constraints facing the general and the validity of Claudian's complaints. As Cameron 1970 noted, Alaric's time as a governor of part of Illyricum enabled him to fight

³⁷ Gillett 2012, 265-6.

Stilicho on a virtually equal footing by reason of his ability to furnish his troops with Roman armour.³⁸

There has been a recent move away from the view of Claudian's poetry as hard propaganda, in particular that it was the general and not the poet who dictated the latter's subject matter. Wheeler has suggested that it be seen as an oeuvre that had an overarching purpose, not just praise of Stilicho but a glorification of Rome.³⁹ Kelly has pointed out it seems very possible that Rome was seen as a possible permanent imperial residence in 404.⁴⁰

3.3 The poetry as literature.

Although Cameron (1970) obviously discussed the poet's literary skill, it was not his primary focus. Fargues (1933) had treated the poet in a similar fashion, comparing him to a journalist. There have been studies of individual elements of Claudian's style, notably Gualandri (1968) and Fo (1982) which have been very useful to my analysis. More recent studies have highlighted poetical aspects of his work (Ware 2012, Coombe 2018 and Meunier 2019). Ware is eager to show that Claudian is an epic poet in the manner of Virgil, with a particular emphasis on the idea that Claudian foresaw a return of a golden age, as had his predecessor.⁴¹ Coombe's work presents the poet as the creator of a story-world where the mythological imagery provides an internal universe to the poems. Meunier's recent work emphasizes Claudian's place in the epic tradition, especially in terms of his language and imagery. These works show their debts to the analyses of Gualandri and Fo. Gualandri had notably described the poet as a mosaicist who joined

³⁸ Cameron 1970, 187.

³⁹ Wheeler 2007, 198-9.

⁴⁰ Kelly 2016, 336-8.

⁴¹ Ware 2012, 16-7 and 196-7.

elements from disparate literary traditions to make new statements. Her image foreshadowed the argument of Roberts in *The Jeweled Style* (1989), which has been immensely influential to our views of Late Antique poetry, even if I believe that he underestimated Claudian's originality.

An invaluable resource that should not be forgotten is the extensive analyses of Claudian's use of similes by German scholars in the nineteenth century, as well as of a number of his predecessors, in their dissertations.⁴² We may not agree with their overready approach in charging their subjects with borrowings but they are both comprehensive and reliable in their citations.

There is, however, a lack of attempts to evaluate Claudian's opus as poetry, as Kelly has complained⁴³: these recent works (Ware, Coombe and Meunier) tend to underestimate his originality, placing him in the orthodoxy of Roman poetry as an heir rather than as an innovator. Articles by Bernstein (2016) and Wheeler (2007, 2016) have been refreshing: they both emphasise that we should evaluate Claudian's poetic aims, and in particular his treatment of Roma as a major theme.

The debts of his immediate successors, most notably Sidonius Apollinaris, and Merobaudes to the extent we can judge from the fragments, are manifold and have often been commented on, notably by Kelly.⁴⁴ Dorfbauer usefully analyses the relationship between Claudian and Prudentius. His innovations, some of which he adapted from his predecessors, include his adoption of prefaces in verse as standard, as well as the use of personifications, which has replaced the use of divine

⁴² Barchfeld 1880, Günther 1894, Hundt 1886, Krause 1871, and Müllner 1893.

⁴³ Kelly 2013, 171-3. His analysis of Claudianic scholarship is both succinct and penetrating.

⁴⁴ Kelly 2013, 171-94. See also Bruzzone 2004, 135-6.

machinery where gods act as assistants to heroes. There are frequent verbal echoes in those near contemporary writers.⁴⁵

His influence on later writers of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, both in Latin and in the vernacular, is substantial as the writers adapt his poetry for their own purposes. Petrarch certainly used Claudian as a source for his *Africa*: his imagery of Carthage and Rome as distressed suppliants to Jupiter in the Seventh book of the *Africa* is clearly taken from the latter's portraits of the distressed Roma and Africa in *Gild*.⁴⁶ Chaucer takes over his images of the dreams that men have for the *Parlement of Fouls*. The fifteenth stanza of the latter is a virtual translation of lines 3-10 of the preface to *VI Hon.* which Chaucer would have known as part of the preface to *Rapt.* 3.⁴⁷ The earliest surviving translation (into Middle English) of a passage from *Stil.* was used by Osbern Bokenham to give advice to Richard Duke of York. Similarly Catherine Des Roches, the first to translate Claudian into French, makes use of his account of the relationship between Ceres and Proserpine to show her bonds with her own mother. He was useful as a source of advice for poets such as Andrew Marvell and Payne Fisher (the latter writing in Latin) in the Cromwellian period.⁴⁸

His Latin is remarkable for its felicity, as Gibbon has noted⁴⁹, but too frequently he has been criticised for a lack of originality and for repetition. Des Esseintes' praise of Claudian at the expense of Virgil in *À Rebours* is intentionally

⁴⁵ These have been carefully collected by Birt. As an example he cites 15 in *Olybr.* alone (1892, 3-14).

⁴⁶ Mustard 1921, 120.

⁴⁷ Pratt 1947, 421-2.

⁴⁸ Moul 2017.

⁴⁹ Gibbon 1995, 956.

provocative.⁵⁰ Dewar (1996) in his otherwise estimable edition of *VI Hon.* too often falls into this trap, as does Gruzelier (1993) in her edition of *Rapt.* Platnauer (1922) was the translator of the Loeb edition which has been frequently criticized for its inaccuracies and dated language. It is a grave underestimation of his poetic skills, but these require effort to understand, in particular in his use of similes both when used to engage with his predecessors and when he relies on his own powers of observation.

I would conclude that I intend to show that Claudian is both a successful and innovative creator of epic. Heir to a long tradition, he was obviously very familiar with the canon, not just the works of Homer and Virgil. He consciously compares himself to Ennius in *Stil. praef.* 3 implying that just as Stilicho is greater than the Scipios, he is a greater poet than his predecessor. He knows more recent authors well, including Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus and Statius. Other influences were from further afield. His account of the execution of Rufinus owes much to the death scenes of Greek tragedy, in particular the dismemberment of Pentheus in the *Bacchae*, as well as those of Senecan drama. His poetic career may have been brief, perhaps only ten years from 394 to 404, based on his first and last datable works *Olybr.* and *VI Hon.* with his own death the likely reason for its end, but it was very successful as shown by the honours he received, notably the statue with its laudatory inscription. Further evidence is given by the fact that his innovations were wholeheartedly adopted by his successors. He also continued to be read in both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, showing a continuing influence.

He has been variously depicted as a propagandist, notably by Cameron⁵¹, as a journalist⁵² and, in his own claim, as a poet, by his proud reference to the honorary inscription.⁵³ My purpose is to show that this remains the most valid interpretation.

⁵⁰ Huysmans 1884, Chapter 3.

⁵¹ Cameron 1970, 42.

Chapter 2: Claudian's Poetry as the (Re)creation of a Genre.

Introduction

Claudian's poetry is dominated by an unfailing optimism as he both predicts and describes the recreation of a golden age, in marked contrast to the pessimism of much of earlier epic, where the shadows of Homer and Lucan loom large. This change in tone was adopted enthusiastically by successors such as Sidonius but it is also found in his predecessors, notably Ennius. The mood may have been acceptable to his contemporary audience, in particular as Rome, at the time of his writing, was enjoying both a remarkable economic resurgence and a literary renaissance. For its first ten years the reign of Honorius had been relatively peaceful with temporary threats successfully quashed and no civil wars.

I shall argue that the poet adapted epic, moving from its usual emphasis on an imperfect and doomed humanity, to create a model that successfully introduces optimism, an element of panegyric which can be traced back to Pindar. The Roman poet's achievement can be seen in his engagement with his predecessors in epic and his adaptations of other genres. This fusion of panegyric and epic was something that nobody had been able to accomplish successfully (although we are limited in our judgments by what remains extant) but was adopted with enthusiasm by his successors.

To achieve this creation, Claudian also looked to other genres, in particular tragedy and satire. Tragedy had always, since the time of Apollonius, been a major influence on epic but Claudian took special advantage of it to enhance his

⁵² Fargues 1933, 57-8.

⁵³ See n. 8 above. I examine the wording of the inscription in detail at the start of chapter 2.

presentation of the death of Rufinus. The account of Eutropius' career owes much to satire.

A particular problem the poet had to address was that he was writing about contemporary events: any claim that he could assume the role of *vates* could be the subject of scepticism, as Stilicho may not have been as successful as the poet was claiming.⁵⁴ He also had to deal with the problem that was raised by both Pindar and Isocrates, in his *Evagoras*, that praise of contemporaries aroused φθόνοϛ in the audience; the former has written ὄψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν and Isocrates complains that his audience only wanted to hear about the exploits of mythological figures.⁵⁵ This is a problem which Claudian carefully addresses in the first book of *Stil.* where he claims that Stilicho was never the subject of envy. He ends his introduction with *taciti suffragia vulgi/ iam tibi detulerant, quidquid mox debuit aula* ('the support of the silent crowd had already conferred on you what the palace soon soon owed') and will develop the theme further in the second book.⁵⁶

The rhetorical handbooks, such as those of Menander Rhetor, probably a provincial schoolmaster, and Athonius, with their outlines of how speeches should be crafted, have often been cited as a vade mecum for Claudian but the poet may not have known these works. Menander, following the example of Aristotle in his *Poetics*, has chosen one or two examples as a basis for his prescriptions, relying heavily on Aristides and Isocrates in his formulation of the rules for the praise of

⁵⁴ *Get.* 14-21 makes clear his scepticism.

⁵⁵ Pindar *Nem.* 8.21 and Isocrates *Evagoras* 6-7.

⁵⁶ *Stil.* 1.49-50 and 2.173-83. Claudian will later make the same claim for Stilicho that Pindar makes for Aeacus (Pindar *Nem.* 8.7-12) and Isocrates for Evagoras (51-2), that foreigners rushed to submit to his justice (*Stil.* 2.184-92). Obviously Augustus' statement in *Res Gestae* suggests that this was also a Roman claim (5.26) but I believe the Greek inheritance is also important.

cities, referring ten times to the former and four times to the latter.⁵⁷ Repeated readings of Athonius confirm that his work was addressed to schoolboys, who I am sure treated his precepts with proper disdain.

The inscription on the statue erected in honour of Claudian in 400 has often been viewed as an example of his attempt to insert himself into the canon of epic poets that reached back to both Homer and Virgil; he claimed to be, or was regarded by his contemporaries as, an equal of both. The wording is

Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳ νόον καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὅμηρου
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.⁵⁸

‘Rome and the emperors honoured Claudian: in one man the mind of Virgil and the Muse of Homer.’

He is the poet who matches the ‘Muse’ of Homer and the ‘Mind’ of Virgil, suggesting that he saw himself as both the current and an outstanding heir, if not the equal, of the two poets.⁵⁹ It is almost unprecedented that such a statue bears an inscription

⁵⁷ Menander Rhetor, *ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ*, 346-365.

⁵⁸ *CIL* 6.1710. It would be nice if Claudian is harking back (if it was his own creation) in his use of νόον to the opening of the *Odyssey* πολλῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω (*Od.* 1.3), later picked up Horace in his *Epistles*, *multorum providus Urbis/ et mores hominum inspexit* (*Ep.* 1.2.19-20). The mistake in βασιλῆς may be a misreading by the sculptor; H for EI.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that two of Claudian’s successors, Merobaudes and Sidonius, were given the same honour of a statue in the Forum of Trajan (*CIL* 6.1724 and *Carm.* 8.7-8), out of the known total of twenty (possibly thirty) erected there in the fourth and fifth centuries (Chenault 2012, 130-1). Chenault suggests that such a statue became a usual compliment for a panegyrist, as he notes the civilian

in Greek, which has led Alessandro Fo to suggest that it was his own composition.⁶⁰ His claim to fame is in marked contrast to Statius's purported modesty, as he in the last lines of the *Thebaid* warns his audience that he will not have matched Virgil *nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta, sed longo sequere et vestigia semper adora*.⁶¹ ('Attempt the divine Aeneid, but follow at a distance and always worship his footsteps.') A poet from Alexandria, whose Greek *Gigantomachia* survives in fragmentary form but follows all the rules of hexameter poetry, would not have chosen the words of the inscription without care.⁶² The comment in the preface to *Get.* makes evident his pride that he has been honoured by both emperor and the Senate, *sed prior effigiem tribuit successus ahenam*.⁶³ ('My earlier success earned a bronze statue.')

The language might provide a useful avenue to demonstrate not only how Claudian perceived himself within the epic tradition but the methods through which he transgressed it. In this, he was following in the footsteps of his predecessors, both Greek and Roman; for the latter, the key terms were *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.⁶⁴ A poet was both aware of his predecessors, sometimes but not always in awe, and ready to demonstrate his own originality. A classic exposition is Horace's description of his engagement with Pindar in one of his last poems, the second in the fourth book of *Odes*. He begins by outlining the task, *Pindarum quisquis studet*

background of the honorands, a contrast to the imperial and military figures honoured in the Roman Forum in the same period (Chenault 2012, 110-1, 124-5).

⁶⁰ Fo 1982, 94-5.

⁶¹ *Theb.* 12.816-7. As Gibson has remarked, Statius will suggest both diffidence and rivalry but Claudian was very ready to be compared to his predecessors.

⁶² As Fo suggested, see above.

⁶³ *Get. praef.* 7.

⁶⁴ Here I would note Fränkel's suggestion that the difference between the two has been overstated (1957, 436 n. 2); perhaps 'match' would serve as an English equivalent.

aemulari, and describes the poetry, in terms of both style, *seu per audacis nova dithyrambos/ verba devolvit* and his subject-matter, *seu deos regesve canit*.⁶⁵ The Augustan poet is subtle, but he alone could make such a *recusatio*; he is ostensibly willing to give up his own part in such a contest, ready to give the role to his addressee, Jullus, *parvus/ carmina fingo./ concines maiore plectro / Caesarem*.⁶⁶ ('I, a slight poet create lyrics, you will hymn Caesar on a greater lyre.') The wording is especially relevant if we follow Fränkel's proposal that it was intended as a refusal to write an epic panegyric, suggesting that even in the Augustan era that the latter was already a well-defined genre, sung *maiore plectro*.⁶⁷ Claudian picks up this allusion as he writes in the preface to the second book of *Rapt. tu mea plectra moves*.⁶⁸

To the ancients, the muse of Homer was preeminent in terms of both time and quality; for much of antiquity the poet was the best source and forerunner of anything that followed, be it tragedy, comedy or even government. Her net was spread wide; anyone who followed would be able to write whatever he chose. The inscription is at the same time implicitly asserting that Claudian is a poet in the mould of Ennius, who famously claimed his Homeric inheritance and was called *alter Homerus*;⁶⁹ the claim is made explicit in the preface to the second book of *Stil*.⁷⁰ The reference to Virgil is more complex, addressing both the range of the

⁶⁵ *Carm.* 4.2.1, 10-1.13.

⁶⁶ *Carm.* 4.2.31-4.

⁶⁷ Fränkel 1957, 434. Norden had long ago written that Virgil had written a brief panegyric in the *Aeneid*, referring to lines 791-807 in the Sixth Book. (1899, 466-7).

⁶⁸ *Rapt. praef.* 2.49.

⁶⁹ Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.50.

⁷⁰ *Stil. praef.* 3.11-2, 21-2.

Virgilian corpus and his adaptation of genres that were foreign to traditional epic.⁷¹ Claudian was claiming for himself that he could range as far afield and with similar success: he could and would step outside of epic, matching Virgil.

As Catherine Ware has argued,⁷² Claudian is an epic poet above everything; any accusations that he was a propagandist must be viewed through that lens. He abandoned the traditional prose, used in the *Panegyrici Latini*, to reintroduce verse epic after it had lain fallow for three hundred years following the death of Statius in order to praise Stilicho and to further his view of the world order that the latter had recreated.⁷³ I shall examine first the literary environment during the time that the

⁷¹ Noted by Macrobius, see below. Fo (1982, 93-4) commented that the two attributes, *vóov* and *Μοῦσαν*, should not be seen as interchangeable.

⁷² Ware 2012, 1.

⁷³ Proba's epic poem on the subject of the civil war between Constantius and Magnentius in 350-3 was primarily written in order to rehabilitate her husband. Ammianus Marcellinus reported, in a portion of his work that is incompletely preserved, that Adelphius was charged with high treason (16.6.2). It was probably largely ignored. Its existence was reported by de Montfaucon in 1702, when he cited a *ms.* that has since been lost, writing *Proba, uxor Adelphi, mater Olibrii et Aliepii (sic pro Alypii,) Constantini (sic pro Constantii) Imperatoris bellum adversus Magnentium conscripsisset, conscripsit et hunc librum* (de Montfaucon 1702, 36). The account of her poetic career that she gave in the *Cento* was written much later, perhaps as late as the 390s, when it would be safe for her to misrepresent the poem. There she emphasises that she had earlier described the miseries of civil war, as she writes in her prologue:

*iam dudum temerasse duces pia foedera pacis,
regnandi miseros tenuit quos dira cupido,
diversasque neces, regum crudelia bella*

poet was active and then look to his varied engagement with his predecessors in epic, where Homer and Virgil are the dominant influences, and his adoption and adaptation of other genres, especially tragedy.

In particular, it is notable that Claudian's epic is very different from that of both Homer and Virgil; he is largely unconcerned with the theme of the tragedy and futility of war that is so dominant in the *Iliad*. Unlike Aeneas in the *Aeneid* Stilicho is not consumed by doubt or fear as he moves with confidence to fulfill his destiny. Certainly themes and images taken from both poets appear in his works and verbal allusions, especially to Virgil, are abundant. His work looks back rather to Ennius' *Annales*, with its account of recent historical events and a concern for contemporary figures: his epic is historical rather than mythological. The theme of praise of a great

*cognatasque acies, pollutes caede parentum
insignis clipeos nulloque ex hoste tropaea,
sanguine conspersos tulerat quos fata triumphos,
innumeris totiens viduatas civibus urbes,
confiteor, scripsi; satis est meminisse malorum.* (Cento 1-8)

Later she even suggests that her age might be an impediment, as she writes, admittedly in a line taken from the *Aeneid* (10.792), *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas* (Cento 46). It is probable that Jerome was writing, in his letter dated 394-5 to Paulinus, about contemporary literature. His criticism is strident; the tone of his letter suggests that it was an immediate complaint about an old woman's busy-bodying. In his letter, Jerome refers to Cento 624 and *Aen.* 2.650 and Cento 403 and *Aen.* 1.664. A late dating would also confirm the allusion in the Preface to the Cento to *Carmen contra paganos (CCP)* that Shanzer has noted (Shanzer 1994, 84-5). The Cento's *iurgantesque deos procerum* seems to be a clear allusion to the former poem *iurgantesque deos ...proceres* (Cento 17 and CCP 22-3). Certainly we have no knowledge of the date of Proba's death.

man can be traced back to Pindar but was also prominent in Ennius; the parallel is highlighted by Claudian in the preface to the third book of *Stil.*⁷⁴

It is perhaps sensible to take the structure of a panegyric epic as a starting-point, using the guidelines suggested by Virgil in the proem in the third book of the *Georgics*.⁷⁵ The obvious caveat remains that we are, because of the lack of surviving examples, very limited in our ability to know how verse panegyric epics were structured before Claudian. I will then highlight areas where Claudian's epic is different from the surviving works of his predecessors in the genre.

One area is his use of typology, the argument that the achievements of Stilicho were foreshadowed in earlier Roman history and that he surpassed his exemplars. This may have been a borrowing from Christian authors and marked an abandonment of the usual reliance on a hero's genealogy as the predictor of his success. Claudian and the Christian writers shared the same motive: for both, there were no ancestors to look to, as is shown by his very brief reference to Stilicho's father.⁷⁶ Christian exegesis had to show how Christ was the culmination of the Old Testament: he and his followers were carpenters, fishermen and shepherds. In neither case was heredity an available option to predict their greatness. Cicero was, perhaps, the only other Roman panegyrist who had to face this problem; his solutions are very similar to those that Claudian adopted. Both Stilicho and his predecessor were called by the gods to exercise supreme power.

1. Claudian's literary environment

⁷⁴ *Stil.* 3. *praef.* 1-24. The preface ends with the explicit comparison *noster Scipiades Stilicho, quo concidit alter/ Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale* (21-2).

⁷⁵ *Georg.* 3.16-36.

⁷⁶ *Stil.* 1.36-9.

There was a literary renaissance at the end of the fourth century. Prominent writers with whom Claudian was actively engaged, to judge by verbal parallels and adaptations, include Ammianus and, possibly, the author of the *Historia Augusta*⁷⁷ and one writer in the *Panegyrici Latini*, Pacatus, and the Christian writers Ambrose, Augustine and Prudentius. In the case of the last three, I would suggest that religion was relevant: Claudian contradicted the fate predicted by Ambrose in *De obitu Theodosii* by describing the Theodosius's catasterisation in *III Hon.* whereas Ambrose had contrasted the dead emperor and the living Christ.⁷⁸ As Sophie Lunn-Rockcliffe has noted, a theme in Ambrose's funeral sermons is that heaven is

⁷⁷ The account of the consular games in *Theod.* in Claudian harks back to the description in the *Vita Cari* in the *Historia Augusta* of the types of games given by Carus. The author of the *HA* wrote *pantomimos et gymnicos mille, pegma praeter cuius flammis scaena conflagravit* (*Vita Cari* 19.2) which may have been picked up by Claudian when he wrote

mobile ponderibus descendat pegma reductis
inque chori speciem spargentes ardua flammis
scaena rotet varios. (Theod. 325-7)

'After the weights have been removed, the moving scaffolding descends and the tall stage in the appearance of the chorus turns the men spreading flames,' I would note, as did Pyrrho (1677, 254), that there is no reference to gladiatorial combat in Claudian's accounts of any consular games; it is known that they ended during Honorius' reign. It surely would have behooved any sponsor of games to find novelties to please the crowds missing the bloodshed. It is, however, the direct references that Chastagnol (1970, 461) cites that provide the strongest proof, in particular the adoption of 'pegma', 'flammae' and 'scaena'. *Pegma* was clearly a technical word. I regard Kulikowski's dating of the *HA* to shortly before 394 as definitive. (Kulikowski 2021).

⁷⁸ *III Hon.* 170-4 and *De obitu Theodosii* 27-8.

available to all and it is the same heaven for all.⁷⁹ In a similar fashion, both Prudentius and Augustine corrected Claudian to emphasise the Christian god as the source of success at the two battles of Frigidus and Pollentia.⁸⁰ In *Get.* Claudian repeatedly characterises Stilicho as the sole architect of the victory of Pollentia, writing to describe the victory *per te namque unum mediis exuta tenebris/ imperio sua forma redit* and *quanto maius opus solo Stilichone peractum/ cernimus*.⁸¹ ('For through you alone its proper form, stripped from the midst of darkness, returned to the empire.,) For Prudentius, Christ was a responsible partner in the triumph as he wrote in *Contra Symmachum*

*dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique.*

'Powerful in Christ, the young man was for the leader of our forces and empire and his companion and parent, Christ the one god for both of them.'

and

*scande triumphalem curram, spoliisque receptis
huc Christo comitante veni.*⁸²

'Mount the triumphal chariot and, after the spoils have been recovered come here with Christ as your companion.'

Prudentius repeatedly emphasizes the role of Christ as the principal author of the victory.

⁷⁹ Lunn-Rockliffe 2008, 205.

⁸⁰ Augustine, correcting Claudian, subtracted the words *cui fundit ab antris/ Aeolus armatas hiemes* (*III Hon.* 96-7) in his account of the battle (*De civ. Dei* 5.26), which was followed by Orosius *Historiae adversos paganos* 7.35.

⁸¹ *Get.* 36-7 and 133-4.

⁸² *Contra Symm.* 2.709-11 and 731-2.

Evidence provided by later contemporaries, especially Servius and the young Macrobius, is relevant. Whilst they may not have been part of his poetic circle or literary milieu, their works are evidence of what the 'intelligentsia' was reading in their time. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary, hoped that his audience was able to appreciate both his corrections to Tacitus and his adaptations of Plautus.⁸³ He may have complained that the senators in Rome were only able to read Juvenal and Marius Maximus⁸⁴ but there was another audience, the new civil service, as Kelly has suggested, who might have appreciated his sophisticated references.⁸⁵ The life of Melania the younger confirms that some in his audience were highly literate. Not only was she so fluent in both Greek and Latin that the audience would have supposed either to have been her native tongue, but she was so attentive a listener that she was able to notice a single mistaken letter when she was read to, even while writing herself.⁸⁶

The evaluations of Servius and Macrobius, much as they might surprise us, notably their assertion that the fourth book of the *Aeneid* was taken in whole from Apollonius' *Argonautica*,⁸⁷ provide insight into Claudian's literary environment in

⁸³ I suggest that his criticism of the literary knowledge of his audience can be taken as a wish that there might be some appreciation of his allusions by the occasional reader.

⁸⁴ 28.4.14.

⁸⁵ Kelly 2008, 181.

⁸⁶ Gerontius, *Life of Melania the Younger* 26 and 22.

⁸⁷ *Apollonius Argonautica scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem. Inde totus hic liber translatus est* (Servius *Commentarii* 316D) in his preface to his commentary on the fourth book. I am using page references from Stephanus' 1532 edition, largely because of the comprehensive nature of his index.

Milan and Rome. They identify the occasional direct translation from Homer⁸⁸ and evaluate both Virgil's use of Homeric themes and vocabulary. They also review themes and vocabulary taken from other poets, both Greek and Roman. Macrobius may have given the first definition of a 'window allusion'⁸⁹ when he wrote *quaedam de his quae ab Homero sumpta sunt ostendam non ipsum ab Homero tulisse, sed prius alios inde sumpsisse, et hunc ab illis, quae sine dubio legerat, transtulisse*.⁹⁰ ('Some of these which were taken from Homer I will show that he did not take directly from Homer, but others had taken from Homer before and he transferred from them what he had undoubtedly read.') Homer and Virgil are the most prominent but the range of the poets cited and the number and length of the quotations suggest that at least some of Claudian's audience had a wide-ranging knowledge of both Greek and Latin literature, sufficient to appreciate how he had adapted and engaged with his predecessors, both within and outside epic.

It is useful to identify some of the authors that are cited by Servius and Macrobius. The references to Virgil's successors are also evidence for the later literature that was being read at the time that Claudian was writing. I highlight some of the most significant references. Servius refers most frequently to Terence (74

⁸⁸ Servius noted that Lavinia's blush is described in a direct translation of Homer's description of the wound of Menelaus, *Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro/ si quis ebur*. (*Aen.* 12.67-8) and Ὠς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἔλεφαντα γυνή φοίνικι μήνη / Μηονίς ἤε Κάειρα (*Il.* 4.141-2).

⁸⁹ Thomas (1986, 188-9) describes a 'window reference' as an adaptation of a model that refers back to its source, often with the aim of making a correction; the reader will recognise and appreciate the author's engagement with both the original source and any intermediary.

⁹⁰ *Saturnalia* 6.1.7.

times), Cicero (40)⁹¹, Sallust (40) and Plautus (24); references to Ennius and Lucretius are comparatively few, seven and twelve respectively. There are single references to Livius Andronicus (*Aen.* 10.636; 607D) and Pacuvius (*Aen.* 11.259; 633F); the references to Greek authors are very meagre; Pindar (*Aen.* 10.738; 612C) and Euripides (*Aen.* 10.705; 610E) are noteworthy. Of Virgil's contemporaries and successors, Servius refers most often to Horace (43), Lucan (33), Juvenal (19) and Statius (18); there is only one reference to Ovid.

Macrobius' references to Homer and other Greek authors are more extensive, as would be expected, not only in terms of the length of the quotations but by virtue of his role as a critic. He suggests that Virgil is more accurate in his account of Palinurus's skills as a helmsman than Homer in his description of Odysseus's similar role, comparing *Aen.* 3.513-7 and *Od.* 5.270-4. He also quotes from Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Menander, and Sophocles among other Greek sources, for Virgil, often contrasting in some detail the Greek original with the later treatment and states that *est enim ingens ei cum Graecarum tragoediarum scriptoribus familiaritas*.⁹² ('He had a huge familiarity with the writers of Greek tragedies.') The most interesting analysis is where he contrasts Pindar's account of an eruption of Mount Etna with that of Virgil, comparing *Pythian* 1.21-6 and *Aen.* 3.570-7.⁹³ He notably suggests that Virgil was more interested in verbal sound effects than in striving for scientific accuracy, *Vergilius autem dum in strepitu sonituque verborum conquirendo laborat, utrumque tempus nulla discretio facta confundit*.⁹⁴ It is tempting to suggest that Claudian might have been aware of this

⁹¹ One reference is notable in that he refers to Cicero's own personal panegyric (*Ecl.* 8.10. 545C).

⁹² *Sat.* 5.18.21.

⁹³ *Sat.* 5.17.8-13.

⁹⁴ *Sat.* 5.17.11.

criticism, as he attempts a scholarly explanation of the eruptions of Etna in *Rapt.*⁹⁵ Another intriguing exegesis that Macrobius provides is his explanation of Virgil's choice of Opis as a handmaid of Diana; she will later serve as one of the nymphs charged with rounding up animals for Stilicho's consular games.⁹⁶

2. Epic

The canons of epic were well known but it was a genre that had lain fallow after the death of Statius until it was revived by Claudian some three hundred years later.⁹⁷ In any evaluation, we can only review the works of his predecessors that have survived. It is speculation to assume that there were lost models that were followed slavishly by the later poet. That he was so clearly taken as a model by Sidonius, Corippus and others is strong evidence of his originality and achievements; his use of a preface in elegiacs, for example, became standard. He was, perhaps, the first to write a successful panegyric epic in Latin, even if we accept the reality of Statius' epic in praise of Domitian as a counter-example, although only four lines survive.⁹⁸

Epic was a genre that had evolved in part as a result of an engagement with the two greatest poets Homer and Virgil; as Philip Hardie has made clear, any poet

⁹⁵ *Rapt.* 1.171-8. He emphasises that he is asking scholarly questions, perhaps in a nod to his Alexandrian origins.

⁹⁶ *Sat.* 5.22.1-6. *Stil.* 3.254.

⁹⁷ I discuss Proba's epic above; Juvenius, although he portrays Christ as an epic hero in his *Libri Evangeliorum*, notably eschews similes in what has been described as his paraphrase of the New Testament (Green 2007, 55 and 374), a work that remains *sui generis*.

⁹⁸ Valla's *Scholia* at Juvenal 4.94.

writing epic in Latin had to engage with the latter.⁹⁹ All including Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, and Statius, had considerable impact on how Claudian handled his own subject matter, in particular the changes that the poet made in his treatment of tropes such as the ruler as helmsman, in both *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. I cover this subject separately as I examine in my third chapter Claudian's treatment of specific themes and images.

2.1 Panegyric Epic

Poetry as a vehicle to praise contemporary rulers has a long history that can be traced back to Pindar in his treatment of contemporary rulers in Syracuse. It was clearly attractive to a despot or tyrant that he be treated as an equal of the heroes of Homer and later of Virgil. It is possible that this praise was made into epic in both Greek and Latin, although none written before Claudian has survived save in fragments. We have templates of the format from both Virgil and Horace; the former outlined the structure using the image of a temple which he will build in honour of Octavian whilst the latter gave a carefully sculptured response as he refused the task of writing such a panegyric.¹⁰⁰

It has been suggested that Cicero's poem *De consulatu suo* was a possible model, although as a poem of self-praise it was the subject of occasional ribaldry. Its format, a poem in three books, was adopted by Claudian for *Stil*. Two themes that were mocked by Ps.-Sallust and Quintilian were Cicero's claim that he was summoned by Jupiter to a *concilium deorum* and that he was taught by Minerva,

⁹⁹ Hardie 1993, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Georg.* 3.16-36 and *Carm.* 4.2.33-44.

*quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in concilio deorum admisit.*¹⁰¹ Both were used by Claudian.

Little has survived of Cicero's epic and Virgil and Horace give a clearer example of how such panegyrics might have been structured. The former's proem gives an outline of the demanded elements in the image of the shrine that he will build to honour Augustus. Horace gave unknowingly what would become a surprisingly accurate forecast of Claudian's approach to his subject matter for *VI Hon.* when he wrote

*concines laetosque dies et urbis
publicum ludum super impetrato
fortis Augusti reditu Forumque
litibus orbum .* (Carm. 4.2.41-4)

He describes the subject matter of the task that he has handed over to Iullus in his graceful refusal to attempt an epic in praise of Augustus, certainly aware of the difficulties inherent in writing such a poem. Claudian opens his poem by declaring *aurea Fortunae Reduci si templa priores/ ob reditum vovere ducum*¹⁰² ('If our elders had dedicated golden temples to returning Fortune because of the return of their leaders') as he describes both the public rejoicing and the games that will follow as well as the return to proper elections and law.

Horace describes the subject matter of the task that he has handed over to Iullus in his graceful refusal to attempt an epic in praise of Augustus, certainly aware

¹⁰¹ Ps.- Sall. *In Cic.* 4.7 and Quintilian 11.1.24. Felgentreu (2001, 277-8) suggests that the poem was a model for the three books of *Stil.*

¹⁰² *VI Hon.* 1-2.

of the difficulties inherent in writing such a poem.¹⁰³ His colleague will be able (or might be able) to sing the praises of Augustus, *concines maiore poeta plectro/ Caesarem*.¹⁰⁴ The poet was clearly under some pressure to meet the demands of the *princeps* who was perhaps dissatisfied with the mead of praise that he had been awarded in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The latter had made no attempt to create the epic that he outlined in the proem in the third book of the *Georgics*, where using the metaphor of a temple, *in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit*,¹⁰⁵ he describes the triumphs and victories that he will celebrate.

There have been some recent attempts to suggest that this form of epic may be traced back to a 'Pergamene' epic that drew on not only those rulers' desire to establish their legitimacy but also the temple of Zeus with its sculptures depicting a Gigantomachy as a portrayal of Greek victories over barbarism.¹⁰⁶ I would suggest that, in spite of the attractions of Paul Zanker's analysis of Augustan art and architecture as propaganda writ large and a confirmation of the mandates given to Virgil and Horace,¹⁰⁷ a literary genesis is more appropriate. In particular, as Alan Cameron has argued¹⁰⁸, we have minimal surviving 'Pergamene' epic, nothing to prove that it can be characterised as baroque against the minimalist approach advocated by Callimachus. Indeed the fragment that has survived of Nicander's *Hymn*

¹⁰³ To my surprise, and to my self-satisfaction, which I am sure is totally unwarranted, neither Birt nor Dewar seem to have made this connection, although the latter noted the importance of the reference to the temple of *Fortuna Redux*, dedicated by Augustus in 19 BCE (Dewar 1970, 63).

¹⁰⁴ *Carm.* 4.2. 33-4.

¹⁰⁵ *Georg.* 3.16

¹⁰⁶ Hardie 1986, 128-9 citing Ziegler 1966, 51.

¹⁰⁷ Zanker 1990, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Cameron 1995, 266-7 & 283-90.

to *Attalus*¹⁰⁹ has been shown in a recent analysis by Thomas Nelson to be Alexandrian panegyric writ large, with a similar attraction to both references to obscure Homeric heroes and an emphasis on the largely fictitious genealogy of his honorand, probably Attalus III.¹¹⁰ I would suggest that Eumolpus' poem on the Civil War is intended by Petronius as an awful warning of the dangers of the genre.¹¹¹

Horace makes it clear that he views Pindar as the model for the praise of kings and Claudian assumed that mantle. It is probable that two of the latter's images can be traced directly to Pindar,¹¹² first the picture of the young chicks of the eagle tested as they face the sun, which, as Isabella Gualandri noted confirmed Claudian's view of himself as an heir of Pindar,¹¹³ and secondly as I argue in chapter 5, the caricature of Eutropius as a bare-bottomed ape, a ruler who is unaware that he is the dupe of flatterers.¹¹⁴

2.2 Deviations from Homer

The biggest single change that Claudian made to the Homeric model was to remove the Olympian deities from any significant role in human affairs, whether actively assisting an individual hero or as a source of advice. He makes an explicit contrast between Stilicho who performed his exploits without divine aid, whether from a pagan or a Christian god, and other heroes, asserting that Stilicho is superior to both Achilles and Aeneas, in that he did not rely on divine armour, *nec Mulciber*

¹⁰⁹ Nicander *fr.*104 Gow-Schofield

¹¹⁰ Kelly 2019, 1-2.

¹¹¹ *Satyricon* 119-24.

¹¹² *III Hon. praef.* 3-6.

¹¹³ Gualandri 2013, 120-1.

¹¹⁴ *Eutr.* 1.303-6 and *Pythian* 2.72-3.

*auctor/ mendacis clipei fabricataque vatibus arma/ conatus iuvere tuos.*¹¹⁵ ('Nor Vulcan the creator of the lying shield or arms made by poets aid your efforts.')

When the goddess Roma advises Theodosius to make the two brothers Probinus and Olybrius consuls, the emperor brusquely replies that the advice was superfluous, saying *non haec precibus temptanda fuissent.*¹¹⁶ It is also notable that the emperor recognises the goddess immediately, in marked contrast to the heroes of Homer and Virgil, and speaks to her virtually as an equal.

In contrast to the Homeric model, his heroes are virtually flawless as I show in my analysis of the poet's treatment of his human protagonists in my sixth chapter. Their deeds exceed the greatest achievements of the heroes of the *Iliad*. Both Honorius and Stilicho were endowed with superhuman qualities from birth, although as Claudian makes clear for the former it is rather a matter of heroic potential.¹¹⁷ Honorius describes an exploit of his father-in-law that he thinks was unknown to the goddess Roma showing the latter performing an unmatched feat of heroism. He relates how the general broke through Alaric's forces to reach him in Ravenna, *stricto praesternens obvia ferro/ barbara fulmineo secuit tentoria cursu.*¹¹⁸ ('Overthrowing what was in his way with his drawn sword he cut down the barbarian tents in his lightning-like course.')

The emperor declares that this was superior to Diomedes's achievement when he seized the horses of Rhesus for he had had to rely on the aid of Odysseus and the tricking of Dolon by Odysseus,¹¹⁹ adding that the Thracian king's troops were overcome by drink. Alaric, by contrast, was conqueror not king of Thrace, his troops alert and on watch and Stilicho ventured alone, relying

¹¹⁵ *Stil.* 1.104-6.

¹¹⁶ *Olybr.* 165.

¹¹⁷ Parkes (2005, 73) has noted how Claudian has drawn on Statius' portraits of Achilles and Parthenopaeus in his portrayal of the very young man.

¹¹⁸ *VI Hon.* 469-470.

¹¹⁹ *Il.* 10.476-80.

on no trickery. He continues by saying that it was absurd to compare the two, *et Diomedeis tantum praeclarior ausis, / quantum lux tenebris manifesta que proelia furtis!*¹²⁰ ('It was as much more glorious than the efforts of Diomedes as light than the darkness and visible battles than thievery.') It is the achievement of a unique hero. Even Virgil's heroes, Nisus and Euryalus, fail to match Stilicho's achievements. Although driven by a higher motive, in that the Trojans were motivated by love, neither pair achieved their strategic objective, with greed standing in their way.¹²¹ Odysseus had to warn Diomedes to leave whilst the two Trojans were betrayed by their booty. Stilicho, by contrast, achieved a strategic success, alone, and with no interest in plunder. It is notable how Claudian emphasises his well-gotten liberality in the third book of *Stil.*¹²² We may be sceptical how he achieved this wealth although Rome was enjoying an economic resurgence.

Stilicho is repeatedly portrayed as a successful general with the ability to command a whole army, whereas strategy is almost irrelevant in the *Iliad*. Agamemnon's decision to test the loyalty of his troops nearly results in the failure of the whole expedition;¹²³ in contrast, Stilicho is repeatedly portrayed as a master strategist. One example shows how Claudian has demonstrated this by 'correcting'

¹²⁰ *VI Hon.* 479-480.

¹²¹ Schlunk 1974, 63 has suggested that the two Greeks be best described as accomplices in crime, referring to the *Scholia* on *Il.* 10.235 that ἑταίρον should be read as συνεργόν. It is not only the reckless bravery of the two young men that Virgil has promised to immortalise that Claudian is criticising when he describes the death of the Alan chief, again promising immortality, with caveats. Ascanius was far too ready to approve the mission, with promises of extravagant gifts if the two succeeded. It is not without reason that Apollo warns him that he is too young to return to battle.

¹²² *Stil.* 3.223-36.

¹²³ *Il.* 2.73-5, 155-6.

his predecessors. Homer contrasted the disciplined silence of the Greek troops to the Trojan forces, which he compared to a flock of bleating sheep.¹²⁴ This was long considered a strategic weakness and its converse as the source of the successes of the Greeks and Romans against barbarians. Virgil similarly described the wide diversity of the troops taken prisoner at Actium and paraded in triumph, *incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,/ quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.*¹²⁵ ('The conquered peoples approach in a long line, as different in language, as in clothing and armour.') Claudian, however, as he describes how Stilicho has created an army of an unparalleled diversity, *numquam tantae ditione sub una/ convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum*, 'never had so many forces united under one command, nor so many differences in language.') regards it as a source of strength.¹²⁶ It is intriguing to see how he has turned this lack of homogeneity, traditionally in epic a sign of weakness, into praise.¹²⁷

The tragedy of war is one of the most prevalent and poignant of Homeric themes, be it is the death of Sarpedon or Hector, or lesser figures. Treatment of actual battle is by definition what made epic, whether as single-combat or a hero wreaking havoc on the opposing foe by killing *en masse*. This theme is, however, a rarity in Claudian's poetry, with the disobedient and doomed Alan chieftain who died at the battle of Pollentia the only example, *Italamque momordit harenam./ felix Elysiisque plagis et carmine dignus.*¹²⁸ For Claudian, victory under the proper general is a team-effort whereas the Alan's heroic death almost led to disaster; the rashness of an individual other than Stilicho was dangerous as he wrote that the Alan caused chaos, writing *ni calor incauti male festinatus Alani/ dispositum turbasset opus*, until

¹²⁴ *Il.* 4.433-8.

¹²⁵ *Aen.* 8.722-3.

¹²⁶

¹²⁷ Marrón 2013, 677-82.

¹²⁸ *Get.* 589-90. Of course, Claudian is also recalling Virgil's comment on the fates of Euryalus and Nisus, where he promises them immortality (*Aen.* 9.446-7).

Stilicho turned the tide of battle with a legion of infantry.¹²⁹ Claudian also avoids describing the excruciating deaths that were the stuff of epic from the time of Homer and so delighted Lucan, such as the death of Scaeva.¹³⁰

One Homeric image he is unafraid to use repeatedly is that of a river choked with corpses, first found in the *Iliad*. The river Scamander complains how his streams have become choked with the corpses of the men slain by Achilles, πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, / οὐδέ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα δῖαν / στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι, σὺ δὲ κτείνεις ἀιδήλως.¹³¹ The lines are recalled by Virgil, so Jupiter tells Venus how *gemenentque repleti / amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset / in mare se Xanthus*.¹³² Aeneas is first introduced in the *Aeneid* as lamenting that he had not died under the walls of Troy, *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis / scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!*¹³³ Claudian will similarly describe how a number of rivers were choked by the bodies of the fallen enemies of Rome, especially the Ister.¹³⁴ It is perhaps difficult to envisage that there was ever a reality behind this well-worn topos, but it is possible that Lucan described an actual occurrence when he pictured the Tiber choked by the victims of Sulla, *et strage cruenta / interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor / ad molem stetit unda sequens*.¹³⁵ Valerius Maximus certainly reported a blocking of the Tiber, *lacerata ferro corpora Tiberis impatiens tanti oneris cruentatis aquis vehere coactus est*.¹³⁶

¹²⁹ *VI Hon.* 224-5.

¹³⁰ Fitzgerald 2013, 193, referring to *BC* 7.196-246.

¹³¹ *Il.* 21.218-20.

¹³² *Aen.* 5.806-8.

¹³³ *Aen.* 1.100-1.

¹³⁴ *IV Hon.* 631-2.

¹³⁵ *BC* 2.212-4.

¹³⁶ Valerius Maximus 9.2.1.

2.3 Debts to Virgil

The extent and depth of Claudian's debt to Virgil is well-known; the first comprehensive study of parallels was made by Birt in his edition of the poet's oeuvre, where he examines each poem individually and gives references not only to the poet's predecessors but to his successors. There are two specifically Virgilian approaches that I would like to highlight. The first is the mechanism which Claudian has taken over from his predecessor where the latter 'inserted' the modern world into Aeneas' epic struggles, notably Anchises' prophesies of the future greatness of Rome and Augustus in the Underworld and the description of Aeneas's shield in the eighth book. Claudian has adapted this process by reversing the mechanism so that he inserts earlier heroes and villains into the contemporary world. Here Claudian is at pains to emphasise how Stilicho has surpassed his predecessors, so he combines the virtues of the three Romans who defeated Hannibal and is the one man who exceeds them, writing *unus in hoc Stilicho diversis artibus hoste/ tris potuit complere duces fregitque furem/ cunctando vicitque manu victumque relegat*.¹³⁷

We can see a clear inheritance in a second approach. As Richard Heinze noted,¹³⁸ Virgil is very fond of a dramatic scene where the narrative is an exact portrayal of a scene as it would have been acted out in the theatre (I suppose today we would hail him as a filmmaker *avant la lettre*). The appearance of Laocoon *magna comitante caterva*¹³⁹ in the Second Book of the *Aeneid* is an example. In these scenes there is usually a *peripeteia*, a sudden reversal such as the appearance of the sea-serpents to devour Laocoon and his sons or Dido's discovery of Aeneas' planned flight that forms the climax of the story. These highly dramatised scenes are intended to have an immediate impact, engaging the audience's emotions as they realise the

¹³⁷ *Get.* 142-4.

¹³⁸ Heinze 1903 (*tr.* 1999), 252-4.

¹³⁹ *Aen.* 2.40.

vagaries of the human condition, *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*.¹⁴⁰ Claudian is very fond of these dramatic moments, notably the deaths of Rufinus and Leo, and the defeat of Alaric at Pollentia. All three are surprised in the midst of an expected triumph. In a similar moment of high drama, as Proserpina is carried off by Pluto in *Rapt.* her weaving is left shattered.¹⁴¹

2.4 A diminishing of the gods: Epic after Virgil

The least important characters in Claudian's epics, if they are judged by reference to their ability to affect events, are the gods, whether they be Olympian figures such as Jupiter, lesser deities such as the Tiber, or the personifications, both geographical and moral. For a poet who was criticised by Augustine and Orosius as *paganus pervicacissimus*¹⁴² his disinterest in and disregard for traditional divine machinery is remarkable. He inherits Lucan's denial of any role to deities in human affairs but takes it further as he emphasises that his hero Stilicho neither needed nor received divine support. The thrust of the conference of Furies that forms the first book of *Ruf.* suggests a certain concern about the influence of external powers on humans but Claudian emphasises the human greed of Gildo, Eutropius and Alaric. It is notable that in *Rapt.* the Fates, the most awe-inspiring figures in mythology, are ready to suggest to Pluto that the war he has threatened could be avoided by a simple request. Lachesis advises him, *posce Iovem; dabitur coniunx*.¹⁴³ They do not, however, act as agents, a contrast to Megaera's role as the nurse of Rufinus, an innovation that Merobaudes would follow.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ *Aen.* 1.462.

¹⁴¹ *Rapt.* 3.155-6.

¹⁴² *De civ. Dei* 5.26 and *Hist.* 7.35.

¹⁴³ *Rapt.* 1.67.

¹⁴⁴ See below.

Lucan is notorious for his denial of any role for any deity in epic, with exceptions such as the warning given to Caesar as he was crossing the Rubicon by the figure of *Patria*.¹⁴⁵ Claudian has taken this further in his emphasis that his heroes need no assistance. It is the portrayal of wrongdoers that led Claudian to look outside; much as Lucan may depict Caesar as the cause of collapse of the Republic, it is evident that the poet enjoys him as a character and he is not wholly evil. The later poet, because he is writing for a contemporary audience, is not allowed any such ambivalence. It is for this reason that Claudian was forced to look outside epic, to tragedy and satire.

3. Moving outside the genre:

3.1 Greek Tragedy.

Nobody in traditional epic is wholly evil. Even the two worst-behaved of the suitors in the *Odyssey*, Antinous and Eurymachus, have some good qualities, the latter being noted for the generosity of his gifts to Penelope.¹⁴⁶ Polyphemus the Cyclops is portrayed as heartless and cruel but his address to his ram shows him in a more sympathetic light.¹⁴⁷ Mezentius, *contemptor divom*, whose cruelty is virtually the only justification for Aeneas's unprovoked attack on the Latins, displays a leavening to his cruelty as he mourns the death of his son. There is no such shading open to Claudian: panegyric epic demands villains of the darkest hue to highlight the qualities of their heroes.

¹⁴⁵ *BC* 1.186-92. The figure of Roma becomes a dominant image in Claudian (see chapter 6).

¹⁴⁶ Yamagata 2014b, 51-2.

¹⁴⁷ *Odyssey*, 9.447-60.

Greek tragedy was always both a descendant and a handmaiden of epic as Apollonius had shown in his *Argonautica*. Claudian's most sustained engagement with tragedy is with the *Bacchae* of Euripides in the Roman poet's description of the fall of Rufinus, his murder and the dismemberment and desecration of his corpse. The event was both dramatic and gruesome. An early account was given by Asterius of Amasea, who in his last surviving sermon, delivered on January 1st 400, asked 'was not one [consul] caught up in the sudden uprising of an armed multitude and did he not lose his head like a malefactor? And after death he was more paraded than when aforesaid riding in his chariot'.¹⁴⁸ Even earlier, in the summer of 396, Jerome had described the mutilation of Rufinus' corpse, writing:

*Rufini caput pilo Constantinopolin gestatum est et abscissa manus dextra ad dedecus insatiabilis avaritiae ostiatim stipes mendicavit.*¹⁴⁹

The head of Rufinus is carried to Constantinople on a spear and, his right hand cut off, to the disgrace of his insatiable greed he begged for alms from door to door.

The whole description of Rufinus' death and punishment after death is intended as something of a set piece, as Claudian strives to show that he is the equal of his predecessors, for whom the descriptions of ways of death and the treatment of a corpse were major themes. Homer's account of the death of Hector and Achilles' attempts to desecrate the corpse is of course the most famous; Virgil's account of the murder of Polydorus and his fate after death offer a gruesome example, apparently Virgil's own invention.¹⁵⁰ However these themes are of course very prominent in Greek tragedy, suggesting a natural hunting ground for Claudian. Rufinus' death certainly has no precedent in the prescriptions for panegyric laid

¹⁴⁸ Asterius of Amasea, *Infestum Kalendarum*.

¹⁴⁹ Jerome *Ep.* 60.16.1, cited by Birt 1892, 48 and Levy 1948, 63.

¹⁵⁰ *Aen.* 3.24-46; Gowers 2011, 96-7 discusses Virgil's motivation for the invention.

down by Menander Rhetor.¹⁵¹ The poet makes clear that he is looking back to Euripides' *Bacchae*, as he concludes his description by writing *sic mons Aonius rubuit, cum Penthea ferrent/ Maenades*, ('Thus Mount Aonius grew red as the Maenads carried Pentheus.') (*Aonius* (Theban) is a rarely used name for Mount Cithaeron).¹⁵²

It seems likely that Claudian was familiar with the play, which remained very popular in antiquity. Plutarch records how the head of Crassus was used as a prop by the actor Jason when he was performing at the Parthian court.¹⁵³ Virgil, in his description of Dido's distraught behavior following the refusal of Aeneas to yield to her entreaties, refers to stage plays as he writes *Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus/ et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas/ aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes*.¹⁵⁴ Servius does refer to plays of Pacuvius in his note on these lines but rather to suggest that his plays were based on Euripides.¹⁵⁵ It serves as an allusion for Claudian; among the portents trumped by the prodigy of a eunuch as consul are *geminos soles*.¹⁵⁶ He is also able to use the theme of a *peripeteia*, a sudden and surprise fall that is shared by Rufinus with both Pentheus and Dido: all three meet a sudden downfall when they are expecting great success, Pentheus praise from the citizens of Thebes, and Dido and Rufinus a royal marriage. All three adopt transgressive clothing, Pentheus that of a woman, Dido of a huntress and Rufinus that of a Goth.

¹⁵¹ As Levy 1946, 59 reluctantly admits; the counter-examples cited by Long (1996, 46) are unconvincing.

¹⁵² *Ruf.* 2.418-9.

¹⁵³ Plutarch *Crassus* 33.

¹⁵⁴ *Aen.* 4.469-71.

¹⁵⁵ Servius 1533, 341-2.

¹⁵⁶ *Eutr.* 1.7.

It is intriguing that Euripides' *Andromache* has been seen as a source for Claudian's description of the dismemberment of Rufinus, as noted by Heinsius in 1650, referring to earlier work by Livaneius.¹⁵⁷ The messenger describes how the corpse of Neoptolemus was mutilated, *τίς οὐ σίδηρον προσφέρει, τίς οὐ πέτρον,/ βάλλων ἀράσσω; πᾶν δ' ἀνήλωται δέμας/ τὸ καλλίμορφον τραυμάτων ὑπ' ἀγρίων.*¹⁵⁸ Claudian describes how Rufinus' corpse was hacked to pieces, *consumpto funere vix tum/ deseritur sparsumque perit per tela cadaver.*¹⁵⁹ I should emphasise these were not Claudian's only influences. Michael Dewar has suggested that Pacatus' description of the fate of Maximus was well known to Claudian; the former wrote, *quisquis imponere capiti diadema meditabitur, avulsum humeris Maximi caput et sine nomine corpus aspiciat.*¹⁶⁰ Virgil's descriptions of Priam's corpse¹⁶¹ is a forerunner but both Pacatus and Claudian highlight the dangers of excessive self-confidence. The latter wrote *aspiciat quisquis nimium sublata secundis/ colla gerit*, as he described how Rufinus met Arcadius in hopes that a royal marriage was to be confirmed.¹⁶²

A striking image provides evidence of the depth of Claudian's knowledge of Greek tragedy. It is the fine picture where Eutropius is compared to the shepherd's dog, fed and cherished so long as he was able to guard the flock, but, afflicted with mange, he is driven off to the wild, his collar removed.¹⁶³ It is the end of his career, as he ages from a 'pretty boy' eunuch, enjoys success but is finally humiliated. Müllner suggests that this was an image taken from real life, the dog certainly

¹⁵⁷ Heinsius 1650, n.45; not cited by Müllner.

¹⁵⁸ Euripides *Andromache* 1153-5.

¹⁵⁹ *Ruf.* 2.416-7.

¹⁶⁰ *Pan. Lat.* 10(2)45.1.

¹⁶¹ *Aen.* 2.557-8,

¹⁶² *Ruf.* 2.446-7.

¹⁶³ *Cum tardior idem/ iam scabie laceras deiecit sordidus aures,/ solvit et exuto lucratur vincula collo. (Eutr.1.135-7).*

recalling Odysseus' animal, but he adds that the only similar image that he was able to find in literature was in Aeschylus, where Electra in the *Choephoroi*, describing her dreadful state, compares herself to a mangy and abandoned dog.¹⁶⁴ The image in the *Odyssey*¹⁶⁵ is obviously much more famous but it is perhaps the human comparison found in Aeschylus that Claudian wanted to take over. He may also suggest, in a direct reference to the *Odyssey* that Eutropius had been enjoyed by his masters whereas Odysseus had had no opportunity to have fun with Argos, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο.¹⁶⁶

Claudian was aware that tragedy was still performed in Greek as he refers to performances that took place in Constantinople, as he writes *qualis resonantibus olim/ exoritur caveis, quotiens crinitus ephebus/ aut rigidam Nioben aut flentem Troia fugit*.¹⁶⁷

3.2 Borrowings from Senecan Tragedy

The extent of Claudian's engagement with the tragedies of Seneca is remarkable as the later poet takes both themes and characters that were prominent in the tragedies of his predecessor. The promise in the *Laus Romae* of *Stil.* 3.130-73 that the world has become a community echoes a similar prophesy on the part of the chorus in the *Medea*. Claudian promises that

We all give thanks to her peaceable ways that as travellers we can use her territories as our homeland, because we may change our place of living; because it is a game to see Thule and to penetrate regions we once

¹⁶⁴ Müllner 1893, 139-40, citing ἐγὼ δ' ἀπεστάτουν/ ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία,/ μυχῷ δ' ἄφερκτος πολυσινοῦς κυνὸς δίκαν (*Choephoroi* 444-6).

¹⁶⁵ *Od.* 17.291-327.

¹⁶⁶ *Od.* 17.293.

¹⁶⁷ *Eutr.* 2.403-5.

shuddered at; because we drink from the Rhone everywhere, we drink from the Orontes, because we are all one race.¹⁶⁸

Seneca had written how nothing is left unchanged in a world so open to access. The Indian drinks the cold Araxes, Persians the Elbe and the Rhine. There will come an epoch late in time when Ocean will loosen the bonds of the world and the earth lie open in its vastness, when Tethys will disclose new worlds and Thule not be the farthest of lands.¹⁶⁹

The character of Tiphys was chosen by Claudian as the forerunner to Stilicho, as the general will exceed the skill and bravery of the helmsman of the Argo, who managed to steer the vessel through the Symplegades in the Bosphorus; the latter is still a real hero, unique on board the ship in his courage, in marked contrast to Jason. He wrote *solus post numina Tiphys/ incolumem tenui damno servasse carinam/ fertur*.¹⁷⁰ In a similar fashion Seneca gave much greater prominence to the helmsman

¹⁶⁸ *huius pacificis debemus moribus omnes,
lusus et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus;
quod bibimus passim Rhodanum, potamus Orontem;
quod cuncti gens una sumus.* *Stil.* 3.155-8.

¹⁶⁹ *Indus gelidum potat Araxen,
Albin Persae Rhenumque bibunt.
Venient annis saecula seris,
quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbis
nec sit terris ultima Thule.* *Medea* 373-9.

¹⁶⁹ *Get.* 4-6.

than either Apollonius had given or Valerius Flaccus would give.¹⁷¹ He wrote *ausus Tiphys pandere vasto/ carbasa ponto legesque novas/ scribere ventis* emphasising his skills as a helmsman.¹⁷²

3.3 *Vituperatio* and Juvenalian Satire

In his invectives, Claudian attacked two eastern leaders, Rufinus and Eutropius, who effectively ruled the eastern empire in succession, the supine Arcadius their cat's paw. However, his treatment of the two is very different, Rufinus a creation sent to destroy the human world after the Furies reject a proposal to renew their Gigantomachia whereas Eutropius is a figure of ridicule; the former is portrayed as the evil antihero of tragedy, the latter as the unwitting buffoon of farce. Karl Marx famously wrote that all great events and personalities in world history reappear, the first time as tragedy, the second as farce, an approach that Claudian has prefigured.¹⁷³

Theodor Birt long ago suggested that *Eutr.* be regarded as a satire rather than the more usual invective (*vituperatio*) or rhetorical ψογός.¹⁷⁴ It is certain that Claudian's contemporaries knew and appreciated Juvenal, as Ammianus complained.¹⁷⁵ It is also clear that the Alexandrian took over some of Juvenal's

¹⁷¹ Coombe 2018, 144 n. 50 is perhaps mistaken in her analysis. The accounts of the death and funeral of Tiphys (A. R. 2.815-63 and V.F. 5.1-62) are irrelevant to Claudian's purpose. It is notable that the helmsman does not feature in Euripides' *Medea* in clear contrast to the Argo itself (*Medea* 1-6).

¹⁷² *Medea* 318-20.

¹⁷³ Marx 1852, in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, adapting Hegel, usually summarised as history repeats itself, first as tragedy then as farce.

¹⁷⁴ Birt 1888, 40.

¹⁷⁵ 28.4.14.

imagery, such as his warnings of the dangers of miscegenation, *exterret cunabula discolor infans*.¹⁷⁶ Notoriously, he echoes Juvenal's attack on the Greeks, perhaps more understandably if his opprobrium is directed only at the inhabitants of Constantinople. He writes, describing Eutropius's supporters, *plaudentem cerne senatum/ et Byzantinos proceres Graiosque Quirites,/ o patribus plebes, o digni patres*, (look at the applauding senate and the Byzantine leaders and the Greek citizens, a people worthy of such senators, o worthy senators,' clearly recalling Juvenal's *non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem*, ('I cannot bear, Citizens, a Greek city.') ¹⁷⁷

It is, however, in *Eutr.* that he undertakes a broader engagement, as he makes use of the theme of the fourth satire in which Juvenal describes a Council held to decide the fate of a fish, *spatium admirabile rhombi*,¹⁷⁸ preferring to discuss trivialities rather than to hear war news. Eutropius' counselors are similarly feckless, as Long has noted.¹⁷⁹ It is mockery, *pure et simple*, that Claudian has taken over to devastating effect. Eutropius is not just an absurdity but an abomination, as Claudian looks back not only to Juvenal but the intemperate attacks of Old Comedy, in particular Aristophanes in his portrait of Cleon.¹⁸⁰ The whole description of the ignominious death of Leo must be intended as satire, especially when he is compared to a pig, which, when slaughtered by Hosius, will fill Chalcedon with the scent of meat.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ *Gild.* 193.

¹⁷⁷ *Eutr.* 2.135-7 and *Sat.* 3.60-1, discussed by Long 1996, 248-9.

¹⁷⁸ *Sat.* 4.39.

¹⁷⁹ Long 1996, 264.

¹⁸⁰ I would suggest that John the Lydian's description of Claudian as οὐτος ὁ Παφλαγών ὁ ποιητής is looking back to Aristophanes and his portrait of Cleon as ill-born and ill-bred, rather than an attack on Claudian himself. (*De Mag.* 1.47 (Cameron 1970, 3)).

¹⁸¹ *Eutr.* 2.443-51.

He abandoned the approach he had used against Rufinus, which can be traced back to earlier panegyric epic. *Ruf.* had opened with a *concilium* summoned by Allecto¹⁸² that is both a parody and the inverse of the traditional *concilium deorum*, a feature of panegyric epic that dates back to Ennius and is found in Cicero's *De consulatu suo*. It appears often in Claudian¹⁸³ and was enthusiastically adopted by his successors. Antonella Bruzzone has suggested that Merobaudes, in a fragment of his surviving verse panegyric, has adopted Claudian's *concilium infernale*, also summoned by a Fury.¹⁸⁴ Sidonius' third panegyric (first in date of composition) opens with an outstanding example.¹⁸⁵ Katharina Volk has suggested that the divine council might have served as a frame for the whole of Cicero's poem;¹⁸⁶ the infernal council serves as a frame for the first book of *Ruf.* There Claudian narrates a conspiracy of the Furies to destroy the happiness of mankind: the bulk of the poem is taken up by the council where Megaera introduces Rufinus (lines 25-115), who is then summoned to Constantinople (116-75); his evil deeds enable Megaera to forecast victory over Justice (354-67).¹⁸⁷

3.4 Latin Prose Panegyric

Until Claudian's adoption of verse, the standard Roman panegyric was in prose. The largest surviving collection is the *Panegyrici Latini*. Leaving out Pliny's

¹⁸² *Ruf.* 1.27-117.

¹⁸³ *Concilia deorum* occur in *Rapt.* 3.1-66, the Latin *Gigantomachia Carm.min.* 53.42-59) and *Gild.* (128-207).

¹⁸⁴ Bruzzone 1999, 130-1, referring to lines 50-88 in Vollmer's text. The *diva nocens* (69) is identified as a Fury 1999, 149.

¹⁸⁵ *Carm.* 7.20-44.

¹⁸⁶ Volk 2013, 102.

¹⁸⁷ Levy 1971, 258

panegyric, they were delivered between 289 and 389, the last that of Pacatus Drepanius in honour of Theodosius, which was delivered in Rome and it seems probable that Claudian was aware of it. Otto Kehding identified a number of allusions in Claudian's work.¹⁸⁸ Not all are convincing but a number seem valid: in *IV Hon.* he praises Theodosius' homeland of Spain, and continues

*Herculis et Bromii sustentat gloria Thebas
haesit Apollineo Delos Latonia partu
Cretaque se iactat tenero reptata Tonanti.* (IV Hon. 132-4).

The lines surely recall Pacatus Drepanius' earlier comparison, *cedat his terris terra Cretensis parvi Iovis gloriata cunabulis et geminis Delos reptata numinibus et alumno Hercule nobiles Thebae*.¹⁸⁹ In a similar fashion, his explicit praise of Spain in *Laus Serenae*, where he writes *dives equis, frugum facilis, pretiosa metallis* echoes the former's wording, *adde culta incultaque omnia vel fructibus plena vel gregibus, adde auriferorum opes fluminum, adde radiantium metalla gemmarum*.¹⁹⁰ It is equally certain that Claudian is drawing on the prose panegyrist in his description of Theodosius' affable attitude towards the *plebs* of Rome in *VI Hon.*¹⁹¹

It is, however, Claudian's adoption of themes from the prose panegyrist that is more interesting, as he reshaped epic. Here, I would highlight the emphasis on the speed of victory, noted by Rees.¹⁹² It is Pacatus Drepanius who is most insistent on

¹⁸⁸ Kehding 1899, 28-44.

¹⁸⁹ *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).4.5. The parallel was noted by Kehding 1899, 33. Rees 2016, 132 highlighted the unusual form *reptata*.

¹⁹⁰ *Laus Serenae* (*Carm. Min.* 30) 54 and *Pan. Lat.* 2(12) 4.11-3.

¹⁹¹ *VI Hon.* 58-62 clearly recalls the earlier description of the emperor's behavior on his visit in 389 (*Pan. Lat.* 2(12).47.3, noted by Kehding (1899, 29-30), Cameron (1970, 383) and Dewar (1996, 103-5).

¹⁹² Rees 2016, 134-5. Other instances he has noted are *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).6.3, 8(4).6.1 and 6(7).5.4.

the speed of Theodosius' victories, such as his statement, *nondum omne confecerat bellu, iam agebas triumphum*.¹⁹³ Claudian writes, emphasizing the speed of the defeat of Gildo,

*necdum Cinyphias exercitus attigit oras:
iam domitus Gildo. nullis victoria nodis
haesit, non spatio terrae, non obice ponti.
congressum profugum captum vox nuntiat una
rumoremque sui praevenit laurea belli.* (Gild. 9-13)

It clearly harks back to Julius Caesar's famous line, *veni, vidi, vici*¹⁹⁴ but it is also remote from earlier epic with its usual emphasis on the grinding slowness of battle.

4. Claudian's successors

Claudian's achievement in creating panegyric epic as a genre is most clearly seen in the fact that it was adopted wholeheartedly by his successors, notably Merobaudes and Sidonius Apollinaris. Just as no poet could write an epic in Latin without engaging with Virgil, so no epic panegyric could be written after Claudian that escaped his dominating influence. His influence as a poet is shown by the debt owed by Rutilius Namatianus, whose *De reditu suo* can be safely dated to 417 or 418.¹⁹⁵ The latter alludes to Claudian's *Laus Romae*, as he describes Rome's clemency. He wrote,

*fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam:
profuit iniustis te dominante capi.
dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,
urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.* (De reditu suo 1.63-6)

¹⁹³ *Pan. Lat.* 2(12). 37.4; other examples noted by Rees are 2(12).34.2 and 35.1.

¹⁹⁴ Suet. *Divus Iulius* 37.2.

¹⁹⁵ Proposed by Carcopino 1928, followed by Cameron 1967, 39 and accepted by Kelly 2018, 3.

matching Claudian's imagery

*haec est in gremium victos quae sola recepit
humanumque genus communi nomine fovit
matris, non dominae ritu, civesque vocavit
quos domuit nexu pio longinqua revinxit.* (Stil 3. 150-3)

It now seems that Rutilius has taken over the structure that Claudian used in *Ruf.*¹⁹⁶ Gavin Kelly has suggested that the former has replaced the figure of Rufinus as a denizen of hell with Stilicho,¹⁹⁷ just as praise of Constantius, consul in 417, has replaced praise of Stilicho. This would argue that there was a direct engagement between the two poets. Rutilius is ready to use a Claudianic structure, a two-book poem with both a hero and a villain, perhaps an epic, rather than be the author of private musings, intended for friends, that has been the traditional interpretation of the poem. This would place Rutilius much more firmly in the canon of adapters and heirs of Claudian.

4.1 Sidonius

A bishop in Gaul and related by marriage to one emperor, Sidonius has long been criticised as a feeble imitator of Claudian, only able to follow his faults rather than match his virtues. Of course we are less ready to accept Gibbon's blanket condemnations and it is time to evaluate how the Gallic poet accepted Claudian's new genre. He wrote three panegyrics, each with a preface in elegiacs, and his allusions to Claudian have often been traced. It is, however, in the actual structuring of the three panegyrics that Claudian's influence was most profound. A number of specific examples can be cited.

¹⁹⁶ Kelly 2018, 4.

¹⁹⁷ Kelly 2020a, 156.

The figure of Roma, perhaps Claudian's greatest creation, looms large in both Merobaudes and Sidonius. She is the only figure in Claudian's poetry who rivals in emotional range both Odysseus and Aeneas. She appears both as a triumphant warrior and as a pathetic old woman. Merobaudes, whose work has survived only in fragments, in his second panegyric has a picture of an enfeebled leader, *languet apex galeae, clipei non tristis in orbe/ lux rubet et totae pereunt mucronibus hastae*.¹⁹⁸ It is clear that Sidonius takes a similar enjoyment in the figure of Roma: she is portrayed triumphant in the panegyric in honour of Marjorian, as he wrote *Sederat exserto bellatrix pectore Roma,/ cristatum turrita caput, cui pone capaci/ casside prolapsus perfundit terga capillus*.¹⁹⁹ The portrait is elaborate with a detailed description of her shield and spear but Roma is much less emotional than in Claudian. It is, however, in his first panegyric, in honour of Avitus²⁰⁰ that the full extent of Sidonius' debt is revealed. He writes, describing the appearance of Roma before Jupiter and the *concilium deorum*, that

*cum procul erecta caeli de parte trahebat
pigros Roma gradus, curvato cernua collo
ora ferens; pendent crines de vertice, tecti
pulvere, non galea, clipeusque impingitur aegris
gressibus, et pondus, non terror, fertur in hasta.* (Carm. 5.45-9)

He is clearly recalling the goddess that Claudian portrayed; he described her bedraggled appearance as she complains to Jupiter about Gildo as he wrote,

*vox tenuis tardique gradus oculique iacentes
interius; fugere genae; ieiuna lacertos
exedit macies. umeris vix sustinet aegris*

¹⁹⁸ *Pan.* 2.67-8.

¹⁹⁹ *Carm.* 5.13-4.

²⁰⁰ Kelly 2020b, 70 has suggested that the contratemporal ms. ordering has a specific motivation.

*squalentem clipeum; laxata casside prodit
canitiem plenamque trahit rubiginis hastam.* (Gild. 21-5)

Other elements in the later panegyric reveal a clear debt, in particular the description of Majorian's upbringing and prowess in arms and on the hunting-field, where Sidonius is looking back to Claudian's description of the young Honorius in *IV Hon.*²⁰¹

The beginning of the same panegyric clearly recalls the arrival of Honorius as consul that opens *VI Hon.* Sidonius writes

*concipe praeteritos, respublica, mente triumphos:
imperium iam consul habet, quem purpura non plus
quam lorica operit, cuius diademata frontem
non luxu sed lege tegunt, meritisque laborum.* (Carm. 5.1-4)

He nicely imitates the lines that Claudian had written earlier, with a similar emphasis that the election was both constitutional and carried out without fear,

*haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret aedes,
quam sua cum pariter trabeis reparatur et urbi
maiestas: neque enim campus sollemnis et urna
luditur in morem.* (VI Hon. 3-6)

In a similar fashion, the last lines of the panegyric on Majorian clearly recall the triumphal procession that ends the poem. In the later panegyric, Sidonius forecasts the traditional triumph that Majorian will celebrate in Rome, *cum victor scandere currum/ incipies crinemque sacrum tibi more priorum/ nectat muralis, vallaris, civica laurus* clearly recalls the final scene of the earlier poem where Claudian wrote

*agnoscunt rostra curules
auditas quondam proavis, desuetaque cingit
regius auratis fora fascibus Ulpia lictor,*

²⁰¹ *Carm.* 5.151-83 clearly recalls *IV Hon.* 527-64.

et sextas Getica praevelans fronde secures

colla triumphati proculcat Honorius Histri. (VI Hon. 644-8)

Both descriptions were anachronistic, written at a time that the traditional triumph was obsolete, as Augustine makes clear how much the format had changed as the emperor does not visit Hadrian's mausoleum but makes obeisance at the tomb of Peter.²⁰²

It is clear that Claudian had a detailed knowledge of the whole epic tradition, both in terms of the works of the individual practitioners, and of the wide variety of types of epic. Clearly his greatest debts were to Homer and Virgil, and it is possible to trace their influence on individual passages (one example I give in chapter 6 is especially illuminating as I analyse a 'window-allusion'). He was however unafraid to adopt approaches that were very different from traditional mythological epic, ranging from his treatment of the gods to his descriptions of battle. He was also well aware of how Ennius had portrayed the Scipios in his historical epic.²⁰³ His surviving poems show the influence of other forms of epic including didactic and Christian as he was able to create a new form, panegyric epic, with its own conventions.²⁰⁴ The success of his creation is shown by the enthusiasm that it was adopted by the poets who wrote after him.

²⁰² Kelly 2016, 339.

²⁰³ *Stil. praef.* 3.1-12.

²⁰⁴ The use of prefaces in verse is an example.

Chapter 3: Claudian's creation of panegyric epic.

1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, Claudian succeeded in creating a new type of epic, epic panegyric,²⁰⁵ that became a model for his successors, Rutilius Namatianus, Merobaudes and especially Sidonius Apollinaris. Their immediate and whole-hearted adoption of the innovations that Claudian made in epic are proof not only of his originality but the attraction of the adaptations that he made to the genre. The impact of his work was as dramatic as that of Catullus, another young man from the provinces, who had taken Rome by storm as some four hundred and fifty years before and whose *epyllion* reshaped how epic was written, in particular with his abandonment of the strict narrative of traditional epic.²⁰⁶

I suggest that the most appropriate route to consider the extent and the effect of Claudian's achievement is through a summary review of his 'epic' inheritance, which must start with an evaluation of his predecessors' poetic self-consciousness, and then an evaluation of how Claudian's epic differs from their works. In particular, the various types of epic, which I will describe in greater detail

²⁰⁵ First proposed as a sub-genre by Hofmann (1988, 129).

²⁰⁶ It is notable how Claudian has adapted the themes of both the Argo and the poet as sailor from his predecessor's *Carm.* 64. I think the adoption of the use of tapestry/weaving is also relevant. Claudian would not have been able to make use of the temple imagery that Virgil used (which may have been part of 'Pergamene' epic (see above)) and, I would like to believe without any evidence that, given his knowledge of weaving technology, his family might have been the owners of a small weaving operation, in Alexandria. Surely, his account of the young weavers who are forced to work on festal days by a cruel mistress suggests personal knowledge (*Eutr.* 2.370-5).

below, had clearly become unacceptable or unsatisfactory long before Claudian's time, a possible explanation for the abeyance of the form for three hundred years following the deaths of Statius and Silius.²⁰⁷ I will also argue that his role in changing epic from its traditional form was as fundamental as those of both Catullus, with whose work he was certainly familiar, and Virgil, whom he claims to match.²⁰⁸

The concepts of *aemulatio* and *imitatio* suggest that Roman poets were concerned about their position within a genre, perhaps a natural result of an inferiority complex regarding their Greek forerunners. Any evaluation is made more difficult by the assertions they make when they formulate rules that are often at variance with or contradicted by their own practice: here Horace is notorious but both Virgil and Ovid may also be found guilty.²⁰⁹ They aim to elucidate the epic that they offer or, as in Horace's case, decline to write. It is not without reason that Virgil opens the *Aeneid* with the words *arma virumque cano*, which must serve as the canonical description of Latin epic. He promises a poem about a hero and battles returning to the theme of *reges et proelia*, that he had been warned by Apollo to abandon in the *Eclogues*.²¹⁰ Obviously, he recalls the first lines of both *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* but here he reveals his own personal pride and his role as a poet when he writes *cano* as a dramatic contrast to Homer's invocation to the Muse that opens the *Iliad*.

²⁰⁷ The four lines are preserved by a scholiast on Juvenal, but the latter's tone suggest that Statius's panegyric was not successful (Valla's Scholia on *Sat.* 4.84).

²⁰⁸ Claudian's pride certainly contrasts with Statius' diffidence (*Theb.* 12.816-7).

²⁰⁹ I highlight Virgil's proem in the third book of the *Georgics* where the format he outlines is very different from the *Aeneid*, and the opening of the *Metamorphoses*, where the poem is said to be 'both 'continuous' (*perpetuum*) and 'fine-spun' as the object of the verb *deducite*. (Harrison 2002, 87).

²¹⁰ *Ecl.* 6.3-5.

I would suggest that we should not underestimate the appeal of breaking rules to the Romans including Claudian: this was something that became explicit in the poetry of the romantic poets of the eighteenth century, garnering perhaps too much praise in modern literary criticism for its emphasis on the personal. The approach of the Roman poets was more subtle and transgressive, suggesting a pose of humility. They practiced *aemulatio* while declaring their *imitatio*.

2. Epic

The broad criteria for epic were known since the poems of Homer were created. The subject-matter was the deeds of gods and heroes, including their interactions; acts of heroism were coupled with an awareness of the sadness of the human condition and described in long poems in hexameter. Aristotle notoriously dismissed Empedocles as an author of epic,²¹¹ in spite of his apparent ability to meet the criteria laid down such as length, use of hexameters etc. He commented that the subject matter was not appropriate. Horace muddies the waters in a similar fashion, as he both stresses the need for purity of genre in his *Ars Poetica*. and appears in his practice to override this dictum, as Joseph Farrell has noted.²¹² What therefore makes epic epic? Some features appear constant, such as the descriptions of battle, both single combat and waged by armies, heroic and gruesome deaths, the presence of gods as participants or advisors. The genre can be divided into four types, with the caveat that there is often interplay and overlap, especially in the *Aeneid*, between the different types

They may be described as:

- (i) Mythological (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Argonautica* etc.)
- (ii) Historical (Ennius' *Annales*, Lucan's *Bellum civile* and Silius' *Punica*).

²¹¹ *Poetics* 1447b

²¹² Farrell 2003, 394.

- (iii) Panegyric. No surviving examples before Claudian.²¹³
- (iv) Christian (Juvencus, Proba (?) and Prudentius's *Psychomachia*).

A fifth sub-genre might be posited, at the risk of Occam's razor, Didactic, given that Claudian demonstrates some knowledge of philosophy in both the opening of *Ruf.* where he discusses what philosophical doctrine best explains the universe²¹⁴, and in the panegyric in honour of Manlius Theodorus, a noted Neo-Platonist who became consul in 399.²¹⁵

Claudian was influenced by all these types of epic, most notably historical, although the influence of Christian epic is slight, as he writes a new form of panegyric epic. I attempt a very summary analysis of each, to identify features that Claudian either adopted/ adapted or rejected. Some features, notably similes, are found across the whole genre.

2.1 Mythological Epic

This sub-genre may be defined as epic where the subject-matter was based on a cycle of heroic myths, where heroes actively engage with the gods of Olympus and other deities.²¹⁶ The Trojan war was a prime source of content but other cycles included the voyage of the Argo and the Theban cycle. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the first epics to survive, established many of the basic features, which all later epic poets felt compelled to adopt or to adapt. There are also a number of stylistic features which later poets made use of, most notably speeches, and sometimes

²¹³ Otis 1963, 9-10, 16 argues that the first three sub-genres could be regarded as separate, before Hofmann in 1988.

²¹⁴ *Ruf.* 11-19.

²¹⁵ *Theod.* 84-112.

²¹⁶ Otis 1963, 6.

rejected, such as the use of epithets to describe or characterise a hero. Here, Virgil's *pius Aeneas* is notorious, used as an epithet nineteen times in the *Aeneid*; ²¹⁷ it is intriguing that he seems to have gradually abandoned the usage as a stylistic device, as he used epithets more widely in the Aristaeus episode in the fourth book of the *Georgics*.²¹⁸

Features include:

- (i) Gods acting as advisors and assistants to heroes.
- (ii) Gods experiencing human emotions. As Virgil pointedly comments, describing Aeneas's sufferings at the hands of Juno, *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*²¹⁹
- (iii) Scenes of heroes engaged in single-combat.
- (iv) Descriptions of gruesome deaths in battle. The image of rivers choked with bodies is notable and it was enthusiastically adopted by Claudian.²²⁰
- (v) Consistent pessimism regarding the human condition, regarded as imperfect and usually doomed.

Often the hero will not recognize his divine assistant immediately, as the divine figure assumes a human disguise, so Athena takes on the appearance of Mentis to give advice to Telemachus in the *Odyssey*.²²¹ Venus appears as a young Carthaginian huntress in the *Aeneid* when Aeneas is in despair after the loss of his

²¹⁷ *Pater Aeneas* can be counted seventeen times and *fortem Clianthum* thrice; *fidus Achates* is also found six times.

²¹⁸ Otis 1963, 194.

²¹⁹ *Aen.* 1.11.

²²⁰ Claudian describes how a number of rivers were choked by the bodies of the fallen enemies of Rome, especially the Ister (*IV Hon.* 631-2).

²²¹ *Od.* 1.178-81.

ships and men.²²² Achilles in the *Iliad* is unusual in recognising Apollo and Athena immediately.²²³ Ajax complains, after his loss in the race in the funeral games that Athena looks after his rival as a mother over a small child.²²⁴ From Homer onwards gruesome wounds and deaths are the common currency of epic, often with an emphasis of the pathos of a young life cut short in its prime and the grieving parents left behind. Scenes of single-combat, some of considerable length, are frequent with the participants usually the greatest heroes. It is important that such fights were seen as fair fights between opponents who were more or less equal in bravery and skill until a god intervenes to help his favoured candidate. They often form a climax, most notably the final duel between Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad* and that between Aeneas and Turnus that marks the end of the *Aeneid*.

Gods often feel human emotions, suggesting the continuing attraction of anthropomorphism, even when it is slightly incongruous, as Virgil notes when he describes Juno's hatred of Aeneas and the Trojans in the opening of the *Aeneid*.

The majority of these features are to be found only rarely or not all in Claudian. He emphasises that Stilicho performs his greatest feats without divine assistance. There is only one scene of single combat in Claudian's poetry, the death of the Alan leader.²²⁵ The most gruesome death that he describes, of Rufinus, owes much to Euripides' account of Pentheus's dismemberment in the *Bacchae*, as noted above in the previous chapter.²²⁶ Claudian's portrayals of the Furies and his personifications of Roma and Africa are exceptional in their human emotions (see below).

²²² *Aen.* 1.314-7.

²²³ *Il.* 22.14-5. Feeney 1991, 85 disagrees.

²²⁴ *Il.* 23.783.

²²⁵ *Get.* 581-7.

²²⁶ *Ruf.* 2.400-17.

2.2 Historical Epic

This genre is concerned with both recent and current events. The first known historical epic was written by Choerilus of Samos who lived at the end of the fifth century; his work the *Persika* was an account of the defeat of Xerxes by the Athenians. In his preface he explains that the reason for his choice of subject matter was that mythological epic had been exhausted.²²⁷ It did become a particularly Roman form of epic with Ennius as the first whose work survives in any quantity.²²⁸

Two particular problems faced any writer: the first was the presence of the gods, as any role for individual gods as participants in 'modern' life could be viewed with scepticism. The second was how to portray heroes, and, perhaps more importantly, villains. In mythological epic, there are very few actors who are purely bad, with Mezentius, *contemptor divom*,²²⁹ an exception, as noted in the previous chapter. Lucan's solution was exceptional: not only does he refuse any role for the gods, although *Roma* is allowed a cameo appearance as Julius Caesar is preparing to cross the Rubicon, but it is clear that he has an admiration for the latter. In a similar fashion, Silius Italicus in his *Punica* will portray Hannibal as largely virtuous, the misbehavior at Capua a notable exception; his wife is a paradigm of Roman virtue.²³⁰

²²⁷ The two fragments (Kinkel 1877, 266-7) were quoted in the *Scholia* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 3.14.

²²⁸ Little survives of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* but it is clear that its subjects included both Aeneas' flight from Troy and the First Punic War. Aulus Gellius confirms that the poet both served in and wrote about the Punic Wars, saying *idque ipsum Naevium dicere in eo carmine quod de eodem bello scripsit* (*Noctes Atticae* 17.21.45).

²²⁹ *Aen.* 7.648.

²³⁰ Tipping 2010, 86-7.

Often minor historical figures are described. This is an inheritance from the *Iliad* which is marked by a host of secondary characters, such as Glaucón and Idomeneus, who appear in vivid accounts as real and clearly differentiated participants in the battles raging round the city of Troy. Figures other than the principal protagonists are named and described in historical epic: Ennius appears to have favoured such secondary characters in the final books, young officers in place of the leaders, as William Dominik has suggested.²³¹

A further problem is that of anachronism: the single combats that were the stuff of mythological epic were unrealistic but were seen to be necessary. Both Lucan and Silius describe acts of improbable heroism. Some of Lucan's deaths in the *Bellum civile* approach the absurd and it may be that Silius felt the need to mention so many individual Romans in the *Punica* to order to please those members of his audience who could claim descent from participants in the wars.

Claudian, in contrast to his predecessors save Ennius, restricts himself to contemporary events in his political poems; although he does refer to events of republican and imperial history, it is rather to confirm that Stilicho surpassed such figures as Fabius and Marius. His emphasis on the present meant, inevitably, that the poet was unable to be certain that his version of events was either definitive or accurate. For example, the defeat of Gildo is portrayed very differently in *Gild.* and *Stil.*, where in the latter it is a triumph for the general.

He asserts that Rome at the time of his writing was the culmination of a divine plan marked by the return of the golden age. The latter which Virgil had prophesied in the Fourth Eclogue was predicated on the appearance of a second Tiphys and a second Argo, writing *alter erit Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo delectos*

²³¹ Dominik 1993, 50.

heroas.²³² In the opening of *Get.* there is praise of Stilicho as a second and greater Tiphys.²³³ Both Virgil and Horace predict the return of the golden age.²³⁴ It became a *topos* of imperial propaganda; emperors named as presiding over its return include Domitian and Commodus.²³⁵

It is, however, in his relentless focus on the actions of his principal villains and heroes that Claudian diverges most from his predecessors. The subjects of his epics are the major protagonists such as Stilicho and Alaric, with only limited room for such figures as Tribigild, Leo and the aged Gothic chieftain, unnamed in a charming vignette.²³⁶ He was also constrained by the facts of Stilicho's career, including his birth, so, in contrast to his predecessors, he will give scant attention to his parentage; by contrast he emphasises Theodosius' links to Trajan.²³⁷ He also has to finesse the problem why Stilicho never eliminated Alaric when the latter was at his mercy. As Orosius commented after Stilicho's fall and the sack of Rome: *taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis suis saepe victo, saepe concluso, semperque dimisso*. ('I am silent about King Alaric and his Goths, often conquered, often trapped and always let go.')²³⁸ It is also notable that with the exception of *Get.* his treatment of battle-scenes is cursory, with little interest in the scenes of carnage that so appealed to earlier epic poets.

2.3 Previous instantiations of Panegyric epic.

²³² *Ecl.* 4. 34-5, noted by Ware 2012, 225-7.

²³³ *Get.* 11-4.

²³⁴ *Aen.* 6.791-3 and *Carm. saec.* 29-32.

²³⁵ Ware 2012, 176 n. 32.

²³⁶ *Get.* 485-7.

²³⁷ *IV Hon.* 18-20.

²³⁸ Orosius 7. 37. 1-2.

Panegyric as a mode in poetry can be traced back to Pindar but, as epic, the earliest example is that of Choerilus of Iassos in his account of Alexander's campaigns.²³⁹ It was always a genre that was problematical, both for its creators and for its subjects. Alexander is famously said to have remarked that he would have chosen to be treated as Thersites by Homer rather than to have received the praise of Choerilus.²⁴⁰ Both Pindar and Isocrates, the latter in his *Evagoras*, argue that praise of contemporaries aroused φθόρος in the audience; Isocrates complains that his audience only wanted to hear about the exploits of mythological figures.²⁴¹

Horace in his *recusatio* in the fourth book of the *Odes*²⁴² suggests features of praise poetry which could include:

- (i) Lavish praise of a living man and a description of his exploits.²⁴³
- (ii) Use of imagery taken from the *Gigantomachy*.
- (iii) Return of a golden age.

He also suggests that Pindar was the model, writing *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*.²⁴⁴

All these features are to be found in Claudian, in particular the importance of the war between the Olympian gods and the Giants as both a precursor of and model for the war between Rome and the Goths. This was a long-established parallel for both the Alexandrians and the Romans: the Gauls and for Claudian the Goths were seen as forces of barbarism that threatened civilisation. The poet made use of the conventions of praise to laud Stilicho to the skies: in *Stil.* he is portrayed as the only

²³⁹ Noted by Horace (*Ep.* 2.1.232-4).

²⁴⁰ *FGrHist* 153 10a (Porphrion *ad* Hor. *AP* 357).

²⁴¹ Pindar *Nem.* 8.21 and Isocrates *Evagoras* 6-7.

²⁴² *Carm.* 4.2.

²⁴³ *Carm.* 4.2.33-40.

²⁴⁴ *Carm.* 4.2.1.

statesman without fault.²⁴⁵ As a general, even if not enjoying a triumph, his exploits surpassed those of all previous *triumphatores*. Signs of a return of the golden age were forecast by the omens at the birth of Honorius and in the achievements of Manlius Theodorus but received their fullest expression in Stilicho, as Catherine Ware has made clear.²⁴⁶

1.4 Christian epic

It is well known that Claudian makes no mention of Christianity in his political poems but it seems clear that he was aware of the works of some Christian writers, notably Prudentius.²⁴⁷ Both share a fondness for personification, the latter especially in the *Psychomachia*. As Lukas Dorfbauer has shown, there are clear echoes of Claudian in the latter's *Contra Symmachum* 2 but he has also demonstrated that Claudian alludes to the works of his rival.²⁴⁸ One obvious feature of Christian epic was to attribute success in battle to the Christian god. Both Prudentius and Augustine 'correct' Claudian's accounts of the battles of Frigidus and Pollentia. Augustine subtracted the words *cui fundit ab antris/ Aeolus armatas hiemes*²⁴⁹ (*III Hon.* 96-7) in his account of the battle of Frigidus. In *Get.* Claudian repeatedly characterises Stilicho as the sole architect of the victory of Pollentia, writing *per te namque unum mediis exuta tenebris/ imperio sua forma redit* and *quanto maius opus solo Stilichum peractum/ cernimus*.²⁵⁰ For Prudentius, Christ was

²⁴⁵ *Stil.* 1.24-35.

²⁴⁶ Ware 2012, 220-1.

²⁴⁷ Examples of his engagement with Christianity include his versification of the Nicene creed in *De Salvatore* (*Carm. min.* 32) and his attack on Jacobus for his excessive piety (*Carm. min.* 50).

²⁴⁸ Dorfbauer 2012, 69.

²⁴⁹ *De civ. Dei* 5.26, which was followed by Orosius *Historiae adversos paganos* 7.35.

²⁵⁰ *Get.* 36-7 and 133-4.

a responsible partner in the triumph as he wrote in *Contra Symmachum dux agminis imperii/ Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius/ atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utriusque* and *scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque receptis/ huc Christo comitante veni.*²⁵¹

Christian epic, by its nature, demanded the presence of a higher power that enabled its protagonists to succeed in battle, something very foreign to Claudian but its emphasis on the battles waged as campaigns of the forces of light against the forces of darkness had a strong influence.²⁵² It also emphasised the necessity of punishment in the after-life for a criminal existence, certainly a dominant theme in Greek tragedy but foreign to much earlier epic. Claudian makes clear that Rufinus will be punished by being sent to the lowest circle of Hell, below Tartarus.²⁵³

I would suggest that the typology which was a theme of Christian apologetics was used by Claudian to praise Stilicho: just as Christ both exceeded and was the culmination of the figures of the Old Testament, so Stilicho surpassed the figures of both mythology and of Roman history, such as Fabius.²⁵⁴ Prudentius writes in the preface to the *Psychomachia* that Abraham is the forerunner of Christ.²⁵⁵ It is both an optimistic view of the future, justifying Claudian's belief in a rebirth of the golden age, and a summation, now that Rome had achieved a zenith of prosperity.²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ *Contra Symm.* 2.709-11 and 731-2.

²⁵² Noted by James in her analysis of *Ruf.* (1998, 151).

²⁵³ *Ruf.* 2.522-7.

²⁵⁴ *Get.* 1-34 and 138-44.

²⁵⁵ *Psych. praef.* 59, noted by Ware 2012, 35.

²⁵⁶ Solly 2019, 50.

1.5 Didactic Epic

There is a tradition of didactic in hexameter poetry and there are some influences of it in Claudian, although estimates of his knowledge of philosophy range widely. It is dismissed by Cameron as superficial, as he argued that it was derived from the rhetorical handbooks,²⁵⁷ to earlier scholars who had argued that the poet had real knowledge and understanding of philosophy.²⁵⁸ What is certain is that his panegyric for Manlius Theodorus sits uneasily within the canon of his political poems by virtue of its subject, neither Stilicho nor one of his opponents, nor Honorius.²⁵⁹ In a recent interpretation, Álvaro Sánchez-Ostiz has proposed that it is intended to demonstrate how the return of a golden age under Theodosius and Honorius can be seen not just in Stilicho's achievements as a statesman but in Theodorus' writings on philosophy, where he surpasses Cicero, the traditional gauge for philosophical excellence in Latin.²⁶⁰

If Claudian did have such an objective, we would certainly expect him to have a didactic emphasis, as he needs to explain to his audience why the new consul was superior to Cicero, whereas Stilicho's achievements in peace and war would be plain to all the inhabitants of Milan and Rome. He suggests that Theodorus join with Stilicho, writing *quis adeo demens qui iungere sensus /cum Stilichone neget*: Stilicho, the statesman in peace and war, would form a triad with Theodorus as the philosopher. Such an aim would suggest that Lucretius' *De rerum natura* would

²⁵⁷ Cameron 1970, 323-4.

²⁵⁸ Courcelle 1948, 122-8.

²⁵⁹ It is a very odd mix of a poem which has not been properly studied. As an example, Claudian is able to link the mining skills of the Bessi via a simile describing the education of a sailor to a reference to *clavam totamque* which may refer to the joke made by Julia recorded by Macrobius on her sexual practices.

²⁶⁰ Sánchez-Ostiz, 2013,107.

serve as a natural model and it is clear that there are a number of verbal parallels, most notably Claudian's description of Theodorus' writings, *Graiorum obscuras Romanis floribus artes/ inradius*,²⁶¹ ('you illuminate the obscurities of the Greeks with Roman flowers of speech,') which recalls Lucretius' description of the difficulty of such a task, *Graiorum obscura reperta/ difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse*.²⁶² ('It is difficult to illustrate the obscure discoveries of the Greeks in Latin verse.')

Sánchez-Ostiz's interpretation is attractive especially if we accept that *Stil.* with its three book format was modeled on Cicero's *De consulatu suo*. The figure of Urania is important to Theodorus and is the subject of the largest extant fragment of Cicero's poem.²⁶³ Claudian's knowledge of philosophy, however derived, suggests that his more important motivation was to show how his heroes surpassed their Roman predecessors, both as statesmen and as philosophers.

3. Claudian's changes

The first works of Claudian that have survived are traditional in subject, even if revealing the extent of his ambition. The Greek *Gigantomachia*, which has survived in fragmentary form, was clearly composed for an Alexandrian audience, as the poet refers to the students in his audience. His choice of subject (and I assume the work was never completed) demonstrates the extent of his ambition: it was generally regarded by the ancients as the culmination of epic. His next work²⁶⁴ the opening book of *Rapt.* is similarly traditional in subject-matter but also serves to introduce Claudian to a Roman audience. The preface to the poem with its references to seafaring is both a description of his move from Alexandria to Rome and from epic

²⁶¹ *Theod.* 84-5.

²⁶² *DRN* 1.136-7.

²⁶³ *De cons. suo* 2.6-8, in *De div.* 1.17-22.

²⁶⁴ As I note in chapter 1 (Introduction) I accept Charlet's and Bernstein's dating.

written in Greek to political epic in Latin. There is a nicely Ovidian touch, as Claudian suggests that there is no need for Pluto to launch a war on Jupiter, as the Fates advise him, *Posce Iovem, dabitur coniunx*.²⁶⁵ It was sufficient to take Rome by storm as Prosper makes clear²⁶⁶ and to win for the new arrival a commission to praise Probinus and Olybrius.²⁶⁷ Often dismissed,²⁶⁸ it was a traditional mythological epic, as Claudian makes clear in the ending of the first book, as he outlines the range of subjects that he will describe in the remainder of the poem. As is so common among Roman epic poets, it was never finished, perhaps because of a lack of pressure on him.

²⁶⁵*Rapt.* 1.67. I would also suggest that it is evidence of his remarkable self-confidence, and perhaps explains why he treated *Rapt.* so haphazardly: with an emperor's support, he had no need to finish his poem, as a traditional mythological epic was unnecessary, and besides, there were other routes to success. It was through such a route that Claudian was able to marry his own wife, as he makes clear in the *Laus Serenae*.

²⁶⁶ Prosper 737A (ed. Migne).

²⁶⁷ It is most improbable that the commission was awarded on the basis of family contacts in Alexandria as Cameron has suggested (1970, 31). Charlet's arguments in favour of an early date for the first book of *Rapt.* are convincing. Hall nicely summarises the arguments for an early date (1969, 101-3). It is intriguing that the first suggestion of the priority of *Rapt.* was made by a Scot, Thomas Dempster in 1607. His account of Claudian's life is to be found in Burmann (1760, 732-7). As an aside, Hall's reference should probably be corrected to p. 637. It is very rare that he makes a mistake.

²⁶⁸ Cameron, for example, describes it as 'the pretty but irrelevant torso of a traditional mythological epic.' (1974, 157).

Postgate, in a review of Theodor Birt's omnibus edition,²⁶⁹ argued that the transition that Claudian announced as he stated *Latinae cessit Graia Thalia togae*²⁷⁰ is a move from themes taken from mythology to the subject of current events written for a Roman audience. Such a dramatic change is testimony to his self-confidence, also evidenced by his pride in the statue erected in his honour.

To effect this switch, Claudian made a number of innovations in his epics that should be seen as the result of artistic and stylistic choices rather than due to his role as a panegyrist of Stilicho. These may be summarised:

- (i) Abandonment of prose as the medium for panegyric, suggesting a return to Statius' use of verse after 300 years.
- (ii) The use of prefaces, an avenue for the poet to elaborate on his own role that was adopted in the works of his successors.²⁷¹ Each was not just a *captatio benevolentiae*, intended to flatter his audience;²⁷² there is a careful graduation in his audience from students in Alexandria to the emperor and Jupiter.²⁷³ The prefaces also have a metapoetic purpose, both to describe Claudian's vision of his role as a poet and to introduce overarching themes that link the individual poems together as an *oeuvre*. An example is the identification of Alaric and the Goths with the Giants as

²⁶⁹ Postgate 1895, 164.

²⁷⁰ *Carm. min.* 41.14. Postgate's reading of *cessit* over *accessit* remains attractive.

²⁷¹ Prefaces are found in roughly half of the long poems, namely *Rapt.* 1 and 2, *III Hon.*, *Ruf.* 1 and 2, *Eutr.* 2, *Nupt.*, *Theod.*, *Stil.* 3, *Get.* and *VI Hon.*

²⁷² Dewar 1994, 48.

²⁷³ The poet's audience changes from students in Alexandria (*Gig.* 11-5) to the gods of Olympus (*VI Hon. praef.* 13-6).

enemies of order and civilization that looks both backward and forward to his two *Gigantomachia*.²⁷⁴

- (iii) Lavish praise of the poet's patrons and strident criticism of their opponents; Rutilius' harsh attack on Stilicho in *De reditu suo* has Claudian's *Ruf.* as a model.²⁷⁵ Here Claudian may be looking back to Horace's moralistic reading of Homer, where the Roman poet summarises the *Iliad* as a description of the sufferings of the Greeks because of the stupidity of their leaders, *quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*.²⁷⁶ Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, by contrast a paragon of virtue and a good example, *utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen*.²⁷⁷
- (iv) Emphasis on the achievements of individuals, with a very limited role for the traditional gods. Obviously, Theodosius and Stilicho are the prime candidates for such honours but Manlius Theodorus is also praised extravagantly.
- (v) The use of *concordia inferna* as a source of explanation for human actions.²⁷⁸
- (vi) Appearance of Roma as a fully-fledged divinity with human feelings and emotions. Her physical appearance is modeled on that of Athena as a warrior goddess and is far removed from the traditional turreted *Tyche*

²⁷⁴ *VI Hon. praef.* 17-20.

²⁷⁵ To Rutilius Namatianus, writing perhaps thirteen years after Claudian's disappearance from history, Stilicho's policies were doomed to failure: his cowardice and treachery were the prime causes of the disaster, as he wrote *quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum, proditor arcani qui fuit imperii*. ('For this reason the crime of dread Stilicho is more bitter, the man who the betrayer of the secret of empire.') (*De reditu suo* 2.41-2).

²⁷⁶ *Ep.* 1.2.14.

²⁷⁷ *Ep.* 1.2.18.

²⁷⁸ *Gild.* 17-207 and *Ruf.* 1.25-117.

based on Cybele. Claudian will have taken as his starting-point the figure of Roma that appears to Caesar as he is preparing to cross the Rubicon.²⁷⁹

- (vii) Concept of an evil force trying to overturn the benevolent force that was Rome.²⁸⁰
- (viii) A concern with very contemporary events. This was, of course, an inheritance from the speeches in prose that were delivered on ceremonial occasions. There is a marked emphasis on Stilicho's particular roles as both a skilled strategist and a successful and professional general.²⁸¹

Stylistic features include:

- (i) Ecphrasis, especially on elaborate clothing. I have suggested above that Claudian's expertise may be based on personal experience, perhaps derived from a family textile business. Not only does he know how heavy the emperor's clothing was, as the priests sweat as they lift the child Honorius²⁸² but there is the vivid simile of the weavers kept at their task by a cruel mistress who refuses to allow them to participate in a festival.
- (ii) Emphasis on the use of elaborate similes, often adapted from the poet's predecessors.

²⁷⁹ *BC* 1. 185-90. I analyse *Laus Romae* separately in my discussion of Claudian's creation of the figure of Roma.

²⁸⁰ James suggests that Claudian was portraying a cosmic battle against the forces of evil in *Ruf.* (James 1998, 153-4).

²⁸¹ Claudian describes how Stilicho has created an army of an unparalleled diversity, *numquam tantae ditione sub una/ convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum*, ('Never had so many forces formed under a single command, nor so many differences in language.') (*Ruf.* 2. 106-7), regarding it as a source of strength in contrast to both Homer (*Il.* 4.433-8) and Virgil. (*Aen.* 8.722-3).

²⁸² *IV Hon.* 572-4.

- (iii) Speeches. There are approximately 140 in total, of which some 110 are delivered by deities.
- (iv) Use of counterfactual conditionals to address the problem of φθόνοϛ that Pindar and Isocrates warned against.²⁸³
- (v) Brevity. Although lost epics and Πάτρια have been attributed to Claudian,²⁸⁴ this is speculation. His surviving output is modest in volume, suggesting a careful writer; the oral versions of his political poems would have taken somewhere between 30 and 60 minutes to deliver.

Claudian's concept of a battle for the world between the forces of good and evil may also owe something to Christian epic, as was suggested by Paula James.²⁸⁵ This dualism was not a feature of earlier epic and a number of sources have been suggested by Ware, including Neoplatonism, Christianity, and Manichaeism.²⁸⁶ A further source that ought to be identified is Zoroastrianism, in particular as Claudian shows that he is aware of Zoroastrian ritual in his account of Stilicho's embassy to the Persian king: in the first book of *Stil.* he describes the ritual sacrifice offered.²⁸⁷ Certainly a principal tenet of the religion was the unceasing fight between Ahura Mazda, the light of the forces of good, and Ahriman, the prince of darkness. Intriguingly, Prudentius also refers to Zoroastrian rituals, writing in the *Apotheosis: qui Zoroastreos turbasset fronte susurrus*.²⁸⁸ He also attacks the gnostic dualism of Marcion in the *Hamartigenia*.²⁸⁹

²⁸³ Stilicho's triumph would have surpassed any previous triumph, if he had been given one (*Stil.* 3.14-29).

²⁸⁴ Cameron 1970, 28.

²⁸⁵ James 1998, 151.

²⁸⁶ Ware 2012, 51.

²⁸⁷ *Stil.* 1.58-63.

²⁸⁸ *Apoth.* 494.

²⁸⁹ *Ham.* 36-46.

Typology is a feature where Stilicho is seen as the recreation and summation of earlier figures, both mythological and historical, that he inserts into his contemporary world. I noted above how he treated Tiphys as the forerunner to Stilicho. He is at pains to emphasize how Stilicho has surpassed his predecessors, as he combines the virtues of the three Romans who defeated Hannibal and is the one man who exceeds them, writing

unus in hoc Stilicho diversis artibus hoste
tris potuit complere duces fregitque furentem
cunctando vicitque manu victumque relegat. (Get. 142-4)

In a similar fashion, Alaric is worse than Hannibal, *Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale*, ('A (second) Hannibal crueller than the original Hannibal.').²⁹⁰ This may also be a reversal of Virgil's mechanism where the latter 'inserted' the modern world into Aeneas' epic struggles, notably Anchises' prophecies of the future greatness of Rome and Augustus in the Underworld and the description of Aeneas's shield in the eighth book.

4. Claudian's heirs

The greatest testament to his success is that it became customary for panegyrists to be awarded the honour of a statue, with a suitably chosen inscription in Trajan's Forum in Rome; other honorees include Merobaudes and Sidonius.²⁹¹ Particular features that they took over from Claudian were councils both of the gods (*Pan. Avit.*) and of the provinces (*Pan. Maj.* 13-369) and the personification of Roma.

²⁹⁰ *Stil. praef.* 3.22.

²⁹¹ Chenault 2012, 111.

There is a host of specific verbal allusions which make clear that Claudian's works were very familiar.

5. Conclusion

Perhaps the most striking belief that Claudian bequeathed was his optimism regarding the fate of Rome, something he shared with Ammianus and Prudentius, and may be based on a dramatic resurgence in the prosperity of Rome. I have suggested that this was based on a renewed exploitation of the Spanish gold mines that were first exploited under Augustus. In spite of the turbulent times, the city was at the zenith of its splendor. This optimism overturns traditional epic.

As Libanius noted, defending the content of his panegyric in honour of the sons of Constantine, the worth of a victory is determined by the worth of the opponents.²⁹² Claudian, by his emphasis on the overwhelming virtues of Stilicho, has removed this traditional avenue of praise, instead painting his enemies as villains of the deepest dye. His solution was to turn to a dualism, both on earth and in the heavens above and the darkness below, which clearly would have resonated with his audience, which was largely Christian. It is a view of the world that is almost Manichaean in its formulation of the ongoing struggle between the powers of light and darkness, whose human representatives are Stilicho and Rufinus.

²⁹² *Or.* 59. 80.

Chapter 4: Claudian's Prefaces.

We saw in chapter 3 that prefaces are one of the adaptations to the epic genre made by Claudian which helped create his new form of panegyric epic. In this chapter I now examine the individual Prefaces.²⁹³ Twelve in elegiacs survive, ranging in length from eight to 76 lines, as follows (not in strict chronological order, as the dating of *Rapt.* is uncertain), *Rapt.* 1 (394?), 2, *III Hon.* (396), *Ruf.* 1, 2 (397), *Nupt.* (398), *Theod.* (399), *Eutr.* 2 (399), *Stil.* 3 (400), *Get.* (402), *VI Hon.* (404) and *Carm. min.* 25 (398?). There is no settled agreement why some of Claudian's epics do not have prefaces; in some cases there are proems, which can be broadly defined as an introductory passage that opens a poem and forms part of it, but these are also found in poems adorned with prefaces, *Rapt.* 1, *Ruf.* 1, *Eutr.* 2, and *Get.* A number of theories have been proposed, but none is wholly convincing. Alan Cameron has suggested that the second preface of *Rapt.* and the single prefaces of *Eutr.* 2 and *Stil.* 3 were added because of the delay, of months or years, between their delivery and that of the delivery of the companion poems which led to changed circumstances and audiences.²⁹⁴ Koch has suggested that in some cases the absence of prefaces was due to the fact that the honorand was not present.²⁹⁵ Hall proposed that it may have been impolitic to lavish praise on Stilicho during the time he had been declared *publicus hostis* in the East.²⁹⁶ The complexity of certain prefaces and the links between them suggest Claudian viewed them as fundamental to his epic poetry.

²⁹³ There is a useful study on prefaces by Felgentreu (1999) and individual prefaces are analysed by Perrelli (2000), Sánchez-Ostiz (2021) and Ware (2016).

²⁹⁴ Cameron, 1970, 77-8.

²⁹⁵ Koch 1889, 583.

²⁹⁶ Hall 1987, 186.

The prefaces in Claudian's *oeuvre*

The earliest preface in date is probably the one that opens *Rapt*;²⁹⁷ twelve lines long, it compares the poet to a sailor venturing into the open sea, serving both a literal and a metapoetic purpose. It represents both his actual journey from Alexandria to Rome and Italy and as an introduction to his recreation of traditional

²⁹⁷ Charlet's suggestion (2002, 21) that *Rapt.* 1 was composed in Alexandria before Claudian's move to Rome, with its preface probably composed on his arrival, is preferable to Cameron's suggestion (1970, 31 & 458) that the commission to write a panegyric for the consulates of the two young men, Probinus and Olybrius, was given on the back of a letter of introduction from a contact in Alexandria. In particular, Prosper's comment on Claudian for the year 395 (*Chronicum Integrum* 737), that he took the city by storm and by epic, *Hoc tempore Claudianus poeta insignis habetur* ('At this time Claudian is considered a distinguished poet') seems more appropriate for his reintroduction of traditional epic after 300 years, rather than a possibly ephemeral panegyric. It should be noted that both Postgate (1895, 163-4) and Hall (1969, 102) contend that Claudian announced his transition from Greek mythological poetry to Roman political poetry when he wrote *Romanos bibimus primum te consule fontes/ et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togae* (*Carm. min.* 41,13-4). In particular, they firmly reject the reading of 'accessit' proposed by Birt (1892, 335), as unsupported by the oldest manuscripts (Hall noted that 'cessit' is found in the eighth-century Verona MS). Charlet additionally notes (2018, 65) that that the poet is consciously alluding to a famous phrase of Cicero, *cedant arma togae* (*Carm. frag.* 16. 1). Confusingly Harrison (2017) appears first to reject Charlet's thesis (p. 241-2), suggesting that the preface is a metapoetic description of a move by Claudian from encomiastic poetry to traditional epic, and then accepts the first book as an Alexandrian production (p. 246). Given that the earliest work of Claudian to survive are the fragments of his Greek *Gigantomachia*, Harrison's argument must be wrong.

epic. It is notable that his first panegyric begins with a brief hexameter proem of seven lines that follows the tradition established by Virgil, and should be regarded as an outlier to his usual practice.²⁹⁸ The preface to the second book of *Rapt.* is 52 lines and was probably delivered when Florentinus was *praefectus urbi*, from mid-395 to end-397, and before rather than after his departure from office. It describes the exploits of both Orpheus and Hercules, although it first refers to the former's abandonment of poetry, to the distress of his audiences of nymphs and animals (lines 1-8). The poet was persuaded to pick up his lyre again by Hercules's destruction of the stables of Diomedes, much to the delight of his varied audience which included mountains and trees (lines 9-28). The subject of his poetry is a feat of Hercules's infancy, the strangling of the snakes, followed by all of his labours and other exploits (lines 29-48). The preface ends with Claudian comparing Florentinus to the hero, *sed tu Tyrinthius alter,/ Florentine, mihi*: like Hercules, he has wakened a poet and his Muses from a long sleep (lines 49-52). It should be noted that Heinsius was sceptical whether the preface was properly placed, writing *Praefatio haec aliena loco inserta videtur. Ad rem certe non facit. Ut tollenda fortasse sit.*²⁹⁹

Claudian's second preface found in a political work is in his panegyric to Honorius, on his third consulship, delivered in 396, which opens with a preface of 18 lines. Its theme is that of the eagle testing whether his chicks are able to bear the light of the sun; any found wanting are expelled from the nest. Originating with Pindar³⁰⁰, this test is one that both Honorius and the poet have to undergo; Claudian is confident that he has passed.

²⁹⁸ *Olybr.* 1-7.

²⁹⁹ Heinsius 1650, 211. I fear even today we have to bow to Heinsius's knowledge, although the delay between the first two books of *Rapt.* may have led Claudian to add a longer preface.

³⁰⁰ As noted by Gualandri 2013, 121, as Pindar explicitly compares himself to the bird of Zeus, the eagle (*Ol.* 2. 86-9).

There are prefaces to the two books of *Ruf.* which were delivered on separate occasions in 397;³⁰¹ the first of 18 lines has as its theme Apollo's defeat of Python, which foreshadows Stilicho's elimination of Rufinus. Both were threats to the stability of the world. The preface to the second book is slightly longer, at 20 lines, and commemorates Stilicho's victory in Greece over Alaric. Both the Muses and Apollo are called to celebrate; the figure of the god ties the two poems together. Claudian concludes the preface by making it clear that Stilicho is now his patron.³⁰² It is probable that Claudian is looking back to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.³⁰³ The next preface in order of date is found in *Nupt.* that he delivered in early 398 to celebrate the wedding of Honorius to Maria, the daughter of Stilicho. With a length of 22 lines, its theme is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, with Apollo taking a prominent role, forecasting both the birth of Achilles and the fate of the Trojans. Claudian's debt to Catullus is clear, although the former does not share the latter's intimation of impending doom that is portrayed on the coverlet for the bridal bed that is embroidered with the story of Theseus and Ariadne.³⁰⁴

In 399, the poet delivered a panegyric in honour of Manlius Theodorus, with a preface of 20 lines. Its exclusive theme is praise of the audience of senators gathered in Milan, suggesting that this poem was written with a special purpose as Stilicho had been declared as *publicus hostis* by the eastern empire. It is addressed to *Thalia, nostra Thalia*,³⁰⁵ who the poet suggests has now become his own epic Muse,

³⁰¹ Cameron 2020, 267 now suggests 396.

³⁰² *Ruf.* 2.13-6.

³⁰³ We know that he was familiar with the *Homeric Hymns*, to which he makes a clear reference in the magnificent simile that closes *Stil.* 3. 362-9, as noted by Keudel (1970, 147). I also discuss it below in my examination of Claudian's use of similes.

³⁰⁴ Catullus *Carm.* 64,132-48.

³⁰⁵ *Theod. praef.* 2.

totaque iam vatis pectora miles habet ('a soldier now possesses the whole heart of the poet')³⁰⁶. In the conclusion, the poet suggests that, in contrast to Jupiter, the emperor has no need to measure the extent of his empire through the flights of two eagles, as his audience gleams as brightly as anything in the whole world, *hoc video coetu quidquid ubique micat*.³⁰⁷ Claudian may be suggesting with his flattery that his western audience should be ready to overturn or ignore any dictates from the East.³⁰⁸

The dating of the preface to *Carm. min.* 25 is uncertain, some time between 398 and 403. The poet describes the bridegroom Palladius as his equal because they share the same senatorial rank and his father-in-law Celerinus as his superior. The latter became city prefect in Constantinople.

It was followed by the diatribes against Eutropius, only one of which had a preface, namely the second book, which was probably delivered in late 399. 'Preface' may not be the correct definition, given its length of 76 lines. It was clearly written and circulated after Eutropius's fall from power, as its principal subject is a description of his exile to Cyprus, although it also seems certain that a proem, perhaps as long as 94 lines was added to the second book to update Claudian's audience on the fate of Eutropius. It is possible that it was first written as a stand-alone piece, as Jeep has suggested.³⁰⁹ Its theme is singular, and both its dating and purpose, as well as that of the two poems, have been the subject of contentious debate. The invective describing the disgrace and downfall of the eastern consul is very clear, portraying him as someone unsuitable for office, in particular because he

³⁰⁶ *Theod. praef.* 6; the change in Thalia's role is analysed by Ware (2012, 63-6).

³⁰⁷ *Theod. praef.* 20, perhaps suggesting that a Christian emperor is now superior to Jupiter.

³⁰⁸ Sánchez-Ostiz 2021, 273-94.

³⁰⁹ Jeep 1876, xxvi.

was a eunuch, but it is difficult to establish the timetable of the composition the two poems. Jacqueline Long has provided a detailed analysis of the problem and scholars' different solutions³¹⁰ and the timetable she has proposed seems reasonable.³¹¹ We should accept the lack of information in Constantinople that Eunapius records of events in the West³¹² was equally true in the opposite direction. Claudian was simply updating his poem *Eutr. 2* as he received additional information. In contrast to Genette, who argued that prefaces are primarily used as signaling devices, both by the author and to his audiences,³¹³ Claudian has demonstrated how a preface can be used as a retrospective mechanism to make corrections.

There is a reference to *exiguae... chartae* which sealed Eutropius' downfall, discussed by Seeck and Cameron, both wrestling over this description.³¹⁴ It makes an indirect comment to the earlier letter noted for its length when Tiberius ordered the elimination of Sejanus.³¹⁵ The phrase is intended to display the suddenness of the eunuch's fall from power: a short rescript from the Emperor was all that was necessary, ironically an ominous forerunner of Stilicho's own fall from grace and his execution in 408. A simpler explanation may be possible if we can assume that the Byzantines inherited the practices of Roman emperors, in particular that purple ink was reserved for the emperor, to be used as a superscript over longer documents.

³¹⁰ Long 1996, 149-60.

³¹¹ Long 1996, 177-8.

³¹² Eunapius *fr.* 74 Müller, cited by Long 1996, 179-80.

³¹³ Genette 1991, 261.

³¹⁴ Cameron 1970, 144, quoting Seeck 1913, 565.

³¹⁵ Cassius Dio 58.10.

The surviving superscripts are notable for their brevity; a number of such amended documents were exhibited in 1982 Exhibition of the Treasures of Mount Athos.³¹⁶

Only the third book of *Stil.* has a preface in which Claudian compares himself to Ennius and Stilicho to Scipio Africanus. The latter was Rome's greatest military hero, famous for his defeat of Hannibal at Zama, and a patron of the arts. Claudian implies at the end the preface that both he and Stilicho are superior to their predecessors.

In contrast to *Gild.* of 398, which lacks a preface, the second of Claudian's poems describing an individual campaign, *Get.* of 402, has a preface of 18 lines; it opens with the poet returning to his Roman Muse after a long silence, *Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris.*³¹⁷ This preface is wholly devoted to the poet himself as he is delighted to commemorate the statue and the patrician title that he was awarded at the demand of both Senate and Emperor, *adnuit hic princeps titulum poscente senatu.*³¹⁸ He ends the preface by declaring that he is confident of success, due either to the merit of the war or the love of Stilicho, *vel meritum belli vel Stilichonis amor.*³¹⁹ It is perhaps a sign that Claudian was well-aware of his

³¹⁶ Chrysobull issued by John V Paleologus in May 1343, confirming Monastery of Docheiariou Monastery in its possession of land (Item 13.13, page 442); Chrysobull issued by John VI Cantacuzenos on 14 July 1351 confirming Iviron Monastery in its possession of 27 estates in Macedonia, as well as certain tax exemptions (Item 13.17, page 444 in Catalogue of the Exhibition 'Treasures of Mount Athos in Thessaloniki' in 1997.

³¹⁷ *Get. praef.* 2. Ware (2012, 636) has suggested that Claudian has transformed the decidedly unepic Thalia of the opening of Virgil's sixth *Eclogue* into a 'Muse of all work.'

³¹⁸ *Get. praef.* 9.

³¹⁹ *Get. praef.* 18.

vaingloriousness that he opens the epic with a detailed and long proem, lines 1-35. In the latter, he begins by referring to the voyage of the Argo, a staple for both Claudian and his predecessors, where he, drawing from Apollonius, makes Tiphys the hero;³²⁰ he surprisingly also uses it to cast strong doubt on the veracity of any poet, as he writes both '*licet omnia vates/ in maius celebrata ferant.*' ('Poets may exaggerate the deeds they are celebrating.')³²¹ He continues by describing a poet's objective as *teneras victuri carmine mentes* (to win over young minds with poetry).³²² He clearly is recalling the sometimes dangerous powers of poets, especially in their role as *vates*, where I suppose 'bard', with its emphasis on mysticism, is the appropriate translation. His additional purpose is to suggest that the reality of Stilicho's achievements surpasses the stories of the myths, *nil veris aequale dabunt.*³²³

The last preface that has survived is that for *VI Hon.* It was delivered in January 404 and is 26 lines long. Drawing on Lucretius and others of his predecessors,³²⁴ Claudian opens the preface by describing the nature of dreams, how they echo the dreamer's daytime pursuits (lines 1-10), so the hunter dreams of woods and the lairs of his prey, judges of lawsuits, and the charioteer of his chariot and unreal turning-posts. The lover dreams of his affair, the merchant-sailor trades his goods, the watchful miser looks for the treasure he has lost, and refreshing sleep gives pleasant drinks to thirsty invalids. Claudian then describes his own dream, lines 11-20, how he dreamt that he sang a gigantomachy to Jupiter, describing the fates of Enceladus and Typhoeus; the gods surrounding him and their retinues

³²⁰ Coombe 2014, 177.

³²¹ *Get.* 15.

³²² *Get.* 21. An alternative reading *vincturi* is found in some mss. and is preferred by Jeep.

³²³ *Get.* 27.

³²⁴ Ware 2016.

applaud. He concludes the preface by saying that his dream was true and was not sent by the deceitful gate of ivory, referring to the conclusion of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil distinguishes between the sources of true and false dreams.³²⁵ He then ends by comparing the emperor and his court, his present audience, as the equal to the audience for his gigantomachia, in graceful flattery.

2. The role of prefaces in Claudian's oeuvre.

The prefaces are all in elegiac couplets. This is a contrast to his use of hexameters in the majority of his poetry, although he uses elegiacs in the occasional *Carmina minora*. They are in contrast to the use of prose not only by Martial and Statius but by Ausonius. It is clear that they had a special function, serving both as an introduction to an individual poem and to woo his audiences, with a certain level of flattery, as well as to emphasise his claim to be the match of Homer and Virgil. They also serve to reinforce the sense of the individual poems as a series by referring back to previous occasions. The other thing that they arguably do in some cases at least is to situate the poems in the place and moment of delivery. This meant that they could both flatter the audience but also provide a context for later readers who were not in the audience.

It is notable that they are somewhat detachable and it has been argued that some have been misplaced in the surviving manuscripts. The preface to *Hon. VI* is found in a number of manuscripts serving as the preface to *Rapt. 3*, perhaps used by scribes to make up for the fact that the third book lacks a preface, in contrast to the first two. Robert Pratt has convincingly shown that the virtual translation of lines 3 to 10 of this preface to form the fifteenth stanza of Chaucer's *Parlement of Fouls* does not show that the latter knew or had read Claudian's last panegyric. He would have read his Claudian as part of the medieval school reader the *Liber Catonianus*, where

³²⁵ *Aen.* 6.893-6.

the complete *Rapt.* is found augmented with this preface in most thirteenth-century manuscripts.³²⁶

3. Preface versus proem.

In her recent book on Claudian, Delphine Meunier analyses both proems and prefaces, as well as invocations of a Muse, as places where the poet can introduce his subject as well as making clear his stance.³²⁷ Her first analysis is of the proem that opens *Rapt.*, which she describes as both a *propositio*, announcing the theme of the poem (lines 1-4), the clash between heaven and hell; this is followed by a vision of the Eleusinian mysteries (4-19), which in turn is followed by a second *propositio* (20-31), an invocation of the gods of hell. She suggests that a particular purpose of Claudian was to reveal the theme of the poem.³²⁸

There is a notable distinction between a preface and a proem, in the clear separation of the preface from the body of the poem. The proem was typically used by most Latin poets until Martial. The comic poets, Plautus and Terence are notable outliers, although their purpose in their prefaces is specific to comedy, either to ask

³²⁶ Pratt 1947, 420-1. Other authors in the *Liber Catonianus* include Cato and Statius.

The wary huntere, slepyng in his bed,
To wode ayeyn his mynde goth anon;
The juge demeth how his plees ben sped;
The cartere dremeth how his cartes gon;
The riche of gold; the kniyght fyght with his fon;
The syke met he drynkth of the tonne;
The lovere met he hath his lady wonne. *Parlement of Foules* 99-105.

³²⁷ As an aside, she complains that the proems have not been studied enough (2019, 42).

³²⁸ Meunier 2019, 43.

for an appreciative audience or to rebuke one for its lack of appreciation. The proem forms part of the actual poem, rather than standing alone, as a brief introduction to the verse that follows, often acting as a summary as we find in both Homer and Virgil.³²⁹ The preface is more didactic, both to attempt to direct the response of the audience and to make clear the poet's intentions. It is notable that Claudian will use a preface on a stand-alone basis and add a proem; both are found in *Rapt.* 1. One function of the prefaces is to serve as an introduction that binds his work together as an oeuvre, most evident as he moves from describing his audience for his fragmentary Greek *Gigantomachia* whom he characterizes as Alexandrian schoolboys to the gods, and Honorius' court, whom he describes as equal to the gods. The theme of the battle against the Giants is a representation of the struggle against Alaric and the Goths as a human equivalent of the divine struggle waged by Jupiter.

4. Martial and Statius.

Carole Newlands has suggested that the use of prefaces for poetry was a Flavian innovation, first used by Martial in c. 86 in his first two books of epigrams, but also by Statius in his *Silvae*, which was first published as a set in c. 93.³³⁰ Martial begins his first book, after a prose preface, in which he defines himself as a poet, aware that his work might be considered immoral, but recalling his predecessors from Catullus on; he will allow his audience to dismiss his poetry with the first option to refuse to read further after sight of the title.³³¹ In the several poems that follow he goes on to describe the different audiences, including the general audience

³²⁹ Proems are found in *Rapt.* 1, *Olybr.*, *Hon.* III, IV and VI, *Ruf.* 1, *Gild.*, *Eutr.* 2, *Theod.*, *Stil.* 1 and 3 and *Get.* (Meunier 2019, 45.)

³³⁰ Newlands 2008, 229.

³³¹ Martial, *Prologus* 5, *Si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est ... potest epistula vel potius titulo contentus esse.*

at Rome, whom he describes as largely over-critical, the emperor, and the dedicatees.³³² It is certainly informal, as Martial sets up straw men, first the *malignus interpres* and then Cato.³³³ Statius, in contrast, is more eager to explain his poetic intentions in a formal manner. It is clear that one aim is to preserve the integrity of the books: in *Silvae* Book 2, he lists the dedicatees in order and summarises the content of each poem; at the same time he does not hesitate to boast of the speed at which he was able to compose his poetry, writing that he was able to compose each poem in under two days; he wrote *nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa*.³³⁴ The two poets use their prose prefaces for different purposes, Martial as a *captatio benevolentiae* and Statius to instruct and guide the reader as he introduces a new genre in the *Silvae*.³³⁵

Claudian adopts a rather different approach to either of his predecessors: in contrast to Martial, he will emphasise the reasons why his poems should be heard/read by his audience, and unlike Statius, he will describe the slowness of his composition, twice referring to long periods of silence. Most notably, he writes in verse, a staggering change. It is a marked contrast to a certain nervousness that we see in his predecessors, in terms of the possible reception from his audience; he reveals his confidence in his own poetic ability.

5. Role of a proem.

The proem shared some of the same purposes as a preface, although it is notable that Claudian will use both a preface and a proem in the same poem. In *Get.*

³³² Fitzgerald 2007, 72.

³³³ Martial, *Prologus* 3 & 7.

³³⁴ *Silvae* 1 *praef.* 13-4, cited by Newlands 2009, 235. The *Thebaid* by contrast required twelve years.

³³⁵ Newlands 2009, 238.

he uses the proem, if not to contradict his preface, at least to subvert it as he highlights the lies told by poets. The particular function, if we evaluate Virgil's opening to the *Aeneid*, is to forecast the subject of the whole epic and to introduce the principal characters, Aeneas, Juno and Rome.

Aaron Pelttari has drawn on Gérard Genette's *Seuils* (translated into English as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*).³³⁶ The latter argues that paratexts, of which the preface is only one, allows the author to try to direct the interpretation of his text or to declare his intentions directly to his reader. Certainly a trope that Latin poets often exploited was to emphasise how they were unable to control the reception of their work.³³⁷ They portray their poetry as vulnerable to misreading or misinterpretation or at the mercy of the roughness of the booksellers of Rome; Ovid gives an elaborate account in the opening of *Trist*.³³⁸ It is clear that it was difficult for poets to establish a 'correct' version of their work, which is not surprising given the haphazard methods of publication, early circulation to friends, unauthorized or incompetent copying etc.

The move to establish an official version was first attempted by Martial and Statius in their prefaces written in prose. Most notably the former, in both the preface to his first book of *Epigrams*, and the seven poems that follow attempts to cover all possibilities, as his prose preface is followed by seven poems in which, after emphasizing his own renown, he describes the circumstances of publication

³³⁶ It should be noted that Genette is happy to muddy the waters. In 1991 he wrote, describing the various functions of a paratext, that it allows the author only one option from a multitude of options, although it can have several goals at once.

³³⁷ Catullus, Horace and Ovid all make clear their fears as their poetry is released into circulation; perhaps the only author who was able to escape the danger was Rufinus who Pliny records, rather crossly, as having hired all available scribes to produce copies of his own work.

³³⁸ *Trist.* 1.1-15.

and a range of audiences, from Domitian downwards.³³⁹ Statius aims to preserve the integrity and unity of the individual books of the *Silvae*, in a development of the cover letter that he used with the *Thebaid*.³⁴⁰ For example, in the preface to the first book he gives a brief summary in order of each of the poems that follow. Prefaces in prose continued to be important and are used by Ausonius.

Claudian's innovation was to abandon prose in favour of elegiacs for his prefaces, a brilliant manoeuvre that allowed him to confirm that his prefaces were properly part of the poem that followed. Distanced by the metre, they were still poetry. Their purpose was manifold, to demonstrate his prowess as a poet, to flatter his audience, and to forecast his objectives in the body of the poem as a guide, and it is intriguing to note how Claudian addresses his different aims, especially over the course of his works. They serve as an introduction, where the preface to *Rapt. 1* emphasises his actual journey to Rome and his recreation of epic. In the preface of the first book of *Ruf.* the description of Apollo's victory over Python foreshadows both Rufinus in his evil and Stilicho's victory. Here, Claudian is using the preface to adumbrate the major themes of the poem. They also serve as a feature that ties his whole output together, as his Greek *Gigantomachia* is delivered to an audience of Alexandrian students, whereas Honorius and his court are likened to Jupiter and the other gods in the preface to *VI Hon.* after Claudian has described the Gigantomachy he delivered in his dream. He refers to his earlier poems, his identity as a poet and some aspects of his career. Other prefaces where he discusses his poetical career include *Rapt. 1* and *2*, *III Hon.* and *Theod.*

6. Claudian's successors: Prudentius and Sidonius

³³⁹ Fitzgerald (2007, 69-73) succinctly analyses Martial's objectives.

³⁴⁰ Newlands 2009, 231, note 4, mentions a cover letter to Vibius Maximus.

It is clear that Claudian's prefaces were enthusiastically adopted by his successors, most notably Prudentius and Sidonius. Lukas Dorfbauer has provided a careful analysis of the role that prefaces play in Prudentius's poetry: they are primarily exegetical, introducing themes that he will address in the main body of the poem.³⁴¹ Only one provides significant details of his career, the stand-alone *Praefatio* to the oeuvre as a whole. In his account of his Sidonius' manifold debts to Claudian, Gavin Kelly analyses one preface in detail, that to the Panegyric of Avitus, where it is clear that the song of Orpheus is a gigantomachy, as Sidonius refers explicitly to Enceladus and Typhoeus (*Carm.* 6. 27-8) who were the subject of Claudian's own poem (*VI Hon. praef.* 17-8).³⁴² Sidonius also, like Claudian, compares himself to Orpheus, although admitting that he might be inferior; Claudian had earlier compared himself as an equal.

What is most striking is that Claudian's innovation of writing prefaces was so widely followed that it suggests that, as Felgentreu has proposed, that he successfully developed a new genre.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Dorfbauer 2010, 212 & 218. He perhaps underestimates the expository roles of the two prefaces to *Ruf.*

³⁴² Kelly 2013, 184-5.

³⁴³ Felgentreu 1999, 95.

Chapter 5: Claudian's Use of Similes

From the time of Homer, similes have been a staple of the epic poet and Claudian is no exception. Indeed Alan Cameron claims he made more use of this feature than any of his Latin predecessors.³⁴⁴ It is therefore appropriate to examine their function in his poetry in detail. It is also where the depth of his engagement with his earliest predecessor is most visible: they often have a first source in Homer. To this end, I have prepared a summary that tabulates the individual similes by category, using the classifications found in the several doctoral theses produced in Germany and Austria in the late nineteenth century on the use of comparisons and similes in a number of Virgil's successors.³⁴⁵ The individual categories are the gods, heroes both mythological and historical, as well as humans in a professional capacity such as helmsman, and as individuals, such as slaves on a spree. The most popular comprises similes drawn from the animal kingdom, both wild and domesticated, and there are a number drawn from the inanimate world, especially stormy seas and rivers in spate. The ship of state, viewed both as a vessel and from the perspective of the helmsman or crew, is examined separately.

I also include as an appendix the individual similes that I have identified: they number in total 135, of which 106 are in the *Corpus Maius* and *Olybr.* and 17 in *Rapt.* Claudian's fondness for the extended simile has long been noted; of the total, 83 are five lines or longer, including 37 of seven or more lines.³⁴⁶ In this appendix, I also try to identify the similes which can be traced to Claudian's predecessors, in particular to show how he adapts his models, and those which can be regarded as Claudian's own invention; here the analyses in the theses of Müllner and Günther

³⁴⁴ Cameron 1970, 297, mistakenly citing Müllner 1893 as his source. He should be referring to Günther 1894,14-5.

³⁴⁵ I list the individual theses in the Bibliography. Fortunately they are all written in Latin.

³⁴⁶ My principal sources have been Müllner and Günther.

have been my principal guides.³⁴⁷ It is notable how Claudian will expand and adapt the similes of his predecessors and I analyse a number of individual examples to suggest that his objective is often both subtle and political. The longer similes have often been seen as virtual *ecphraseis* and taken as proof of his status as a poet of late antiquity, interested more in the attractions of glitter rather than the purposes of narrative. I believe this interpretation fails to do justice both to the skill with which he refers to and interacts with his predecessors and his own poetry, and to the fact that these extended similes often demonstrate correspondences on multiple levels. Many show his acute powers of observation, perhaps missed by earlier commentators in their unwillingness to allow him credit for his originality.

It is clear that Latin is a language which allows a much greater flexibility in the creation of a simile than either ancient Greek or modern English. As the authors of these theses, notably Günther, have shown in their analyses, there is a broad range of options open the writer of any simile in Latin.³⁴⁸ Options open to the writer include not only a variety of verb tenses and moods but introductory words, *velut(i)*, *sic*, *non sic*, *ceu*, *magis*, *tam*, *haud secus*, *haud aliter*, *more*, *etc.*, but include the comparative adjectives *qualis* and *quantus*, as well as comparative adjectives and adverbs. The subjunctive is occasionally used to add both a level of poetic imprecision and subtlety, as in *ventis veluti si frena resolvat/ Aeolus* and *veluti nigrantibus alis/ audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris*.³⁴⁹ I would add that there is obviously room for disagreement on what constitutes a simile in Latin. Eliza Wilkins, drawing on both Priscian and Wortmann, has a definition that provides a useful benchmark. Her description reads,

³⁴⁸ Günther 1894, 24-8.

³⁴⁹ *Ruf.* 2.22 and *Eutr.* 1.349-50. Other examples listed by Günther (1894, 26) as similes are less convincing.

'A simile is a stated comparison of one object, event, or experience with another differing from it generally in nature, class, or type: the comparison is an expression of some point of likeness or unlikeness, or a statement that one exceeds the other or falls short of it in some particular. So defined, at least one connecting word is essential to a simile, as distinguished from a metaphor, and, as a rule, from an illustration.'³⁵⁰

In contrast to other epic poets, he only occasionally describes either heroic (or gruesome) deaths on the battlefield or narrates the course of a battle. This was a conscious choice, dictated by his recasting of epic to contemporary events, where his descriptions of what had occurred could be overtaken by events, mistaken in the 'fog of battle', or open to challenge. It is notable that in the invective *Ruf.* how few specific crimes are in fact attributed to Rufinus, perhaps only the exile of Tatian, and the executions of Priscus and Lucian.³⁵¹ His use of similes is an avenue to overcome this gap in his epic.

³⁵⁰ Wilkins 1936, 124.

³⁵¹ Cameron 1970, 80.

Frequency of Similes

Table One, Frequency of Similes by author/ work

Poem/ Poet	Number of Lines	Number of Similes	Over 4 lines
<i>Iliad</i>	15,600	202	52
<i>Odyssey</i>	10,910	50	13
Apollonius Rhodius	5,833	77	26
<i>Aeneid</i>	9,896	105	42
Lucan	8,060	52	19
Valerius Flaccus	5,600	111	15
<i>Punica</i>	12,216	116	42
Silius Italicus	10,872	229	84
Quintus Smyrnaeus	8,772	305	135
Claudian	9,881	135	83 ³⁵²

The trend towards an increasing percentage and the increasing length of the similes is clear, with Valerius Flaccus as an exception.³⁵³

It is notable that Claudian's successors did not adopt his approach. Of the 15 in Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu suo*, none exceed four lines in length (perhaps a result of its composition in elegiac couplets), only one is taken from the animal world, inevitably cranes, and one from ordinary life.³⁵⁴ It seems likely that Rutilius

³⁵² For the sake of consistency, all figures other than Claudian are taken from Bussen 1872, 1-4. Those for Quintus Smyrnaeus are taken from Maciver 2012, 127-8.

³⁵³ Noted by Fitch 1976, 113.

³⁵⁴ The two similes are

credere maluerim Pygmaeae damna cohortis

et coniuratos in sua bella grues.

(1.291-2)

and

Namatianus intended to show his disdain for Claudian in his criticism of the first simile.³⁵⁵ In a similar fashion, Sidonius Apollinaris makes infrequent use of similes drawn from the animal kingdom, preferring instead to rely on comparisons to figures from Greek and Roman history; they are, however, often long. There is one wild boar (5.90-8), two phoenixes (2.416-7 and 7.353-6) and a pack of ravaging wolves (7.363-8). There is one rested steer (5.578-80) but I have discovered no similes drawn from domestic life. This is perhaps a conscious rejection of Claudian's adoption of his Homeric model, where the frequency of similes in the *Iliad* drawn from ordinary life and domestic pursuits is well-known, to allow the poet and his audience a pause from the carnage of the battle-field.

2. Classification of similes

2.1 Similes drawn from natural phenomena

From heavenly phenomena

From the moon: *Olybr.* 22-8; *Carm. min.* 27.368.

From stars: *Ruf.* 1.275-7; *III Hon.* 131- 2 (Lucifer); *IV Hon.* 184-6 (Bootes); *Stil.* 2.271-2; *VI Hon.* 18-21.

From comets: *Rapt.* 1.231-6.

From atmospheric phenomena

From a winter storm: *Rapt.* 1.69-75.

qualis in Euboicis captiva natatibus unda

sustinet alterno brachia lenta sinu. (1.247-8)

³⁵⁵ 'I would prefer to believe in losses suffered by the army of the Pygmies and in cranes who have formed a league for their own wars'; Claudian had made use of the image of cranes waging war on the Pygmies in *Gild.* 474-8.

- From wind: *Rapt.* 2.308-10.
- From hail: *Get.* 173-5.
- From smoke: *Eutr.* 1.130-1.
- From the sea: *Ruf.* 1.70-3; *Ruf.* 1.183-7 (unchanging); *Ruf.* 2.221-3;
Eutr. 1.32- 3 (waves).
- From mountains: *Theod.* 206-10; *Rapt.* 2.179-85 (Ossa).
- From rivers: *Olybr.* 48-54 (gold-producing); *Ruf.* 1.269-72; *VI Hon.*
632-5; *Rapt.* 2.62-70; *Rapt.* 2.197-03.
- From disease: *Ruf.* 1.301-4.
- 2.2 Similes drawn from the vegetable world
- From trees: *Carm. min.* 27. 31-5.
- From plants: *Fesc.* 4.19-21; *Nupt.* 243-50.
- From wheat: *Eutr.* 1.113-8.
- 2.3 Similes drawn from the animal kingdom
- From bees: *Ruf.* 2.460-5; *IV Hon.* 380-5; *VI Hon.* 259-64; *Rapt.* 2.
124-30.
- From birds: *Gild.* 474-8 (cranes); *Theod.* 320; *Eutr.* 1.348-9; *Eutr.* 2.
310-6 (ostrich); *Stil.* 2.414-20 (phoenix); *Rapt.* 3.141-5.
- From lions: *Ruf.* 2.252-6; *IV Hon.* 77-82; *Eutr.* 1.386-9; *Stil.* 2.20-2;
Get. 323-9; *Rapt.* 2.209-13; *Rapt.* 3.165-9.
- From tigers: *Ruf.* 1.89-92; *Ruf.* 1.226-8; *Rapt.* 3.263-8.
- From horses: *Nupt.* 289-4 (stallion).
- From cattle: *Get.* 45-6; *Get.* 408-13 (lost); *Rapt.* 1.127-9 (heifer).
- From sheep: *Eutr.* 2.398-400; *Eutr.* 2.499-500.
- From dogs: *Eutr.* 1.132-7; *Stil.* 2.214-5.
- From monkeys: *Eutr.* 1.303-7.
- From fish: *Ruf.* 2.376-80 (killing); *Eutr.* 2.425-31 (pilot-fish).
- From beasts in arena: *Ruf.* 2.394-9.

2.4 Similes drawn from the gods and mythology

From the gods

- From Apollo: *Olybr.* 55-6; *Olybr.* 183-91; *IV Hon.* 532-8 (and Hercules); *VI Hon.* 25-38.
- From Bacchus: *IV Hon.* 606-10; *Stil.* 3.362-9; *VI Hon.* 560-4.
- From Diana: *Carm. min.* 30.122-9.
- From Mars: *Olybr.* 119-23; *IV Hon.* 525-6; *Stil.* 2.367-76.
- From Juno: *Olybr.* 194-6.
- From Jupiter: *IV Hon.* 197-202; *IV Hon.* 206-11; *Eutr.* 2.160-2.
- From Venus: *Carm. min.* 29. 44-50.
- From Aeolus: *Ruf.* 2.22-3.
- From Hercules: *Ruf.* 1.294-6 (labours); *Stil.* 1.143-7(Atlas); *Get.* 377-9.
- From the Sun God: *IV Hon.* 62-9.

From heroes

- From the Trojan War: *III Hon.* 60-2 (Achilles); *Gild.* 484-5 (Agamemnon); *Eutr.* 2.386-9 (Ajax); *VI Hon.* 470-83 (Diomedes); *Carm. min.* 30.141-5 (Nausicaa).
- From villains/ fools: *Stil.* 1.320-4 (Jason); *Stil.* 3.226-32 (Midas); *Stil.* 2.170-2 (Orpheus); *Ruf.* 2.418-20 (Pentheus); *Eutr.* 2.522-6 (Pentheus).
- From monsters *Eutr.* 1.159-66 (Busiris); *IV Hon.* 250-4; *Stil.* 1.320-4 (dragon's teeth); *Get.* 342-3 (Gorgon); *Ruf.* 1. 165-9; *Rapt.* 3.386-9 (Megaera).

From historical figures

- From Greek history: *Stil.* 1.264-9; *Eutr.* 1.90-8 (Lais); *Eutr.* 1.508-13 (Scythians); *Ruf.* 2.120-3 (Xerxes).
- From Roman history: *VI Hon.* 484-90 (Horatius); *VI Hon.* 333-50 (Trajan and Marcus Aurelius); *Carm. min.* 27.83-8 (Parthian king).

2.5 Similes drawn from ordinary life

From human figures: *Eutr.* 1.269-7 (mother-in-law); *Eutr. praef.* 2.23-4 (abandoned mistress); *Eutr.* 2.509-15 (absent father); *Get.* 366-73 (slaves on a spree); *VI Hon.* 523-31 (nervous mother).

From human activities: *Eutr.* 2.370-5 (mean mistress); *Eutr.* 2.402-5 (cooking); *VI Hon. praef.* 3-12 (dreams); *Rapt.* 1.274-5 (dyeing); *Rapt.* 3.363-9 (shipbuilding) *Eutr.* 2.402-5 (theatre noise); *VI Hon.* 324-30 (priest's ritual); *Get. praef.* 1-2 (waking); *IV Hon.* 570-6 (priests sweating).

From warfare: *Rapt.* 2.163-9 (soldiers attacking); *Carm. min.* 9.21-2, 26-7 (trumpets); *Carm. min.* 53.49-52 (siege machines).

2.6 Similes drawn from the ship of state

From the helmsman: *IV Hon.* 419-27 (aged); *Theod.* 42-7 (in training); *Stil.* 1.286-90; *Get.* 209-11; *VI Hon.* 132-40; *Carm. min.* 30. 201-6.

From the ship: *Eutr.* 2.5-8; *Eutr.* 2.423-4; *Gild.* 219-24; *Stil.* 3.56-8; *Get.* 271-7.

2.7 Similes drawn from impossibilities

From impossibilities: *Olybr.* 169-73; *Ruf.* 2.359-60; *Eutr.* 1.352-7; *IV Hon.* 222-4.

3. The gods

It is well known that the Olympian gods became increasingly important as a source for comparisons in later Latin epic and Claudian further develops this usage, although he was writing in a Christian environment, where Theodosius in particular was aggressively promoting the religion. As Karl Krause has noted Statius was especially fond of gods and mythological heroes as a source of similes, which he

attributes to the flattery demanded by the times in which the poet was writing, and calls νευρόπλαστα ('puppets', in perhaps the only joke in his thesis).³⁵⁶ His successor, Sidonius Apollinaris, who is thoroughly Christian, will eschew such comparisons in his three panegyrics, relying instead on historical and quasi-historical figures.

Both Theodosius and Stilicho are compared to Mars returning from battle (*Olybr.* 119-123 and *Stil.* 2.367-76), where the extended descriptions of the god provide a means for the poet to highlight their prowess on the battlefield. Perhaps with less justification, Honorius is also compared to Mars (*IV Hon.* 525-6), although Claudian does make it clear that it was Mars' first battle. In a similar fashion the education of the young Jupiter serves as a parallel for that of Honorius (*IV Hon.* 197-202).

Other deities are chosen for their youthful or ageless appearance, in particular Bacchus (*IV Hon.* 606-10 and *VI Hon.* 560-4). By contrast, the extended description of the god's journey through the Red Sea that is the triumphant conclusion of *Stil.* was intended as a tour de force. The image is dazzling, as he describes Bacchus and his crew, Silenus, satyrs and bacchants, and the emblems of his divinity, ivy and the vine, running rampant over the vessel. The stupefied snake, the misbehaving lynxes and the confused tigers are so vivid that it is tempting to look for a mosaic or wall-painting that might have served to inspire Claudian.³⁵⁷ It also shows his acute powers of observation: the lynxes are properly arboreal, whilst his tigers, in nature reluctant tree-climbers, are on the deck of the ship, looking up at

³⁵⁶ Krause 1871, 6-7.

³⁵⁷ A second-century mosaic from Utica in the Bardo National Museum of Tunis suggests a pictorial inspiration. Depicting Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates, it shows both Silenus and a Maenad on board, as well as a panther chasing the pirates into the sea.

the sails. A number of species of snake are able to climb trees, including the African rock python, using a concertina motion or a looping method to wrap the middle part of their body around the branch or trunk.³⁵⁸ Ursula Keudel suggests that the scene was intended as a portrayal of an actual triumph,³⁵⁹ and it would thus serve to replace the hypothetical triumph that Claudian earlier posited, which would have surpassed any granted to his predecessors.³⁶⁰

The image, while not threatening to the relationship between Stilicho and Honorius, allowed Claudian to give Stilicho a role almost equal to a god. His first inspiration was the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7.32-45), where the god fills the ship with wine and the sail, the mast, and oarlocks are bedecked with a vine, grapes, ivy and garlands. Dionysus transforms himself into a lion and brings on a bear. The majority of these details are found in Claudian who goes on to add further embellishments, including Silenus, satyrs, bacchantes and wild animals. It certainly serves as a triumphant conclusion to his most finished poem, demonstrating his ability to surpass even Ovid in a tumbling wealth of images.

*aequora sic victor quotiens per rubra Lyaeus
navigat, intorquet clavum Silenus et acres
adsudant tonsis Satyri taurinaque pulsu
Baccharum Bromios invitant tympana remos:
transtra ligant hederæ, malum circumflua vestit
pampinus, antennis inlabitur ebria serpens,*

³⁵⁸ Tigers climb freely only in the first sixteen months of life; adults seldom climb trees, usually to avoid predators such as dogs, in part because of their weight. The methods of climbing used by snakes are dictated by a fear of falling into a predator's grasp.

³⁵⁹ Keudel 1970, 147.

³⁶⁰ *Stil.* 3. 30-6.

*perque mero madidos currunt saliuntque rudentes
lynxes et insolitae mirantur carbasa tigres.*³⁶¹ (3.362-9)

'Just as when Bacchus sails in triumph through the Red Sea,
Silenus turns the helm and the eager satyrs sweat over the oars, and
Bulls-hide drums entertain the rowers to the beat of the bacchants.
Ivy ties up the rowers' benches, an encircling vine covers the mast,
a drunken snake glides over the yardarms and lynxes run and jump on the

³⁶¹ Müllner 1893, 109-10 cites Ovid *Met.* 3. 664-9,

*inpediunt hederæ remos nexuque recurvo
serpunt et gravidis distinguunt vela corymbis.
ipse racemiferis frontem circumdatus uvis
pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam;
quem circa tigres simulacraque inania lyncum
pictarumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum.*

'Ivy entangles and spreads over the oars in curved loops and adorns the sails with
heavy bunches of berries. Bacchus himself, his forehead encircled with clusters of
grapes, shakes a spear covered in vine-leaves; around him lie tigers and insubstantial
images of lynxes and the bodies of savage spotted leopards.'

and Statius *Theb.* 4.656-8,

*et iam pampineos materna ad moenia currus
promovet; effrenæ dextra laeva que sequuntur
lynxes, et uda mero lambunt retinacula tigres.*

'And now he drives his vine-covered chariot to his mother's walls; unleashed lynxes
accompany him on the left and the right and tigers lick the reins which are soaked in
wine.'

wine-soaked rigging and the unexpected tigers admire the sails.'

Both Ovid and Claudian look back to the Homeric Hymn, but their approaches are very different. To Ovid (*Met.* 3.664-9) it is the figure of Bacchus that is important, as well as the vain attempts of the crew to get the ship to move; their failure leads the pirates to jump overboard where they are transformed into dolphins. We are shown a picture of the god exercising his power, but not yet triumphant. Claudian's picture is much more spectacular as he celebrates the god's return; it is the voyage from India through the Red Sea that he is describing, the pirates long turned into dolphins, Bacchus something of a figurehead rejoicing in his crew's success. The earlier poet is more cautious in his animals: lynxes are shown only as *simulacra*.

Statius describes Bacchus' return from his yearlong stay with the Getae. The flora and the faunae are much the same as in Claudian, the drunken tigers a nice touch, but his companions are very different, *Ira*, *Furor*, *Metus*, *Virtus* and *Ardor*, more usually the attendants of Mars, although the last, Passion, is said to be never sober. The madcap crew that is present on Claudian's vessel is unique, especially the bacchantes with their frenzied drumming. As Müllner suggests, perhaps he is proving that he can outdo both Ovid and Statius.

Apollo is a natural choice to represent the young consuls in Claudian's first political poem (*Olybr.* 55-6 and 183-91); Alan Cameron suggests that the second simile is based on a picture that the poet had seen of Leto welcoming her children on their return to Delos rather than any strict relevance to the clothing that Proba had prepared for her sons.³⁶²

³⁶² Cameron 1970, 297-8.

A later example is more sophisticated and is intended to make a political point, as Claudian describes the destruction wrought by Phaethon and the return to order under a better charioteer, symbolizing the return of order and prosperity to the empire under Theodosius. He writes,

*velut ordine rupto
cum procul insanae traherent Phaëthonta quadrigae
saeviretque dies terramque et stagna propinqui
haurirent radii, solito cum murmure torvis
Sol occurrit equis; qui postquam rursus eriles
agnovere sonos, rediit meliore magistro
machina concentusque poli, currusque recepit
imperium flammaeque modum.* ³⁶³ (IV Hon. 62-9)

‘Just as when, all control lost, the frantic chariot-horses dragged Phaëthon far off course and the day raged and the too-close rays of the Sun dried up both land and lakes, the Sun has hurried to his grim horses, using his familiar whisper. After they again understood their lord’s commands, the ordering and harmony of heaven returned under a better ruler, and the chariot accepted control and a limit to the Sun’s fire.’

The simile should be taken as original, in spite of the debt to Lucretius, intended as an intriguing variation of the righting of the ship of state, as Pierre Fargues has suggested.³⁶⁴ The story of Phaëthon was so well known that it was inevitable that the accounts of the two poets should be similar but the characterisation of the horses of the Sun are very different. Lucretius writes:

³⁶³ Müllner 1893, 1028 cites Lucretius *DRN* 5.396-404.

³⁶⁴ Fargues 1933, 321 n.7.

disiectosque redegit equos iunxitque trementes,
inde suum per iter recreavit cuncta gubernans. (DRN 5.403-4)

'Jupiter has returned and yoked his scattered and trembling horses, and, in control of everything, has returned them back to their proper course.'

For Claudian, the horses remain dangerous, unless and until they hear commands from their rightful master. He is emphasising how dangerous the situation was when there was no proper control of the empire. It seems likely that Claudian was implicitly referring to Valentinian II, who either committed suicide or was eliminated because of his reluctance to accept Theodosius's ordering of events. It is clear that imagery related to Phaethon was important to the poet, perhaps because the Eridanus, the modern Po, was such a major river near Milan; it was the river into which Phaethon fell.

Other figures from mythology, both heroes and villains, are common as a source of similes, including naturally Hercules, with whom Stilicho is often compared. Perhaps the most striking example is when Claudian, aiming to portray the general as saviour of the world, compares him to Hercules taking on Atlas' burden,

sic Hercule quondam
sustentante polum melius librata pependit
machina nec dubiis titubavit Signifer astris
perpetuaque senex subductus mole parumper
obstupuit proprii spectator ponderis Atlas.³⁶⁵ (Stil. 1.143-7)

³⁶⁵ Müllner 1893, 121 cites Seneca *Hercules* 70-3,

*subdidit mundo caput
nec flexit umeros molis immensae labor*

‘Just as once, when Hercules was holding up the sky, a better balanced universe was hanging over us, nor did the Zodiac stutter over confusing stars: old Atlas, freed for a short time from his never-ending task, was amazed, a spectator of his own burden.’

Claudian claims that Hercules did a better job than Atlas, taking over an image from Seneca, as he demonstrates that Stilicho surpassed his predecessors, in his ability to manage a world. He often uses *senex* to show the lack of vitality of his comparands, notably Alaric (see below). In the same way, *titubavit* emphasises the age and incompetence of the Titan. Of course Claudian has to gloss over the fact that Atlas was tricked into taking back his burden, as that might imply that Stilicho could be replaced.

In a similar fashion Honorius compares Diomedes’ exploit in capturing Rhesus’ horses in *VI Hon.* to Stilicho’s achievement in breaking through Alaric’s forces. The former depended on an assistant and trickery, with the Thracians overcome by drink, while Stilicho was alone and his enemy well prepared.³⁶⁶ A second exploit, one that is quasi-historical, Horatius’ defense of the bridge is found wanting³⁶⁷ and Claudian will occasionally refer to historical events. Stilicho is

meliusque collo sedit Herculeo polus.

immota cervix sidera et caelum tulit.

‘He put his head under the universe and the task of huge weight did not bend his shoulders; the sky sat better on Hercules’ neck. His neck held the stars and the sky motionless.’

³⁶⁶ *VI Hon.* 470-84.

³⁶⁷ *VI Hon.* 484-90.

notably compared to Alexander the Great as well as Achilles³⁶⁸ and his victories found superior to those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, as the latter's depended on divine assistance (*VI Hon.* 333-50).

4. Animals

From the time of Homer, similes based on animal life were the stuff of epic, in particular as a means to dramatise the violent emotions that characterised the heroes. Their vividness, with an emphasis on ferocity, savagery and occasional despair, were shorthand to show how a hero behaved, especially in the crisis of battle. Naturally the fiercer animals took the largest role, as a means to enable poets to portray the violence of the battlefield, with lions and bulls the most prominent.³⁶⁹ In the *Iliad*, there are 29 examples of lions, including one, describing the death of Sarpedon, where a bull is killed by a lion,

ήύτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών,
αἴθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι,
ώλετό τε στενάχων ὑπὸ γαμφηλῆσι λέοντος, (*Il.* 16.487-9)

'Just as a lion leaps on a herd and slaughters a bull, tawny and full of heart, in the midst of cattle with their rolling gait; it is killed, bellowing, under the jaws of the lion.' The violence of the image is intentional and is echoed by Virgil. There are only three lion similes in the *Argonautica*³⁷⁰ but five in the *Aeneid*. One is an echo of the Homeric, as Virgil describes Turnus' assault on Pallas,

³⁶⁸ *Stil.* 1.264-9.

³⁶⁹ The first gold coins ever produced, the stater of Kroisos of Lydia, which replaced coins made from the alloy electrum, depict a lion and a bull in confrontation. They date from 564/53-550/39 BCE. (CNG Auction 112, Lots 282-4, September 11, 2019).

³⁷⁰ Wilkins 1921, 165.

*utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta
stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum,
advolat.* (Aen. 10.454-6)

‘Like a lion runs to attack after he has seen, from a high watching place, a bull standing far away on the plain planning for battle.’

It seems clear that this image was reserved for moments of the highest tension, the deaths of Sarpedon and Pallas.

There are seven lion similes in Claudian, besides the characterisation of Gildo as a ravenous lion in Honorius’ dream in *Gild.*³⁷¹ one of which shows his adaptation of the attack of a lion on a bull, namely

*ille velut stabuli decus armentique iuvencam
cum leo possedit nudataque viscera fodit
unguibus et rabiem totos exegit in armos:
stat crassa turpis sanie nodosque iubarum
excutit et viles pastorum despicit iras.* (Rapt. 2.209-13)

³⁷¹ maerebat regio saevi vastata leonis
incurso; pecudum strages passimque iuveni
sparsaque sanguineis pastorum funera campis.
adgredior latebras monstri mirumque relatu
conspicio: dilapsus honos, cervice minaces
defluxere iubae; fractos inglorius armos
supposuit, servile gemens; iniectaue vincla
unguibus et subitae collo sonuere catenae. (Gild. 358-66)

This owes much to Lucan (*BC* 1.205-12), where he describes Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon, but, as part of a dream, it should not be construed as a simile.

'He is like a lion when he has seized a heifer, the pride of the stable and the herd, and dug at her bare and naked innards with his claws and wreaked his mad rage against all her limbs; he stands dirty from the bloody mess, shaking out the knots in his mane and despising the feeble anger of the shepherds.'

This is a very unequal combat as the heifer is defenceless against the stronger animal, just as Proserpina is defenceless against Pluto, and the rage of the shepherds futile as Pallas and Diana are unable to protect the girl. Claire Gruzelier also suggests that the language of *possedit nudataque viscera fodit* is intended to show the violence of the actual rape.³⁷² It is surely the defencelessness of the victim that he aims to highlight.

Other animals that Claudian has inherited from his predecessors include bees,³⁷³ where he adapts a simile taken from Lucan to demonstrate Alaric's rage and frustration. Lucan had used a successful recovery of a swarm to show how Cato was able to recall Republican troops in Africa to their loyalty; following the news of Pomeius' death, they had become mutinous and deserted in large numbers. Through the sheer force of his character, he was able to shame them, recalling the soldiers to their sense of duty. Alaric, by contrast, is portrayed as a very different character, a sorry figure in the same situation trying to cajole his men without success after he had lost his authority, unable to get them to return to the fight as he uses military diction.³⁷⁴ The poet emphasises the ineffectuality of his bee-keeper, describing him as *senex*, an old man who loses his bees and weeps as he looks at his empty hives, the latter recalling Alaric's loss of his plunder.³⁷⁵

³⁷² Gruzelier 1993, 203.

³⁷³ There are two in the *Iliad*, three in the *Argonautica*, three in the *Aeneid*, one in the *Bellum civile*, one in the *Punica*, and one in the *Thebaid*. Quintus Smyrnaeus adds three to the list.

³⁷⁴ *Desciscere* is a technical term, to defect or desert.

qualis Cybeleia quassans
Hyblaeus procul aera senex revocare fugaces
tinnitu conatur apes, quae sponte relictis
descivere favis, sonituque exhaustus inani
raptas mellis opes solitaeque oblita latebrae
*perfida deplorat vacuis examina ceris.*³⁷⁶ (VI Hon. 259-64)

‘Like an old man from Mount Hybla who, shaking the cymbals of Cybele from far away, tries to call back with his rattling the runaway bees. Their honeycombs abandoned, they have chosen to desert and he, worn out by the ineffective din, weeps over his stolen wealth of honey and his faithless swarms, which had forgotten their usual hiding-place, his hives now empty.’

Both poets had taken the recipe to recall bees from Virgil who had written

tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum:
ipsae consistunt medicatis sedibus. (Georg. 4.64-5)

³⁷⁵ Dewar 1970, 220-1.

³⁷⁶ Günther 1894, 35 cites Lucan *BC* 9.284-90,
quam, simul effetas linquunt examina ceras
atque oblita favi non miscent nexibus alas,

³⁷⁶ The Hyblaeus senex may be a reference to Vergil’s Tityrus, perhaps (who though he was obviously in a part of Italy where confiscations are going on, is simultaneously the owner of Hyblaeis apibus (referring to one of the best places for bees) and a reference by metonymy to Theocritus of Syracuse.

'Use your rattles and shake the cymbals of the Great Mother: they will settle down in their medicated hives.'

There are three other bee similes in his poetry, each taking advantage of a different characteristic, as Claudian demonstrates his virtuosity; the range of bee behaviour is obviously limited, swarming, collecting nectar, producing honey and protecting the honeycombs. Each of his similes makes use of a different behavior: in the first he shows the bees to be formidable adversaries as they attack to protect their honey in the invective *Ruf.* as Rufinus is dragged by his victims to Minos's tribunal.

veluti pastoris in ora

*commotae glomerantur apes, qui dulcia raptu
mella vehit, pennasque cient et spicula tendunt
et tenuis saxi per propugnacula cinctae
rimosam patriam dilectaque pumicis antra
defendunt pronoque favos examine velant.*³⁷⁷

(*Ruf.* 2.460-5)

³⁷⁷Jeep 1876, xcii cites Statius *Theb.* 10.574-9,

sic ubi pumiceo pastor rapturus ab antro
armatas erexit apes, fremit aspera nubes,
inque vicem sese stridore hortantur et omnes
hostis in ora volant, mox deficientibus alis
amplexae flavamque domum captivaque plangent
mella laboratasque premunt ad pectora ceras.

Levy 1971, 211 cites Virgil *Aen.* 12.587-92,

inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro;
illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras;
volvitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras.

‘Just as furious bees hurl themselves in a swarm at the face of a shepherd who is carrying off their sweet honey in plunder and move their wings and use their stings. Protected by the defenses of a light rock they defend their leaky homeland and their beloved caves of pumice and they cover the honeycombs in a downward-flying swarm.’

The debt to Virgil is clear, as he describes possible homes for bees in the fourth book of the *Georgics* writing

*saepe iam effossis, si vera est fama, latebris
sub terram fovere larem, penitusque repertae
pumicibusque cavis exesaeque arboris antro.* (*Georg.* 4.42-4)

‘Often, if the story is true, after they have dug out a hiding-place, they cherish their underground home, or are found deep in hollow pumice or in a hole in a rotted tree.’

Müllner 1893, 166 cites Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 2.130-6,

ὡς δὲ μελισσάων σμήνος μέγα μηλοβοτῆρες
ἢ μελισσοκόμοι πέτρη ἔνι καπνιώωσιν,
αἰ δ’ ἦτοι τείως μὲν ἀολλέες ᾧ ἐνὶ σίμβλω
βομβηδὸν κλονέονται, ἐπιπρὸ δὲ λιγνυόνετι
καπνῶ τυφόμεναι πέτρης ἐκὰς αἰσσοῦσιν
ὥς οἳ γ’ οὐκέτι δὴν μένον ἔμπεδον, ἀλλὰ κέδασθεν
εἴσω Βεβρυκίης, Ἀμύκου μόρον ἀγγελέοντες.

'glomerantur' is especially apposite as a description of the appearance of a swarm of bees, also noticed by Virgil, who had written *magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem*. (*Georg.* 4.79).

The second stresses their loyalty to their king as bees are shown as a intensely communal society which exists only for the good of the hive and sacrifices any individuality,

*sic mollibus olim
stridula ducturum pratis examina regem
nascentem venerantur apes et publica mellis
iura petunt traduntque favos.* (IV *Hon.* 380-3).

'Just as bees venerate their newly born king who is about to leading a buzzing swarm to the soft meadow and they follow the State laws over honey and hand over the honeycombs.'

The third describes them in search of nectar,

*credas examina fundi
Hyblaeum raptura thymum, cum cerea reges
castra movent fagique cava dimissus ab alvo
mellifer electis exercitus obstrepat herbis.* (*Rapt.* 2.124-7)

'You would think a swarm had poured out to plunder the thyme of Mount Hybla as the kings shift their camp made of wax and the honey-bearing army, sent out from their hollow hive in a beech, buzz over the chosen herbs.'

In contrast to his epic predecessors there is no place for the idle drone in Claudian's world of bees: two of the four similes in Hesiod's *Theogony* and

Works and Days compared an idle man and a woman to a drone.³⁷⁸

Cranes are a staple simile in epic, often used to portray disharmony, so Homer in the *Iliad* contrasts the disciplined silence of the Greek army (the latter compared to bees) with the noise of the Trojans, the industrious opposing the feckless. In his version Claudian uses the simile to suggest the enthusiasm of the Roman army to engage Gildo's forces writing,

*pendula ceu parvis moturae bella colonis
ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquunt
Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo:
ordinibus variis per nubila textitur ales
littera pennarumque notis conscribitur aër.*³⁷⁹ (Gild. 474-8)

³⁷⁸ *Theogony* 594-601 and *Works and Days* 303-6, cited by Feeney 2014, 191.

³⁷⁹ Birt 1893, 71 cites Virgil *Aen.* 10.264-6,

quales sub nubibus atris

*Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.*

Müllner 1893, 162 cites Homer *Il.* 3.2-6,

ὄρνιθες ὤς,
ἤύτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὔν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι.

and Lucan *BC* 5.711-6,

*Strymona sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquunt
poturae te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu
effingunt varias casu monstrante figuras;
mox, ubi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,*

‘Like cranes about to wage airborne war on pygmy farmers leave their Thracian summer quarters with a huge din when they exchange the River Strymon for the warm Nile. A winged letter is formed in the clouds by changing formations and the sky is inscribed by the marks of their wings.’

As Cameron has noted, Claudian is referring both to Lucan’s description of Caesar’s fleet and Homer’s reference to pygmies.³⁸⁰ However, Claudian’s accurate observation of crane migration has been underestimated. The birds are solitary until the migratory season, when they will assemble in large and noisy flocks for their journey south to Egypt and Libya. They will fly in formation, either in the letter V, or double V, or W, as geese do over my house, honking noisily, both for the obvious reasons of aerodynamics (the V formation minimises wind resistance; leadership of the flock changes frequently) and to frighten potential predators. Claudian may also be able to claim that Aristotle was, in addition to Homer, his

*confusos temere inmixtae glomerantur in orbes,
et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis.*

and Statius *Theb.* 12.515-8,

*ceu patrio super alta grues Aquilone fugatae
cum videre Pharon, tunc aethera latius implent,
tunc hilari clangore sonant; iuvat orbe sereno
contempsisse nives et frigora solvere Nilo.*

He suggests a better parallel is Statius *Theb.* 5.11-6,

*qualia trans pontum Phariis defensa serenis
rauca Paraetonio decedunt agmina Nilo,
cum fera ponit hiems: illae clangore fugaci,
umbra fretis arvisque, volant, sonat avius aether.
iam Borean imbresque pati, iam nare solutis
amnibus et nudo iuvat aestivare sub Haemo.*

³⁸⁰ Cameron 1970, 298-9.

source for the belief that the birds attacked pygmies; certainly they are omnivores and feed on small reptiles.³⁸¹

Other animals appear to have been based on Claudian's own invention and observation, most famously the ostrich, a fish killing, and the whale without its pilot-fish. The description of the ostrich burying its head in the sand is unparalleled in the surviving literature and was surely based on the poet's own observation during his time in Africa. To show both Eutropius' ridiculousness and his stupidity, he writes,

*vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales
cum premitur calidas cursu transmittit harenas
inque modum veli sinuatis flamine pennis
pulverulenta volat; si iam vestigia retro
clara sonent, oblita fugae stat lumine clauso
(ridendum!) revoluta caput creditque latere,
quem non ipsa videt.* (Eutr. 2.310-6).

'Just as the huge bird of Libya when it is followed closely by the cries of the hunters crosses the hot sands at a run and flies its wings curved like a sail in the dusty breeze. But if footsteps then sound loud behind it, it stops, forgetting flight, with its eyes shut, ridiculous to say, turning round its head and believes it is hidden from the man it doesn't see.'

³⁸¹ Aristotle *Historia Animalium*, 597a4-10,

τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὡς εἶπεῖν, οἷον αἱ γέρανοι ποιοῦσιν· μεταβάλλουσι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Σκυθικῶν πεδίων εἰς τὰ ἔλη τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὅθεν ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ· ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος περὶ ὃν οἱ πυγμαῖοι κατοικοῦσιν·¹ οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῦτο μῦθος ἀλλ' ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν γένος μικρὸν μὲν ὥσπερ λέγεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τρωγλοδύται δ' εἰσὶ τὸν βίον.

Claudian is correct to notice that the ostrich is usually able to outrun its predators and holds out its wings for balance as it runs; they are able to sprint at upto 70 kph. and run steadily at 50 kph. Even today the second manoeuvre is seen as proof of the animal's stupidity and scientists are unable to agree on its purpose, some suggesting that it is to camouflage the bird's head and neck as they wait out predators.³⁸² Others propose it can be explained by different ostrich behavior, that the bird is turning over the very large eggs in the communal nest, a substantial hole in the ground holding dozens of eggs, or is searching for food for its young (they are omnivorous).³⁸³ From a distance any of these actions would resemble the bird burying its head in the sand: the poet must be given much credit for his powers of observation.

Among the poet's most dramatic narratives is his account of the assassination of Rufinus on the day that he expected to mark the fulfillment of his dreams. Unawares, he is surrounded by his troops, which Claudian compares to fish driven into a net,

³⁸² The San Diego Zoo website, sandiegozoo.org/animals/ostrich explains the manoeuvre as follows:

When an ostrich senses danger and cannot run away, it flops to the ground and remains still, with its head and neck flat on the ground in front of it. Because the head and neck are lightly colored, they blend in with the color of the soil. From a distance, it just looks like the ostrich has buried its head in the sand, because only the body is visible.

³⁸³ www.scienceabc.com/nature/animals/ostriches.

They dig a shallow hole in the ground and make their nests there. Once the ostriches have laid their eggs, they need to ensure that the eggs are evenly heated, so they put their heads into the hole to carefully turn the eggs.

³⁸³ Daily Mail 30/ 5/ 2015; film is also available on You Tube.

*sic attonitos ad litora pisces
aequoreus piscator agit rarosque plagarum
contrahit anfractus et hiantes colligit oras.
excludunt alios.* (Ruf. 2.377-380)

‘Just as a fisherman at sea drives the stunned fish to the shore and pulls in the narrow coils of his nets and ties up the loose ropes. They shut out the others.’

The vividness of the description suggests that Claudian had seen massacres of Tuna similar to those that are held in Sicily even today, *la mattanza* in the annual Girotonno. They [the fishermen] wait for 30kg fish to naturally swim into a complex system of underwater nets anchored near the shore, arranged into smaller and smaller rooms until the fish reach the ‘death chamber.’³⁸⁴ The killing is inevitable, ruthless and very bloody, the large fish hacked to death, just like Rufinus, with crowds arriving to marvel at and revel in the slaughter. The simile may have been chosen to suggest that the execution of Rufinus was necessarily brutal.

A similar brilliance is seen in his picture of the pilot fish without whose shepherding the whale is lost as it rushes into the rocks, *sic ruit in rupes amisso pisce sodali belua*.³⁸⁵ As Alan Cameron and Gabriela Ryser have noted, it is probable that the source for the image is Oppian.³⁸⁶ He describes the relationship between the two animals in the fifth book of his *Halieutica*, τούνεκα καὶ πάντεσσιν ὁμόστολος ἔρχεται ἰχθὺςφαιὸς ἰδεῖν δολιχὸς τε δέμας, λεπτὴ δέ οἱ οὐρή, ἔξοχος ὃς προπάροιθεν ἄλδος πόρον ἠγεμονεύει σημαίνων τῷ καὶ μιν ἐφήμισαν Ἥγητῆρα.³⁸⁷ Additional confirmation is suggested by his reference in the same book of the story of the poet

³⁸⁴

³⁸⁵ *Eutr.* 2. 425-426.

³⁸⁶ Cameron 1970, 299; Ryser 2015, 475-476.

³⁸⁷ *Hal.* 5. 67-70.

Arion and his rescue by the dolphin, as Claudian suggests that no such avenue of safety from shipwreck would be open to Eutropius, *vecturum moriens frustra delphina vocabis;/ ad terram solos devehit ille viros.*³⁸⁸ ('As you are dying, you will call in vain for a dolphin to carry you; they only carry real men to land.') 389 It is probable that the emphasis that dolphins rescue only real men is taken from a fable of Aesop where a dolphin refuses to rescue an ape that is pretending to be a man.³⁹⁰

The second simile returns to the poet's handling of the theme of the role of helmsman: both Constantinople and the whale are equally dependent on a competent guide, the lack of which will inevitably bring them to destruction, the size of the whale, and perhaps its helplessness/ stupidity, forming a neat parallel to the size of the new city.

Scholars are gradually accepting the depth of Claudian's engagement with a number of his Greek predecessors, as Isabella Gualandri has recently suggested.³⁹¹ A notable simile in Claudian's *Eutr.* where the eunuch is compared to a monkey paraded by boys at a dinner as its bare rump gives rise to ribald mockery, clearly refers to the portrait of the ape who is 'an un-selfknowing king who is the foolish dupe of flatterers', the reading of *Pythian* 2.72-73 championed by Thomas Hubbard.³⁹² In Claudian and in the lone scholium that ignores the suggestion that the ape is a reference to Bacchylides, it is the ape who is the victim of flattery: the former wrote *erecto pectore dives ambulat* just as the scholium reads ὡς ὁ πίθηκος ἀκούων παρὰ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι καλός ἐστιν, ἐπαίρεται.³⁹³ 'Just like an ape hearing

³⁸⁸ *Eutr.* 2. *praef.* 73-4.

³⁸⁹ *Eutr.* 2. *praef.* 73-4.

³⁹⁰ Perry 1965, 483.

³⁹¹ Gualandri 2013, 115-129.

³⁹² Hubbard 1990, 73-83.

³⁹³ *Eutr.* 1.306; ΣΡ. 2. 132a Drachmann.

from the boys that it is handsome is persuaded.’ As Claudian makes clear, Eutropius is ridiculous not only as a eunuch who believes that he has the right to wear a consul’s robes but because he is convinced by the flatterers that surround him that such are his just desserts. It is notable that he has introduced his picture of the monkey by emphasizing that dressing up the monkey was a boy’s prank,

humani qualis simulator simius oris,
quem puer arridens pretioso stamine Serum
velavit nudasque nates ac terga reliquit,
ludibrium mensis; erecto pectore dives
ambulat et claro sese deformat amictu (Eutr. 1.303-307),

‘Like a monkey imitating human appearance, which a boy for fun has dressed in an expensive silk dress and left his back and buttocks bare, as a joke for the diners. The animal, his chest held high, walks around and disgraces himself in distinguished clothing.’

just as Pindar had written

καλός πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἶει
καλός. (Pythian 2.72-73).
‘A monkey among boys, always handsome.’

The monkey rejoicing in flattery also ties up with the later descriptions of Eutropius and his *Concilium*, unable or unwilling to address matters of state. Certainly the monkey is a laughing-stock, *ludibrium mensis*, which Cameron has suggested without evidence was a typical dinner *divertissement*³⁹⁴ but the joke is made crueler by the fact that he believes his flatterers, just as Eutropius believed his courtiers.

³⁹⁴ Cameron 1970, 300.

Such a reading of *Pythian 2* makes an intriguing contrast to Hans Christian Andersen's *Kejserens nye Klæder* where the emperor's desire for the new clothes is partly driven by his intention to use them to determine who was unfit for office or unusually stupid. This motive is taken from his source, Juan Manuel's *Libro de los ejemplos* of 1335 where the ability to see the clothes proved legitimacy until a negro who had nothing to lose pointed out the fallacy. It does nicely parallel Henry of Huntingdon's account of Cnut and the waves, where the Danish king seems to intend that his command be overruled, *impero igitur tibi, ne in terram meam ascendas, nec vestes nec membra dominatoris tui madefacere praesumas* so that his court understand the realities of power.³⁹⁵

Stilicho is notably compared to the phoenix, as the poet writes,

sic ubi fecunda reparavit morte iuventam
 et patrios idem cineres collectaque portat
 unguibus ossa piis Nilique ad litora tendens
 unicus extremo Phoenix procedit ab Euro:
 conveniunt aquilae cunctaeque ex orbe volucres,
 ut Solis mirentur avem; procul ignea lucet
 ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti.³⁹⁶ (Stil. 2.414-20)

³⁹⁵ I owe these references to G. A. J. Kelly (e-mail, 2022).

³⁹⁶ Müllner 1893, 165 cites Lactantius *Phoenix* 155-8.

contrahit in coetum sese genus omne volantum,
 nec praedae memor est ulla nec ulla metus.
 alituum stipata choro volat illa per altum,
 turbaque prosequitur munere laeta pio.

The passage was imitated by Sidonius Apollinaris 7.353-6,

‘Just as when the sole phoenix has restored its youth by a fertile death and carries in its loving claws its father’s ashes and his gathered bones moving to the shores of the Nile from the furthest East. The eagles and birds from all over the world join in, as they assemble to admire the bird of the sun; from a distance gleams the fiery bird for which the cinnamon of the scented pyre is fragrant.’

Any analysis of this simile must take into account Claudian’s separate poem on the same subject *Carm. min. 27*, as well as Lactantius’ poem *De ave phoenice*. That attribution is now generally accepted with a date of composition of either 303/4 or 326.³⁹⁷ His interpretation of the role of the bird is Christian, that death is not seen as an endpoint but a new beginning; it is a symbol of eternity and the risen Christ. It has been suggested by both Keudel and Sebesta that Claudian’s epic and his separate poem, *Carm. min. 27*, by contrast carry a political message; to the former it is the symbol of *felicitum temporum reparatio*³⁹⁸ and to the latter the bird represents the imperial power and the transfer of one emperor to the next that safeguards both the immortality of Rome and its rejuvenation. The escort of birds that accompanies the phoenix suggests an *adventus*.³⁹⁹

sic cinnama busto

collis Erythraei portans Phoebeius ales

concitat omne avium vulgus; famulantia currunt

agmina, et angustus pennas non explicat aer.

³⁹⁷ Roberts 2017, 373; Charlet (2018, 145) remains sceptical.

³⁹⁷ Keudel 1970, 100.

³⁹⁷ Roberts 2017, 386.

5. Scenes from domestic life

Claudian's poems include a number of similes taken from scenes drawn from domestic life which are very vivid and must be from his own imagination, as they are without parallels in the extant literature. They are certainly Homeric in inspiration. They include servants caught by their master while out on a spree and girls forced to work on a holiday by a cruel mistress, and serve to contrast the behaviours of Eutropius and Stilicho.

One of the most dramatic is his portrayal of the slaves caught misbehaving in their master's absence,

ac veluti famuli, mendax quos mortis erilis
nuntius in luxum falso rumore resolvit,
dum marcent epulis atque inter vina chorosque
persultat vacuis effrena licentia tectis,
si reducem dominum sors improvisa revexit,
haerent attoniti libertatemque perosi
conscia servilis praecordia concutit horror. (*Get.* 366-372)

'And, like slaves whom a lying messenger has led into debauchery with his false story of the death of their master, while they laze about at the feasts and, in between the wine and the dancing, bad behavior runs rampant in the empty halls. If unexpected luck brought back their master from the dead, they are struck dumb and hate their earlier freedom. A slave's shame batters their guilty consciences.'

Both Milan and Rome had been panicking at the threat of Alaric, the court and the emperor contemplating flight to southern Gaul and ready to abandon Italy until brought to reality by the appearance of Stilicho. Claudian clearly recalls the aged statesman, so redolent of Roman virtues, whose appearance shocks the mob into silence at the opening of the *Aeneid*,

*tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.* (Aen. 1.151-3)

‘Then, if by chance they have seen an important man, known for his sense of duty and his past deeds, they become silent and stand close, their ears pricked; he controls their passions with his words and calms their anger.’

He highlights the desperate behavior of the citizens of Rome and shows how Stilicho is a reincarnation of the old virtues that the times had lost. It is one man, but only one man, who is able to save the city. At the same time, Claudian is able to look back to his earlier descriptions of servile behavior, such as the small factory of weavers deprived of a day’s holiday from work by their mean mistress,

*qualis pauperibus nutrix invisae puellis
adsidet et tela communem quaerere victum
rauca monet; festis illae lusisse diebus
orant et positis aequaevas visere pensis,
irataeque operi iam lasso pollice fila
turbant et teneros detergunt stamine fletus.* (Eutr. 2.370-375)

‘Just like a boss hated by her poor girls she presides and noisily warns them to share their livelihood from the loom together; they beg on a holiday to play and put aside their loom weights to see their friends and angered by the work, they mess up the threads with their now weary thumbs, and wipe away their tender tears with thread.’

In contrast to Stilicho, Eutropius claims to be too old to fight and that younger men need to take his place, most notably the unfortunate Leo. There is a nice contrast between the mean and lazy female tyrannising her poor girls with the upright

master returning to rescue his household from their depravity, a parallel to Eutropius and Stilicho.

6. Rivers, seas and storms

Floods and torrents must have been frequent and frightening, a sign of the violence of nature. Seas and seafaring form an obvious choice for a native of Alexandria and Claudian shows an interest in all things nautical. The city was still the largest port in the empire although its relevance to Rome had declined, with the removal of Egypt as a source of grain for Rome. The sea is therefore seen through lenses that are both metaphorical and metapoetic, where Claudian looks back overtly to his predecessors, challenging and adapting their treatments. The range of subjects is naturally quite limited, the weather, whether good or stormy, and sailors' fortunes. Perhaps the most intriguing is where Claudian looks back to Aelius Aristides, as he compares Rufinus' insatiable appetite for money to the sea that does not change. He writes,

ac velut innumeros amnes accedere Nereus
nescit et undantem quamvis hinc hauriat Histrum,
hinc bibat aestivum septeno gurgite Nilum,
par semper similisque manet: sic fluctibus auri
expleri calor ille nequit.⁴⁰⁰ (Ruf. 1.183-7)

⁴⁰⁰ Levy 1971, 56 cites Ovid *Met.* 8.835-6,

utque fretum recipit de tota flumina terra
nec satiatur aquis peregrinosque ebibit amnes.

'Just like a sea receives rivers from the whole earth nor is sated by the water and swallows up alien streams.'

Birt 1892, 35 cites Aelius Aristides *Roman Oration* 62.

⁴⁰⁰ *RP* 341 D

‘Just as the sea is unaware of the numberless rivers that fill it and, always remains the same and unchanging, even though on one side it drains the surging Danube and on the other drinks up the Nile from its seven mouths; even so his greed cannot be sated by the floods of gold.’

Ships both military and civilian, sailors, helmsmen and commanders, form the most frequent of his similes, with an obvious debt to earlier writers, but Claudian will often give them a novel twist, Theodosius as a grizzled veteran, Alaric as a pirate ship, or in a new interpretation, Stilicho as the antetype of Tiphys.

6.1 The helmsman as a skilled professional.

There is a particular rise in the importance of the role of the helmsman. Odysseus remained both captain and helmsman but we learn nothing about his skills. His greatest crises occurred when he was exhausted and fell asleep, leading his sailors to open the bag of winds in search of gold, and his crew largely disposable, whether as food for Polyphemus or as fodder for Circe’s magic. The first to suggest that the role of helmsman was a *techne* is Plato in the *Republic*,⁴⁰¹ perhaps drawing from a direct statement of Socrates.⁴⁰² In the *Aeneid*, it is clear that

⁴⁰⁰ Brock 2013, 148

⁴⁰⁰ *RP* 341 D

⁴⁰⁰ *Theod.* 42-3, 46.

Aeneas is no sailor as we first see him unmanned by fear in the storm raised by Aeolus but Palinurus, his helmsman, is thoroughly professional and devoted to his task, although his primary role is to serve as a necessary loss. In Claudian, the job of helmsman has become much more important, foreshadowing how the term *gubernator* has evolved to encompass state government in the US.

Virgil makes very clear how professional Palinurus was, *haud segnīs strato surgit Palinurus et omnis / explorat ventos atque auribus aera captat; / sidera cuncta notat*.⁴⁰³ ('Not lazy, he rose from his couch and investigated all the winds and tests the weather with his ears; he observed all the stars.') It is only after scrutinising the stars that he gives orders for the fleet to advance; it is through his skills that the Trojans are able to avoid the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis. Even when he is marked for death, he remains dedicated to his job and resists the god's blandishments, *clavumque adfixus et haerens nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat*, forming a marked contrast to the feckless Elpenor in the *Odyssey*.⁴⁰⁴ Theodosius and Theodorus are compared to professional helmsmen, the former at the end of his career and the latter at the beginning. In both cases Claudian emphasizes the depth of the body of knowledge of the helmsman and the time and training taken to acquire it. The younger man learns his skills gradually, *ac velut exertus lentandis navita tonsis / praeficitur lateri custos*; it is only with experience that he is the master of the whole ship, *iam clavum totamque subit torquere carinam*.⁴⁰⁵ ('And, just as a sailor skilled in handling an oar is put in charge of one side of the ship. Now he handles the rudder and the whole ship.') In a similar fashion, the grizzled veteran to whom Theodosius is compared is getting ready to hand his skills over to his son, *velut ille carinae / longaevus rector, variis quem saepe*

⁴⁰³ *Aen.* 3.513-515.

⁴⁰⁴ *Aen.* 5.852-853. Elpenor's death is described in Book 10, 552-60; Homer makes it clear that he was not intelligent.

⁴⁰⁵ *Theod.* 42-43, 46.

*procellis / exploravit hiems.*⁴⁰⁶ ('Like a veteran shipmaster whom winter has tested with many different storms.') The old professional, like Palinurus before him, will impart to his son is a detailed knowledge of the skies, the stars and the tides; in particular, he will pass over his knowledge of the weather signs that can provide warnings of imminent dangers even in fair skies.

This emphasis on professionalism has a twofold purpose, as a means to praise the two men but also as an avenue to demonstrate that government is a skill to be learned. This is clearly shown when the poet likens Stilicho to a helmsman who uses his steering-oar to ride out a storm,

*velut arbiter alni
nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion,
exiguo clavi flexu declinat aquarum
verbera, nunc recta, nunc obliquante carina
callidus, et pelagi caelique obnititur irae.*⁴⁰⁷

'Like the controller of a vessel which cloudy Orion is tossing in an Aegean storm deflects the blows of the waves with a small turn of the helm, with the ship now straight, now turning sideways, as highly skilled he fights against the rage of sea and sky.'

The particular stress on the skill of the older helmsman at recognizing false fair weather signs may additionally serve as an oblique reference to the various traitors that surrounded Theodosius and, through his mistaken appointments, his children. It also allows Claudian to make clear the differences between the roles of helmsman

⁴⁰⁶ *IV Hon.* 419-421.

⁴⁰⁷ *Stil.* 1.286-290. This is perhaps the earliest description of sculling and is surprising in its accuracy.

and captain, something that will serve as a paradigm for Stilicho's relationship with Honorius.

Near contemporaries of the poet also make use of the analogy between the skills of a helmsman and a ruler, most notably Ammianus Marcellinus, as Gavin Kelly has pointed out.⁴⁰⁸ The historian explicitly compares Jovian, Julian's inexperienced successor, to a tyro helmsman unequal to the task facing him, blaming Fortune

*quae difflantibus procellis rem publicam, excussa regimenta perito rei
gerendae ductori, consumando iuveni porrexisti.*⁴⁰⁹

'When the gusts were blowing the republic this way and that, you offered up the rudder, which had been shaken away from a leader tried in governing, to an unfinished youth.'⁴¹⁰

Another adoption is taken from his account of the *adventus* of Constantinus II as the poet describes both dragon standards and cataphracts.⁴¹¹ Themistius also emphasizes the need for a skilled helmsman in times of crisis, a man who is κυβερνητικωτάτου καὶ ἀγρυπνητικωτάτου as he explicitly compares the skill of the helmsman to the virtue of ruling; in calm weather there is no such need.⁴¹² His image of sailors rushing to obey their captain's commands is explicitly taken up by Claudian, as he writes,

*nunc instare manu, toto nunc robore niti
communi pro luce decet: succurrere velis,*

⁴⁰⁸ Kelly 2004, 162.

⁴⁰⁹ AM 25.9.7.

⁴¹⁰ Trans. Kelly 2008, 97.

⁴¹¹ Compare *VI Hon.* 566-8 to AM 16.10.7 (dragon standards) and *VI Hon.* 569-77 to AM 16.10.8 (cataphracts). Claudian is obviously fond of this picture as he had used it earlier (*Ruf.* 2.353-63).

⁴¹² *Or.* 15.195bc.

exhaurire fretum, varios aptare rudentes
omnibus et docti iussis parere magistri. (Get. 274-7).

‘ Now it is right to use every effort, to strive with all our strength for the common good: to run to the sails, to drain the channel, to handle the different ropes, and to obey every command of the skilled shipmaster.’

The sailors need to do as they are told to save the ship. Macrobius in his preservation of the joke where Augustus’ daughter Julia describes her method of birth-control provides a more humorous rationale for the importance of the helmsman.⁴¹³

6.2 Ship of state.

A helmsman is clearly in need of a ship and the long familiar ship of state is a theme that Claudian has both adopted and adapted. Alcaeus was probably the first to introduce the image of a ship under storm as a depiction of the perils of government and it was of course taken up by Horace in his account of the labouring Roman state.⁴¹⁴ The passage was cited by Quintilian as an example of the common type of *allegoria*, writing, *totusque ille Horati locus, quo navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum quo pace atque concordia dicit.*⁴¹⁵ (‘The whole of that passage of Horace where he uses the ship for the state, waves and storms for civil wars and safe harbour for peace and unity.’) It is, however, relevant that Horace does not make clear what type of ship he is describing: it is certainly a

⁴¹³ *Sat.* 2.5.9.

⁴¹⁴ *Carm.* 1.14.

⁴¹⁵ *Instit.* 8.6.44.

sailing ship and not a warship, and perhaps not very large, as he refers to the *pictis* *puppibus* and to its voyages in the Cyclades.⁴¹⁶

It is an image that can be tailored to suit its author's purposes, often to dramatic effect as Plato uses the figure of a rather large shipmaster, both physically and mentally challenged, as master of the ship that represents Athens, surely owing something to Aristophanes. The crew and passengers act constantly and aggressively in pursuit of their own interests, unable to accept that a true helmsman must have knowledge

ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὠρῶν καὶ οὐρανοῦ
καὶ ἄστρον καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῆ τέχνη προσηκόντων, εἰ μέλλει
τῷ ὄντι νεὼς ἀρχικὸς ἔσεσθαι. *Res publica* 488D

'That it is necessary for him to pay attention to the time of the year and the seasons and the sky and the stars and the winds and everything relevant to his skill, if it is his intention to become the commander of a ship.'

Here it is clear that Plato's purpose is polemical as he disparages Athenian democracy: the description of the master suggests a rather large merchantman laden with cargo, as Roger Brock has noted.⁴¹⁷

It may be that its originality attracted Claudian, as he adds a delightful variation by portraying Alaric as a pirate ship.⁴¹⁸ The ship, laden with spoils from many years of plunder, is surprised and so overwhelmed by a trireme of the Roman fleet that it becomes a laughing-stock, *antennis saucia fractis ludibrium pelagi vento*

⁴¹⁶ *Carm.* 1.14, 19-20.

⁴¹⁷ Brock 2013, 60.

⁴¹⁸ *VI Hon.* 133-136.

iactatur.⁴¹⁹ ('Stricken with its yardarms shattered it is tossed about by the wind, a plaything for the sea.') It is the types of ship that are important, Alaric as the pirate ship, successful in its prior depredations but now slowed down by the weight of booty, while the Roman trireme is fast, well-armed and sleek. Alaric in this picture is no chieftain in search of *Lebensraum* for his people but a brutal invader seeking to hold Rome to ransom, just as the trireme in its speed and newness perhaps is a picture of Stilicho's new army, perhaps a *force de frappe*, that Claudian often highlights.⁴²⁰ It is intriguing that Quintus Smyrnaeus also suggested that different types of ship were possible in developing the simile. Aeneas, as he prepares to abandon Troy to its fate, is compared to a helmsman who, in spite of his skill in handling his vessel in a storm, eventually decides to abandon ship and transfer to a dinghy, abandoning both crew and cargo.⁴²¹

7. A 'window allusion'⁴²²

The simile of the horse let loose from its stable in the *Epithalamion* written for the wedding of Honorius and Maria that took place in 398 CE is an avenue to explore

⁴¹⁹ *VI Hon.* 138-139, although Claudian's description seems much closer to a prize ship from Napoleonic times.

⁴²⁰ E.g. *Ruf.* 2.106-107.

⁴²¹ Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 13.309-15. The highlight is

λιπὼν οἴηια μούνος
 τυτθὸν ἐπὶ σκάφος εἴσι, μέλει δέ οἱ οὐκέτι νηὸς
 φορτίδος.

'Abandoning the helm, he goes alone onto a small dinghy. The merchant ship is no longer of any concern to him.'

⁴²² The definitions of Macrobius and Thomas are cited in Chapter 2.

the depth of Claudian's engagement with his predecessors.⁴²³ It portrays the amorous Honorius, only fourteen years old at the time of the ceremony, ready to wreak his will on his bride. Claudian writes,

nobilis haud aliter sonipes, quem primus amoris
sollicitavit odor, tumidus quatiensque decorus
curvata cervice iubas Pharsalia rura
pervolat et notos hinnitu flagitat amnes
naribus accensis; mulcet fecunda magistros
spes gregis et pulchro gaudent armenta marito. (*Nupt.* 289-94).

'He is no different from a steed, which the first smell of love has excited and, handsome, shakes its mane over its bent down neck and flies over the fields of Pharsalus; nostrils spread wide, it demands its familiar streams with its neighing. The potent hope of the flock pleases its owners and the herd takes pleasure in its handsome husband'.

This long been recognized as taking its origin from Homer but Claudian has carefully adapted the image to suit his patrons' purposes. Theodosius' dynastic aims were made clear both by his bestowal of titles on his two sons at very young ages, made clear by epigraphic evidence, and by the iconography of the Theodosian obelisk in Istanbul. No dynasty can survive without heirs; the prepotency of stallions, evidenced by the stud fees current today, is clearly an apposite image.⁴²⁴

The imagery of the stallion is intended to show his ability to match his predecessors, both Greek and Roman. Rather than written, as Edward Gibbon has

⁴²³ Birt 1892, LXXII, cites 12 passages that are taken from Homer. I cite above the definitions of 'window allusion' given by both Macrobius and Thomas.

⁴²⁴ Breeding sires service up to 200 mares each year.

suggested, as an attempt to disguise the young man's ability to perform either on the world stage or in the bedroom, it showed that he was *capax imperii* in both. He was, perhaps, a little young to handle either set of reins without adult supervision: in the preparations for the marriage, Claudian describes how important was the role of Serena as an educator and for the wedding, Stilicho's role was equally necessary as he helped the young man to take on his duties as emperor. The format of wedding poetry was set by tradition, as was the wedding ceremony; both emphasized the pagan aspects as we know from the iconography of the Projecta casket.⁴²⁵ It was vital not only to ward off the evil eye but to ensure the fertility of the newly-weds.

The image of the untrammelled horse, obviously striking and much appreciated in the ancient world, can be traced back from Homer to both Ennius and Virgil⁴²⁶ and I believe that Claudian's treatment should be read as an example of a highly complex 'window allusion', with four levels of engagement. The image is first used by Homer to describe Paris as he returns to the battlefield after he is rebuked by Hector. He composed

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
 δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεΐῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,
 εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἑυρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
 κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
 ὤμοις αἰσσοῦνται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθὼς,
 ῥίμφα ἐγοῦνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων. (Il. 6.506-11)

'As when a stalled horse, after feeding well at the manger, breaking its halter, gallops over the plain stamping its hooves, accustomed to bathe in the fair-flowing river, exulting. He holds his head high and his mane flows over his shoulders.

⁴²⁵ Elsner 2003, 31.

⁴²⁶ Ennius *Ann.* 535-9 and Virgil *Aen.* 11.492-7.

Confident of his splendor, his knees carry him swiftly to the haunts and pasture of the horses.’

He emphasises the stallion’s speed and beauty: its head is held high and its mane flowing as it returns to the herd and its familiar stamping-grounds. Walter Leaf ⁴²⁷ remarked that the swing of the dactylic verse in the Homeric passage reveals a harmony with a horse’s gallop. I would suggest that Claudian may have taken on the suggestion; his two predecessors in Latin are notably spondaic. There is a possible sexual tension that Claudian is looking back in the portrait of Paris in the *Iliad*, to portray Honorius as eager for the marriage. The Trojan warrior was notorious in antiquity for returning, after his duel with Menelaos where he had to be rescued by Aphrodite, to make love to Helen in the afternoon ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ φιλότητι τραπείομεν εὐνηθέντε.⁴²⁸

As part of this, he will correct his two Roman predecessors who had earlier engaged with Homer. The latter emphasised Paris’ good looks, especially his beautiful hair, and his dalliance in Helen’s bedroom, reasons that Aristarchus athetised four lines when the simile was used again to describe Apollo’s healing of Hector.⁴²⁹ Ennius emphasised that that the horse was spirited and had broken out of a prison where it had been chained even if well-fed (*fertus*); there is no mention of any mares,

et tum sicut equus qui de presepibus fertus
vincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam

⁴²⁷ Leaf, 1900, 294.

⁴²⁸ *Il.* 3.441.

⁴²⁹ *Il.* 15.263-8, noted by Schlunk 1974, 28.

spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas.

(*Ann.* 535-9)⁴³⁰

‘And then like a stallion which, fully-fed in the stable, bursts his chains in his great passion and carries himself from there through the green and lush grasses of the plain with lofty heart; often it shakes his long mane as his breathing sprays white foam from his hot soul.’

Virgil took over the image to describe Turnus as he abandons the deliberations of a council-of-war to rejoin the hurly-burly of the battlefield.

Claudian, in turn, described Honorius’ eagerness to get to grips with Maria, who had just been dressed for the wedding procession by her mother and Venus; her young suitor was very handsome. Hector had had to arouse Paris from his dalliance to fight, the reverse of Honorius’ plans for his wedding-night, but the Trojan might also have returned to Helen’s bedroom after the feasting that both armies enjoyed at the end of the day’s fighting.⁴³¹ There is no sexual imagery in the *Aeneid*: Turnus was attending a war council which he abandons as he rushes out to fight. He wrote

qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians luduntque iubae per colla, per armos. (Virgil *Aen.* 11.492-7).

⁴³⁰ Both Homer and Ennius are cited by Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.3.7-8); he gives no context for the Ennian quotation.

⁴³¹ *Il.* 7.475-7.

‘Like a stallion when it flees his stable, its chains broken; free at last, and has reached the open plain, either makes for the pasture and herds of mares or, accustomed to be soaked in water from the familiar river, he glistens, and neighs, neck held high, exulting, and his mane plays over his neck and shoulders.’

Virgil notably emphasizes the animal’s long struggle to escape, writing *tandem liber equus*.⁴³² Claudian, alone in the four versions of the image, makes no mention of any escape from a stable, perhaps to emphasise Honorius’ eagerness to meet his bride. In the *Iliad* the horse is described as stabled, τις στατὸς ἵππος,⁴³³ while both Ennius and Virgil suggest that the horse was chained by the use of *vincla/ vinclis*.⁴³⁴ Claudian’s change is deliberate as he shows the teenage emperor is master in his domain and eager to consummate his marriage, a marked contrast to the portrayal of the lovesick elegiac swain that opened the poem.⁴³⁵ There Claudian had described a young man overwhelmed by his love; like Horace’s Sybaris, he had abandoned manly pursuits, reduced to tracing his beloved’s name in his obsession.⁴³⁶ He attempts to woo her with gifts of imperial heirlooms and complains that his promised marriage has been thwarted by Stilicho.⁴³⁷ Now that his marriage has received divine sanction and Venus has come to assist at the ceremony, taking on the role of *pronuba*, Honorius is

⁴³² *Aen.* 11.493.

⁴³³ *Il.* 6.503.

⁴³⁴ *Annales* 536 and *Aen.* 11.492.

⁴³⁵ At this stage in his career, it would have been foolhardy for Claudian to have risked jeopardizing his achievements by suggesting that the emperor was not in control. Wasdin (2018, 219-20) is perverse in calling the stallion lovesick and under the control of his keepers.

⁴³⁶ Horace *Carm.* 1.8. 3-4 and *Nupt.* 5-6,9-10.

⁴³⁷ *Nupt.* 20-2, 29-30.

triumphantly taking on the role of husband. He has become *spes gregis*, an ironic allusion to the lost goat, *spem gregis* of the *Eclogues*.⁴³⁸

Most commentators have suggested that the marriage was at the behest of and for the benefit of Stilicho, but I would argue that it may have been a love-match, to judge by the details we have of the contents of Maria's sepulchre from the accounts of Lucio Fauno and Antonio Bosio.⁴³⁹ It was opened on the orders of Pope Paul III in February 1544 during the demolition of the chapel of St. Petronilla. The body of a young girl dressed in gold clothing was discovered, the head covered by a veil; there were ornaments of gold that in total weighed forty pounds. There was a chest of silver filled with vases of crystal and agate, ornaments of gold and toys. It seems probable that they were Maria's wedding gifts and that many were imperial heirlooms, some dating back to Livia, wife of Augustus, as Claudian reported.⁴⁴⁰ Only one object has survived and is now in the Louvre (reference OA 9523), a reliquary pendant made of agate and inlaid with gold, emeralds and rubies. It is decorated with a text in the shape of a chi-ro christogram. The text on the obverse reads HONORI MARIA SERHNA VIVATIS STELICHO and on the reverse STELICHO SERENA THERMANTIA EUCHERI VIVATIS. I would argue that the fact that both imperial wedding presents and a child's toys were found in the tomb suggests that she was loved.

Returning to the simile, there is a delightful example of Claudian's engagement with his predecessors, in particular Catullus, is made clear by the 'Alexandrian footnote', *notos.... amnes*. Claudian has earlier made it clear that he is familiar with his predecessor's wedding poetry, such as the taboos on the mention of bride and groom by name. Maria and Honorius are mentioned in the *Fesc.* only in the final line of the

⁴³⁸ *Ecl.* 1.15.

⁴³⁹ Fauno, *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (Venice, 1552) and Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (Rome, 1632).

⁴⁴⁰ *Nupt.* 10-3.

fourth.⁴⁴¹ This is made clear as he uses *Pharsalia* to describe the horse's stamping grounds; it is never used as an adjective in Lucan but enables Claudian to recall Catullus as the latter had written *Pharsalia tecta* to describe how Thessaly was crowded for the wedding of Peleus, as well as allowing him to develop further the poet's imagery of a potent stallion.⁴⁴² Thessaly was famous throughout antiquity as the source for the best horses and Pharsalus may have been a breeding-centre.⁴⁴³ In his poem *De equo dono dato* he confesses that he does not know the origin of the horse whose belt, woven as a gift for Honorius by Serena, he is describing. One possibility he says as he addresses the horse is *seu laeta solebas/ Thessaliae rapido perstringere pascua cursu*,⁴⁴⁴ ('You used to graze the pleasant pastures of Thessaly at a rapid gallop.').⁴⁴⁵

It is love that drives Claudian's stallion and Honorius; the animal is described as in heat, *quem primus amoris/ sollicitavit odor*, 'which the first scent of passion makes wild', and as *tumidus*, which can mean 'fully-fed', even 'distended', 'proud' or 'inflamed with passion' and as 'protuberant' or 'sexually-aroused'.⁴⁴⁶ The first meaning would be an allusion to the Homeric ἀκοστήσας, a *hapax legomenon* that puzzled the Alexandrian scholiasts, whether it should be derived from ἀκοστή ('grain'

⁴⁴¹ This surely demands that *Nupt.* was delivered, if not composed, after the *Fesc.* in spite of the arguments by Gineste (2004, 275) and accepted by Wasdin (2014, 49-50) for a different order.

⁴⁴² Catullus 61.37.

⁴⁴³ In the fifth century Daochos, tyrant of Pharsalus c. 441-13 BCE, issued silver hemidrachms (trioboloi) which show a horse's head. It could well have remained famous as a source of horses for hunting or for use in chariot-racing through Claudian's time.

⁴⁴⁴ *Carm. min.* 47.5-6.

⁴⁴⁵ *Carm. min.* 47.5-6.

⁴⁴⁶ *OLD* 1982, 1987.

or 'barley') or from ἄκος, meaning care. The scholiasts preferred the latter, choosing to read the Homeric word as meaning unable to endure the confinement of the stable.⁴⁴⁷ It may be that Claudian is artfully suggesting that he preferred to read the word as fully-fed, derived from ἀκοστή. It is notable how Ennius inherited this meaning, describing the horse as *fertus* whilst Virgil ignores the animal's appetite, concentrating rather on the escape to freedom as Turnus rushes from the council to join battle. Claudian may indeed be correcting Virgil with his own emphasis on the stallion's virility; the first to see Turnus as he arrives at the battlefield is the virgin Camilla. It is probable that the Ennian version was known to Claudian, as it is quoted by Macrobius.⁴⁴⁸ There may be a further level of subtlety: Philostratus used κροαίνειν to mean to 'luxuriate' or to 'wanton' rather than to 'gallop' which Virgil addresses with *luxurians*⁴⁴⁹ but was even more appropriate for the young emperor on his wedding-night.⁴⁵⁰

I think Edward Gibbon is too cynical when he writes, 'But the amorous impatience which Claudian attributes to the young prince must excite the smiles of the court; and his beauteous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or hope from the passions of her lover.'⁴⁵¹ Marriages, especially imperial, were highly formal occasions in the Roman world, celebrated as a ritualized abduction and rape, perhaps apotropaic, to ward off the evil eye, as is still the case in

⁴⁴⁷ Schlunk 1974, 26.

⁴⁴⁸ *Saturnalia* 6.3.7-8.

⁴⁴⁹ Schlunk 1974, 30.

⁴⁵⁰ As an aside, Quintus Smyrnaeus has written a nice reversal of roles, describing a heifer running off in lustful pursuit of a bull (*Posthomerica* 10.441-6).

⁴⁵¹ Gibbon 1776-88, 921. Both Cameron (1970, 100) and Coombe (2018, 183) are surely mistaken when they write that Gibbon was unaware of any potential for mockery.

the tribal areas of the Yemen today.⁴⁵² The iconography of the Projecta Casket, probably datable to 380, is a clear demonstration of the Christian and the pagan in weddings. It is intriguing that both Catullus and Claudian took as their starting-point the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, in spite of the tradition that Peleus raped Thetis.⁴⁵³

The range of similes that Claudian employs in his poetry and the wide variety of his sources is a testament to his knowledge of Greek and Latin literature. It is notable how he will adapt them to meet the demands of his own poetry. To the Romans *imitatio* allowed the later poet to vie with a classical model and transform what he has borrowed. The variety and originality of the similes that are his own invention not only his powers of observation but his creativity.

⁴⁵² In 1998, one of my students showed us pictures from his tribal wedding, which took place when he was 16 or 17 in a remote village in the interior of Yemen; he then returned cheerfully to the very different world of a gritty NYC high school.

⁴⁵³ Ovid *Met.* 11.264-5.

Chapter 6: Claudian's Recreation of Roma

Claudian's refashioning of Roma is his most enduring creation, wholeheartedly adopted (with the occasional correction) by his successors, Rutilius, Merobaudes, Sidonius, and Corippus. He changed, in a process that involved both elimination and amplification, the imagery used by his predecessors and contemporaries, notably Lucan, Ammianus, Symmachus and Prudentius; he also took advantage of the iconography to be found, not just on gold coins, but in a number of monuments in Rome that were prominent when he was writing.⁴⁵⁴ Although Claudian's creation of Roma is largely literary,⁴⁵⁵ it also draws from the worship of Roma as a goddess, first established by Augustus as a mechanism to allow a partial worship of himself as a god whilst still alive,⁴⁵⁶ but made most visible by Hadrian's erection of a temple to Roma and Venus that was possibly the largest in the city.

After a summary of the principal differences between Claudian's Roma and major gods such as the Olympians and minor deities, especially the Tychai, I identify the key passages where the poet builds his creation of Roma; the two most substantial are in his first and last political poems. To provide a background, I then analyse briefly Roma's role in Roman culture and religion.

⁴⁵⁴ Similar images are, of course, used in lower denomination coinage, but gold coinage was certainly in wide circulation within the Roman world at this time; its value would naturally draw close attention to the iconography. The size of the coin hoards dating from the late fourth/early fifth centuries that have been discovered within the Roman Empire, even if on its outskirts, suggests that gold coinage was regularly used as currency, rather than solely in tribute to barbarians outside the empire. (Solly 2019, 50 n.10).

⁴⁵⁵ Roberts 2001, 538.

⁴⁵⁶ *Divi Augusti* 52.

Claudian's approach is nuanced. Roma's role as a god is limited in comparison to the Olympian deities: her position within the pantheon was always equivocal, neither fully a god to match the Olympians nor something that can be dismissed as a personification.⁴⁵⁷ There is also a substantive difference between Roma's role as a *Dea* and the *Tychai* that were appropriate for junior cities, including at first Constantinople. Here I would note that a *Tyche* does not seem to be as liable to physical change as Claudian's *Dea Roma*, suggesting that the latter's vulnerability may have been a creation of the poet. It was only after the sack of Rome and the city's decline that Constantinople could claim first equal and then superior status.⁴⁵⁸

Roma plays an ongoing and active role in Claudian's oeuvre, with an appearance that is subject to change as a result of contemporary events, in contrast to the Olympian gods.⁴⁵⁹ Any change is not at her own volition, but the result of the vicissitudes of fortune; equally she can swiftly be restored to her former glory by Jupiter. Her appearance and characterisation change over the course of his poems, although her primary role remains as intercessor, rather than as a participant or assistant.

In Claudian she additionally plays an important political role through her speeches, in particular as an intermediary between the inhabitants of Rome, especially the Senate, and their rulers, Theodosius, Honorius and Stilicho. Separately she serves as a messenger for Claudian to declare that Rome was the

⁴⁵⁷ MacCormick 1975, 140, noted by Grig 2012, 42.

⁴⁵⁸ Toynbee 1947, 136 and 142.

⁴⁵⁹ Hephaestus is an exception to their good looks, lame either from birth and dependent on the care of Euronome and Thetis (*Il.* 18. 395-8) or after being thrown by Zeus and tended by the Sintians on Lemnos (*Il.* 1.590-4).

proper capital for the Empire.⁴⁶⁰ In a different medium numismatic evidence of coins showing Roma and Constantinopolis together⁴⁶¹ suggests a continuing view that the empire should be viewed as a joint entity, with Roma ranking superior to Constantinopolis at least until the death of Arcadius in 408.

I would note that I am passing over the important role that the Tiber plays in Claudian's poetry, in particular in *Olybr.* where the river-god serves as an extension of Roma;⁴⁶² the Eridanus (the modern Po) plays a similar role in *VI Hon.*⁴⁶³ For the former, Jacqueline Long's exposition is succinct and convincing, as she suggests that the river takes over a role for which neither the two young men, nor their father, whose wealth Ammianus Marcellinus implies was ill-gotten,⁴⁶⁴ were suitable.⁴⁶⁵

Roma appears in six of Claudian's political poems. She first appears in *Olybr.* which was delivered in January 395 soon after Claudian's arrival in Rome. He describes her chariot and appearance as she leaves her temple in Rome to visit Theodosius who is resting after his victory at the Frigidus.⁴⁶⁶ She then engages in

⁴⁶⁰ I shall describe below how some scholars, notably Charlet, have suggested that the poet's clear asseveration that Rome is the proper capital of the whole empire is at variance with the objectives of Honorius and Stilicho and may be a reason for his silence after 404. It is in *VI Hon.* delivered in that year that he expresses this claim most forcefully.

⁴⁶¹ See below. The earliest extant today are solidi from 343.

⁴⁶² *Olybr.* 209-62.

⁴⁶³ *VI Hon.* 146-92.

⁴⁶⁴ AM. 27.11.1.

⁴⁶⁵ Long 2004, 5.

⁴⁶⁶ *Olybr.* 77-100.

conversation with the emperor to request consulships for the two young men.⁴⁶⁷ She is next seen in *Gild.* which was delivered in Milan in April 398. Her appearance is now very different, bedraggled and worn out by age as she appeals to Jupiter for assistance against Gildo.⁴⁶⁸ The ruler of the gods swiftly rejuvenates her as he promises vengeance on the Moorish prince.⁴⁶⁹

In the first book of *Eutr.*, Claudian's invective against the eastern consul, Roma delivers a long speech of complaint to Honorius and Stilicho.⁴⁷⁰ It was delivered in Milan in the spring of 399, while Eutropius was still in power. She makes two separate appearances in Claudian's three books in praise of Stilicho. She first requests that he becomes consul again in a poem that was recited in Milan in January 400.⁴⁷¹ In the third poem, delivered in Rome a month or so later, Claudian created his justly famous encomium of Rome, *Laudes Romae*.⁴⁷²

Roma also plays a prominent role in Claudian's final extant political poem *VI Hon.* which was delivered in Rome in January 404 to celebrate that Honorius has become consul and his triumph.⁴⁷³ The poet then describes the preparations that the city and its citizens have made to receive the new consul.⁴⁷⁴

Roma's role in Claudian's poetry is very different from the roles of the gods in earlier epic, as are her divine attributes, especially from the Olympian goddesses of

⁴⁶⁷ *Olybr.* 126-66.

⁴⁶⁸ *Gild.* 17-127.

⁴⁶⁹ *Gild.* 208-12.

⁴⁷⁰ *Eutr.* 1.371-515.

⁴⁷¹ *Stil.* 2.269-407.

⁴⁷² *Stil.* 3.130-73.

⁴⁷³ *VI Hon.* 356-425.

⁴⁷⁴ *VI Hon.* 523-59.

both Homer and Virgil. Although she is portrayed as a female warrior, she is not an active participant in battle (in contrast to Apollo, Ares, Aphrodite etc. in the *Iliad*), nor is she a useful assistant (as is Athena above all to Odysseus and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*); she does not have a future in shaping the Roman empire, as Venus did in the opening of the *Aeneid*. Her role is to give advice, which, even if correct, is often disregarded or unnecessary (*Olybr.* and *Eutr.*). She is subject to physical change in appearance as a result of a third party's actions (*Gild.*). Her divine attributes are limited, primarily only the ability to fly from her temple in Rome and her size (*Olybr.*); in particular, unlike the traditional gods of epic, she has no ability to change her own appearance.

I now analyse her literary forebears. The image of Roma as a female Warrior may trace its origin to Virgil's portraits of Penthesilea and Camilla in the *Aeneid*. The first is seen on the walls of Dido's temple to Juno: as she leads her troops of Amazons into battle, she is described *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae/ bellatrix*.⁴⁷⁵ 'A warrior queen binding her exposed breast with a golden band.' The latter is also a model in particular as she transforms from *venatrix* to *bellatrix*; he describes her appearance, *at medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon/ unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetra Camilla*.⁴⁷⁶ ('But she rejoices in the midst of the slaughter, an Amazon showing one side bare for battle, quiver-bearing Camilla.')

Naoko Yamagata has noted the dramatic change in her character.⁴⁷⁷ Roma makes a striking entrance in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* as she appears in a vision to Caesar as he is preparing to cross the Rubicon and unleash civil war.⁴⁷⁸ Her image is huge and she is described as *turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,/ caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis*. ('Her white hair streaming from the top of her tower-

⁴⁷⁵ *Aen.* 1.492-3.

⁴⁷⁶ *Aen.* 11.648-9.

⁴⁷⁷ Yamagata 2014a, 86.

⁴⁷⁸ *BC* 1.185-201.

bearing head, she stands near with her hair torn and her arms bare.’) She is a most pitiable figure, described by the poet as *maestissima* and her speech of appeal is broken by sobs. She is, however, unable to stop Caesar from carrying out his plans, suggesting that even in this early incarnation Roma did not have full divine powers.

Later writers will emphasise Roma’s age, notably Ammianus Marcellinus: *iamque vergens in senium, et nomine solo aliquotiens vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit.*⁴⁷⁹ (‘And now, declining into old age and sometimes victorious through her name alone she has withdrawn to a calmer part of her life.’) Symmachus had similarly written, *Ad hoc ergo servata sum, ut longaeva reprehendar?* (‘Have I been preserved to this end, that I should be criticized as long-lived?’)⁴⁸⁰ Old age was certainly not an attribute of the Olympian gods.

Elements of these characterisations are found in Claudian’s portraits of Roma, in particular her appearance, whether as a female warrior or as an older woman. She also serves as an image of *populus Romanus*. The latter in its earliest surviving form is found in Florus’ preface, where he divides the history of Rome into four ages—infancy, youth, manhood and old age.⁴⁸¹ It is probable that this division was taken from the elder Seneca, as Lactantius reports: *non inscite Seneca Romanae urbis tempora distribuit in aetates. ‘primam enim’ dixit ‘infantiam sub rege Romulo fuisse.*⁴⁸² (‘Seneca, not unintelligently, broke up the history of Rome into different

⁴⁷⁹ AM 14.6.4.

⁴⁸⁰ *Rel.* 3.9.

⁴⁸¹ *Praef.* 4-8.

⁴⁸² Lactantius *Inst. Div.* 7.15,4. As an aside, is Lactantius being intentionally patronising?

⁴⁸² Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 52.

⁴⁸² Levick 2010, 290, citing Gradel 2002, 84.

ages: for he said the earliest infancy had been under King Romulus.’) Both writers would appear implicitly to accept that Rome was not destined to be immortal, perhaps recalling the famous remark of Scipio that Polybius recorded,

ἐπὶ πολὺ δ’ ἔννοους ἔφ’ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε καὶ συνιδῶν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, ... Πολυβίου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὃ τι βούλοιο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα ἐς τάνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν ἐδεδίδει.

Roma is worshipped as a goddess both in the city and outside, probably first under Augustus but her most visible epiphany was in Hadrian’s reign. The former, as Suetonius records, allowed temples to be dedicated to Roma and Augustus, as a mechanism to allow partial worship of himself as a god while still alive.⁴⁸³ He did impose certain restrictions: the temples had to be dedicated to both Roma and himself; no such temple was allowed in the city itself; the large temple in nearby Ostia was built soon after his death by Tiberius. There are numerous such temples both within Italy and outside; we know of seven built in Italy whilst Augustus was still alive.⁴⁸⁴

It was, however, the temple built by Hadrian that first suggested Roma could be considered a deity equal to the Olympians. It was designed by the emperor himself and we know that it contained statues of the two goddesses sitting enthroned and back-to-back. Dio also reports that a rival architect, Apollodorus, criticised the design

of the temple and the size of the statues.⁴⁸⁵ He is reported to have said that the statues were too tall for the height of the cella, ἂν γὰρ αἱ θεαί” ἔφη “ἔξαναστήσεσθαί τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δύνηθήσονται. ‘For now if the goddesses wish to stand up and go out, they would not be able to do so.’ Servius, in his note on *Aen.* 2.227, suggests that the statue of Roma was armed with a shield: describing the lair of the snakes that would strangle Laocoon and his sons, he stated that they were hiding at the feet of the statue of Minerva, *post clipeum, id est inter scutum et simulacrum deae latebant: ut est in templo urbis Romae* (‘They were hiding behind her shield, that is between the shield and the statue, as it is in the temple of the city of Rome’). The temple and its statues must have been spectacular, as Ammianus Marcellinus records that it was one of the sights that impressed Constantius on his visit to the city in 357.⁴⁸⁶

Monuments of Roma are part of the beautification of Rome that was undertaken by the emperors Augustus and Domitian, which was only matched by Honorius. Martial makes it clear that Domitian’s new temple was very striking, writing:

*Hic ubi Fortunae Reducis fulgentia late
templa nitent, felix area nuper erat:
hic stetit Arctoi formosus pulvere belli
purpureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar;
hic lauru redimita comas et candida cultu
Roma salutavit voce manumque ducem.*⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Dio 69. 4. 3-5.

⁴⁸⁶ Ammianus 16.10.14.

⁴⁸⁷ *Epigr.* 8.65.1-6.

'Here, where the sparkling temple of Fortuna Redux shines far and wide, was once a well-omened empty space: here Caesar stood, handsome from the dirt of the northern war, pouring forth a purple radiance from his face; here, Roma, her hair encircled with laurel and dressed in white, greeted the leader with her voice and hand.'

It was probably built after his triumphal return from his campaign against the Sarmatians.⁴⁸⁸ Claudian refers to some of the additions that Domitian made to the city of Rome, including his reroofing of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. His panegyric *VI Hon.* opens: *aurea Fortunae Reduci si templa priores/ ob reditum vovere ducum*⁴⁸⁹ ('If our forefathers vowed golden temples to Fortuna Redux on account of the return of their leaders').

It is, however, an image that has survived of the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius that may have provided the clearest inspiration to Claudian.⁴⁹⁰ The column, made of red granite, was huge, over 15 metres in height and notably heavy.⁴⁹¹ There were disastrous attempts to raise the column after its rediscovery in the early 1700s, but there is a 1703 engraving of the base of the column that dates from before such efforts; after that date there was much restoration.⁴⁹² The apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina that is the principal subject of the pedestal shows Roma with a breast bared; she is helmeted, sandalled(?) and holding a shield showing the she-wolf and Romulus and Remus. Vogel has suggested that Roma in the sculpture is shown wearing military boots (*caligae*) and shin-guards,

⁴⁸⁸ Toynbee 1947, 189.

⁴⁸⁹ *VI Hon.* 1-2.

⁴⁹⁰ See Ridley 2018, 235-69 on the history of the column.

⁴⁹¹ A little larger than half the size of Trajan's Column.

⁴⁹² Bianchini in *De Calendario et Cyclo Caesaris* (Rome 1703, 71) (in on-line edition, p. 109). He was a famous astronomer known for his accurate observations.

whereas Sidonius, who seems to refer to the same image, describes her wearing rather strange sandals (2. 400-4).⁴⁹³ Is he also recalling Venus wearing *cothurni* in the *Aeneid*?⁴⁹⁴

This similarity would therefore provide strong pictorial evidence to suggest that the portrayal of Roma in *Olybr.* was unconventional (Taegert does not suggest any direct parallels⁴⁹⁵) and further testament to the poet's powers of observation, taken from a monument he saw in Rome; to him as an Alexandrian, it was a new city.

The image of Roma is frequently found on gold coins during the period; given their wide circulation they provide another route to identify Claudian's sources. The significance of the actual legends on coins has been much debated, with Andrew Wallace-Hadrill providing a useful summary.⁴⁹⁶ However much their significance was a means to convey a political message, it is important to remember that the obverse of *solidi* reported very accurately and quickly the number of the various *Augusti* (*AUGG*, *AUGGG*, *AUGGGG*) in the fourth century. Coin legends such as *Roma aeterna* (or abbreviations thereof) are frequent, even in the troubled third century, until the first quarter of the fifth century. It is notable that the most strident boast was made on the coins of Attalus Priscus, the pretender who, with the support of the Visigoths, attempted to overthrow Honorius. Coins of a variety of denominations

⁴⁹³ Vogel 1973. Note in Loeb translation by Anderson (1936, 43).

⁴⁹⁴ *Aen.* 1.337. The two uses of *cothurnus* in Claudian (*Eutr.* 1.299 and *Theod.* 315) are unrelated to any deity. I am not certain that I believe Vogel's suggestion that Roma is wearing military boots.

⁴⁹⁵ Taegert 1988, 126-8.

⁴⁹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 67-70.

including *solidi* minted in Rome and issued in 414-415 carry the legend *Invicta Roma Aeterna*, ironic given the recent Gothic sack of Rome.⁴⁹⁷

The portraits of Roma and Constantinopolis do change over time, in ways suggesting that the changes did have a political purpose. In particular, the two are found together on a number of *solidi* and higher value denominations from 343.⁴⁹⁸ The change in the apparel and positioning of the two figures echoes the status of the two cities, and their presiding deities. It has been argued that the silver medallions show that Constantine intended the two cities be viewed as equals, but they were produced only in Constantinople in 330.⁴⁹⁹

In the years 387-450 Roma is never turreted and is shown as either helmeted or bare headed.⁵⁰⁰ Constantinopolis is much more often depicted as helmeted rather than turreted, especially after 400, where she is always helmeted. The coins

⁴⁹⁷ Database maintained by the American Numismatic Society, *Online Coins of the Roman Empire*.

⁴⁹⁸ Toynbee 1947, 138.

⁴⁹⁹ The silver medallions, produced solely in Constantinople in 330, are described and analysed by Ramskold and Lenski. They argue that the parallelism in the images of Roma and Constantinopolis suggest that Constantinople and Rome were intended to be seen as mirror images from the former's dedication (Ramskold and Lenski 2012, 46). However, the images are not identical, as Roma is portrayed as helmeted and holding a globe and a spear, whereas Constantinopolis is turreted, holding a branch and a cornucopia, with her right foot on a galley.

⁵⁰⁰ ANS database, *Online Coins of the Roman Empire*, for the years 370-450. A diademed figure would be noted.

showing the two together were clearly at first special issues,⁵⁰¹ with Roma portrayed wearing a helmet and Constantinopolis turreted; on the *solidi* both are helmeted. The evidence from coins certainly contradicts the corrections of both Rutilius and Sidonius.

I now turn to Claudian's own descriptions of Roma. She makes her first appearance in his first political poem, the panegyric in honour of the young consuls Probinus and Olybrius of 404, in a dramatic fashion. She flies in a winged chariot to visit Theodosius, who is resting but still sweating after his victory at the Frigidus. Her appearance is described in detail,

nam neque caesariem crinali stringere cultu
colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto;
dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
audacem reteggit mammam, laxumque coercens
mordet gemma sinum. ⁵⁰²

'She does not allow her hair to be drawn tight by an ornament for the hair nor her neck to be weighed down with a woven necklace; her right side is bare, her upper arms outstretched, she reveals a proud breast, and a brooch with a clasp grips the loose folds of her dress.'

Claudian had opened his description by stressing her resemblance to Minerva, writing *innuptae ritus imitata Minervae*, ('imitating the practice of unwed

⁵⁰¹ All gold, both *solidi* and larger denominations, and, as Toynbee (1947, 138) noted, Rome and Constantinople were not seen as equals but as sister cities, differentiated by their attire.

⁵⁰² *Olybr.* 85-9.

Minerva.').⁵⁰³ She is armed, with a sword, a helmet with blood-red plumes and a shield; the latter, made by Vulcan, depicted Romulus and Remus, Mars, the she-wolf and the Tiber. The vivid details of the description suggest that Claudian was basing his account on an actual, well-known sculpture of Roma, rather than on any literary model.

It is notable that Theodosius recognises her immediately and addresses her as an equal, '*O numen amicum*'⁵⁰⁴, 'O friendly deity', even though the cliffs echoed three times and the dark wood shuddered at her majesty. Lucan's Caesar, by contrast, is at first terrified by the apparition of Roma.⁵⁰⁵

This portrait of Roma shows an armed warrior in her glory; the figure that begs Jupiter for aid in *Gild.* is very different in appearance.

vox tenuis tardique gradus oculique iacentes
interius; fugere genae; ieiuna lacertos
exedit macies. umeris vix sustinet aegris
squalentem clipeum; laxata casside prodit
canitiem plenamque trahit rubiginis hastam. ⁵⁰⁶

'A weak voice and slow steps and deep-sunken eyes; her cheeks had withered and a dull hunger had eaten away her arms; she can hardly carry her dirty shield on her weak shoulders; with her helmet untied, she reveals her gray hair and she drags a spear full of rust.'

⁵⁰³ *Olybr.* 84.

⁵⁰⁴ *Olybr.* 126.

⁵⁰⁵ *BC* 1.192-4.

⁵⁰⁶ *Gild.* 21-5.

It is clear that Claudian is looking back to his earlier portrait of Roma and not any external image, as he contradicts his earlier picture. It is a portrait of a pitiful figure, recalling Lucan, but also very specific in its physical details, with references such as *lacertos*. The new, decrepit Roma acts in a dual role, serving both as a symbol of the city abandoned by its emperor and, by metonymy, as a depiction of the sufferings undergone by Rome's citizens as a result of Gildo's interdiction of the corn-supply. I assume that the poet's emphasis on Roma's tragic appearance was intended to remind the young emperor of the importance of the city whilst he was based in Milan.

Roma's address to Jupiter is remarkable, as she looks back to the three stages of her existence, which she describes in detail. Claudian may be intending to reclaim Seneca's suggestion that Rome was an entity that ages and might collapse, surely her implicit warning. As Vincent Zarini noted, Roma describes the stages of her life, perhaps drawing on both Florus and a Seneca (he suggests the younger).⁵⁰⁷ Incidentally, this would confirm my belief, contra Cameron, that the Senecas were widely read and admired.⁵⁰⁸

In the preface to *VI Hon.* Claudian compares as equals the gods of Olympus and the court of Honorius, suggesting that this appeal of Roma to Jupiter symbolises the appeal of the Roman Senate for aid from Honorius against Gildo. Certainly, the poet makes great stress of the fact that the campaign against was authorised by a very rare senatorial decree, which suggests their direct interest because Gildo's actions had affected their own wealth.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ Zarini 2007, 4; I assume the elder above.

⁵⁰⁸ Cameron 1967, 32. It is clear that Claudian's account of the dismemberment of Rufinus owes much to Seneca's *Hippolytus*.

⁵⁰⁹ *Stil.* 1.328-32.

She is quickly restored to her former glory by Jupiter:

*continuo redit ille vigor seniique colorem
mutavere comae. solidatam crista resurgens
erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis
et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus.* ⁵¹⁰

‘Immediately her former energy returned and her hair lost the colour of old age. A resurgent plume lifted her strengthened helmet and, with the rust removed, her light spear gleamed.’

Point by point all that had decayed is restored, but it is through the actions of Jupiter, as Claudian makes clear: *dixit et afflavit Romam meliore iuventa*, ‘he spoke and with his breath filled Roma with a better youthfulness.’⁵¹¹ Roma did not have the power to rejuvenate herself, in contrast to the Olympian gods.

The poet, over the course of his oeuvre, changes his portrait of Roma from a warrior figure to that of a mother figure, notably in the *Laudes Romae* in *Stil.* 3.⁵¹² He may have taken over Christian imagery of Mary as intercessor; he had shown in *De Salvatore* that he was very knowledgeable about Christianity.⁵¹³ Her first

⁵¹⁰ *Gild.* 209-12.

⁵¹¹ *Gild.* 208.

⁵¹² *Stil.* 3.130-73.

⁵¹³ Cameron 1970, 214-6 and Charlet 2018, 176-7 believe that the poem (*Carm. min.* 32 (Cameron’s numbering (1970, 214) of 22 is surely an error) is by Claudian but may be wrong in stating that it demonstrates a sceptical view of Christianity. Taking on from Sebesta 1980, 35 the opening description of Christ’s incarnation is a nice summary of the affirmation of Christ as *Logos*, to be rejected in the Council of 431.

appearance in her new role is when she begs for help from Honorius and Stilicho to rescue the eastern empire from the machinations of Eutropius. The descriptions of her physical appearance are minimalist; she flies to visit Honorius, *rapit caeli per inania cursu/ diva potens unoque Padum translapsa volatu*, suggesting that her means of transport were much more Olympian, with obvious models in the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. It appears that Claudian is consciously elevating the standing of Roma, to a goddess that is the equal of the greatest gods.⁵¹⁴

This development is further advanced in two of the last poems, most famously in the third book of *Stil*. In her first appearance, the poet repeats her flying ability, *ocior excusso per nubila sidere tendit*, ‘she moves swifter through the clouds than a fallen star,’ with a continued emphasis on the length of her journey, across the Apennines and Etruria.⁵¹⁵ Her martial appearance is still emphasised:

*constitit ante duces tetrica nec Pallade vultum
deterior nec Marte minor. tremit orbe corusco
iam domus et summae tangunt laquearia cristae. (Stil. 2.275-7)⁵¹⁶*

‘She stood in front of the leader, no worse in appearance than gloomy Pallas, nor worse than Mars. Now the palace trembles at her shining shield and the tops of her plumes touch the paneled ceiling.’

The remainder of the poem is then an account of the opposing belief that Mary should be portrayed as *Theotokos*, with a final attempt to square the circle on Easter Day. I would therefore argue that the portrait of Roma as a welcoming figure does owe a debt to the Christian portrait of Mary.

⁵¹⁴ *Aen.* 4.700-2.

⁵¹⁵ *Stil.* 2.272. Claudian is clearly looking back to Athena’s similar arrival in *Il.* 4.78.

⁵¹⁶ *Stil.* 2.275-7.

In the final poem that has survived, *VI Hon.*, there is no physical description of the goddess but an emphasis on her divine powers.⁵¹⁷ Her image has been subsumed by Claudian's portrait of the city: she no longer is an avatar for Rome but an embodiment both physical, represented by the glorious refurbishments that Honorius had effected, and spiritual, as she defines a vision of Roman rule that is far more gentle than that described in Jupiter's promise to Venus in the *Aeneid*.⁵¹⁸

Claudian in individual similes has demonstrated that he was a keen observer of the physical world.⁵¹⁹

It is clear that the city of Rome was at a zenith of prosperity when Claudian was writing and its physical features are an embodiment of Roma. As Michael Roberts has suggested, 'Roma is metonymically a cluster of physical features, walls, hills.'⁵²⁰ In *VI Hon.* he first describes what Roma, the emperor and his audience would have seen as they looked over the Capitol,

*iuvat infra tecta Tonantis
cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantas
caelatasque fores mediisque volantia signa...
spoliisque micantes
innumeros arcus. acies stupet igne metalli
et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.* (VI Hon. 43-6, 50-2)⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ *VI Hon.* 359-83.

⁵¹⁸ *Aen.* 1.278-96.

⁵¹⁹ His picture of the ostrich (*Eutr.* 2.310-6) is especially vivid.

⁵²⁰ Roberts 2001, 535.

⁵²¹ *VI Hon.* 43-6, 50-2.

‘ It is a pleasure to see below the dwelling of Jupiter Tonans the Giants hanging from the Tarpeian crag and the engraved doors and the standards waving in the midst of the breeze and thick with temples crowding the sky... and the innumerable triumphal arches gleaming with spoils. One’s eyes are stunned by the blaze of metal and, trembling, are overcome by the surrounding gold.’

It was the current magnificence of Rome, embodied by its buildings, especially the temples with their golden roofs and the triumphal arches, two of which were built in the reign of Honorius, as well as the rebuilt walls that made it a proper capital. From Virgil onwards, *moenia*, the walls of the city, had been a defining feature, in a way Rome’s essence,⁵²² and now the city had been completely rewalled. It is this recreation of the walls (a doubling of the height to 15 metres, the towers refurbished and the gates enlarged) that justified Claudian’s demand that Rome should be considered the proper capital of the whole empire.⁵²³ Describing the Honorian rebuilding,⁵²⁴ he writes

addebant pulchrum nova moenia vultum...
erexit subitas turres cunctosque coegit
*septem continuo colles iuvenescere muro.*⁵²⁵

⁵²² *Aen.* 1.7, ‘*altae moenia Romae.*’

⁵²³ Dey 2011, 34, 36; elsewhere I argue that this reconstruction was only affordable because of the influx of Spanish gold (Solly 2019, 49), contradicting Cameron (1970, 365).

⁵²⁴ Dey 2011, 13 is convincing that the rebuilding took place in the reign of Honorius and not that of Maxentius.

⁵²⁵ *VI Hon.* 531, 535-6.

‘The new walls added a beautiful appearance, he (Honorius) had erected quickly-built towers and made all seven hills young with an unbroken wall.’

His purpose, under-estimated by later scholars, is to display Honorius’ achievement in rebuilding the Aurelian Walls, in particular by the use of the words *continuo* and *iuvenescere*, both carefully chosen. The existing walls had not included the entire city.⁵²⁶ It is, however, the emphasis as Claudian earlier compares the population of Rome to a blushing bride under the care of her mother, Roma.⁵²⁷ The city, he is suggesting, had changed, and much for the better, and was a suitable capital. Roma no longer had to be seen as a warrior defending her city but, as both *mater* and *genetrix*, the proper ruler of the world.

It is the rebuilding of the walls, which took place in 401-3, after Stilicho’s consulship, that provide further justification for the poet’s argument that Rome is the right home for the rulers of the world, as he wrote *non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis/ esse Larem*.⁵²⁸ ‘Certainly, no other place should be home for the rulers of the world.’ He has reworked his language from the earlier poem, where he wrote,

⁵²⁶ The Aurelian Walls, begun in 271 and completed under Probus in 275 (Zosimus 1. 49), were intended to enclose the most vulnerable parts of the city, according to Richmond 1930, 9-10, basically as much as possible of the fourteen regions into which Augustus had divided the city including the seven hills. The Aurelian Walls were not a complete circuit of the city, which totaled twenty-one miles: the *Vita Aureliani* (39) reads ‘*muros Urbis Romae sic amplivit ut quinquaginta prope milia murorum eius ambitu teneret*’, which Fisher suggests (1929, 133-4) should read cubits, approximately fifteen miles. ‘He enlarged the walls of the city of Rome so that it held nearly fifty miles(?) of walls in its circuit.’

⁵²⁷ *VI Hon.* 523-31.

⁵²⁸ *VI Hon.* 39-40.

*septem circumspice montes,
qui solis radios auri fulgore lacessunt,
indutosque arcus spoliis aequataque templa
nubibus et quidquid tanti struxere triumpho.
Quanta profueris, quantam servaveris urbem,
attonitis metire oculis.*⁵²⁹

‘Look around at the seven hills, which challenge the sun’s rays with the brightness of gold, the arches clad in spoils, the temples level with the clouds, and all that so many triumphs have built. Measure with astonished eyes how great a city you have helped, how great a city you have rescued.’

The poet then moves to give eloquent expression to his view of Rome. His encomium has been hailed since antiquity and justly admired as an eloquent expression of its author’s love and admiration for the city (*Laudes Romae* (*Stil.* 3.130-173)). It has also been dismissed as a typical example of an encomium, produced to order by a professional poet in accordance with rules formulated by Menander Rhetor. Claudian has adhered to such guidelines, which unsurprisingly include those elements that distinguish any great city. It should also be noted, although to judge by the references to titles in the *Suda* and elsewhere, encomia of cities were written as separate, stand-alone works⁵³⁰, only two such examples survive, Aelius Aristides’ *Roman Oration*, written in Greek in the second century and often regarded as a principal source for many of the themes that are found in the *Laudes Romae*, and Libanius’ *Antiochikos*, in Praise of Antioch.

It is in her treatment of the conquered that Claudian’s Rome shows an extraordinary humanity,

⁵²⁹ *Stil.* 3.65–70.

⁵³⁰ Cameron 2016, 21-2, 32.

*haec est in gremium victos quae sola recepit
humanumque genus communi nomine fovit
matris, non dominae ritu, civesque vocavit.*⁵³¹

‘This is she who alone who has received the conquered in her lap and has cherished the human race with a common name, in the manner of a mother not an empress, and has called them citizens.’

Roma has accepted a wide universe into her embrace. Aristides asserts by contrast that it is only the better part that enjoys the full benefits of Roman rule,

διελόντες γὰρ δύο μέρη πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς- τοῦτο δ’ εἰπὼν ἅπασαν
εἴρηκα τὴν οἴκουμένην- τὸ μὲν χαριέστερόν τε καὶ γενναιότερον καὶ
δυνατώτερον πανταχοῦ πολιτικὸν ἢ καὶ ὁμόφυλον πᾶν ἀπεδώκατε, τὸ δὲ
λοιπὸν ὑπήκοόν τε καὶ ἀρχόμενον.⁵³²

‘Dividing into two parts all those in the empire—saying this, I mean the whole inhabited world—you have accepted the better and nobler and more powerful everywhere as a citizen and even as a kinsman, but the rest you accept are to be ruled.’

The whole world has been pacified, signs that the peace necessary for the recreation of the golden age has come to pass. One specific sign that Claudian emphasises, as did Aristides, was the freedom to travel, to Claudian even as fun, *quod cernere*

⁵³¹ *Stil.* 3.150-2. Roberts (2001, 556-7) notes how Prudentius takes over this metaphor to describe the basilica embracing its worshippers, *maternum pandens gremium quo condat alumnus/ ac foveat fetos ad cumulata sinus* (*Perist.* 11.529-30).

⁵³² *Rom. Or.* 59.

Thylen lusus et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus, 'because it is a game to see Thule and to penetrate regions we once shuddered at,' whereas the former is more businesslike: ἔξεστι καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ ... βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται ῥαδίως ἀτεχνῶς, 'it is possible for both Greek and barbarian to travel easily and simply,' allowing travel through the Cilician Gates and the sands of Arabia.⁵³³

Claudian was courting a similar controversy, in particular through his introduction of the theme of the uniqueness of Roman law, and its special protection of the oppressed, which he emphasises as a Roman, and not an Athenian, virtue; Libanius by contrast claimed that this virtue, the provision of refuge to outsiders, was inherited by the Athenian-born inhabitants of Antioch.⁵³⁴ Rutilius Namatianus similarly extols Roman law, writing *offers victis proprii consortia iuris* 'You offer to the conquered a share in your own law.'⁵³⁵

Roma, through her speeches, was a vehicle that allowed the poet and, perhaps Stilicho, to deliver political comment. She delivers five speeches, all of which are essentially *supplicationes*.⁵³⁶ The first is delivered to Theodosius, purportedly as he is resting after his victory at the Frigidus, to request that the young sons of Probus be made consuls.⁵³⁷ She declares them to be superior to the greatest families of the Republic, the Decii, Metelli, Scipios, and the Camilli, only to be told that her request was unnecessary, as the emperor had already decided on

⁵³³ *Stil.* 3.156-7; *Rom. Or.* 100.

⁵³⁴ *Ant.* 164. It is much more than the 'repository of tradition' that Long calls it (1996, 210).

⁵³⁵ *De reditu suo* 1.65.

⁵³⁶ One to a god, Jupiter (*Gild.* 17-127), and four to humans, Theodosius (*Olybr.* 136-63), Honorius and Stilicho (*Eutr.* 1.391-513), Stilicho (*Stil.* 2.279-407), and to Honorius (*Hon. VI.* 361-425).

⁵³⁷ *Olybr.* 136-63.

their appointment. Theodosius' motive in appointing the two young men, possibly twins, as consuls is unknown; what was most remarkable about the family of the Anicii, besides its wealth, was its ready acceptance of Christianity.⁵³⁸ It is therefore possible that a signal was being sent to the pagan members of the Senate.⁵³⁹ It is notable that there is no nonsense about any role for the electorate, a contrast to the emphasis that Claudian places on the election of Honorius to the consulate of 404.⁵⁴⁰

Roma's second speech⁵⁴¹ is addressed to Jupiter, as she requests his assistance against Gildo, who, in a perhaps desperate bid to protect his family and his estates from the depredations of the western senatorial elite, had transferred his allegiance to Arcadius.⁵⁴² Her speech has a double purpose, to remind Honorius, resident in Milan, of his responsibilities to the city of Rome, and to warn the Senate that their unwillingness to fund or supply troops would put their own fortunes in jeopardy. Her portrait is dramatic, as is her speech in which she laments her present feeble state, but the suggestion that she would prefer to return to the earliest boundaries of the city also carries a warning to the Senate. Any shrinkage of the empire would immediately, and above all, affect the Senate: a cudgel, but it enabled

⁵³⁸ The speed of the christianisation of the Roman Senate remains a subject of dispute but Brown (2012, 286-7) shows the advent of such a wealthy and aristocratic family as the Anicii changed the face of Christianity in Rome, even as he admits that a lot of the administration remained only nominally Christian (op. cit. 381).

⁵³⁹ Cameron 1970, 32.

⁵⁴⁰ *VI Hon.* 5-10.

⁵⁴¹ *Gild.* 27-127.

⁵⁴² See discussion of Gildo's objectives in a later chapter. The size of his holdings is shown by the appointment of a special commission to handle their disposal. Lepelley 1967, 140 calculated the imperial *res privata* controlled a sixth of the cultivatable land in two provinces, Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, in 422.

Stilicho to force through the Senate a decree whereby the body voted in favour of the war. The speech is certainly political in intent.

In her third speech, Roma addresses both Honorius and Stilicho, entreating their help against Eutropius.⁵⁴³ She begs Honorius not to recognise Eutropius as consul and, much more briefly, Stilicho to overthrow him; no war would be necessary. It has been suggested, by both Cameron and Long,⁵⁴⁴ that Claudian was trying to show to his audience the superiority of the western over the eastern empire. Certainly, Roma harks back to the glories of republican not imperial Rome. The final two speeches are addressed to Stilicho and Honorius respectively.⁵⁴⁵ In both, she upbraids them for their reluctance to take up the consulship, which they have too often refused. Here, I think his targeted audience is not the Senate, many of whose members to judge from Symmachus's letters had substantial estates outside Rome and spent little time in the city. It is rather the two rulers to whom his portrayal of a renewed Rome demonstrated that it was the proper capital of empire.

Two other goddesses, Cybele⁵⁴⁶ and Aurora are prominent in Claudian's oeuvre both as symbols of the East and as a contrast to Roma. Cybele is first seen in the second book of *Eutr.* where she is seated on Mount Ida, watching her devotees dance and play the drums. Claudian continues:

*aurea sanctarum decus inmortale comarum
defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus
vertice crinalis violatur pulvere murus.* (Eutr. 2.282-4)⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ *Eutr.* 1.391- 513.

⁵⁴⁴ Cameron 1970, 145 and Long 1996, 238.

⁵⁴⁵ *Gild.* 330-78.

⁵⁴⁶ Kelly 2012, 258-9 makes clear the different roles of the two deities.

⁵⁴⁷ *Eutr.* 2.282-4.

‘ The golden tower, the immortal glory of her sacred locks rolled down from her head and the wall, made from her hair, is defiled by dirt.’

Following the dreadful portent, she recounts the prophesy of her decline, so moving that her lions weep, *lacrimis torvi maduere leones*.⁵⁴⁸ Aurora’s plight is no better.

The two figures, Aurora and Cybele, had different roles, the first chosen for her youth to represent the East, and the second for her age to symbolise the new city, where her traditional portrait became the model for its *Tyche*. Each is used by Claudian to develop further his creation of Roma. It is appropriate to look first at the role of the older figure, Cybele, who represents both an older east, made clear by the fact that her lament was delivered from Phrygia but in her new role as *Tyche* of Constantinople. She makes clear the depths to which the East as a whole but in particular Constantinople had fallen and to demonstrate why it was only Stilicho who could save the empire. The poet’s distaste for the inhabitants of the city has often been noted. By contrast, Aurora serves as the representative of the wider East. Her name does however suggest a perpetual youthfulness, suggesting that she was much junior to Roma.

Cybele was always turreted and her image was taken over by numerous cities in the east as the model for their *Tychai*.⁵⁴⁹ Most notably, Constantine, as Zosimus recorded, in an account probably derived from Eunapius, built two temples, one where he erected a statue of the *Tyche* of Rome and, in the other, a statue of Rhea, taken from Cyzicus.⁵⁵⁰ It seems very likely that this was a statue of Cybele,⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ *Eutr.* 2.602, surely one of the most poignant lines in the whole of Latin literature.

⁵⁴⁹ Lenski 2015, 336.

⁵⁵⁰ Zosimus 2.31.2-3.

⁵⁵¹ Ramskold and Lenski 2012, 44-5.

suggesting that she had a special place in the new city; but the goddess has a broader role as well.

Cybele is quite unable to handle the impending catastrophe, so much so that as she turns her drums to mourning and Attis fills the land with cries of grief, her tawny lions grow wet from their tears. I suspect that Claudian is alluding to the fact that Cybele's lions were removed from the portraits of the *Tyche* of Constantinopolis as Zosimus described.⁵⁵² Constantine was consciously reducing the goddess as she became the *Tyche* of his new city by his removal of the symbols of her power. It should be remembered that, although the cult of Magna Mater was first introduced to Rome in 204 BCE, it was always controversial, her devotees viewed with mistrust and often subject to restrictions from the time of Augustus, as both overly eastern and effeminate. It seems very likely that this was a statue of Cybele⁵⁵³ suggesting that she had a special place in the new city, but the goddess has a broader role as well. In the second book of *Eutr.* she is seated on Mount Ida, where the poet may be looking back to Eutychides' statue of the *Tyche* of Antioch,⁵⁵⁴ and bemoans the fate that is going to befall Phrygia, *iamque vale Phrygiae tellus perituraque flammis/moenia*.⁵⁵⁵ ('And now farewell, land of Phrygia and the city-walls, about to fall in flames.') What is notable is that, although her mural crown has fallen from her head,

⁵⁵² Zosimus 2.31.3.

⁵⁵³ Ramskold and Lenski 2012, 44-5.

⁵⁵⁴ Eutychides created a colossal sculpture of the *Tyche* of Antioch for the new city shortly after 300 BCE. It was frequently copied; there is a fine example of it as a statuette, datable to the second century CE in the Getty Museum, Object Number 96. AB. 196. The goddess is heavily wrapped, in a voluminous robe, but one sandal (platform shoe?) is visible. It is a very different portrait of the goddess from another *Tyche* to be found in the same museum (96. AA. 49), where she is standing. Both are turreted and with no bare breast.

⁵⁵⁵ *Eutr.* 2.296-7.

she does not suffer the same sort of physical decline that Roma did when afflicted by Gildo, suggesting Roma's continuing status as a lesser god. Claudian's detailed description of the goddess's headgear is evidence that he chose carefully to differentiate Roma from her eastern counterpart as he wrote,

*aurea sanctarum decus inmortale comarum
defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus
vertice crinalis violatur pulvere murus.*⁵⁵⁶

'The golden tower, the immortal glory of her sacred locks, slid off her hair and rolling from the top of her head, the wall made of her hair is fouled by the dirt.'

Aurora, although widely accepted as a goddess, is remarkable in that she was rarely worshipped, and perhaps with only a single temple.⁵⁵⁷ Ovid wrote, recording her own remarks, *nam mihi sunt totum rarissima templa per orbem*, 'for I have the fewest temples in the whole world,' although she insists that she is still a god, even if not worshipped.⁵⁵⁸ Her lack of temples suggests that Claudian and his literary audience, well aware of Ovid's comments that she still claims to be a proper goddess although rarely worshipped, would have seen the contrast between her and Roma, to whom numerous temples had been dedicated since the time of Augustus. Whether representative of Constantinople or the whole of the East, she was not in the same league as Roma.

⁵⁵⁶ *Eutr.* 2.282-4.

⁵⁵⁷ Noted by Levene 2012, 56. His suggestion that she had no temples may be wrong: Ovid's *rarissima* is more appropriate if there was only one temple, perhaps the one in Rome rebuilt in 396 BCE, also titled *Mater Matura*. If it was ignored by Augustus in his programme of restoration, this neglect would support strengthen both Ovid's sarcasm and Claudian's portrait of Aurora as a rather junior deity.

⁵⁵⁸ *Met.* 13.588.

A difference in status is clear in that both Aurora and Cybele beg to be rescued by a human agent, Stilicho, whereas Roma is immediately restored to her former glories by Jupiter, the king of the gods.

The success of Claudian's refashioning of Roma is made clear by his successors Rutilius Namatianus, Merobaudes, Sidonius Apollinaris and Corippus. They will make specific choices and it is clear that the images of the earlier poet remained a driving force. An additional factor must have been the state of Rome. Even to Rutilius, writing soon after the Gothic sack, it is a city that will rise again from its troubles, as he describes Roma as a welcoming force and as the embodiment of the city. Merobaudes, Sidonius and Corippus are naturally less confident but do take over much of Claudian's imagery of the goddess wholesale.

Rutilius is careful to correct Claudian's description of Roma's appearance: she is turreted, as he writes

*erige crinales lauros seniumque sacra
verticis in virides, Roma, refinge comas,
aurea turrigero radiant diademata cono
perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat!* (De reditu suo 115-8)⁵⁵⁹

'Lift up your laurels worn in the hair, Roma, and refashion the age of your sacred head into young locks. Let golden diadems shine from your turreted helmet and let your golden shield shoot out perpetual fires.'

In particular, he is highlighting the theme of the rejuvenation of Rome after the sack of 410; he goes on to emphasise that Rome has always recovered and remains

⁵⁵⁹ *De reditu suo* 115-8. Roberts (2001, 540) notes Rutilius' intentional ambiguities.

immortal, both themes in Claudian's *Laudes Romae*. It is clear that passage was a major influence on Rutilius' portrait of Roma, as he proclaims the city's beauty: *exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi*, 'listen, most beautiful queen of your world.'⁵⁶⁰ He also declares that Roma is a supreme god, describing her as *genetrix hominum genetrixque deorum*, 'mother and creator of men and mother-creator of gods.'⁵⁶¹ He continues by echoing some of the themes introduced by Claudian, in particular her creation of a single people,⁵⁶² as well as reiterating the benefits of Roman rule and law. He adds a summary that contrasts Rome with earlier empires, following on from Claudian.⁵⁶³ In the light of the poet's virulent denunciations of both Jews and Christian monks, it is almost certain that he was a committed pagan.⁵⁶⁴ To that end, his wholehearted adoption of Claudian's imagery would suggest that Roma could be seen not just as a literary creation or personification, but a full goddess.

The fragmentary state of Merobaudes limits our ability to define his debts to Claudian but four lines suggest that his image of a bare-breasted Roma continued to be influential. He wrote,

⁵⁶⁰ *De reditu suo* 1.47.

⁵⁶¹ *De reditu suo* 1.49. Here, I would argue that *genetrix* carries more weight in both Claudian and Rutilius than can be translated by 'mother.'

⁵⁶² *De reditu suo* 1.63. Compare *Stil.* 3.151-2, *humanumque genus communi nomine fovit/ matris, non dominae ritu civesque vocavit/ quos domuit*. 'She has cherished the human race with a common name in the manner of a mother, not a mistress, and has called those who she has tamed citizens.'

⁵⁶³ *De reditu suo* 1.83-6. Compare *Stil.* 3.160-6.

⁵⁶⁴ Even Cameron 2011, 217-8 reluctantly admits his paganism, although he argues that the eulogy of Rome would not have been objectionable to Christians. His distinction between an attack on Christianity and one on monks is special pleading (*op. cit.* 212, discussing *De reditu suo* 1.517-26).

exceptit gremio micante Roma;
et nudi lateris recincta vestem,
quae bellis procul omnibus patebat,
nutricem tibi praebuit papillam. (*Carm.* 4.50-3)⁵⁶⁵

, ‘Rome received you with throbbing bosom; her dress was loose, laying bare her side, and she gave to you her nourishing teat, which was exposed and visible from afar in every war.’

The picture is striking and would seem to owe a debt to Claudian but it is the similarity of the inscriptions on the honorary statues awarded to the two poets that suggests that Merobaudes was seen as an heir of the former.

Sidonius Apollinaris’ debts to Claudian are well-known; he has carefully adapted two elements, the appearance of Roma and her role in delivering speeches.⁵⁶⁶ Roma appears in each of the three panegyrics in a brief description.⁵⁶⁷ It is clear he adopted Claudian’s imagery enthusiastically, whether it was the broken-down Roma taken from *Gild.* although she is helmetless, her hair covered in dust, rather than Claudian’s picture of a gray-haired old woman;⁵⁶⁸ but the portraits in the two later poems are more elaborate. In the panegyric on Anthemius, Roma is described both turreted and helmeted and with one breast bared,

*sederat exserto bellatrix pectore Roma,
cristatum turrita caput, cui pone capaci*

⁵⁶⁵ *Carm.* 4.50-3. Clover’s translation (1971, 11) is irresistible..

⁵⁶⁶ Gibbon and Kelly provide nice starting and end points (Gibbon (ed. Bury) Vol. 2, Chapter 36, note 41 (1995, 1125), Kelly 2013, 180).

⁵⁶⁷ 2.391-404, 5.13-31, and 7.45-9.

⁵⁶⁸ 7.47-8.

casside prolapsus perfundit terga capillus.

(7.13-5)⁵⁶⁹

‘Rome, the warrior-goddess was sitting with one breast exposed, her plumed head was turreted; behind her, hair, escaping from her large helmet flowed down her back.’

She is both terrible and beautiful to look at but it is her weapons that are described in great detail, the shield recalling that of Roma in *Olybr.* With pictures of the she-wolf etc., but with additions of Rhea and Ilia, and her spear gets special mention, *ebria caede virum*, ‘drunk with the slaughter of men.’⁵⁷⁰ The portrait is very similar but Roma is now a very different figure, an active participant in battle who is a murderous killer. Clearly at one level, Sidonius is subsuming the imagery used by his predecessor, but also trying to surpass it. An intriguing question is why a (future) Christian bishop should exalt a blood-thirsty killer. In his last panegyric, Sidonius appears to have also taken advantage of the image of Roma on the Column of Antoninus Pius, although she is both helmeted and turreted, *inclusae latuerunt casside turres*, ‘the enclosed towers were hidden by the helmet.’⁵⁷¹ This was not a feature of the column but Sidonius’ detailed description of her footwear suggests that he was also attempting to describe the same image as Claudian, making a learned correction of the two traditions of Roma, one where she wears a helmet, and the second where she is shown with a mural crown, combining the two traditions by putting the towers within the helmet.⁵⁷²

It is intriguing that the much later Corippus will take over Claudian’s imagery, writing after 565,

⁵⁶⁹ 7.13-5.

⁵⁷⁰ 5.52.

⁵⁷¹ 2.302.

⁵⁷² 7.13-5.

*addidit antiquam tendentem bracchia Romam
exsert et nudam gestantem pectore mammam
altricem imperii libertatisque parentem.*⁵⁷³

‘He added old Roma, stretching out her arms and showing a bare teat from her exposed breast, nourisher of empire and parent of freedom.’

Written many years after the fall of the empire in the West, these lines show the enduring strength of Claudian’s imagery of Roma

A major factor in his depiction of Roma was her role as a figure acceptable to both Christians and pagans in his audience. Her role as an active intercessor was intended to create a figure that was able to react with the pagan gods and contemporary emperors, and at the same time could be viewed as the embodiment of both Rome’s pagan past and its Christian present. This would not be feasible for a figure that remained passive, as Cameron and Long suggest.⁵⁷⁴ I tentatively suggest that Claudian as he expanded his poetic horizons and moved his portrayal from a warrior to a mother figure in the *Laudes Romae* of *Stil.* 3, her image has possible Christian underpinnings.

Roma served as a bridge between the pagan background of epic and his predominantly Christian audience. It was an avenue to make his poetry properly epic: in the latter genre, the gods and goddesses were active participants in the Trojan war and during Odysseus’s return and Aeneas’s search for Rome. In Claudian’s poems Roma is at a remove from the action, a divine figure addressing both gods and mortals. Roma, largely his own creation, was from the first given

⁵⁷³ *Laudibus Iustini* 1.288-90. Noted by Grig and Kelly 28, 2012b.

⁵⁷⁴ Long 1996, 210.

divine attributes and appurtenances, especially those of Minerva, and but her role, over the course of his oeuvre, changed as she became a figure that almost matched Jupiter.

The similarity between the portraits of Roma in Symmachus and Prudentius, when the former was ostentatiously pagan and Prudentius very Christian, suggest a shared sensibility among all its inhabitants that Claudian was able to exploit. Roma, symbol of both city and empire, was viewed as immortal/eternal, somehow different from other cities and empires. Her image permeates his oeuvre: the Roman warrior in *Olybr.* and the maternal goddess in *VI Hon.* are drawn from the same cloth, even as both portraits are adapted to the particular circumstances of each emperor. Theodosius, as a successful victor in battle, is able to treat Roma as an equal. Honorius' route is more tenuous as he never fought in actual battle, which may explain the long route that he takes in his entry to Rome. Claudian notably emphasises the halt at Clitumnus, famous for its white sacrificial bulls, surely to demonstrate the young man deserved a triumph.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁵ It is intriguing that Addison wrote, perhaps in 1704, that the oxen of Clitumnus were still 'of a whitish colour.' (1757, 95-6).

Chapter 7: Claudian's Treatment of Heroes and Villains in his Epics

1. Introduction

The ancient epic that has survived is remarkable for its moral complexity, in particular in the poets' treatment of both heroes and villains. Few of the heroes of the *Iliad* are without flaws and no human character in either of the two Homeric poems is wholly evil. Even the two leaders of the suitors in the *Odyssey*, Antinous and Eurymachus, have some good qualities, the latter being noted for the generosity of his gifts to Penelope.⁵⁷⁶ Polyphemus the Cyclops is portrayed as heartless and cruel but his address to his ram shows him in a more sympathetic light.⁵⁷⁷ Jason in the *Argonautica* is more remarkable for his dependence on divine and human aid than for his heroism. Both the first and last appearances of Aeneas in the *Aeneid* are morally equivocal; in the first he is unmanned by fear whilst Virgil makes no attempt to disguise the savagery of his execution of Turnus. Mezentius, *contemptor divom*, is notable for his impiety and his atrocities against his former subjects, in particular torture, but he is also driven by his love for his son.⁵⁷⁸ He had also been able to find comfort from his horse just as Polyphemus' relationship with his animals was a sign of virtue: as Virgil wrote, *Hoc decus illi, / hoc solamen erat*.⁵⁷⁹ It is notorious that there are no heroes in Lucan's *Bellum civile*: even Cato, in spite of his moral superiority, is a conflicted figure whose death is ultimately meaningless. In the *Punica*, Silius Italicus portrays both Hannibal and his wife as thoroughly decent, save for the former's behaviour following the capture of Capua. It is very different in Claudian's epics: the heroes are uniformly and unbelievably good, the villains unspeakably bad.

⁵⁷⁶ Yamagata 2014b, 51-2.

⁵⁷⁷ *Od.* 9.447-60.

⁵⁷⁸ *Aen.* 7.645, 8.485-8.

⁵⁷⁹ *Aen.* 8.858-9.

It is therefore tempting to suggest that the poet was following the rules of a type of traditional epic, especially as Virgil hints at the possibility of such a panegyric epic in the proem in the third book of the *Georgics*.⁵⁸⁰ The poem outlined would be concerned with the deeds and ambitions of contemporary figures, with appropriate praise and blame. Though of course not taken further by Virgil, Horace's *Odes* give us some idea of what such an epic might have included: praise to the skies for the victories of Augustus and his generals, savage attacks on those opponents who could be vilified as enemies of Rome and grandiose forecasts for the conquest of the entire world. The victory at Actium is explicitly compared to and identified with a *gigantomachia*.⁵⁸¹ This is of course grist to Claudian's mill, especially the last theme. This supposition of a traditional form of epic is rather nebulous and perhaps should be considered a straw man, existing only in theory to provide stereotyped limits that the poets could both observe and transgress.⁵⁸²

Claudian opens his poem *Ruf.* with a discussion of why evil exists in the world given the belief in supposedly benevolent gods. With the words *saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,/ curarent superi terras an nullus inesset/ rector*, he shows his awareness of the need to address why, if Rome was under the special protection of the gods, were both the city and the empire facing such dreadful threats.⁵⁸³ His response, as he developed it over the twelve poems that form the *corpus maius*, is both an acceptance of and a challenge to his predecessors in epic. His heroes are especially secular, not only able to recognise a divinity at sight, as Theodosius is when addressed by Roma in the panegyric *Olybr.* declaring 'o numen

⁵⁸⁰ *Georg.* 3.10-36.

⁵⁸¹ *Carm* 3.4.

⁵⁸² Hinds 1989, 269, Feeney 1991, 320.

⁵⁸³ *Ruf.* 1.1-3. 'This question has often put my mind in doubt, whether the gods care for the world or there is no ruler.'

amicum’, but to disregard both their advice and their aid.⁵⁸⁴ The contrast to the usual lack of awareness of the presence of a god on the part of the heroes in both Homer and Virgil is intentional, especially as Claudian makes it clear that neither Stilicho nor Theodosius needed to rely on divine aid, a contrast not only to the figures in epic but historical predecessors such as Marcus Aurelius.⁵⁸⁵ Enemies of the empire were a different and perhaps more difficult problem for the poet, especially as panegyric requires by its very nature a magnification of the strengths of the opponents of the subject of praise. Here Claudian may rely on the inheritance of putative Pergamene epic, as he suggests how they were both the creations and the creatures of the powers of evil. It is appropriate to develop the two themes in sequence.

2. Stilicho as general/ strategist and as hero

There are old generals, there are bold generals, but there are no old, bold generals is a truism of military lore but one that Claudian tried to disprove in his praise of Stilicho. The poet portrayed the general as both an exemplar of the heroic traditions of epic and as a skilled strategist. Epic was by definition the account of the deeds of heroes, often including their deaths, usually as they performed gloriously on the battlefield; they are good looking, even if subject to human weaknesses (Hercules’ the most notorious), and little concerned with planning/ strategy on the larger scale. It was a proper subject for a human audience, as poets were able to describe human achievements on the greatest possible stage. Here I draw a distinction with supernatural conflicts such as *gigantomachiae* that are meta-epics, suitable for divine or heroic audiences; Valerius Flaccus noted Jupiter’s taste for

⁵⁸⁴ *Olybr.* 126.

⁵⁸⁵ *VI Hon.* 342-3.

them.⁵⁸⁶ Perhaps in deliberate engagement with his predecessor, Claudian's *gigantomachia* was delivered to Jupiter and the other Olympians.⁵⁸⁷

It is appropriate to look back to Homer's treatment of individual soldiers both as heroes and strategists, as Claudian made clear his debt and inheritance to his predecessor in the inscription on his honorary statue. In the *Iliad* most strategic decisions were disastrous, even when based on the advice of Nestor. Agamemnon's plan to test the loyalty of the Greek army almost resulted in a precipitate abandonment of the expedition to recover Helen.⁵⁸⁸ It is a dream from Zeus that led to the impulse to try a new strategy.⁵⁸⁹ Patroclus disobeys the strict orders from Achilles to limit his advance to driving the Trojans from the Greek ships, resulting in his death at the hands of Hector.⁵⁹⁰ In turn the latter feels compelled to fight Achilles lest he has to face the Trojan people and admit his error in advancing to the ships.⁵⁹¹ Of course the two blunders are made up for by tragic and semi-glorious deaths.

Aeneas in the *Aeneid* is not much better, uttering the words *arma amens capio*, as he looked for death in Troy's final hours.⁵⁹² It is a long and laborious process that takes him to the site of Rome, with many missteps along the way in spite of the guidance he is given, both divine and by Anchises. Even his handling of the Trojan invasion of Latium could be criticised; certainly his decision to entrust command to Ascanius was rash, as the latter approved the raid of Nisus and

⁵⁸⁶ *Arg.* 5.692-3, although Feeney 1991, 328 rather overstates his appetite.

⁵⁸⁷ *VI Hon. praef.* 14-8.

⁵⁸⁸ *Il.* 2.73-5, 155-6.

⁵⁸⁹ *Il.* 2.5-10.

⁵⁹⁰ *Il.* 16.87-90.

⁵⁹¹ *Il.* 22.106-110.

⁵⁹² *Aen.* 2.314.

Euryalus that turned into a fiasco: *multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae/ omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant.*⁵⁹³

2.1 Stilicho as hero

The epic hero was good-looking, strong, a skilled swordsman in battle, able to perform prodigies of valour and to endure the harshest rigours of both heat and cold. Homer made it clear that Achilles was the best looking of all the Greeks at Troy, as he wrote Νιρέυς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε/ τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.⁵⁹⁴ Typically he is also a skilled huntsman, unafraid to pursue the most ferocious quarry, and attractive to the opposite sex. Claudian's Stilicho meets and indeed exceeds all these criteria.⁵⁹⁵ It is his portrayal as a paragon that distinguishes him from the heroes of earlier epic, partly a result of the traditions of panegyric, but also, if we accept the concept of typology, he is seen as the fulfillment of the types of hero portrayed in earlier epic. Claudian writes after listing the achievements of Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio,

*unus in hoc Stilicho diversis artibus hoste
tris potuit complere duces fregitque furem
cunctando vicitque manu victumque relegat.*⁵⁹⁶

The poet makes this quite clear in the beginning of his long poem in praise of Stilicho's consulship, stating that no human has lived without flaw, *numquam*

⁵⁹³ *Aen.* 9.312-3.

⁵⁹⁴ *Il.* 2.673-4.

⁵⁹⁵ Nathan 2015, 19. He cites the description of Pompeius in Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia* 29 as a forerunner.

⁵⁹⁶ *Get.* 142-4.

*sincera bonorum/ sors ulli concessa viro.*⁵⁹⁷ Stilicho alone receives all the blessings that come to others singly or scattered. By contrast many of the heroes of earlier epic are more notorious for their flaws, notably Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad* and Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. Homer makes it clear that Agamemnon is motivated in part by pettiness in both his demand for Briseis and his refusal to give her up.⁵⁹⁸ Zeus is outraged by Achilles' treatment of the corpse of Hector and makes sure that the body is returned for burial.⁵⁹⁹ In his first image of Aeneas, Virgil shows him unmanned by terror, *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*, as he wishes that he had died under the walls of Troy.⁶⁰⁰ In his last, he executes Turnus in a seething rage, *fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra*, a deliberate recall of Aeneas' first appearance.⁶⁰¹ Apollonius' portrayal of Jason is of a man singularly short of good qualities, his achievements dependent on Medea, whose love has been procured by divine intervention; even as a leader, he tends to vacillate and certainly shows fear. In historical epic, there is a similar absence of perfection, certainly in Lucan's *Bellum civile*, where none of the principal protagonists are free from grievous faults, Caesar, the most successful, least of all.⁶⁰²

Stilicho's earliest venture was as a participant in the embassy to Babylon that took place in 387, where his youth is emphasised, *vix primaevus eras*.⁶⁰³ On his arrival in Ctesiphon the leaders are astonished and the populace surround him.⁶⁰⁴

⁵⁹⁷ *Stil.* 1.25-26.

⁵⁹⁸ *Il.* 1.118-20.

⁵⁹⁹ *Il.* 24.112-6.

⁶⁰⁰ *Aen.* 1.92.

⁶⁰¹ *Aen.* 12.951.

⁶⁰² Bond 1932, 166-7.

⁶⁰³ *Stil.* 1.5.

⁶⁰⁴ Cameron 1970, 347 is surely correct in suggesting that the poet used Babylon for metrical reasons.

He is the heartthrob of the Persian girls as they admire his prowess in hunting lions and tigers; his hosts admire and admit his superiority with the bow and as a horseman.⁶⁰⁵ Even the king falls under his sway and initiates him into the secret rites of Mithras.⁶⁰⁶ Of course, it is impossible to prove the veracity of Claudian's account but it is certainly true that relations with the Sasanian empire were good for many decades. Procopius reported that Arcadius looked to the Persian King to adopt his son to protect him in his infancy, when the infant Theodosius II was still breast-feeding.⁶⁰⁷ It is possible that Stilicho maintained a special connection with the east.⁶⁰⁸

It is, however, his military prowess that is much more often Claudian's theme, whether as Theodosius' most valued comrade or as he fights on his own. The emperor hails him as a participant in all his battles in his purported words on his deathbed, *quid enim per proelia gessi/ te sine? Quem merui te non sudante triumphos?*, as he goes on to mention various campaigns in which the two fought

⁶⁰⁵ Possibly an unconscious echo of the Pompeian graffiti *suspirium puellarum* (CIL 4.4397), perhaps still a catchphrase, as Claudian wrote *Persides arcanum suspiravere calorem* (Stil. 1.57).

⁶⁰⁶ Stil. 1.53-68. Jerome (*Ep.* 107. 2) lists *Perses* as one of the seven ranks of initiates into Mithraism, providing support for the suggestion that Stilicho was initiated into the cult during the embassy. Gordon's description of Mithraic ritual (2017, 291-2) suggests that Claudian is surprisingly accurate in specific details.

⁶⁰⁷ *Persian War* 1.2.1.

⁶⁰⁸ Eunapius (*fr.* 74) records that some kind of triumphal celebration was held in Rome to mark a victory: the details given are cryptic, it was organised by Πέρσης ἑπαρχος ἐν Ἰώμῃ and consisted of a display of wooden panels portraying the hand of god appearing from the clouds. No convincing candidate has been suggested and it might be a reference to Stilicho.

alongside, *foedavimus... prostravimus... porreximus... sulcavimus*.⁶⁰⁹ Obviously comradeship is a feature of overwhelming importance in the *Iliad*, not only for Achilles and Patroclus, but Ajax and Teucer, Glaucus and Sarpedon; even Aeneas has an important companion in the *Aeneid*, as he is accompanied by Achates on their scouting trip on arrival in Africa, *ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate*.⁶¹⁰ Theodosius' apostrophe is, however, the only occasion where Claudian highlights Stilicho's role as a comrade-in-arms. It is his single-handed achievements that the poet prefers to describe.

In *Get.* just as Tiphys is the only person on board the Argo who is unafraid, *solus post numina Tiphys*, it is through Stilicho alone that the empire is saved, *per te namque unum*.⁶¹¹ The hardships of the campaign are endured by the general alone as he leaves Ravenna in a small boat (*parva puppe lacum praetervolat*), to scale the Alps in winter.⁶¹² His endurance is emphasised, to the amazement of the shepherd in whose hut he seeks shelter; the latter's wife points out the handsomeness of their unknown guest, *ignoto praeclarum nomine vultum*.⁶¹³ Indeed, the picture of the general on his horse in the Alps, *algentem pulsabat equum*, calls to mind Silius's Hannibal, perhaps with an equal lack of verisimilitude.

It is Honorius' description of a feat of the general that he thinks was unknown to the goddess Roma that emphasises Stilicho's superhuman qualities, as he relates how the general broke through Alaric's forces to reach him in Ravenna, *stricto praesternens obvia ferro/ barbara fulmineo secuit tentoria cursu*.⁶¹⁴ The

⁶⁰⁹ *III Hon.* 145-150.

⁶¹⁰ *Aen.* 3.12.

⁶¹¹ *Get.* 36.

⁶¹² *Get.* 321.

⁶¹³ *Get.* 357.

⁶¹⁴ *VI Hon.* 469-470.

emperor declares that this was a feat superior to that of Diomedes when he seized the horses of Rhesus for he had relied on the aid of Odysseus and the tricking of Dolon,⁶¹⁵ adding that the Thracian king's troops were overcome by drink. Alaric, by contrast, was conqueror not king of Thrace, his troops alert and on watch and Stilicho ventured alone, relying on no trickery. He continues by saying that it was absurd to compare the two deeds, *et Diomedeis tantum praeclarior ausis,/ quantum lux tenebris manifesta que proelia furtis!*⁶¹⁶

It is tempting to dismiss this praise, in particular the poet's stress on Stilicho acting alone, as part of a panegyrist's excess. Catherine Ware has noted that Claudian endows Theodorus with a similar singularity, in his case in philosophy, *uno se pectore cuncta vetustas/ condidit.*⁶¹⁷ It is perhaps, as she has suggested, a development of the doctrine of the hero as *unus homo* that Philip Hardie has elaborated as he cites how both Ennius and Virgil emphasise the uniqueness of Fabius Maximus, the former writing *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* and Virgil *tu Maximus ille es.*⁶¹⁸ Certainly a theme throughout Virgil is how Octavian/Augustus is the one man who has brought safety and peace to the world: notably at the end of the first book of the *Georgics* he writes, comparing the world to a chariot out of control, *hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo/ ne prohibete.*⁶¹⁹

Additionally, the tenets of Christianity may have influenced Claudian, in particular its doctrine of Christ as the unique saviour of the world. Certainly, in spite of his lack of acknowledgement of the religion, he was writing for a thoroughly Christian audience. His paganism was well known to his contemporaries, as Augustine describes him as *a Christi nomine alienus* and Orosius as *paganus*

⁶¹⁵ *Il.* 10.476-80.

⁶¹⁶ *VI Hon.* 479-480.

⁶¹⁷ *Theod.* 91-2 (Ware 2012, 203).

⁶¹⁸ Ennius *Ann.* 370, Virgil, *Aen.* 6.845 (Hardie 1993, 5).

⁶¹⁹ *Georg.* 1. 500-1.

pervicacissimus.⁶²⁰ He emphasises that it was Stilicho alone who could save the world, writing in his diatribe *Eutr.* as Aurora (Constantinople) begs for his aid, *iam sola renidet in Stilichone salus*.⁶²¹ She ends her prayer after stating that she does not wish to deprive Italy to say that Stilicho can preserve both parts of the empire, *clipeus nos protegat idem*. He ends the *Laus Romae* using the same image *protegis hanc clipeo patriam*.⁶²² Claudian may be rivaling Christian iconography of Christ as a shield but he does draw an explicit contrast between Stilicho who performed his exploits without divine aid, whether of a pagan or a Christian god, and other heroes. He writes, asserting that Stilicho is superior to both Achilles and Aeneas, in that he did not rely on divine armour, *nec Mulciber auctor/ mendacis clipei fabricataque vatibus arma/ conatus iuvere tuos*.⁶²³ Certainly both Augustine and Orosius felt the need to add a Christian component to Theodosius' defeat of Eugenius at the battle of the river Frigidus in 394, by the subtraction in their quotations from Claudian of a reference to Aeolus, *cui fundit ab antris/ Aeolus armatas hiemes*.⁶²⁴

2.2 Stilicho as general/strategist

It is appropriate to look at Stilicho's generalship in the three ways, namely his organisation of his armies and their discipline, his strategy, and his behaviour on the battlefield. The first is a major concern in the *Iliad* as the leaders, notably Agamemnon and Achilles, encourage or rebuke both their fellow leaders and their

⁶²⁰ Augustine *De civ. Dei* 5.26, Orosius *Historiae adversos paganos* 7.35.

⁶²¹ *Eutr.* 2.501-2

⁶²² *Eutr.* 2.601, *Stil.* 3.175. 'The same shield will protect us' and 'you protect this country with your shield.'

⁶²³ *Stil.* 1.104-6. 'Neither Vulcan the creator of the lying shield nor arms fabricated by poets helped your efforts.'

⁶²⁴ Augustine *De civ. Dei* 5.26, Orosius *Historiae adversos paganos* 7.35 and *III Hon.* 96-7.

troops.⁶²⁵ This is a role Stilicho undertakes regularly, for example as he rejects his own troops' pleas not to abandon the assault on Alaric or separate the two armies. As they say that they are willing to follow him to the ends of the earth, he dismisses them saying, *desistite, quaeso, atque avidam differte manum*.⁶²⁶ The preparations of the Senate and citizens to abandon Milan in the face of a threatened attack by Alaric provide much greater need for his encouragement. First, asking them to defend the walls, he promises to return with his army, *dum redeo lectum referens in classica robur*.⁶²⁷ His next move is to cajole successfully the allies who have abandoned Rome to return to their allegiance as the legions return to his standards, *nec minus accepto nostrae rumore cohortes/ (sic ducis urget amor) properantibus undique signis/ conveniunt*.⁶²⁸ He then, described as *vivida Martis imago*, addresses the troops before battle, first reminding them of their earlier successes in Greece and secondly warning them that not only were they about to wipe out earlier disgrace but they were protecting the heart of Italy: *patrem clipeis defendite Thybrim*.⁶²⁹ This is the common currency of epic, but what is unusual is the emphasis that Claudian places on Stilicho's creation of a well-disciplined army but one that he will show is also unique in its diversity.

Historians have frequently suggested that one reason for Stilicho's failure to eliminate Alaric was a lack of trained soldiers and officers, and it is certain that Theodosius was forced to rely heavily on his Gothic mercenaries in the aftermath of Adrianople. The losses in the battle were very high, two-thirds of the eastern field army, and it is probable that casualty rate amongst the long-serving, lower-ranking officers was especially so. Certainly contemporary writers, including Vegetius,

⁶²⁵ *Il.* 4.231-41.

⁶²⁶ *Ruf.* 2.247-8.

⁶²⁷ *Get.* 313. 'While I bring a chosen force to the trumpets.'

⁶²⁸ *Get.* 404-6.

⁶²⁹ *Get.* 468, 578.

Synesius and the author of *De rebus bellicis* all proposed that the dependence on foreign troops be reduced by their replacement with Roman citizens.⁶³⁰ So long as senatorial exemptions made this impossible, Stilicho was forced to rely on troops drawn from throughout the empire. It is intriguing to see how Claudian has turned this lack of homogeneity, traditionally in epic a sign of weakness, into praise.⁶³¹

Homer contrasted the disciplined silence of the Greek troops to the Trojan forces which he compared to a flock of bleating sheep.⁶³² Virgil also described the wide diversity of the troops taken prisoner at Actium and paraded in his triumph, *incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,/ quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis*.⁶³³ Both authors suggest that this might have been a weakness and a cause of defeat. Silius Italicus also emphasises the multilingual nature of Hannibal's army (*extemplo edicit convellere signa,/ castra quatit clamor permixtis dissona linguis*), although he noted that this dissonance did not affect the troops' loyalty to Hannibal.⁶³⁴ Claudian however, as he describes how Stilicho has created an army of an unparalleled diversity, *numquam tantae ditione sub una/ convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum*, regards it as a source of strength.⁶³⁵ In particular, as Marrón notes, Claudian describes the army not as *barbarus* but as *dissonus*.⁶³⁶ They are ready to follow their general to the ends of the earth, as he has become their homeland, *et quocumque loco Stilicho tentoria figet,/ haec patria est*.⁶³⁷ Even though this army was cobbled together from the victors and the vanquished at the battle of

⁶³⁰ Vegetius *De re militari* 1.28.

⁶³¹ Marrón 2013, 677-82.

⁶³² *Il.* 4.433-8.

⁶³³ *Aen.* 8.722-3.

⁶³⁴ *Punica* 3.220; Marrón 2013, 679, citing Sil. *Punica* 16. 19-22.

⁶³⁵ *Ruf.* 2.106-7.

⁶³⁶ Marrón 2013, 680, citing *Stil.* 1.152-4.

⁶³⁷ *Ruf.* 2.246-7.

the river Frigidus, there is no hostility between the two, *non odit victus victorve superbit*.⁶³⁸ He will later note how the portion of the army now under control of the east had lost the discipline that it held under Stilicho as a result of Rufinus's treachery. Describing the defeat of Leo's forces, he writes how the army had declined:

*nec soles imbresve pati multumque priori
dispar, sub clipeo Thracum qui ferre pruinas,
dum Stilicho regeret, nudoque hiemare sub axe
sueverat et duris bipennibus Hebrum.
cum duce mutatae vires.*

Eutr. 411-5.

A second (?) army that Stilicho raised is similarly polyglot: *certe nec tantis dissona linguis/ turba nec armorum cultu divisior umquam/ confluit populus*.⁶³⁹ Here the poet is clearly recalling Lucan's description of the varied peoples that formed Pompey's army, *coiere nec umquam/ tam variae cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi ora*.⁶⁴⁰ Of course the actual efficiency in battle of his army is doubtful in light of Stilicho's record against Alaric at least until the battle of Pollentia, and a full and comprehensive victory over invaders was not achieved until the forces of Radagaisus were defeated in 406.

It is primarily poets and historians who deem a victory to be determined by the body count and consider the most successful generals killing machines, the battle of Cannae providing an awful example in the ancient world. Victory on the battlefield was determined either by the death of the opposing general, the surrender of an army or the abandonment of territory, usually the battlefield, to be

⁶³⁸ *Ruf.* 2.116.

⁶³⁹ *Stil.* 1.152-4.

⁶⁴⁰ *BC* 3.288-90.

marked by a celebratory hymn, a *paean*. Anything less was inconclusive, so that historians still dispute the extent of Stilicho's victory at Pollentia, although Claudian claimed it as a complete success: *discite vesanae Romam non temnere gentes*.⁶⁴¹ Certainly epic demanded total victory, although inevitably, such victories were often seen by the losing side as temporary, a failure due to poor generalship or unprepared troops and as an error or mistake that could be rectified.

We, and I shall argue Stilicho, know better. The most efficient victory is one achieved with the use of minimal force but is effective in that its results are not contested. Glory or tales of glory can be left to the generals in their armchairs in their clubs, but victory can only be properly claimed when the opponent is not merely vanquished but made to disappear. It is this act of disappearance that makes Stilicho's campaign against Gildo so remarkable. Not only did he remove the Moorish chieftain who was attempting to secede from the western part of the empire but the latter's estates in Africa, so extensive that a special commission was required to handle them,⁶⁴² were probably turned over to Roman senators and others, providing an explanation of why the Senate was so willing to vote in favour of the war.⁶⁴³ It was, however, not the stuff of epic and it is intriguing to watch how Claudian gives the campaign an epic cast, in particular by vilifying Gildo as a second and worse Hannibal, a monster outdoing Atreus.

3. The villains

⁶⁴¹ *Get.* 547.

⁶⁴² The *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii* is recorded as an appointment in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*N.D. Occ.* 12.5).

⁶⁴³ Claudian writes *neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula morem/ rettulit, ut ducibus mandarent proelia patres*. (*Stil.* 1.328-9)

The dominant themes of Claudian's poetry suggest that he saw only two threats as fundamental risks to the security of the empire, namely the threat to unity posed by Rufinus and Eutropius, and a second threat, different in kind and in the response necessary, aimed at the city of Rome, posed by Gildo and Alaric. The threats were different not only in time and space but in concept. It is inconceivable that Theodosius did not look to an undivided empire; his own claim to the throne was certainly subject to doubt and attack, as evidenced by his struggle against Maximus and his victory over Eugenius at the river Frigidus in 394. It is impossible to prove any misrepresentation on the part of Claudian in his record of the last words of the dying emperor as he entrusted the reins of power to Stilicho. Certainly, the grant of power was accepted by Ambrose, a witness difficult to challenge as a man who had been able to force Theodosius to do penance, in his speech *De obitu Theodosii* which was delivered within forty days of the emperor's death.⁶⁴⁴ Given the age of the emperor's two children, seventeen and ten respectively, dramatic measures needed to be taken.

From the beginning of the principate, the single biggest problem that any emperor faced was the choice and acceptance of his successor, dependent on the approval or acquiescence of a number of constituencies, notably the army, the senate and the people of Rome. Honorius should therefore have been especially vulnerable: a child of ten when his father died, he achieved no success on the battlefield in his life and his only visit to Rome was not made until 403, aside from his visit as a four-year-old. It is therefore remarkable that until the execution of Stilicho in 408 his rule was untroubled by the threat of usurpers, a contrast to both his father, Theodosius, chosen as emperor as a result of his military prowess and his name, and to his brother, Arcadius. Synesius' account suggests that the regime in the east veered between farce and chaos, with armed insurrections in the streets of Constantinople.

⁶⁴⁴ *De obitu Theod.* 3.

3.1. Threats to unity

Claudian repeatedly portrays both Rufinus and Eutropius as existential threats to the divinely ordained harmony between the two brothers, Arcadius and Honorius, as they operated under the tutelage of Stilicho. He wrote, in the second book of *Ruf. iamque tuis, Stilicho, Romana potentia curis/ et rerum commissus apex, tibi credita fratrum/ utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus aulae*.⁶⁴⁵ It is only if enemies were removed that he could write of their proper destiny, *unanimi fratres quorum mare terraque fatis/ debetur*.⁶⁴⁶ The poet emphasised that this ability to create discord (*quam fallere mentes/ doctus et unanimos odiis turbare sodales*) was a special talent of Rufinus that recommended him to Megaera.⁶⁴⁷ However the poet's treatment of the two eastern leaders is very different, Rufinus a creation sent to destroy the human world after the Furies reject a proposal to renew their *Gigantomachia* whereas Eutropius is a figure of ridicule.

Both books of *Ruf.* contain many elements of a typical tragedy but reveal a special debt to two of Seneca's plays, *Phaedra* and *Thyestes*, as well as showing the influence of Claudian's epic predecessors including Lucan and Petronius' pastiche in the *Satyricon*. The emphasis on the tragic is intentional as the unity of the empire is threatened by the machinations of Rufinus, as he challenges the authority that had been bestowed on Stilicho by Theodosius. The poem's opening mirrors the typical musings of a chorus as the poet questions the direction of the world, as he asks whether it is ruled by chance or a divine power. As he writes how *aspicerem laetosque diu florere nocentes/ vexarique pios* he is led to believe how the world is

⁶⁴⁵ *Ruf.* 2.4-6.

⁶⁴⁶ *III Hon.* 189-90.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ruf.* 1.104-5.

ruled by chance: *magnumque novas per inane figuras/ fortuna, non arte regi*.⁶⁴⁸ The chorus in *Phaedra*, after they observed similar injustices (*castos sequitur mala paupertas/ vitioque potens regnat adulterii*), conclude that *res humanas ordine nullo/ Fortuna regit sparsitque manu/ munera caeca peiora fovens*.⁶⁴⁹

The ending of the play, following the revelation of the falsity of Phaedra's charges of assault, strongly influenced Claudian in his portrayal of the execution of Rufinus and his punishment after death. Theseus had demanded of his purported father Neptune the fulfillment of one of his three wishes as proof of his paternity, just as Rufinus leaves the city *iam regale tumens et principe celsior*.⁶⁵⁰ Once he has realised his dreadful error and broken by the death of his son, the king prayed that he be harshly punished in Hades by receiving the sentences of other malefactors, including Sisyphus, Tityus and Ixion. He ends by asking for worse: *dehisce tellus, recipe me dirum chaos/ recipe, haec ad umbras iustior nobis via est*.⁶⁵¹ Minos, of course the father of Phaedra, is called on to decide the fate of Rufinus and, as he renders his judgment, compares him to other malefactors, including Tityus and Ixion. Of the former, Seneca wrote *vultur relicto transvolet Tityo ferus/ meumque poenae semper accrescat iecur*, while Claudian wrote *in tua mansurus migret praecordia vultur*.⁶⁵² The king determined he should be confined below the lowest level of Hell, noting that his crimes were worse than those of Ixion and Tityus.⁶⁵³ In a similar fashion, Thyestes prays, after consuming the special dinner prepared by his brother, that he and his brother be buried below Hell. He asks that they be buried

⁶⁴⁸ *Ruf.* 1.13-4, 17-8.

⁶⁴⁹ *Phaedra* 986-7, 978-80.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ruf.* 2.344.

⁶⁵¹ *Phaedra* 1238-9.

⁶⁵² *Phaedra* 1233-4, *Ruf.* 2.511 'a vulture, long to remain, will move (to attack) your midriff.'

⁶⁵³ *Ruf.* 2.524-7.

below his ancestors to emphasise his infamy, as he asks *si quid infra Tartara est/ avosque nostros, hoc tuam immani sinu/ demitte vallem nosque defossos tege/ Acheronte toto*.⁶⁵⁴

It is, however, the figure of Atreus in *Thyestes* that provides a specific model for the character of Rufinus. At the opening of the play, the shade of Tantalus is summoned by a Fury who describes her plan to create disunity, *superbis fratribus regna excidant/ repetantque profugos* until *effusus omnis irriget terras cruor*.⁶⁵⁵ Atreus makes clear that he is the right person to be her chosen agent as he outlines his credo, *laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,/ non nisi potenti falsa. Quod nolunt velint*.⁶⁵⁶ By slaughtering Thyestes's children and serving them to their father, he will achieve true greatness, *aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super/ altum superbo vertice attingens polum*.⁶⁵⁷ The ending of *Phaedra* is notorious as Theseus tries to put together the severed parts of his son's body, a scene worthy of *grand guignol*, but something that seems to have influenced Claudian as he describes what happened to the corpse of Rufinus after his assassination. Theseus asked for assistance (*disiecta, genitor, membra laceri corporis/ in ordinem dispone et errantes loco restitue partes*) just as it pleased the crowds from Constantinople to enjoy Rufinus' scattered bodily parts (*laceros iuvat ire per artus/ pressaque calcato vestigia sanguine tingu*).⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁴ *Thyestes* 1013-6.

⁶⁵⁵ *Thyestes* 32-3, 44.

⁶⁵⁶ *Thyestes* 210.

⁶⁵⁷ *Thyestes* 884-5, a nice forerunner to Verdi's *Otello* and, as Fitzgerald 2013, 216 pointed out, a mirror image of Stoic virtue.

⁶⁵⁸ *Phaedra* 1256-8, *Ruf.* 2.431-2. *Sanguine tingu* may perhaps be dismissed as a cliché but the phrase was twice used by Eumolpus in his pinchbeck epic, *dum Rheno sanguine tingo* and *Thessalicosque sinus humano sanguine tingu* as well as by Lucan, *primaque Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit*. (*Sat.* 122 (160), 124 (294), *BC* 7.473).

This emphasis on Rufinus as a villain taken from tragedy rather than history is supported by the minimal references to any actual crimes that he could be charged with committing, the three most notable of which are the executions of Lucian and Proculus and the exile of Tatian, the father of Proculus, the first occurring in 395 and the other two in 392.⁶⁵⁹ The other major charge leveled against Rufinus is notorious, that he suborned the emperor Arcadius to order Stilicho to return the eastern army to Constantinople, allowing Alaric to escape. Here perhaps the simplest explanation is the most convincing that Stilicho was acting out of pique. Alaric was no threat to the western half of the empire and if the rulers in the east chose not to use Stilicho, which of course would have meant accepting the latter as supremo, that was their choice and they would have to accept the consequences.

Tragedy was well used by the epic poets as a handmaiden by contrast to comedy and satire. The opening of the diatribe *Eutr.* makes it clear we are in a different world: *omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra*.⁶⁶⁰ The list of portents that have been surpassed are, as often noted, taken from both Virgil's *Georgics* and Lucan's *Bellum civile* (similar ones are reported by Eumolpus in the *Satyricon*) but in those cases, just as when Claudian returns to the topos as he describes the panic in Milan following the appearance of Alaric and his army in *Get.*, they are portents of civil war.⁶⁶¹ Here, Eutropius is seen as a freak of nature, something to be caricatured in the same way that Aristophanes caricatured Cleon in *The Knights* with a similar emphasis on his sexual depravity and a disregard for his success in the battlefield. Aristophanes pretended that Cleon had no responsibility for the capture of 292

⁶⁵⁹ *Ruf.* 1.239-49; the significance and dating of the events is discussed by Cameron 1970, 69, 80.

⁶⁶⁰ *Eutr.* 1.8.

⁶⁶¹ *Georg.* 1.464-88, *BC* 1.523-70, *Sat.* 122 (124-40), *Get.* 229-66.

Spartan hoplites (from a force of 420) at Sphacteria in 425,⁶⁶² writing καὶ πρόην γ' ἐμοῦ/ μᾶζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικήν,/ πανουργότατά πως περιδραμῶν ὑφαρπάσας/ αὐτὸς παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην.⁶⁶³ Similarly, Claudian claims that Eutropius had no right to claims to victory: *quid te, turpissime, bellis/ inseris aut saevi pertemptas Pallada campi? ... gestis pro talibus annum/ flagitet Eutropius.*⁶⁶⁴ The emphasis on sexual promiscuity for the two is similar: is it possible that John Lydus' reference to Claudian as the Paphlagonian is a reference to Aristophanes' play, where Cleon is immediately introduced under that sobriquet.⁶⁶⁵

Eutropius always shares the same purpose as Rufinus, namely to disrupt the harmony between the brothers Arcadius and Honorius, *geminam quid dividis aulam/ conarisque pios odiis committere fratres?*⁶⁶⁶ ('Why do you divide the twin palace(s) and try to turn dutiful brothers to hatred.')

It is also clear that he achieved some form of accommodation with Alaric that allowed the latter formal control over (eastern) Illyricum, as Tarbigilus' (Tribigild's) wife, in the impersonation of Bellona, complains that an equal to her husband has, after ravaging Greece, been rewarded: *vastator Achivae/ gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam/ praesidet Illyrico.*⁶⁶⁷ As in Aristophanes' predictions for the future of Cleon, where nothing was borne out by events, Claudian hopes for a disgusting and demeaning death for Eutropius are not fulfilled.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶² Thucydides 4.38.

⁶⁶³ *Equites* 54-8.

⁶⁶⁴ *Eutr.* 1.271-2, 284-5.

⁶⁶⁵ *Equites* 2; the play was certainly in circulation in Constantinople.

⁶⁶⁶ *Eutr.* 1.281-2.

⁶⁶⁷ *Eutr.* 2.214-6.

⁶⁶⁸ *Eutr. praef.* 2.72-6. As Cameron (2020, 266) has suggested, probably the last part of the diatribe to be written.

3.2. Threats to Rome: Gildo and Alaric

Rufinus and Eutropius were able to thwart Stilicho's plans to control both halves of the empire but were not threats to Rome itself, in contrast to both Gildo and Alaric. The latter were properly appointed officials of the empire with military commands but Claudian is determined to portray them as foreign invaders. In his last work *VI Hon.* he makes it clear that triumphs over foreign adversaries were different in both quality and kind from victories in civil war

*eadem sed causa trophaei
civilis dissensus erat. Venere superbi,
scilicet ut Latio respersos sanguine
aspicerem!* (*VI Hon.* 394-7)

*fructum sinceræ laudis ab hoste
desuetum iam redde mihi iustisque furoris
externi spoliis sontes absolve triumphos.* (*VI Hon.* 404-6)

Claudian makes it clear that a triumph could only be properly earned if it was held to celebrate a victory over a foreign enemy and that it could only be awarded to an emperor; the location of such a triumph should be Rome. In *Stil.* he states that, if Stilicho had been awarded a triumph for his victory over Gildo, it would have surpassed all previous triumphs.⁶⁶⁹ He later suggests in *VI Hon.* that Honorius was properly entitled to a triumph for the same victory and describes briefly some of the accoutrements, including the pictures of defeated cities, gilded images of ships and the necessary prisoner, Gildo.⁶⁷⁰ It is clear that a triumphal arch was built specifically for this victory, as Claudian writes, *nominis arcum/ iam molita tui*; the arch survived as Arco de Portogallo until it was destroyed on the orders of Pope

⁶⁶⁹ *Stil.* 3.30-3.

⁶⁷⁰ *VI Hon.* 374-81.

Alexander VI in 1662, as Paolo Liverani has documented.⁶⁷¹ Claudian may also be distancing himself from the six triumphal celebrations that were held by Theodosius in the years 379-389 and the later celebration held to mark the massacre of Gainas's Goths in 400 that Eunapius mocked.⁶⁷²

Gildo was one of the many sons of the Mauri clan leader Nubel, who was also an imperial officer, the *praepositus* of the *equites armigeri iuniores*.⁶⁷³ Nine other members of the family are recorded and several of his sons, including Firmus, Gildo and Mascezel died violent deaths that have been attributed to family infighting. A sign of imperial favour was the presentation of a lavish gold necklace in 325 CE to a member of the family; the necklace consisted of five medallions of Constantine/Constantius II double *solidi* of 324-325, each surrounded by twelve small medallions of mythological figures, connected by an elaborate filigree necklace.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷¹ Liverani 2004, 358 must be correct as I cannot believe that any poet delivering his work in the city would be allowed to invent buildings; details of far-away battles are a different matter.

⁶⁷² Eunapius *fr.* 78. Bardill 1999, 689 records three triumphs, 24th November, 381 (described as 'hardly justified'), 12th October 386 and 10th November 391, the latter held to celebrate the defeat of Magnus Maximus. The differentiation supports Kelly's assertion that there were celebrations of various ceremonies over a period of time (Kelly 2016, 345). If the *adventus* was separate from the triumph, the latter might be the imperial procession with its obeisance at the tomb of St. Peter of which Augustine makes so much and Claudian ignores (Kelly 2016, 339). The Durbar held in New Delhi, and orchestrated by the Viceroy Curzon, a very good classicist, provides a nice parallel, with several days of linked but separate celebrations, notably the State Entry (December 29th) and the Proclamation of open Durbar (January 2nd) (Fraser 1903, 64, 69).

⁶⁷³ *PLRE* 1: 'Nubel', 633-4.

⁶⁷⁴ It remained an important heirloom of the Nubel clan, members of which took different sides during Maximus' revolt, as it was unearthed in an illegal excavation

in Libya, along with a hoard of coins dating to 388. This excavation does no credit to the four major museums, the British Museum, the Musée du Louvre, the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington D.C. and the Cleveland Museum of Art, each of which holds a piece of the necklace, but should be retold in full. In 1983, the British Museum acquired for 195,000 Pounds (SF 600,000) one of the five parts that were, I am certain, discovered in Libya in 1967, part of a hoard that included coins and looted illegally. The dates of the coins provide proof that it was hidden in or after 388 CE, the year of Maximus' rebellion. Detailed descriptions of the individual elements of the necklace are publicly available but I summarise it as consisting of five medallions of Constantine/ Constantius, double *solidi* of 324-325, each surrounded by twelve small medallions of mythological figures, the whole connected by an elaborate filigree necklace. The total weight of the necklace is estimated at 50 grams and its length at 200 cms. No satisfactory account has been given of the mythological medallions but G. A. J. Kelly (in a letter of 2022) has suggested that it was local work, given the its poor quality, job-lot items created to impress a foreign potentate; it was only the imperial *solidi* that were significant, and the filigree necklace, a masterpiece of the craft of Constantinople.

Four of the five medallions were sold at Christies in 1970, together with a number of gold coins, all from the same consignor. The coins, it has since emerged, were part of a larger hoard, amounting to a minimum of 390 coins that date from the last years of Valentinian II and were hidden with the necklace. No details of provenance were given but the Christies' specialist who handled the sale commented to me that there were rumours of a Libyan origin. The Cleveland Museum acquired their medallion later and the curator has reported to me that there was a suggestion of an Algerian origin, a mysterious gentleman claiming it as a family heirloom discovered there in the 1950s. Such a claim is now treated with the utmost scepticism; in this case the later BM purchase provides strong evidence of a Libyan connection. It was made at a time when Britain was engaged in complex negotiations following the murder of WPC Louise Fletcher; the staggering price paid

It was a family determined to preserve a semi-nomadic way of life in northern Africa through a ruthless sublimation of the individual to the clan, as Nubel's sons offered or attached themselves to the various emperors, Theodosius, Maximus, Arcadius and Honorius, always ready to switch their allegiance to the benefit of the clan. So Firmus opposed the emperor Valentinian and his general Count Theodosius while Gildo supported them and Gildo opposed Honorius while Mascezel supported him. They were attempting to preserve their wealth and power against what they saw as the encroachments of the western empire, in particular the seizure of their lands. It was a strategy doomed to failure against Roman greed, just as the way of life of the Highland clans was destined to be wiped out in the eighteenth century, even as Shimi Fraser, the Old Fox, adopted the same tactics, with a willingness to turn his coat to follow Bonnie Prince Charlie that inevitably led to his execution. His son, who fought on the side of the English King, was able to regain some of the family estates, especially after he raised a regiment from his clansmen to assist in quashing the American rebellion.

by the BM certainly suggests skullduggery. Christies' have confirmed to me that the BM did not bid in 1970 when the four medallions were sold for prices in the range £10,650 to £13,000 because of their dissatisfaction with the provenance given. All the coins in the auction were purchased by a single buyer, probably in an attempt to provide a spurious provenance for the hoard; other coins from the hoard appeared rapidly on the market and continue to appear.

⁶⁷⁴ *Gild.* 198, recalling the *Eclogues*, both 1 and 9. Cicero's use of *detrudere* confirms that it was a legal if unwelcome eviction, as he wrote *saltu agroque a servis communibus vi detruditur* (*Pro Publio Quinct.* 28).

It is easy to forget how wealthy and prosperous northern Africa had become in the fifth century prior to the Vandal conquest in 450. There is evidence for the existence of at least 150 towns with populations in the range 5,000 to 20,000 in the late fourth century. Many senators and other wealthy Romans such as Melania had extensive estates and it was from Africa that the poet's own wealthy wife came.⁶⁷⁵ It is probable that one factor driving this prosperity was environmental, as a result of the increase in precipitation as because of the global decline in temperatures in the period 400-600 CE.⁶⁷⁶ This new prosperity inevitably led to Roman attempts to exploit the provinces, notably by the *comes Africae* Romanus, whose behavior led Ammianus to write *aerumnas, quas, ut arbitror, Iustitia quoque ipsa deflevit*.⁶⁷⁷ Theodosius twice rejected peace overtures from Firmus, deliberately prolonging the war, not in order to win military glory but to gain control of Firmus' estates.⁶⁷⁸ The general's brutality, which the historian describes as he describes Firmus calling him *truculentum... et dirum et suppliciorum saevum repertorem* fits well with Roman attempts to dispossess semi-independent subjects by force.⁶⁷⁹

It is through this prism of western Roman greed that Stilicho's strategy can be explained. Gildo's transference of his allegiance to Arcadius was intended to protect his land holdings, in particular as he evicted Romans from lands that they had improperly occupied, as Claudian makes clear when he reports that among Gildo's crimes was seizing Roman lands, *veteres detrudit rure colonos*.⁶⁸⁰ The actual

⁶⁷⁵ *Carm. min.* 31.55-8.

⁶⁷⁶ Harper 2019, 30.

⁶⁷⁷ Ammianus 28.6.1, cited by Drijvers 2007, 130.

⁶⁷⁸ Ammianus 29.5.8,15-6. Theodosius returns to Sitifis *triumphanti similis* (56), all the honours that he could expect to receive if not emperor, suggesting military glory was not his primary objective.

⁶⁷⁹ Ammianus 29.5.48

⁶⁸⁰ *Gild.* 198, recalling the *Eclogues*, both 1.3-4 and 9.4.

revolt was tribal and, as Theodosius had found could only be put down through a tribal intrigue; the latter, *per multas prudentesque sententiarum vias eundem sibi prodi posse sperabat.*, achieved his objective when Firmus committed suicide after being captured by Igmazen.⁶⁸¹ Stilicho is ready to adopt a similar strategy, his strategic skill already a subject for praise, *novi consilium, novi Stilichonis in omnes/ aequalem casus animum.*⁶⁸² His agent is Mascezel, another child of Nubel who had taken over from Gildo the role of Roman ally. The next stage required huge preparations for war, the threat of overwhelming force intended to overturn any fragile equilibrium in the Nubel clan; it was the awareness of a huge invasion fleet that would cause sufficient instability to persuade Mascezel that the only hope for the family to preserve their estates was by eliminating his brother. Gildo's attempt to bring pressure on Rome to negotiate through an interdiction of the corn-supply had been thwarted by Stilicho's success in replacing African corn with supplies from Germany, France and possibly Spain. It is ironic that it was Honorius' presence in Milan rather than Rome that doomed Gildo's strategy. The emperor did not see and could ignore the starvation that Claudian portrayed in his picture of an emaciated Roma: *vox tenuis tardique gradus oculique iacentes/ interius; fugere genae;ieiuna lacertos exedit macies.*⁶⁸³ It was a successful but not a glorious campaign, a difficult subject for epic but one that Claudian handles with finesse.

The defeat of Gildo was achieved swiftly and efficiently. It was the annexation of the newly valuable lands of Africa that Gildo had attempted to halt. In his portrayal, Claudian emphasises his foreignness, comparing him to Hannibal, but, above all, his cruelty where he matches him to Atreus, *hoc facinus refugo damnavit sole Mycenae/ avertitque diem: sceleri sed reddidit Atreus/ crimen et infandas excusat*

⁶⁸¹ Ammianus 29.5.45, 54.

⁶⁸² *Gild.* 318-9.

⁶⁸³ *Gild.* 21-3.

coniuge mensas.⁶⁸⁴ As in Seneca's play, Atreus uses this justification of the behaviour of his brother and his wife; Thyestes is brought to a realisation of what he has done by the disappearance of the day.⁶⁸⁵ Gildo's plan was to put pressure on the emperor through the sufferings of the people of Rome, which were shown metaphorically by the emaciated figure of the goddess.⁶⁸⁶

Claudian's primary route is to vilify and demonise Gildo and his army, first as a monster of depravity and secondly by emphasising his barbarity and savagery. He also emphasises the foreignness of Gildo's army, recalling Juvenal's unpleasant racism of *esses Aethiopsis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres*, as he writes *exterret cunabula discolor infans*.⁶⁸⁷ He also echoes the characterisation of Augustus's opponents at the battle of Actium, as Virgil writes *sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx*.⁶⁸⁸ It is the figure of Africa who lists Gildo's crimes just as it was the figure of Roma who stressed Rome's claims to Africa by right of conquest as she described the Punic wars and other conflicts in Africa. In this use of a remove, Claudian finds a parallel with Venus' supplication of Jupiter in the first book of the *Aeneid* as both deities describe the rewards they deserve because of earlier sufferings, the fall of Troy and the losses in battle to Hannibal, and their right to empire, Venus ending her speech, *hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptris reponis?*⁶⁸⁹

It has been suggested that what has survived of *Gild.* is only the opening of a larger work that Claudian left unfinished because of the death of Mascezel but this may be a misunderstanding of his purpose.⁶⁹⁰ He was, perhaps, ready to write a

⁶⁸⁴ *Get.* 399-401.

⁶⁸⁵ *Thyestes* 193-5, 1035-6.

⁶⁸⁶ *Get.* 21-5, 108-9.

⁶⁸⁷ Juvenal 6.599-600, *Gild.* 193.

⁶⁸⁸ *Aen.* 8.688.

⁶⁸⁹ *Aen.* 1.253.

⁶⁹⁰ Cameron 1970, 115-6.

description of a full-blown invasion of Africa but it was unnecessary. The campaign even if lacking in the glory of a pitched battle with its opportunities for heroism was over and the west had succeeded in seizing Gildo's estates. It was a justification for this annexation that Claudian attempted to provide later, just as Virgil had to justify the Trojan invasion of Latium, both unprovoked. Evander, for example recalls the crimes of Mezentius, saying,

*hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis,
quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera?* (Aen. 8.481-4)

He continues by describing the unspeakable crimes that Mezentius had committed and that an invasion of Turnus' lands to punish him is justified

It was only after the details of the campaign in 398 had been forgotten that Claudian could proceed to whitewash the campaign, just as Virgil had been able to whitewash the Trojan conquest through prophesies of Rome's future. The annexation had been a success and a certain financial benefit to many of the Roman elite. The two inscriptions on the bases of statues of Arcadius and Honorius discovered in Leptis Magna suggest the official line. The first to Arcadius reads *toto orbe pacifico d(omino) n(ostro) Flavio Arcadio Pio Felici victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto* and the second to Honorius reads *domino [n(ostro)] Honorio Pio Felici victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto*.⁶⁹¹ It is tempting to suggest that the slight difference (although the top of the Honorius inscription is missing) in wording, the use of *pacifico* for Arcadius was a sign that the eastern emperor accepted that he had been finessed by Stilicho, making 402 the most likely date for the two statues; the

⁶⁹¹ *CIL* 8 with no further details; Reynolds and Ward-Perkins 1952, Numbers 478, 479.

alternatives suggested are 394 and 396, the other years when the brothers were consuls together.

It was time to portray it as a conventional victory, on a par with the achievements of the Scipios, Regulus and Fabius, as Claudian concludes the first book of *Stil.* by saying *restituit Stilicho cunctos tibi, Roma, triumphos*.⁶⁹² ('Stilicho has restored all your triumphs to you, Roma.') In his revised description of the campaign, he emphasises the barbarian nature of Gildo's forces, listing a wide variety of allies from all over Africa. He also minimises the role of Mascezel, preferring to concentrate on Stilicho's skillful strategy, as he writes of the multitude of tasks that the general undertook,

*dividis ingentes curas teque omnibus unum
obicis, inveniens animoque mente gerenda,
efficiens patranda manu, dictare paratus
quae scriptis peragenda forent.* (Stil. 1.300-3)

It is unusual to find these minute details in epic for obvious reasons: they are not glamorous. Claudian's attention suggests that he felt that Stilicho's strategy was an important subject, in part because it was successful.

3.3 Threats to empire

Alaric had been in the service of the Roman empire since 382, the date of Theodosius' treaty allowing the Goths to settle in Moesia, and certainly forces under his command took part in the battle of Frigidus as part of the army of Theodosius.⁶⁹³ It is also clear that his loyalty to the emperor was temporary at best and he should

⁶⁹² *Stil.* 1.385.

⁶⁹³ Thompson 1963, 109, Lenski 1997, 143.

perhaps be viewed as similar to the white companies and Catalan bands that bedeviled France during the Hundred Years War, loyal so long as they were paid, but ready to plunder if they were dissatisfied with conditions of service and secure from retribution in bases that was more or less independent.

Alaric may have been driven to make a gamble similar to Gildo for two possible reasons, namely the attraction of the new wealth of Rome and the resurgence of the eastern empire under Aurelian. The former motive is obvious to Claudian, as he has the river Eridanus rebuke the invader: *crede mihi, simili bacchatur crimine, quisquis/ aspirat Romae spoliis aut Solis habenis*.⁶⁹⁴ It is clear that his invasion of Italy in 402 included his whole people, including wives and captives, as Claudian writes in *Get. unoque die... / quidquid ter denis acies amisimus annis*.⁶⁹⁵ There is even a suggestion that his baggage train included plunder from the battle of Adrianople, *purpureos cultus absumptique igni Valentis/ exuvias*.⁶⁹⁶ The invasion by contrast of Greece in 396-7 was more likely to have been a plundering expedition carried out by a small force from his base in Illyricum; recent archaeological research suggests that any damage to cities such as Athens and Corinth was not substantial.⁶⁹⁷ The evident wealth of Rome was sufficient to attract the massive invasion of Radgaisus in 405-406, even if the size of his invasion force has been exaggerated.

Throughout the two poems, Claudian emphasizes that Alaric was an enemy of the Roman empire of long standing, linking him back to the general oath sworn by

⁶⁹⁴ *VI Hon.* 191-2.

⁶⁹⁵ *Get.* 633-4.

⁶⁹⁶ *Get.* 610-1.

⁶⁹⁷ Jacobs 2014, 86-7. As an aside, it would have been virtually impossible for the Roman army to defeat such a force so long as they were unable to bring it to battle. It was only through a lack of food that Alaric's army could ever be forced to fight on terms favourable to the Romans.

the Goths in 376. Even in Roman service, he was untrustworthy, holding back his forces from Theodosius at the time of Eugenius' revolt, as did Gildo, *qui saepe tuum sprevere profana/ mente patrem*.⁶⁹⁸ Claudian also suggests that there was a recent treaty that Alaric broke at the time of his invasion of Italy, perhaps some arrangement that allowed the rebuilding of the Aurelian Walls at Rome (completed by 403) which would have left the city especially vulnerable to attack. In *VI Hon.* Alaric complains how he has been seduced by a treaty, *pro foedera saevo/ deteriora iugo*, still emphasising that he was a loyal servant of the empire.⁶⁹⁹ Stilicho on the other hand uses the broken treaty as a pretext for war, *oblatum Stilicho violato foedere Martem/ omnibus arripuit votis*.⁷⁰⁰

3.3. Carnage and battle

Any evaluation of Claudian's debt to his predecessors must also take account how he treated an actual battle, by definition what made epic epic, whether single-combat or a hero wreaking havoc on the opposing foes. Achilles' killing of Hector and Aeneas' of Turnus are but the most famous encounters; it is notable how prevalent single combat remains in Silius Italicus' *Punica* when it must have been anachronistic. It is, however, a rarity in Claudian's poetry, with the disobedient and doomed Alan chieftain at the battle of Pollentia the only example (*Italamque momordit harenam./ felix Elysiisque plagis et carmine dignus*).⁷⁰¹ For Claudian, victory under the proper general is a team-effort whereas the Alan's heroic death almost led to disaster, describing how the chieftain ignored Stilicho's orders; as he wrote *ni calor incauti male festinatus Alani/ dispositum turbasset opus*, Stilicho was forced to bring up a legion of infantry to turn the tide. Claudian also avoids

⁶⁹⁸ *VI Hon.* 106-7.

⁶⁹⁹ *VI Hon.* 303-4.

⁷⁰⁰ *VI Hon.* 210-1.

⁷⁰¹ *Get.* 589-90.

describing the excruciating deaths that were the stuff of epic from the time of Homer and so delighted Lucan, such as the death of Scaeva.⁷⁰²

Claudian has made a conscious effort to distance himself from his predecessors by his avoidance of the trope of single combat, but he still uses traditional imagery. One he is unafraid to use repeatedly is that of a river choked with corpses, first found in the *Iliad*.⁷⁰³ The river Scamander complains how his streams have become choked with the corpses of the men slain by Achilles, πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, / οὐδέ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα δῖαν / στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι, σὺ δὲ κτείνεις αἰδήλως, lines recalled by Virgil, so Jupiter tells Venus how *gemenque repleti / amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset / in mare se Xanthus*.⁷⁰⁴ Aeneas is first introduced in the *Aeneid* as lamenting that he had not died under the walls of Troy by the river Simois which was often filled with arms and corpses as he wrote *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis / scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit*.⁷⁰⁵ Claudian will similarly describe how a number of rivers were choked by the bodies of the fallen enemies of Rome, especially the Ister. It is perhaps difficult to envisage that there was ever a reality behind this well-worn topos, but it is possible that Lucan described an actual occurrence when he pictured the Tiber choked by the victims of Sulla, *et strage cruenta / interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor / ad molem stetit unda sequens*.⁷⁰⁶ Valerius Maximus certainly reported a blocking of the Tiber.⁷⁰⁷ An account of a more recent campaign in northern Greece suggests that Claudian's accounts may have a basis in fact.

⁷⁰² Fitzgerald 2013, 193, referring to *BC* 7. 196-246.

⁷⁰³ See Appendix to this chapter.

⁷⁰⁴ *Il.* 21.218-20, *Aen.* 5.806-8.

⁷⁰⁵ *Aen.* 1.100-1.

⁷⁰⁶ *BC* 2.212-4.

⁷⁰⁷ Val. Max. 9.2.1, noted by Fantham 1992, 118.

Alaric's invasion of Greece in 397 was one of the very few from the north, rather than by sea, to have been successful in the last two thousand years. An eyewitness account of a similar invasion in 1942, written by one of the defendants, reads, as follows. 'I was on the Haliakmon for one day.... The Haliakmon ran red and black instead of silver, and its sand wasn't white anymore. Fragments of boats and bodies washed up along the sands at the borders of the gorge, until we grew sick and tired of killing'.⁷⁰⁸ So reads a contemporary and factual account of an attempt to hold the river against an invasion force just as Claudian described a similar effort, *et frustra rapidum damnant Haliacmona Bessi*.⁷⁰⁹

Rivers form a natural line of defense as well as forming a (semi-)formal frontier, for Claudian takes pains to emphasise how the writ of Roman law extended beyond the Rhine in his praise of Stilicho's achievements at the same time as he records that the Rhine was left undefended when troops were withdrawn to oppose Alaric. Their use as lines of defense is hinted as he writes, describing Alaric's retreat, *retroque relitos,/ quos modo temnebat, rediens horrebat exhorruit amnes*.⁷¹⁰ Perhaps, as in 1942, they were the only line of defense available to halt fast-moving opponents; as a coda, the allied forces' attempt to hold Thermopylae was no more successful than the Romans, where Claudian wrote, *primo conamine ruptae/ Thermopylae*.⁷¹¹

What my survey has shown is that Claudian's characters lack the moral complexity of earlier epic, in particular that of Virgil. There are two reasons for this, namely that the poet was writing about current events and it would have been dangerous to impute any faults to his all-powerful patron Stilicho. In *Rapt.* the

⁷⁰⁸ Pargeter. The novel 'She goes to war' was published in October 1942.

⁷⁰⁹ *Get.* 179.

⁷¹⁰ *VI Hon.* 144-5.

⁷¹¹ *Get.* 187-8.

characters display the characters display a much greater emotional range, especially Ceres and Proserpina, which suggests that Claudian was limited by the constraints of panegyric in his political poems. Certainly in *Eutr.* his portrayal of Eutropius shows that he is able to make use of both caricature and satire. Another reason for the lack of emotional depth is perhaps that Claudian does not create the sort of minor characters who are found so often in Homer and Virgil, who are able to reveal different aspects of the human condition, especially its frailty.

Appendix

Rivers and blood in Claudian's poetry

*Alpheus late rubuit Siculumque per aequor
sanguineas belli rettulit unda notas.* (Ruf. praef. 9-10)

iam rubet altus Halys. (Ruf. 2.32)

*Alpinae rubuere nives et Frigidus amnis
mutatis fumavit aquis turbaque cadentum
staret, ni rapidus iuvisset flumina sanguis.* (III Hon. 99-101)

*Odrysium partier Geticos foedavimus Hebrum
Sanguine.* (III Hon. 147-8)

*corporibus premitur Peuce: per quique recurrens
ostia barbaricos vix egerit unda cruores.* (IV Hon. 630-1)

Hister sanguineos egit de te consule fluctus. (IV Hon. 636)

sanguine quam largo Graios calefecerit amnes. (Get. 515)

inimicaque corpora volvens

Ionios Athesis mutavit sanguine fluctus.

(VI Hon. 208-9)

Chapter 8: Contemporary Events: an Evaluation of Claudian as an Historical Source.

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to examine the factual elements in Claudian's poetry. Although much recent scholarship has concentrated on his role as the creator of a new and successful type of poetry, which has been called epic-panegyric,⁷¹² his epic was also contemporary, concerned with actual and very recent events, in contrast to almost all his surviving predecessors⁷¹³ save Ennius at the very end of the *Annales* (and two predecessors, about whose lost works in the genre we know very little, Statius and Proba).⁷¹⁴ Some, at least, of his first audiences will have had an awareness of current events, as will others who were able to read his poems after their original delivery. It should however be remembered that his listeners in Milan and Rome and the early readers of the circulated written versions will have little information about or perhaps, interest in events in the eastern empire, as Claudian is able to claim that Stilicho successfully concealed the elevation of Eutropius to the

⁷¹² Hofmann (1988, 125) was the first, followed by Ware (2012) and Coombe (2018).

⁷¹³ The accounts of both Virgil and Horace of the fate of Cleopatra were written several years after her death.

⁷¹⁴ Juvenal 4. 94 *Scholia* (Valla). Cameron's attribution to the elder Proba of the lines recording a woman's poetic career in epic is probably correct, given the reference to the civil war between Constantius and Magnentius that occurred in the 350s. I remain sceptical that her model was ever significant to Claudian or even that her abandonment of traditional epic was noticed by the Alexandrian.

consulship.⁷¹⁵ I also analyse his treatment of various historical figures including Theodosius and Alaric, trying to separate fact from fiction.

My approach is primarily historiographical, taking Gibbon as my starting-point to examine how historians have viewed Claudian. Alan Cameron and his critics make a logical stopping-point, as the authors of the most recent works on Claudian have consciously lessened or dismissed the traditional emphasis on the value of his poetry as a historical source.⁷¹⁶ I then examine how modern historians view the poet's perception of current events.

2. Historiography

It is convenient to begin with Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. First published in March 1781, the third volume of *The History* includes two chapters, XXIX and XXX, in which he describes the events of the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, the latter until the execution of Stilicho in 408; Eutropius is covered in Chapter XXXII. He assumes that Stilicho's execution was shortly followed by the death of Claudian and he ends Chapter XXX with a famous evaluation of the poet's skill after some criticisms. In particular, Gibbon notes his lack of veracity: 'For the service of his patron, he wrote occasional panegyrics and invectives; and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature.'⁷¹⁷ Gibbon does claim that he attempted to

⁷¹⁵ Long 1996, 181 argues that Eutropius' elevation was reported in the normal fashion to Rome in 398; a refusal to recognize consuls from Constantinople was not unusual.

⁷¹⁶ E.g. Coombe 2018, 3.

⁷¹⁷ Gibbon 1995, 956. All page references are taken from the Modern Library Edition of New York, a reprint of Bury's edition of 1898. There are no significant differences from Gibbon's first edition of 1781.

identify the historical reality of the events that Claudian described: 'but, as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and simplicity of historic prose.'⁷¹⁸ As his notes make clear, the poet was the principal source for his account of the events of the two reigns, although he does refer to other writers, including Zosimus, Orosius and Prudentius.⁷¹⁹

Gibbon largely accepts Claudian's portraits of the principal figures of the period; it is intriguing to read his characterisations through a historical lens.⁷²⁰ He writes of Rufinus that Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by his elevation of 'an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime.'⁷²¹ His account of the latter's crimes includes the exiles of Promotus and Tatian and the execution of

⁷¹⁸ Gibbon 1995, 911.

⁷¹⁹ Gibbon's copy of the Heinsius 1650 edition is in the University Library in Adelaide, Australia; my copy of the same edition suggests very little room for marginalia.

⁷²⁰ The Middle English translation of 1445 of a fragment of *Stil.* 2, probably by Osbern Bokenham, instead uses *Stil.* 2.1-423 as the source for a homily addressed to Richard, Duke of York, the father of Edward IV. Stilicho is taken as a role model for the Duke and the translation stresses that *honor est merces virtutis*. Visser-Fuchs (2008, 72-3) makes the attractive suggestion that the passage was chosen in part because of its mention of England and Scotland. As Moul has written, it is clear that a number of the Puritan poets, including Andrew Marvell and Payne Fisher (the latter writing in Latin) were well aware of Claudian, in particular as a source of political advice where Stilicho serves as a model for Oliver Cromwell. They also took over many of Claudian's similes (Moul 2017, 541-3).

⁷²¹ Gibbon 1995, 905.

Proculus.⁷²² Certainly Gibbon accepts Claudian's accusations that Rufinus was planning to usurp the throne and had treated secretly with Huns and the Goths, inviting them to invade.

The historian also adopts Claudian's portrayal of Stilicho, writing: 'The first measure of his administration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit worthy to command.'⁷²³ He believes Claudian's claim that the general was entitled to claim the guardianship of both of Theodosius' sons, noting that 'Roman law distinguishes two sorts of minority, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the *tutor*, or guardian of the person; the other to the *curator*, or trustee of the estate.' He concludes the note by stating that 'these legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy'.⁷²⁴

Gibbon often cites Claudian as his source for events, including Stilicho's first expedition to the Rhine, and the death of Rufinus.⁷²⁵ The poet is the source for his description of Gildo, including his switch of allegiance from Honorius to Arcadius. In particular he accepts the poet's evaluation of Gildo's character and actions.⁷²⁶ He even jokes about Honorius's passion for Maria that Claudian describes, 'But the amorous impatience which Claudian attributes to the young prince must excite the smiles of the court.'⁷²⁷ In chapter XXX, Gibbon continues his narrative, in which he follows the poet closely, including the revolt of the Goths, Stilicho's invasion of Greece, the plans of Honorius and his court to flee to Gaul, and the battle of Pollentia.

⁷²² *Ruf.* 1.233, 246-9. Bernstein 2022, 88 cites Zosimus 5.2 and Asterius *Homily* 4.9.3.

⁷²³ Gibbon 1995, 912.

⁷²⁴ Gibbon 1995, 912, n. 13.

⁷²⁵ Gibbon 1995, 914 citing *Ruf.* 2.405-7.

⁷²⁶ Gibbon 1995, 916-20.

⁷²⁷ Gibbon 1995, 921.

Occasionally, he will correct the poet, as when he notes that Claudian does not answer the question where Honorius was when Alaric was threatening Milan.⁷²⁸ His account of the events of the period should be seen as a valiant attempt to draw a coherent narrative from Claudian's poetry, even if some of his conclusions have been overturned by more recent scholars; most notably he assumes that Stilicho made only a single incursion into Thessaly in 395, his troops travelling from Thessaly via Thermopylae to reach finally Arcadia in the Peloponnese.⁷²⁹ Many cities were sacked along the way, although Athens was spared on the payment of a ransom. It is, however, his evaluation of Stilicho that is most at variance with his successors, notably Bury, his famous editor.

Bury devotes chapter V of his *History of the Later Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian* to Stilicho; the chapter is entitled *The Supremacy of Stilicho*.⁷³⁰ His second edition is notable for his virulent attacks on the general, whom he accuses of having reached a secret agreement with Alaric when he had the opportunity to eliminate him.⁷³¹ He ended his account of his time in power

⁷²⁸ Gibbon 1995, 932, n. 22. Gibbon suggested Asta, but, as Crees 1908, 163, n. 1 writes, most authorities prefer Milan.

⁷²⁹ Gibbon 1995, 924-7.

⁷³⁰ Bury 1923, 106-73, especially 106-29 and 161-73. Bury published two editions of the *History of the Later Roman Empire* which differ substantially in their treatment of Stilicho and in their narrative of events. The first edition, published in 1889, covered a longer period, 395 to 800, from Arcadius to the Empress Irene; it is a slighter work, in which two brief chapters cover the relevant events, Chapter I, of 17 pages, entitled *Rufinus and Eutropius*, and Chapter 4, of 15 pages, *Stilicho and Alaric*.

⁷³¹ Bury 1923, 162-3. My confidence in his scholarship is weakened by the fact that he then declares (1923, 163) that Honorius's visit to Rome in 403 was the emperor's

writing in an account of his execution, 'The fall of Stilicho caused little regret in Italy. For thirteen and a half years, this half-Romanised German had been master of western Europe, and he had signally failed in his task of defending the inhabitants and the civilization of the provinces against the greedy barbarians who infested its frontiers.'⁷³² In his vituperation, he blames the general for all the disasters that befell the western empire, emphasising his failure to eliminate Alaric, which he attributes to a lack of patriotism, minimising his defeat of Radagaisus, and finishing by stating that he was responsible for the collapse of the western empire.⁷³³

It is appropriate to examine his views more closely. Bury makes clear his sentiments, which are very hostile to the barbarians on whom Rome depended for its military: 'However this may be, the historical essence of the matter is that a body of restless uncivilised Germans could not abide permanently in the centre of Roman provinces in a semi-dependent, ill-defined relation to the Roman government.'⁷³⁴ In the first edition, his narrative is simple, even if unsupported by facts: Alaric and Stilicho had reached a secret agreement in 397 at Pholoe in Arcadia, where the ultimate purpose was to place Eucherius, Stilicho's young son, as an Emperor;

first visit to the city. Clearly he had forgotten his Claudian, both *III Hon.* 128-30 and *VI Hon.* 53-5.

⁷³² Bury 1923, 172. I have found no clear explanation for his prejudice. The son of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, he was born in 1861 and certainly shared the Victorian ideals of progress and rationality. At his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge in January 1903, he made it clear that he did not regard history as a branch of literature and denied that the historian's job was to clothe the story of human society in literary dress.

⁷³³ Bury 1923, 173.

⁷³⁴ Bury 1889, 64. Mathisen has recently and convincingly argued (2019, 139) an opposite view, that the barbarian settlers had become increasingly assimilated into the Roman world.

Alaric's reward was that he could remain undisturbed in Illyricum for several years. His first judgment of Stilicho was much less harsh, and one that we might be tempted to agree with, 'He was half a Roman and half a barbarian; he was half-strong and half-weak; he was half-patriotic and half-selfish. His intentions were unscrupulous but he was almost afraid of them.'⁷³⁵

Cameron in 1970 addressed Stilicho's successes or failures as the commander in the West, as he attempted to parse Claudian's poetry and to identify where the poet had been 'economical with the truth.' His most trenchant statement of his position reads as follows:

'In my opinion, there can be no doubt whatever that Claudian was acting as Stilicho's official propagandist; that the lines just quoted and similar passages in all of his nine other major political poems were written at the instigation or with the approval of either Stilicho or those close to him, with the deliberate intention of publicizing and justifying his policies and actions.'⁷³⁶

This statement was widely viewed as extreme and was criticised by a number of scholars, most notably the German scholars, Christian Gnilka and Siegmund Döpp, on the grounds that Claudian's audience was small in number and the poems not widely disseminated.⁷³⁷ It is also notable that Cameron's revisionist version of events is frequently at a marked variance of the accounts of Otto Seeck, Émilienne Demougeot and Ernst Stein. There seems to have been a focus by English-speaking

⁷³⁵ Bury 1889, 78. He is rather ruder about Claudian, writing 'If he were not a poet, we would say that he was the most outrageous liar.' (1889, 75).

⁷³⁶ Cameron 1970, 42.

⁷³⁷ Gnilka 1977, 44-5.

scholars on the role of individuals, notably Stilicho, whereas continental scholarship has adopted a broader brush.

Seeck's thesis is the reverse of Darwinism, rather than 'An Evolution of the Species', there was an 'Ausrottung der Besten.'⁷³⁸ Earlier he described the triumph of the 'Knechtssinn.'⁷³⁹ It is perhaps easy to dismiss his argument, especially his view that the effects of a moral decadence led to the inevitable collapse of the western Roman empire; we must remember that he was the inspiration for Spengler's 'The Decline and Fall of the West.' Stein dramatically adjusts Seeck's views, as he suggests that it was the imperial bureaucracy that enabled a continuation of empire as they were the only bulwark against the greed of the Senate, the latter especially powerful in the West, where its members were never willing to contribute any resources to furnish troops to the army. The fact that the officials of the eastern empire were less wellborn than those in the west had led to an increase in competence; he states that the continued success of the east was due to its efficiency and the absence of a powerful Senate.⁷⁴⁰

The first audiences to whom Claudian delivered his poems were very select as he insists in some of his prefaces, most notably in the preface to *VI Hon.* but also in the preface to *Theod.*⁷⁴¹ It seems clear that the audiences for the two invectives, *Ruf.* and *Eutr.* were of similar standing.⁷⁴² Certainly his poems were in circulation

⁷³⁸ Seeck 1919, 2.431.

⁷³⁹ Seeck 1919, 1. 336.

⁷⁴⁰ Stein, 1959, 52.

⁷⁴¹ *VI Hon. praef.* 3-6, *Theod. praef.* 19-20. In *IV Hon.* (577-83), Claudian describes his audience as Italian nobility, leaders from Hispania, learned citizens from Gaul, numerous consuls and the whole Senate from Rome. It also included all those enobled by Honorius or Theodosius.

⁷⁴² Long 1996, 196 citing *Ruf. praef.* 16.

after their first delivery, as Augustine and Prudentius⁷⁴³ respectively quote directly from individual poems and, in close intertextual engagement, comment on and correct lines.⁷⁴⁴ Usually this may be considered part of the Roman poetical tradition of *variatio*, where for example the image of the stalled horse can be traced from

⁷⁴³ Dorfbauer's analysis (2012, 48-58, 69) of the literary relationship between Claudian and Prudentius is especially useful.

⁷⁴⁴ Augustine and Orosius emend Claudian's lines describing the battle of Frigidus, 'O nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris/ Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aether/ et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti' (*Hon. III. 93-5*) ('O certainly beloved of god, for whom Aeolus pours forth armed storms from his caves, for whom the skies fight and the winds, forming a conspiracy, come against the battle-trumpets') by excising the middle line (*De civ. Dei* 5.25, Orosius *Hist.* 7. 35). It should be added that both writers had just condemned Claudian as a pagan, *a Christi nomine alienus*' and *paganus pervicacissimus*. Prudentius wrote after Claudian, describing the battle of Pollentia as follows:

numquid et ille dies Iove contulit auspice tantum
virtutis pretium? dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique. (*c. Symm.* 2. 708-11)

'Did that day too bestow its great reward of valour by Jupiter's favour? To lead our army and our power we had a young warrior mighty in Christ, and his companion and father Stilicho, and Christ the one God of both.' (trans. Thomson, (Loeb, 1953)). He is clearly correcting Claudian's lines,

quis Musis ipsoque licet Paeane recepto
enarrare queat, quantum Gradivus in illa
luce suae dederit fundator originis urbi? (*Get.* 598-600)

'Who might be able to describe in detail, even if inspired by the Muses and Apollo the Healer himself, how much Mars, the founder, gave to his own city on that day?' Dunn 2010, 60-1 accepts that *Get.* was written first.

Homer through Ennius and Virgil to Claudian, as each poet adjusted the imagery of his predecessors.⁷⁴⁵ However, both Augustine and Prudentius are concerned to point out errors of fact. Although we do not know how swiftly poems were distributed to a wider audience beyond their first presentation, it seems likely that it was swift. Peter Schmidt is surely correct in his doubts that the main method of circulation of the poet's works was through a collected edition of the *carmina maiora* that was published at Stilicho's instigation after the poet's silence.⁷⁴⁶ Such a publication would have been an act of self-glorification for the generalissimo, as given the lapse of time there would have been no value as propaganda.

The prefaces, which I analysed in chapter 4, served as an introduction to individual poems, where *VI Hon. praef.* is both the most substantial and most explicit, suggesting Claudian's own reevaluation of his role. Their purpose seems in part intended to flatter his first audiences, in both Milan and Rome rather than to be seen as a source of information on current affairs.⁷⁴⁷ The allusiveness of Claudian's references to individual events (see Appendix to this chapter) makes it unlikely that they would have been a source for information on current events for many in his audience.

Both Döpp and Gnilka realised that, if the two invectives *Ruf.* and *Eutr.* cannot be classified as propaganda, Cameron's thesis fails: the panegyrics would remain panegyrics.⁷⁴⁸ One of their arguments is based on the fact that Stilicho took no part in the events that led to the lynching of Rufinus and the exile of Eutropius: both were events that took place in Constantinople, the first an uprising by disaffected troops, and the second as a result of a decree of Arcadius, perhaps at the instigation

⁷⁴⁵ I discuss this image in detail in chapter 5.

⁷⁴⁶ Schmidt 1989, 391.

⁷⁴⁷ See chapter 4 above.

⁷⁴⁸ Gnilka 1976, 100-1 and 1977, 27-8.

of Eudoxia; Stilicho's wishes and plans were irrelevant, even as Claudian suggests that they were, in some form, being carried out. His absence suggests a reluctance to be seen in the city, as he continued to pursue his objective of becoming master of both parts of the empire. He was trying not to create hostility in Constantinople, where he was deeply unpopular, as Claudian intimated when he wrote: *at vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam/ Eutropium si Cyprus habet?*⁷⁴⁹ ('Do you believe that the palace (Constantinople) has been really cleansed if Cyprus holds Eutropius?') The appeals to Stilicho in the two invectives were not a call to action but intended to contrast how much better life was in the West under the aegis of the general, neatly summed up by Claudian's lines that end *Eutr. 2: clipeus nos protegat idem/ unaque pro gemino desudet cardine virtus.*⁷⁵⁰ ('May the same shield protect us and may one man's courage labour for the twin empires.')

They argue, against Cameron, that the three poems, *Olybr., III Hon. and Theod.* are very similar in their approach to praising individuals through the route of a third party, typically Theodosius.⁷⁵¹ Werner Taegert has further suggested that the choice of the two very young men to become consuls in *Olybr.* has a deeper purpose as the emperor strives to reestablish the unity of the empire.⁷⁵² An additional argument that Döpp introduces is that the two-part poems were written and conceived as a single unity,⁷⁵³ and therefore both *Ruf. 1* and *Eutr. 1* describe events

⁷⁴⁹ Cited by Cameron 2020, 266. *Eutr. 2.20-1.*

⁷⁵⁰ *Eutr. 2.601-2.* Claudian is careful to suggest the Greek optative.

⁷⁵¹ Maier (2019, 214-5) suggests the Claudian portrays Honorius as a prospective warrior in both *Hon. III 39-62* and *Hon. IV 319-52.*

⁷⁵² Taegert 1988, 33.

⁷⁵³ Intriguingly Fargues believes that the two books of *Ruf.* were written as a unity, but not *Eutr.* (Fargues 1933, 15 and 23).

that, presented as wishes, had in fact already occurred.⁷⁵⁴ He notes that it would have been very dangerous for Stilicho, through Claudian, to have been seen to be advocating the removal of either Rufinus or Eutropius when they were still in power, especially during the latter's consulship so long as the declaration of Stilicho as *publicus hostis* remained in effect.⁷⁵⁵ It seems clear that the decree casting Stilicho led to his very diminished role in the campaign against Gildo in *Gild.*; by contrast, the anathema over, Stilicho is able to take all credit in *Stil.* 1. Although there is a striking parallelism in the appearances of Roma and Aurora at the end of each book of *Eutr.* serving to remind his audience that the general was the proper master of both the western and eastern empires, an ongoing theme of the poet, Long's demolition of Döpp's argument for the unity of the two poems is convincing.⁷⁵⁶

A tendency of Cameron that Döpp and Gnilka criticise is his reliance on negative inference, that if Claudian makes a claim, the opposite is likely to be true. For example the poet often describes how Stilicho had managed to form a multinational, multilingual army; Cameron sees this as a sign of weakness leading to a lack of discipline, which he also deduces from Claudian's emphasis on the good behaviour of the troops.⁷⁵⁷ It was the cause of both his willingness to return the eastern army to his friend and supporter Gainas, who is never mentioned by the poet, and his repeated reluctance to engage in battle with Alaric.

⁷⁵⁴ Cameron remains adamant that *Gild.* was conceived as a multi-part epic (2020, 269-70) but as Hall rather waspishly remarks, what was the intended subject matter? The earlier campaigns against Firmus had been both difficult and long drawn-out (Hall 1983, 203).

⁷⁵⁵ Döpp 1978, 192.

⁷⁵⁶ Long 1996, 158-9.

⁷⁵⁷ Cameron 1970, 375. Contrast Gnilka 1977, 32, 37.

Cameron's later views are more nuanced, in particular as he changed his view of Claudian as the mouthpiece of Stilicho, describing him not as someone who wrote to the generalissimo's orders but a member of his inner councils.⁷⁵⁸ As a result the poet was well aware of Stilicho's immediate plans, and his objectives, which Cameron summarises as 'Claudian systematically represents Stilicho as the sole protector of the two young Augusti and champion of concord between east and west.'⁷⁵⁹ As part of this, he will attack the latter's opponents. It is doubtful whether this should be characterised as propaganda; it certainly seems very similar to what the Augustan poets wrote, especially Horace and Virgil, where scholars have long ago abandoned the idea that their poetry could be viewed so simplistically.⁷⁶⁰ Certainly they wrote several years after the defeat and death of Cleopatra, where as Claudian's subject matter is the very recent past. They vilify Cleopatra and portray Augustus as the man who has restored concord to the world, most strikingly at the end of the first book of the *Georgics*, where Virgil asks that the young Caesar be saved to bring order to a world that he compares to a chariot out-of-control.⁷⁶¹ Claudian's descriptions of the general's opponents and Stilicho himself do not seem very different.

⁷⁵⁸ Cameron 2000, 136. 'Claudian was not a hired propagandist, but a member of Stilicho's inner councils, who took it upon himself to exploit his personal success as a poet, in the interest of his patron. There is no duality here, a poet forced to become a propagandist.' In many ways, his views mirror the picture of Claudian that Fargues proposed in 1933, where he wrote 'Il ressemble souvent à un journaliste inspiré par un gouvernement. Il paraît avoir suivi parfois un mot d'ordre qui lui était donné soit par Stilicho lui-même, soit plus vraisemblablement par l'un de ses courtisans les plus influents et les plus avertis.' (1933, 57-8).

⁷⁵⁹ Cameron 2016, 137.

⁷⁶⁰ Horace *Carm.* 1.37. 6-12 and Virgil *Aen.* 8.696-9.

⁷⁶¹ Virgil, *Georg.* 492-514.

In a posthumous article published in 2020, Cameron argued that Claudian used the prefaces and proems in a number of poems to update them to take account of news of events that the poet received after the bulk of an individual work had been completed. Some of these updates are especially striking, notably the exile of Eutropius to Cyprus, reported in *Eutr. praef.* 2.52. Here he is clearly correct and the examples he cites are convincing but they also vitiate his argument that Claudian was writing propaganda. The modern usage of the term has dreadful connotations but its original purpose, as in the Catholic *De propaganda Fide*, founded in 1622 to foster the spread of Catholicism, was to convey a message to a wide audience. It was a demand for action, that people either move to change the status quo or take pleasure in it: there is a need for a purpose. The poet fails on all counts, especially in his last-minute additions: his audience would have been small, even if distinguished, his references to recent events usually elliptical, and his audience probably unaware of the significance of any update.

Cameron writing in 1970 was perhaps over-enchanted with his thesis that Claudian should be regarded primarily as a propagandist, whose function he regarded was to mislead his audience through both concealment and misrepresentation of the events of the day. The historian's primary weapon was negative inference, as he routinely charges Claudian as ready to lie in support of his patron, often suggesting that an assertion by the poet was intended to conceal a failure by Stilicho.⁷⁶²

I now will attempt to identify the facts that can be gleaned from Claudian, and, I hope, their relevance to his audience. Certainly they will have been interested in and affected by some of the events in Honorius's reign. The threat posed by Gildo to the senators who possessed large estates in Africa, as well as southern Italy and Sicily, provides a clear example. I intend to use it as a case study in particular as

⁷⁶² Gnilka 1977, 32.

there is relevant numismatic evidence. Other case studies include Alaric, where there are no sources save the literary, and the disturbances taking place in the eastern empire. But first, it may be helpful to present some general considerations that contextualise the period for which Claudian is a source.

3. Background to the reigns of the Theodosian emperors.

There are two book ends must be taken into any account of the Theodosian dynasty, the battle of Adrianople in 378 and the sack of Rome in 410. Both were catastrophes, although in each case perhaps less destructive than appeared to contemporaries, to many of whom they signaled the destruction of the Roman world. Jerome wrote of the first in 396, *Romanus orbis ruit*.⁷⁶³ but others were less gloomy. As Noel Lenski has written, Ammianus Marcellinus may be uniquely sanguine when he notes that Rome had suffered similar calamities in the past before going on to list other disasters both ancient and modern that afflicted Rome but the city survived.⁷⁶⁴ Jerome is as emotional when he writes about the sack of 410: *capitur urbs, quae totum cepit orbem. Immo fame perit ante quam gladio et vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt*.⁷⁶⁵ ('The city which captured the whole world is now captured. It was destroyed by hunger before the sword and very few have been found to become captives.')

⁷⁶³ Jerome *Ep.* 60.16. 'The Roman world is collapsing.'

⁷⁶⁴ Lenski 1997, 161, citing Ammianus 31.5.11. *negant antiquitatum ignari, tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse rem publicam, sed falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi*. ('Ignorant of ancient history, they deny that the Roman state was ever before afflicted by such dark disasters, but they are wrong, numbed by recent calamities.') It is, however, a rather cautious optimism that Ammianus displays, and it is the only such passage in Book 31.

⁷⁶⁵ Jerome *Ep.* 127.12.

There has been a tendency amongst scholars to project backwards the sack as something both inevitable and anticipated but both Adrianople and the sack of Rome occurred largely as a result of Roman misjudgments. Each has an emotional resonance, the former as a defeat only matched by the battle of Cannae, and the second by the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 BCE. Valens and his commanders may simply not have understood that many of the enemy forces were as well equipped as the Roman army; as Cameron has noted Roman military dominance, in terms of tactics and weaponry, had largely evaporated.⁷⁶⁶ Adrianople certainly happened within Claudian's lifetime (the sack probably not, given his silence after 404), but both Claudian and Ammianus, writing after the battle, as well as Rutilius, who wrote after the sack, remain relentlessly optimistic in their belief in the eternity of Rome.⁷⁶⁷

Wars were waged during Claudian's time of writing, but in the western empire in the years 395-404, when he wrote the political poems that survive, they should better be described as insurrections rather than as wars, in contrast to the civil wars faced by Theodosius in 389 and 394 or by Arcadius in the East.⁷⁶⁸ In particular, prior to Alaric's invasion of Italy in 401, the West was largely peaceful. However, if the poet is viewed as a propagandist, as Cameron has long argued, all his accounts of the successes of both Stilicho and Honorius must be viewed with scepticism, even if outside evidence from both archaeology and numismatics makes it clear that Rome enjoyed a time of unparalleled prosperity in these years.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁶ Cameron 1970, 187.

⁷⁶⁷ *De reditu suo* 1.139-40.

⁷⁶⁸ Mathisen (2019, 149) has recently suggested that Alaric's incursions should be described as 'civil wars' rather than barbarian invasions, given his many commands in the Roman army.

⁷⁶⁹ Dey 2011, 48, Solly 2019, 49-50.

A key factor was the number of troops available to any Roman general. In *Not. Dig.* it is suggested that the Roman army remained huge (to Jones, over 500,000⁷⁷⁰) but, as Gibbon noted, citing Orosius, the forces gathered to assist Mascezel, while glorious in name, were small in number, a mere 5,000. The troops, who were subjected to a speech of encouragement from Honorius that Claudian recreated (*Gild.* 424-66), consisted of three famous legions, the Jovian, the Herculan, and the Augustan, the Nervian auxiliaries and three additional units, one with a lion as a standard, and the others named Fortunate and Invincible.⁷⁷¹ A shortage of troops that could form an effective military force continued to bedevil Stilicho throughout his career; it was largely due to the aftermath of Adrianople where the number of casualties among the most seasoned officers and soldiers was very large, two-thirds of an army that numbered 30,000 to 40,000.⁷⁷² Legions had to be stripped from Germany and Britain, as Claudian recounts, to create a force to battle Alaric as he threatened Milan in 401, and Wijnendaele has convincingly argued that that it took Stilicho a number of months to gather the three units, of perhaps 5,000 each, that he used to defeat Radagaisus.⁷⁷³ In this last campaign, he was even compelled to recruit slaves.⁷⁷⁴ Indeed, it is probable that a principal reason that Stilicho attempted to reestablish western rule over part of Illyricum was its value as a recruiting ground, just as the Isaurians would become a major source of recruitment for the eastern army.

⁷⁷⁰ Jones (1964, I, 202) estimates there were 350,000 troops in the eastern army at the end of Arcadius's reign, of which 250,000 were *limitanei*, citing *Not. Dig.* as his source. The fighting value of the latter was probably minimal.

⁷⁷¹ Gibbon 1995, 318-9; the units are listed by Claudian (*Gild.* 415-23).

⁷⁷² Lenski 2002, 339.

⁷⁷³ Wijnendaele 2016, 271 in a nice confirmation of Gibbon's acuity.

⁷⁷⁴ *CTh.* 7.13.16.

4. Chronology of principal events in the Years 378-404⁷⁷⁵
- 378 Battle of Adrianople.
- 379 Appointment of Theodosius as emperor.
- 383 Stilicho's embassy to Persia *Stil.* 1.51-3. [52].
- 384 Birth of Honorius.
- 386 First consulate of Honorius.
Tribigild, leader of Greuthungi, settled in Phrygia.
- 388 Revolt and defeat of Maximus. Maximus' revolt took place in 383, the conquest of Italy in 387 and his death in 388. *Olybr.* 107-8; *IV Hon.* 72-7, 91-7. [2, 20, 21].
- 389 Honorius' first visit to Rome, in company of Theodosius. *III Hon.* 128-9; *VI Hon.* 53-5. [6, 87].
- 391(?) Alaric's revolt against Theodosius: confrontation on the Hebrus.
- 392 Defeat of Promotus.
Vengeance of Stilicho on Promotus's opponents. *Stil.* 1.102-3. [55].
Crimes of Rufinus. *Ruf.* 1.246-9, 307-10, 322-3. [10, 11, 12].
- 393 Honorius declared Augustus.
- 394 Second consulate of Honorius.
Victory of Theodosius at battle of Frigidus in September. Deaths of Eugenius and Arbogast. *Olybr.* 73-4, 107-8; *III Hon.* 63-7, 93-8, 102-4; *IV Hon.* 72-7, 91-7; *Gild.* 245-7. [1, 2, 3, 4, 20, 21, 33].
- 395 Death of Theodosius at Milan in January.
Accession of Arcadius and Honorius as emperors in the East and West respectively. Appointment of Stilicho as guardian to Honorius and, possibly, Arcadius. *III Hon.* 152-3, *Ruf.* 2.4-6; *Gild.* 1-3; *Stil.* 1.140-1; *Stil.* 2,53-5, 58-60; *VI Hon.* 583 (only Honorius). [8, 14, 27, 57, 64, 65,98].

⁷⁷⁵ Numerals in brackets refer to Appendix.

- Rufinus' campaigns (?). *Ruf.* 2.26-46. [15].
- Marriage of Arcadius to Eudoxia (April 27th).
- Lynching of Rufinus (November 27th) *Ruf. praef.* 1,15-8; *Ruf.* 2.404, 406-7; *Gild.* 304-5 [9, 19, 34,].
- Invasion of Thessaly by Alaric. *Eutr.* 2,214-6. [49].
- 396⁷⁷⁶ Stilicho's pacification of the Rhine, perhaps best regarded as a recruiting expedition.
- 397 Invasion of Greece by Alaric, via Thermopylae and Boeotia to Peloponnese. Arrival by sea of Stilicho's army. *Stil.* 1.183-4. [58].
- Truce negotiated at Pholoe in Arcadia. Withdrawal of both armies from Greece. *IV Hon.* 459-60; *Nupt.* 178-9. [23, 26].
- Autumn/ November. Suspension of corn supply from Africa to Rome by Gildo. *Gild.* 66-7, 153-5; *Stil.* 1.271-3; *Stil.* 3.91-2. [30, 31, 61, 70].
- 398 Marriage of Honorius and Maria *Stil.* 1.78-9. [26].
- Invasion of Libya by Mascezel *Gild.* 389-91, 418-23, 504-6, 525-6; *Stil.* 1.3-4, 307-8, 326-9. [35, 36, 37, 38, 51, 62, 63].
- Defeat and death of Gildo *Gild.* 6, 9-11; *Stil.* 1.248-50. [28, 29, 60].
- 399 Consulate of Eutropius. *Theod.* 266-9; *Eutr.* 1.8, 296-7, 410, 413-4; *Eutr. praef.* 2.10, 19, 52; *Stil.* 2,279-81. [39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 68].
- Eutropius' victory over the Huns.
- Exile and death of Eutropius (17th August).
- Revolt of Goths, led by Tribigild, in Phrygia.
- 401 Stilicho's campaign in Raetia *Get.* 278-80. Panic in Milan *Get.* 226-8. [76].
- 402 Move of Court to Ravenna.
- Alaric's invasion of Italy and siege of Milan.
- Battle of Pollentia. *Get.* 36-7, 77-9, 419-22. [72, 73, 78].
- Letting loose of Alaric. *Get.* 95-9. [74].
- Battle of Verona. *VI Hon.* 201-3. [90].

⁷⁷⁶ Cameron's argument (2020, 267) for a date of 396 rather than 397 is convincing,

403 Honorius' move to Rome.

404 Sixth consulate of Honorius.

Beauty of Rome *Stil.* 3,85-8, 132-5, *VI Hon.* 50-2, 370-2. [69, 71, 86, 96].

Completion of the rebuilding of city walls *VI Hon.* 531, 534-6. [97].

Silence and possible death of Claudian.

5. Case Studies

Gibbon's comments may serve as a helpful interpretation of and counterpart to Claudian's account, in particular because he is so different in his observations. He describes Alaric as 'the honourable ally and servant of the East'. By contrast he attributes to Gildo more explicit ravishments and further descents by Eutropius into depravity than are found in Claudian.⁷⁷⁷

5.1 Alaric

The scanty details that we know of Alaric's life from his first incursion into the Roman empire in 376⁷⁷⁸ until Claudian's silence in 404 are largely drawn from the poet. Other sources document his later career, including the siege and sack of Rome in 410 and his death. Theodosius refers to the campaigns which he waged with Stilicho in *III. Hon.*⁷⁷⁹ They may include a campaign against Alaric prior to

⁷⁷⁷ Gibbon 1995 916, 924 and 1012.

⁷⁷⁸ *Get.* 488-9: '*tricesima currit/ bruma fere, rapidum postquam transnavimus Histrum.*' ('The thirtieth winter is passing since we swam across the swift-flowing Danube'), with perhaps some poetic license: *Get.* was delivered in 402.

⁷⁷⁹ *III Hon.* 142-3.

394.⁷⁸⁰ It is clear that Alaric had some role in the Roman army at the battle of the Frigidus in 394 and some official role in Illyricum following the battle.⁷⁸¹ Claudian's descriptions are almost always hostile and suggest that the poet believed he was long determined on the destruction of Rome. Many modern historians have disputed this characterisation, suggesting that he and his people were driven into the Roman empire by pressure from outside forces, in particular the Huns; Alaric's primary purpose was a search for *Lebensraum*, a secure home for his people under his own administration.⁷⁸² It was only when he was expelled from Illyricum, a decision taken by Eutropius, perhaps following his victory over the Huns, that he turned to freebootery. The consul may also have intended to rid the eastern empire of a troublesome vassal. Obviously the latter's triumph that Claudian describes is intended as a travesty.⁷⁸³

5.2 Gildo

I believe it is possible to create a coherent narrative to explain Claudian's changing account of the defeat of Gildo, from the efficient if inglorious assassination that he describes in *Gild.* to the triumphal victory that he celebrates in the first book of *Stil.* Both archaeological and numismatic evidence and recent research on climate

⁷⁸⁰ Cameron 1970, 179 without citing evidence. A date as early as 391 must ignore the Gothic chieftain's emphasis in *Get.* 488-9, where he affirms that it is not yet thirty years since Alaric took up arms against the Roman empire.

⁷⁸¹ *Get.* 535-9.

⁷⁸² Dewar, for example, writes (1994, 366) that 'Alaric and his Goths were more concerned with finding land for permanent settlement than with plunder,' a bold if unconvincing statement that brazenly ignores all of the poet's statements to the contrary. Liebeschuetz (1993, 260) is suitably dismissive, suggesting that Alaric's motivation was the lure of the wealth of Rome and Italy.

⁷⁸³ *Eutr.* 1.254-6. See Appendix.

change in Roman Africa (here I would emphasise the significance of local climate change, noted by Kyle Harper⁷⁸⁴) provide a contrast to earlier studies that have viewed Gildo's rebellion as an attempt to create a kingdom for himself, subject only to nominal control from Constantinople.⁷⁸⁵

5.3 Upheavals in Constantinople

Theodosius, after his appointment in 379, regarded Constantinople as the proper capital of the Roman empire, as is evidenced by his substantial rebuilding programme, both of churches, including a memorial tomb for his family, and of triumphal arches.⁷⁸⁶ His visit to Rome was brief and apparently largely ceremonial, intended perhaps to win over the senators who had supported Maximus.⁷⁸⁷ Whilst the western empire remained comparatively untroubled after Theodosius' death the eastern empire was racked by both internal discord and external invasions. Claudian gives us witness to both, and it is clear that he is well informed about events in the east although transmission of news from either part of the empire to the other was fractured, as Eunapius records.⁷⁸⁸ His invectives *Ruf.* and *Eutr.* give proof even if biased of internal discord, and his account of the invasion of Tribigild, as well as of the Huns, show invasions from the outside.⁷⁸⁹ However, his accounts are highly selective, as he ignores major figures such as Gainas. He will also ignore internal dissension, in particular its existence and the strife between the foreigners who at this time made up the largest part of the Roman army and their opponents.

⁷⁸¹ Harper 2019, 29-30.

⁷⁸⁵ See chapter 7.

⁷⁸⁶ McCormick 1986, 44-5.

⁷⁸⁷ Dewar 1996, 101.

⁷⁸⁸ Eunapius *fr.* 74 (Müller).

⁷⁸⁹ *Eutr.* 1.254-6, 2.235-7.

Tribigild's incursion was unexpected, although Claudian's portrayal suggests that a motive was his treatment compared to that of Alaric.⁷⁹⁰ Synesius' *Pro regno* seems more a pamphlet for the pleasure of his supporters with his demands that good Romans should be ready to take up arms; the very existence of the work confirms that Constantinople was seething with discord. A certain complaint is the reluctance of the citizens of the empire to defend their inheritance, and it is notable how Claudian has taken up the same hostility to the inhabitants of Constantinople, as Kelly has noted.⁷⁹¹

Claudian obviously will take delight in the rather shameful behaviour of the senators in the east, in particular as he disparages not only the birth and breeding of the senators in Constantinople but their patriotism.⁷⁹² Both Döpp and Gnilka have suggested his comments were a sign of the final fracture of the two halves of the empire, and that he in spite of his origin was willing and able to criticize the east, in a policy of 'Antihellenismus.' This I am certain is based on a misunderstanding of the poet's role as a proud Alexandrian, for whom his city was the proper capital of the East, as laid out by Alexander and his successors, rather than the parvenu Constantinople.⁷⁹³

6. Conclusion

It is perhaps fair to summarise Claudian as accurate but partial in his accounts of contemporary events. Certainly he never intended to serve as an historical source: his account of Eutropius is a masterpiece of innuendo, owing

⁷⁹⁰ *Eutr.* 2.214-7.

⁷⁹¹ Kelly 2013, 188 and 2012, 253-4.

⁷⁹² *Eutr.* 2.338-40.

⁷⁹³ Watts has a nice description of the beauties of Alexandria, citing Rufinus, *HE* 11. 23.

much to his literary predecessors and little to facts. In other poems, Stilicho is splendidly heroic, especially in his solitary journey through the Alps to save the empire. We can sometimes try to create an historical narrative, but only with the greatest caution, remaining aware that he was writing in immediate response to events. His audience was the western senatorial elite, probably largely Christian, but much more interested in their own estates and wealth than in taking any steps to assist in the defense of the empire.

Appendix

References to Contemporary Events by Poem

Olybr.

1. postquam fulmineis impellens viribus hostem
belliger Augustus trepidas laxaverat Alpes. (73-4)

After striking the enemy with lightning –like troops, the warring Augustus had relieved the anxious Alps.

2. sed pervia tantum
Augusto gemisque fidem mentita tyrannis. (107-8)

Accessible only to the Augustus and deceiving the trust of the two usurpers.

III Hon.

3. civilia rursus
bella tonant dubiumque quatit discordia mundum. (63-4)

barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes
sceptraque deiecto dederat Romana clienti.
iam princeps molitur iter gentesque remotas
colligit Aurorae. (66-9)

Civil wars again thunder and discord agitates an uncertain world. A barbarian exile had seized the cities of Italy and had given the Roman sceptre to a despised client. Now the emperor, undertaking a journey gathers the distant peoples of the East.

4. Victoria velox
auspiciis effecta tuis. (87-8)

te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
obruit adversas acies revolutaque tela
vertit in auctores et turbine reppulit hastas
o nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris
Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aether
et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti. (93-8)

A swift victory was completed under your auspices... Because of you the North Wind with its icy blasts from the mountain overwhelmed the opposing troops and turned the javelins back against their throwers and drove back the spears with its whirlwind. O certainly beloved of god, for whom Aeolus pours forth armed storms from his caves, for whom the skies fight and the winds, forming a conspiracy, come against the battle-trumpets.

5. at ferus inventor scelerum traiecerat altum
non uno mucrone latus, duplexque tepebat
ensis, et ultrices in se converterat iras. (102-4)

But the cruel inventor of crimes had pierced his deep side with not just one dagger, and both swords grew warm and he turned his avenging anger against himself.

6. cum tu genitoris amico
exceptus gremio mediam veherere per urbem. (128-9)

When wrapped in the friendly lap of your father, you were carried through the city.

7. Odrysium partier Getico foedavimus Hebrum

sanguine, Sarmaticas pariter prostravimus alas. (147-8)

We both fouled the Odrysian (Thracian) Hebrus with Getic blood, we both together routed the Sarmatian squadrons.

8. tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus
nostra fove: geminos dextra tu protege fratres. (152-3)

You take on my cares, you alone cherish our children: protect the two brothers with your right arm.

Ruf. praef. 1

9. nunc alio domini telis Pythone perempto
convenit ad nostram sacra caterva lyram,
qui stabilem servans Augustis fratribus orbem
iustitia pacem, viribus arma regit. (15-18)

Now after another Python was killed by the weapons of our lord the hallowed assembly gathers for our poem, (the lord) who, keeping the world stable for the brother Augusti, guides peace with justice and war with strength.

Ruf. 1

10. exscindere cives
funditus et nomen gentis delere laborat. (232-3)

He tries to extirpate totally the citizens and to destroy the name of the people (the Lycians).

11. iuvenum rorantia colla
ante patrum vultus stricta cecidere securi;
ibat grandaevus nato moriente superstes
post trabeas exul. (246-9)

The dewy necks of two youths fell to an axe in front of their father's face; the very old man, surviving as his son was dying, left as an exile after his consulship.

12. milite Romanas ardet prosternere vires,
iamque Getas Histrumque movet Scythiamque receptat
auxilio traditque suas hostilibus armis
reliquias. (307-10)

He burns to overthrow Roman forces with his army and now rouses the Getae and the (tribes of the) Danube and welcomes the Scythians with aid and hands over his own surviving forces to the arms of the enemy.

Ruf. praef. 2

13. tu quoque securis pulsa formidine Delphis
floribus ultorem, Delie, cinge tuum. (5-6)

You too, god of Delos, with Delphi safe and your terror banished, crown your avenger with flowers.

Ruf. 2.

14. iamque tuis, Stilicho, Romana potentia curis
et rerum commissus apex, tibi credita fratrum
utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus aulae. (4-6)

And now, Stilicho, Roman power and the summit of government is handed to your care, to you is entrusted each majesty and the army of the twin palace.

15. Summary description of Rufinus's campaigns. (26-46)

16. obsessa tamen ille ferus laetatur in urbe. (61)

The savage rejoices in the siege of the city (Constantinople).

17. iactabat ultro quod soli castra paterent
sermonumque foret vicibus permissa facultas. (73-4)

He voluntarily used to boast that the camp (Alaric's) was open only to him and an opportunity for conversation, speaking in turn, was given.

18. haec ubi, dictatur facinus missusque repente
qui ferat extortas invito principe voces. (169-70)

After these words, a criminal message is dictated and a man sent who carries the commands wrung from an unwilling leader.

19. sic fatur meritoque latus transverberat ictu.

mox omnes laniant hastis artusque trementes
dilacerant. (404, 406-7)

After this speech, he struck Rufinus on the body with a well deserved blow. Soon they all butcher him with their spears and tear to pieces his trembling limbs.

IV Hon.

20. per varium gemini scelus erupere tyranni
tractibus occiduis: hunc saeva Britannia fudit;
hunc sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul:
ausus uterque nefas, domini respersus uterque
insontis iugulo. novitas audere priori
suadebat cautumque dabant exempla sequentem. (72-7)

Through different crimes two usurpers burst forth from the regions of the west; savage Britain produced one; a German exile had chosen the other for his servant; each dared a crime, and each was sprinkled with blood from the throat of a guiltless ruled. Its novelty persuaded the former to be bold and the results made his successor cautious.

21. hic sponte carina
decidit in fluctus, illum suus abstulit ensis:
hunc Alpes, hunc pontus habet. solacia caesis
fratribus haec ultor tribuit: necis auctor uterque
labitur; Augustas par victima mitigat umbras.
has dedit inferias tumulis, iuvenumque duorum
purpureos merito placavit sanguine manes. (91-7)

One fell from his ship into the waves, his own sword killed the other. The first the Alps possess, the sea the other. The avenger gave these comforts to the slaughtered brothers; each author of crime has fallen; an equal victim calms the shades of the Augusti, he has given these offerings to their graves and he has appeased the crimson ghosts with deserved blood.

22. hunc tamen in primis populos lenire feroces
et Rhenum pacare iubes. (439-40)

However, you order him (Stilicho) especially to calm the fierce tribes and to pacify the Rhine.

23. post otia Galli
limitis hortaris Graias fulcire ruinas. (459-60)

After there is peace on the frontier of Gaul, you encourage him to repair the ruin of Greece.

24. plaustra cruore natant: metitur pellita iuventus:
pars morbo, pars ense perit. (466-7)

The wagons are swimming with blood; the fur-clad youth is mown down, one part dies from disease, the other by the sword.

25. confessusque parens Odothei regis opima
rettulit exuviasque tibi. civile secundis
conficis auspiciis bellum. tibi debeat orbis

fata Gruthungorum debellatumque tyrannum:

Hister sanguineos egit te consule fluctus;

Alpinos genitor rupit te consule montes. (632-7)

Your acknowledged father brought back to you the spolia opima (spoils) and armour of King Odothaeus. You ended a civil war under favourable auspices. The world should owe to you the doom of the Gruthungi and the subdued usurper: when you were consul, the Danube flowed with bloody waves; when you were consul, your father burst through the mountains of the Alps.

Nupt.

26. victrices nos saepe rates classemque paternam

veximus, attritis cum tenderet ultor Achivis. (178-9)

We often carried the victorious ship of her father's fleet when he set out to avenge the ground-down Greeks.

Gild.

27. redditus imperiis Auster subiectaque rursus

alterius convexa poli. rectore sub uno

conspirat geminus frenis communibus orbis. (1-3)

The South is again returned to our empire and the vault of the other pole is subject to us. The double world unites under a single ruler with shared control.

28. tertius occubuit nati virtute tyrannus. (6)

A third usurper has died through the courage of his son.

29. necdum Cinyphias exercitus attigit oris;

iam domitus Gildo. nullis victoria nodis

haesit. (9-11)

The army hadn't yet reached the African shore; now Gildo is tamed, a victory with no complications.

30. hanc quoque nunc Gildo rapuit sub fine cadentis
autumni. (66-7)

This Gildo also seized at the end of a fading autumn.

31. Gildoni fecunda fui. iam Solis habenae
bis senas torquent hiemes, cervicibus ex quo
haeret triste iugum. (153-5)

I was fertile for Gildo. Now the reins of the sun have guided twice six winters, since the harsh yoke has remained on my neck.

32. veteres detrudit rure colonos. (198)

He evicts long-settled farmers from their land.

33. fovere Getae, venere Geloni.
solus at hic non puppe data, non milite misso
subsedit fluitante fide. (245-7)

The Getae supported me, the Geloni came, but only he (Gildo), no ships supplied, no troops sent, waited as his loyalty wavered.

34. Rufinumque tibi, quem tu tremuisse fateris,
depulit. (304-5)

For you, he got rid of Rufinus, of whom you confessed you were afraid.

35. est illi patribus, sed non et moribus isdem
Mascezel, fugiens qui dira piacula fratris
spesque suas vitamque tuo commisit asylo. (389-91)

He has a brother, Mascezel; they are alike in their fathers but not in their morals. He (the latter), fleeing the dreadful the dreadful crimes of his brother, has entrusted his hopes and his life to your protection.

36. Stilicho's preparations for the war. (418-23)

37. iam classis in altum
provehitur; dextra Ligures, Etruria laeva
linquitur. (504-6)

Now the fleet is launched into the deep; Liguria on the right and Etruria on the left are left behind.

38. hanc omni petiere manu prorisque reductis
suspensa Zephyros expectant classe faventes. (525-6)

They made for this (harbour) with all their might, and after the prows were turned to face the sea, they wait for a favourable west wind while the fleet is at anchor.

Theod.

39. non hic violata curulis,
turpia non Latios inconstant nomina fastos;
fortibus haec concessa viris solisque gerenda
patribus et Romae numquam latura pudorem. (266-9)

The magistrate's office has not been profaned here nor do degrading names besmirch the Roman calendar; these are given to brave men and to be worn only by senators and will never bring shame in Rome.

Eutr. 1

40. omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra. (8)

Every monster has given way to a eunuch consul.

41. pro victore redit: peditum vexilla sequuntur
et turmae similes eunuchorumque manipuli,
Hellespontiatis legio dignissima signis. (254-6)

He returns as a victor: the flags of the infantry follow and similar squadrons and companies of eunuchs, a legion very suited to the standards of the Hellespont.

42. numquam spado consul in orbe erat
nec iudex ductorve fuit. (296-7)
There has never been a eunuch consul in the world, nor a judge or military leader.

43. ille quidem solvit meritas (scit Tabraca) poenas, (410)
He (Gildo) at least paid a deserved penalty, as Tabraca knows.

44. sed plus habitura pudoris
Eutropius consul. (413-4)
But a greater cause of shame, Eutropius a consul.

Eutr. praef. 2

45. annus qui trabeas hic dediit exilium. (10)
The year which gave him (both) the consulate and exile.

46. concidit exiguae dementia vulnere chartae. (19)
The madness ended because of the damage of a short letter.

47. quod tibi sub Cypri litore parta quies? (52)
Because a refuge has created for you on the shores of Cyprus.

Eutr. 2

48. at vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam
Eutropium si Cyprus habet? (20-1)
Do you believe that the palace (Constantinople) has been properly cleansed if
Cyprus holds Eutropius?

49. vastator Achivae
gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
praesidet Illyrico. (214-6)

Of course, who drove the fierce Visigoths back to their wagons or was able to destroy the Bastarnae, swollen with pride after the savage murder of Promotus, in a single act of destruction.

55. turmas equitum peditumque catervas
 hostilesque globos tumulo prosternis amici. (102-3)

You threw squadrons of cavalry and companies of infantry and enemy troops in front of the burial-mound of your friend (Promotus).

56. extinctique forent penitus, ni more maligno
 falleret Augustas occultus proditor aures
 obstrueretque moras strictumque reconderet ensem,
 solveret obsessos, praeberet foedera captis. (112-5)

They (the various tribes) would have been totally destroyed if in an evil fashion a hidden traitor had not deceived the ears of the emperor and found reasons for delay and blocked the drawn swords. He ended the siege and made a treaty with the captives.

57. genitor caesi post bella tyranni
 iam tibi commissis conscenderat aethera terris. (140-1)

Our father, after his wars with the slaughtered usurper, ascended to heaven, having just entrusted the empire to you.

58. quod te pugnante resurgens
 aegra caput mediis erexit Graecia flammis. (183-4)

Because as you fought a weakened Greece, now resurgent, has lifted her head high from the midst of destruction.

59. Marcomeres Sunnoque docet; quorum alter Etruscum
pertulit exilium; cum se promitteret alter
exulis ultorem, iacuit mucrone suorum. (241-3)

Marcomeres and Sunno have given proof; one of whom has suffered an Etruscan exile; the other, when he promised to be the avenger of the exile, has fallen beneath the sword of his own troops.

60. moverat omnes
Maurorum Gildo populos, quibus inminet Atlas
et quos interior nimio plaga sole relegat. (248-50)

Gildo had roused all the peoples of the Moors, those whom Atlas looms over and those whom the interior region banishes with too much sun.

61. quamvis obstreperet pietas, his ille regendae
transtulerat nomen Libyae scelerique profano
fallax legitimam regni praetenderat umbram. (271-3)

Although obligation stood in the way, he (Gildo) transferred the name of the government of Libya to them (the East) and in an unholy crime, treacherously used the legitimate cover of the kingdom.

62. duplices disponere classes,
quae fruges aut bella ferant. (307-8)

He dispatches two fleets, which can carry either crops or soldiers.

63. quod non ante fretis exercitus astitit ultor,
ordine quam prisco censeret bella senatus.
neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula morem
rettulit. (326-9)

The avenging army did not stand at anchor before the Senate had voted for war in the old-fashioned manner, as Stilicho brought back the old custom, neglected for so many centuries.

73. aspice, Roma, tuum iam vertice celsior hostem,
aspice quam rarum referens inglorius agmen
Italia detrusus eat. (77-9)

sua pignora vidit
coniugibus permixta trahi. (84-5)
Rome, loftier than the sky, look at your enemy now, look how, inglorious
he is leading back a straggling column and has been expelled from Italy.
He has seen his children dragged away, mixed up with his wives.

74. sed magis ex aliis fluxit clementia causis,
consulitur dum, Roma, tibi. tua cura coegit
inclusis aperire fugam, ne peior in arto
saeviret rabies venturae conscia mortis. (95-9)

But rather his mercy has flowed from other causes while he takes care for you,
concern for you forces him to leave an escape open to the beleaguered troops, lest
their madness rages worse in a narrow space, aware of the death that is coming.

75. hic celer effecit, bruma ne longior una
esset hiems rerum. (151-2)

He finished it quickly, lest the winter of our discontent be any longer than a single
one.

76. non, si perfida nacti penetrabile tempus
inrupere Getae, nostras dum Raetia vires
occupat atque alio desudant Marte cohortes. (278-80)

Unless the Getae, finding an opportunity allowing passage through treachery, while
Raetia takes up our forces and the cohorts sweat in another war.

77. quid Gallica rura
 respicitis Latioque libet post terga relicto
 longinquum profugis Ararim praecingere castris? (296-8)
 Why do you look for Gallic estates and want, after you have abandoned Latium, to encircle (line) the distant Saône with refugee camps?

78. venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis. (416)

 agmina quin etiam flavis obiecta Sygambris
 quaeque domant Chattos inmansuetosque Cheruscos,
 huc omnes vertere minas tutumque remotis
 excubiis Rhenum solo terrore relinquunt. (419-22)
 The legion stationed in remotest Britain came. Even the troops placed to oppose the fair-haired Sygambri and who control the Chatti and the savage Cherusci, all turn their threatening forces here and, after the garrisons had been withdrawn, leave the Rhine protected by fear alone.

79. donec pulvereo sub turbine sideris instar
 emicuit Stilichonis apex et cognita fulsit
 canities. (458-60)
 Finally under a whirlwind of dust the helmet of Stilicho glittered like a star and his well-known white hair shone forth.

80. 'si numero non fallor, ait, tricesima currit
 bruma fere, rapidum postquam transnavimus Histrum.' (488-9)
 'If I am not mistaken in my counting, it is almost the thirtieth winter since we swam across the swift Danube.'

81. 'saepe quidem frustra monui, servator ut icti
 foederis Emathia tutus tellure maneres.' (496-7)

'In vain I often advised you, as a party to the treaty that had been agreed, to remain safe in the land of Emathia (Macedonia).'

82. 'at nunc Illyrici postquam mihi tradita iura
meque suum fecere ducem: tot tela, tot enses,
tot galeas multo Thracum sudore paravi
inque meos usus vectigal vertere ferri
oppida legitimo iussu Romana coegi.' (535-9)

'But now after power in Illyricum was given to me and they made me its general, I have got so many javelins, so many swords and so many helmets through the exertions of the Thracians. I have forced the Roman towns, at my legitimate order, to hand over a tax of iron for my use.'

83. The battle of Pollentia. (580-97)

VI Hon.

84. quamquam omnes, quicumque tui cognominis, anni
semper inoffensum dederint successibus omen
sintque tropaea tuas semper comitata secures, (13-5)

Although every year, whichever are in your name, have given an untroubled omen of success and trophies of victory have always followed your consulships.

85. The glory of Rome. (42-50)

86. spoliisque micantes
innumeros arcus. acies stupet igne metalli
et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro, (50-2)

The countless arches gleaming with spoils. Our eyes stupefied by the sheen of the metal and fearful are overwhelmed by the gold all around.

87. 'agnoscisne tuos, princeps venerande, penates?
haec sunt, quae primis olim miratus in annis
patre pio monstrante puer.' (53-5)

'Do you recognize, honoured emperor, your home? This is it which once you
admired in your childhood as your affectionate father showed it to you.'

88. Journey of Honorius and Serena to Rome from Constantinople.
(88-98)

89. duo namque fuere
Europae Libyaeque hostes: Maurusius Atlas
Gildonis Furias, Alaricum barbara Peuce
nutrierat, qui saepe tuum sprevere profana
mente patrem. (103-7)

For there were two enemies in Europe and Libya: Moorish Atlas had nourished the
madness of Gildo, barbarous Peuce (the Danube) Alaric, who both often rejected
your father with impious purpose.

90. Latio discedere iussus
hostis. (130-1)

(After the battle of Pollentia), the enemy was commanded to leave Latium.

91. tu quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho
adiungis cumulum, nec plus Pollentia rebus
contulit Ausoniis aut moenia vindicis Hastae. (201-3)

You, Verona, added no trivial amount to the Getic triumph, nor did Pollentia or the
walls of avenging Hasta to the state of Italy bring more to the empire.

92. hic, rursus dum pacta movet damnisque coactus
extremo mutare parat praesentia casu. (204-5)

He (Alaric) as he again changes the treaty and, forced by his losses, gets ready to
gamble his present gains on a final throw.

93. Stilicho's tactics in battle. (216-22)

94. ipsum te caperet letoque, Alarice, dedisset,
ni calor incauti male festinatus Alani
dispositum turbasset opus. (223-5)

He would have captured you, Alaric, and handed you over to death unless the hasty rage of a dreadfully rash Alan threw the planned outcome into confusion.

95. si qua per scopulos subitas exquirere posset
in Raetos Gallosque vias. (231-2)

If by any means he could find a rough and ready road through the crags to attack the Raeti and the Gauls.

96. sed cunei totaeque palam discedere turmae. (253)
But troops and whole cavalry squadrons deserted.

97. et nominis arcum
iam molita tui, per quem radiante decorus
ingrederere toga. (370-2)

And I have built an arch in your name, through which you may enter, glorious in a radiant toga.

98. addebant pulchrum nova moenia vultum
audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum. (531-2)

bello discussa senectus
erexit subitas turres cunctosque coegit
septem continuo colles iuvenescere muro. (534-6)

The new walls, recently completed after a rumour of the Getae was heard, increase its (the city's) beautiful appearance, Old age ('s sloth) shattered by the war has

suddenly built towers and forces all seven hills to grow young again behind a continuous wall.

99. Infantem genitor moriens commisit alendum. (583)

The dying father entrusted his child to your care.

Carm. min. 30

100. tu sedula quondam
Rufino meditante nefas, cum quaereret artes
in ducis exitium coniuratosque foveret
contra pila Getas, motus rimata latentes
mandatis tremebunda virum scriptisque monebas. (232-6)

You once when Rufinus was planning a crime, when he was searching for stratagems for the destruction of the general and he was supporting the Getan conspirators against Roman arms, you diligently, after investigating the hidden plots, trembling warned your husband by messages and letters.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Claudian must be judged both as a poet and an influential player in the years that he was active as a writer. He has left us two conundrums, the first why was his last extant work *VI Hon.* delivered in early 404 after a surprisingly brief career as a poet. The second is how important was his poetry in keeping Stilicho in power. The latter had succeeded in his battles against Radagaisus in 405-406 but was summarily executed in 408. It is now generally accepted that an early death is the obvious explanation for the poet's silence. Gibbon must be wrong in his assertion that he was among Stilicho's followers and executed in 408⁷⁹⁴ and Charlet's suggestion that he was silenced because of his devotion to Rome is unsupported by the facts.⁷⁹⁵ The answer to the second question suggests that Claudian's portrayal of Stilicho and his achievements was very relevant to helping the general remain in power. Claudian's poems were delivered to an elite audience of both senators and the imperial court, as he makes clear in *VI Hon. praef.* 23-6. Indeed, by this time he was a member of the Senate, with excellent connections: a point he makes in *Carm. min. 25 praef.* 3-5. As we see, there is unusually good evidence for his fast acquisition of celebrity status and for an early and wide readership.

The familiar description of Claudian as the last poet of imperial Rome is perhaps simplistic. The years before the sack of Rome in 410 were characterized by a surprising efflorescence of Latin literature that was only matched by the glories of the Augustan age. In common with their predecessors, the writers were typically not natives of Rome, with the possible exception of Symmachus; they also, in contrast, were not products of provincial Italy but of some of the most distant parts of the empire; for two, Ammianus Marcellinus and Claudian, Latin was not their first language. It was an environment where writers both read the works of their contemporaries and engaged with them; Claudian was an active participant, shown

⁷⁹⁴ Gibbon 1995, 955-6.

⁷⁹⁵ Charlet 2013, 69 and 2016, 30.

both by his debts to his contemporaries and their debts to him. They include prose writers such as Ammianus, Augustine and Symmachus and poets including Ausonius, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Rutilius Namatianus. It is clear that Prudentius knew Claudian's work well and was ready to engage with him; Rutilius knew and borrowed from him and criticised his hero Stilicho. It also seems to have been a time of active literary experimentation, where Claudian was in the forefront, both technical, where I would cite his use of verse prefaces (Chapter 4), and in his poetics where in his similes he will not only engage with his predecessors, but often create similes that are completely novel, the product of his own observation (Chapter 5).

I have discussed above how both Augustine and Prudentius engaged with Claudian as readers of his work, but we also see how the poet engaged with his contemporaries as a reader himself. His extensive familiarity with the work of his predecessors, not only Homer and Virgil but many of their successors, is well known, but he also knew the works of contemporaries such as Ammianus. The latter's account of the appearance and customs of the Huns⁷⁹⁶ is clearly the source for the poet's own description of them in *Ruf.* 1. 323-31. As Dewar has noted, the historian's description of the mailed knights who were part of Constantius' *adventus* in 357, as well as the dragon standards they carried,⁷⁹⁷ are the source for the similar processions in *VI Hon.* (566-79) and in 2 *Ruf.* (353-65). As Dorfbauer has noted, Prudentius not only knew Claudian's work but also was read by him.

It is remarkable that this ferment developed in a time in which, although marked by political stability in the West, notably the reign of Honorius until the execution of Stilicho in 408, there were many threats, internal and external, in both parts of the empire. They include Alaric and Gildo in the West and Tribigild in the

⁷⁹⁶ AM 31.2.2

⁷⁹⁷ AM 16.10.8-9.

East. It is, perhaps, the sloth and greed of the poet's audience in the West, the wealthy senators whose only interest was the preservation of their wealth and privileges that led to the general's downfall: so long as Claudian was still writing the senators felt compelled to support Stilicho. It was their ability to avoid supplying troops to the army that led to the sack of Rome, as the poet repeatedly complains about the shortage of battle-ready troops available to the general. In *Get.* (414-22), Claudian reported how Stilicho had to strip Britain and Germany of troops to fight Alaric who was threatening Milan. It was a contrast to the long stability in the East, even if the latter had endured invasions and rebellions in the early years of Arcadius' reign. There was a new realism in the East, probably due to the fact that their Senate was very much a new creation, its members civil servants, criticised by the poet as very often lowborn, a contrast to the West where there was an emphasis on genealogy; an example is the family of Olybrius and Probinus where Claudian praises the deeds of their ancestors.⁷⁹⁸ It was these effete aristocrats that doomed Rome.

Claudian's career as a poet was short, perhaps ten or so years, but influential. His role as a partisan of Stilicho was to provide support for the general from both his audiences in the Senate and at the court of Honorius. Following his silence not even the defeat of Radagaisus was able to protect the general from the intrigues in Ravenna that led to his execution. It was the former's role, in particular as he delivered his poems to senatorial audiences in both Milan and Rome that were the latter's safeguard.

The poet's legacy is clear, not just in his immediate followers, most notably Sidonius Apollinaris, but in the Middle Ages where his works were well known. One was read by Richard, Duke of York, and it is attractive to think that his portrayal of the bare-arsed Eutropius was taken as an exemplar by both Hans Christian

⁷⁹⁸ *Olybr.* 13-212.

Andersen and Juan Manuel (Andersen's source) as a message to evaluate the legitimacy of power. It would be delightful if Claudian was also a source for Henry of Huntingdon's account of Cnut and the waves could be traced back to the Roman poet.⁷⁹⁹ Certainly the legitimacy of power was a major theme of the poet, that the Stilicho was a legitimate ruler and protector of the empire, even though his father was not Roman and his fully Roman rivals had much weaker claims.

Claudian's greatest legacy was his achievement in creating a new poetic mechanism that allowed him to praise the leaders of the western empire while they were in power. He would magnify any success and gloss over any failures. Thus any failure to eliminate Alaric is portrayed as a part of Stilicho's planning, usually to protect the West from further destruction. His vehicle was to create a new form of epic, panegyric epic (Chapter 3). A major structural element was the use of prefaces in verse. Separated from the hexameter body of an individual poem, they allowed Claudian to introduce his audience to his subject as well as to emphasise his own role as a chosen poet (Chapter 4).

In contrast to the majority of his predecessors the gods play virtually no role as assistant or advisor to his heroes. He has not, however, dispensed with divine machinery entirely, as shown by his creation of Roma. This figure is both a symbol and embodiment of what he saw as the greatness of Rome, a figure that was acceptable to both pagans and Christians, the latter probably the majority of his audience. His versification shows the extent of his poetic skill as he deepened the importance of similes as an integral part of an individual poem (Chapter 5).

His poetry was marred by the fact that his characters lack the emotional depth of his predecessors, perhaps inevitable for someone who is writing about contemporary figures. His protagonists had to be shown as heroic figures who in

⁷⁹⁹ I owe these references to G. A. J. Kelly 2022, ms. letter.

contrast to the figures of earlier epic faultless and their opponents irredeemable. This focus obviously means that Claudian, even if he is the only source of contemporary accounts of the period, must be treated with great caution as a source for information about the events of the period.

His success as an epic panegyrist is shown by the number of his innovations that were adopted by his successors. His success as a poet was shown by the fact that he continued to be widely read long after his death.

Appendix: Similes in Claudian

Olybrio et Probino Consulibus

(1)

haud secus ac tacitam Luna regnante per Arcton
sidereae cedunt acies, cum fratre retuso
aemulus adversis flagraverit ignibus orbis;
tunc iubar Arcturi languet, tunc fulva Leonis
ira perit, Plaustro iam rara intermicat Arctos
indignata tegi, iam caligantibus armis
debilis Orion dextram miratur inertem. (22-8)

(2)

praeceps illa manus fluvios superabat Hiberos
aurea dona vomens (sic quis tellure revulsa
sollicitis fodiens miratur collibus aurum):
quantum stagna Tagi rudibus stillantia venis
effluxere decus, quo pretiosa metalli
Hermi ripa micat, quantas per Lydia culta
despumat rutilas dives Pactolus harenas.⁸⁰⁰ (48-54)

(3)

non, mihi centenis pateant si vocibus ora
multifidusque ruat centum per pectora Phoebus. (55-6)

⁸⁰⁰ Jeep 1878, lxxviii cites Lucan 7.755-6

quidquid fodit Hiber, quidquid Tagus extulit auri,
quodque legit dives summis Arimaspus harenis.

(4)

qualis letifera populatus caede Gelonos
procubat horrendus Getico Gradivus in arvo;⁸⁰¹
exuvias Bellona levat, Bellona tepentes
pulvere solvit equos, immensaque cornus in hastam
porrigitur tremulisque ferit splendoribus Hebrum.⁸⁰² (119-23)

(5)

'ante dabunt hiemes Nilum, per flumina dammae
errabunt⁸⁰³ glacieque niger damnabitur Indus,
ante Thyesteis iterum conterrita mensis
intercisa dies refugos vertetur in ortus,⁸⁰⁴
quam Probus a nostro possit discedere sensu.' (169-73)

⁸⁰¹ Birt 1892, 8 cites Virgil *Aen.* 3.35,

Gravidumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis.

⁸⁰² Jeep 1878, lxxix cites Statius *Theb.* 12.733-5,

ceu pater Edonos haemide vertice Mavors
impulerit currus rapido mortemque fugamque
axe vehens.

⁸⁰³ Jeep 1878, lxxx cites Virgil *Ecl.* 1.59,

ante leves ergo pascentur in aequore cervi.

and Horace *Carm.* 1.2.11-2

pavidae natarunt
aequore dammae.

⁸⁰⁴ Jeep 1878, lxxx cites Ovid *Ex Pont.* 4.6.47-8,

utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae
Solis ad Eoas currus agetur aquas.

The trope of a series of impossibilities can be traced back to Archilochus *fr.* 74.7-9,

(6)

qualis purpureas praebebat candida vestes
numinibus Latona suis, cum sacra redirent
ad loca nutricis iam non errantia Deli,
illa feros saltus et desolata relinquens
Maenala lassato certis venatibus arcu,
Phoebus adhuc nigris rorantia tela venenis
extincto Pythone gerens; tunc insula notos
lambit amica pedes ridetque Aegaeus alumnis
lenior et blando testatur gaudia fluctu. (183-91)

(7)

credas ex aethere lapsam
stare Pudicitiam vel sacro ture vocatam
Iunonem Inachiis oculos advertere templis. (194-6)

In Rufinum

(1)

ceu murmurat alti
impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque per aestum
lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.⁸⁰⁵ (1.70-3)

μηδ' ἂν δελφῶσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομόν
ἐνάλιον καί σφιν θαλάσσης ἔχέεντα κύματα
φίλτερ' ἠπεύρου γένηται, τοῖσι δ' ὑλήειν ὄρος.

⁸⁰⁵ Rolfe 1919, 144 cites Ovid *Fasti* 2.775-8,

ut solet a magno fluctus languescere flatu
sed tamen a vento, qui fuit, unda tumet,

(2)

est mihi prodigium cunctis immanius hydris,
tigride mobilius feta,⁸⁰⁶ violentius Austris
acribus, Euripi fulvis incertius undis
Rufinus.

(1.89-92)⁸⁰⁷

(3)

sic rex ad prima tumebat
Maeonius, pulchro cum verteret omnia tactu;
sed postquam riguisse dapes fulvamque revinctos
in glaciem vidit latices, tum munus acerbum
sensit et invisio votum damnavit in auro.

(1.165-9)

(4)

ac velut innumeros amnes accedere Nereus
nescit et undantem quamvis hinc hauriat Histrum,
hinc bibat aestivum septeno gurgite Nilum,

sic, quamvis aberat placitae praesentia formae,
quem dederat praesens forma manebat amor.

⁸⁰⁶ Jeep 1876, lxxxiv cites Lucan *BC* 5.405,

ocior et caeli flammis et tigride feta.

Levy 1971, 33 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 12.458-62

⁸⁰⁷ Ware 2012, 13 cites Virgil *Aen.* 10.97-9,

caelicolae adsensu vario, ceu flamina prima
cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant
murmura venturos nautis prodentia ventos.

par semper similisque manet: sic fluctibus auri
expleri calor ille nequit.⁸⁰⁸ (1.183-7)

(5)

quae sic Gaetuli iaculo percussa leaena
aut Hyrcana premens raptorem belua partus
aut serpens calcata furit?⁸⁰⁹ (1.226-8)

(6)

haud secus hiberno tumidus cum vertice torrens
saxa rotat volvitque nemus pontesque revellit,
frangitur obiectu scopuli quaerensque meatum
spumat et illisa montem circumtonat unda.⁸¹⁰ (1.269-72)

⁸⁰⁸ Levy 1971, 56 cites Ovid *Met.* 8.835-6,

utque fretum recipit de tota flumina terra
nec satiatur aquis peregrinosque ebibit amnes.

Birt 1892, 35 cites Aelius Aristides *Roman Oration* 62.

⁸⁰⁹ Levy 1971, 65 cites Statius *Theb.* 6.787-8,

non leo, non iaculo tantum indignata recepto
tigris.

⁸¹⁰ Birt 1892, 8 cites Virgil *Aen.* 2.305-7,

aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
praecipitisque trahit silvas.

and Virgil, *Aen.* 7.567,

dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens.

Austin 1964, 135 cites an Homeric original, *Il.* 4.452-4,

ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες
μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ
κρουνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης.

(7)

te nobis trepidae sidus ceu dulce carinae
ostendere dei, geminis quae lassa procellis
tunditur et victo trahitur iam caeca magistro. (1.275-7)

(8)

hoc neque Geryon triplex nec turbidus Orci
ianitor aequabit nec si concurrat in unum
vis hydrae Scyllaeque fames et flamma Chimaerae. (1.294-6)

(9)

ac velut infecto morbus crudescere caelo
incipiens primos pecudum depascitur artus,
mox populos urbesque rapit ventisque perustis
corruptos Stygiam pestem desudat in amnes.⁸¹¹ (1.301-4)

Günther 1894, 35 cites Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 6.632-5,

velut hiberna proruptus ab arcu
imber agens scopulos nemorumque operumque ruinas,
donec ab ingenti bacchatus vertice montis
frangitur inque novum paulatim deficit amnem.

Levy 1971, 77 cites Statius *Theb.* 3.672-6,

ut rapidus torrens, animos cui verna ministrant
flamina et exuti concreto frigore montes,
cum vagus in campos frustra prohibentibus exit
obicibus, resonant permixto turbine tecta,
arva, armenta, viri, donec stetit improbus alto
colle minor magnoque invenit in aggere ripas.

⁸¹¹ Birt 1894, 29 cites Homer *Il.* 1.50-2,

οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπόχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,

(10)

ventis veluti si frena resolvat

Aeolus, abrupto gentes sic obice fudit.⁸¹² (2.22-3)

(11)

haud aliter Xerxen toto simul orbe secutus

narratur rapuisse vagos exercitus amnes

et telis umbrasse diem, cum classibus iret

per scopulos tectumque pedes contemneret aequor.⁸¹³ (2.120-3)

(12)

omnes una fremuere manipuli

quantum non Italo percussa Ceraunia fluctu,

quantum non madidis elisa tonitrua Coris.⁸¹⁴ (2.221-3)

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχεπευκὲς ἐφίεις
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

⁸¹² Levy 1971, 127 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 12.188,

ut rupto terras invadunt carcere venti.

⁸¹³ Levy 1971, 150 cites Juvenal *Sat.* 10.174-8,

velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax

audet in historia, constratum classibus ἴisdem

suppositumque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos

defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo

prandente.

and Lucian *Or. Pr.* 18,

καὶ αἰεὶ ὁ Ἄθως πλείσθω καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος πεζευέσθω καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν

Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκεπέσθω.

⁸¹⁴ Birt 1894, 42 cites Lucan *BC* 6.691-2,

(13)

vacuo qualis discedit hiatu
impatiens remeare leo, quem plurima cuspis
et pastorales pepulerunt igne catervae,
inclinatque iubas demissaque lumina velat
et trepidas maesto rimatur murmure silvas.⁸¹⁵

(2.252-6)

exprimit et planctus inlissae cautibus undae
silvarumque sonum fractaeque tonitrua nubis.

Levy 1971, 17 cites Statius *Theb.* 3.593-6,

bella ore fremunt; it clamor ad auras,
quantus Tyrrheni gemitus salis, aut ubi temptat
Enceladus mutare latus; super igneus antris
mons tonat.

⁸¹⁵ Birt 1894, 43 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 7.717-22,

ceu, stimulante fame, rapuit cum Martius agnum
averso pastore lupus fetumque trementem
ore tenet presso; tum, si vestigia cursu
auditis celeret balatibus obvia pastor,
iam sibimet metuens, spirantem dentibus imis
reiecat praedam et vacuo fugit aeger hiatu.

Günther 1894, 29 cites Homer *Il.* 11.548-55,

ὡς δ' αἴθωνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο
έσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ άνέρες άγροϊῶται,
οἱ τέ μιν οὐκ εἰῶσι βοῶν έκ πῖαρ έλέσθαι
πάννυχοι έγρήσσοντες· ὁ δέ κρειῶν έρατίζων
ίθύει, άλλ' οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γάρ άκοντες
άντίον αίσσουσι θρασειάων άπὸ χειρῶν,

(14)

credas simulacra moveri
ferrea cognatoque viros spirare metallo. (2.359-60)

(15)

sic ligat immensa virides indagine saltus
venator; sic attonitos ad litora pisces
aequoreus populator agit rarosque plagarum
contrahit anfractus et hiantes colligit oras.
excludunt alios. (2.376-80)

(16)

ut fera, quae nuper montes amisit avitos
altorumque exul nemorum damnatur harenae
muneribus, commota ruit; vir murmure contra
hortatur nixusque genu venabula tendit;
illa pavet strepitus cuneosque erecta theatri
respicit et tanti miratur sibila vulgi. (2.394-9)

καιόμεναί τε δεταί, τάς τε τρεῖ ἐσσόμενός περ'
ἠῶθεν δ' ἀπονόσφιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῶ.
Levy 1971, 182 cites Virgil *Aen.* 9.972-6,
ceum saevum turba leonem
cum telis premit infensis; at territus ille,
asper, acerba tuens, retro redit et neque terga
ira dare aut virtus patitur, nec tendere contra
ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela virosque.

(17)

sic mons Aonius rubuit, cum Penthea ferrent
Maenades aut subito mutatum Actaeona cornu
traderet insanis Latonia visa Molossis.

(2.418-20)

(18)

veluti pastoris in ora
commotae glomerantur apes, qui dulcia raptu
mella vehit, pennasque cient et spicula tendunt
et tenuis saxi per propugnacula cinctae
rimosam patriam dilectaque pumicis antra
defendunt pronoque favos examine velant.⁸¹⁶

(2.460-5)

⁸¹⁶ Jeep 1876, xcii cites Statius *Theb.* 10. 574-9,

sic ubi pumiceo pastor rapturus ab antro
armatas erexit apes, fremit aspera nubes,
inque vicem sese stridore hortantur et omnes
hostis in ora volant, mox deficientibus alis
amplexae flavamque domum captivaque plangent
mella laboratasque premunt ad pectora ceras.

Levy 1971, 211 cites Virgil *Aen.* 12.587-92,

inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro;
illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras;
volvitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras.

Müllner 1893, 166 cites Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 2.130-6,

ὥς δὲ μελισσᾶων σμῆνος μέγα μηλοβοτῆρες

De tertio consulatu

(1)

non ocius hausit Achilles
semiferi praecepta senis, seu cuspidis artes
sive lyrae cantus medicas seu disceret herbas.⁸¹⁷ (60-2)

ἤε μελισσοκόμοι πέτρῃ ἔνι καπνιώωσιν,
αἰ δ' ἦτοι τείως μὲν ἀολλέες ᾧ ἐνὶ σίμβλω
βομβηδὸν κλονέονται, ἐπιπρὸ δὲ λιγνυόεντι
καπνῶ τυφόμεναι πέτρης ἐκὰς αἴσσουσιν·
ὡς οἳ γ' οὐκέτι δὴν μένον ἔμπεδον, ἀλλὰ κέδασθεν
εἴσω Βεβρυκίης, Ἀμύκου μόρον ἀγγελέοντες.

and Homer *Il.* 12.167-71,

ὥς τε σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι ἤε μέλισσαι.
οἰκία ποιήσονται ὀδῶ ἔπι παιπαλοέσση,
οὐδ' ἀπολείπουσιν κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες
ἄνδρας θηρητῆρας ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων.

⁸¹⁷ Jeep 1876, xciv cites Statius *Achill.* 2.152-60,

sic me sublimis agebat
gloria, nec duri tanto sub teste labores.
nam procul Oebalios in nubila condere discos
et liquidam nodare palen et spargere caestus,
ludus erat requiesque mihi; nec maior in istis
sudor, Apollineo quam fila sonantia plectro
cum quaterem priscosque virum mirarer honores.
quin etiam sucos atque auxiliantia morbis
gramina.

(2)

ut leo, quem fulvae matris spelunca tegebat
uberibus solitum pasci, cum crescere sensit
ungue pedes et terga iubis et dentibus ora,
iam negat imbelles epulas et rupe relictā
Gaetulo comes ire patri stabulisque minari
aestuat et celsi tabo sordere iuveni.⁸¹⁸ (77-82)

(4)

quis non Luciferum roseo cum Sole videri
credidit aut iunctum Bromio radiare Tonantem?⁸¹⁹ (131-2)

De quarto consulatu

⁸¹⁸ Jeep 1876, xcv cites Statius *Theb.* 9.739-43,

ut leo, cui parvo mater Gaetula cruentos
suggerit ipsa cibos, cum primum crescere sensit
colla iubis torvusque novos respexit ad unguēs,
indignatur ali, tandemque effusus apertos
liber amat campos et nescit in antra reverti.

Müllner 1893, 158 cites Horace *Carm.* 4.4.13-6,

qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
iam lacte depulsum leonem
dente novo peritura vidit.

⁸¹⁹ Birt 1894, 146 cites Virgil *Aen.* 8.589-91,

qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.

(1)

velut ordine rupto

cum procul insanae traherent Phaethonta quadrigae
saeviretque dies terramque et stagna propinqui
haurirent radii, solito cum murmure torvis
Sol occurrit equis; qui postquam rursus eriles
agnovere sonos, rediit meliore magistro
machina concentusque poli, currusque recepit
imperium flammaeque modum.⁸²⁰

(62-9)

(2)

quantus numeratur nocte Bootes,
emicuitque plagis alieni temporis hospes
ignis et agnosci potuit, cum luna lateret.

(186-8)

(3)

talibus ab Idaeis primaevus Iuppiter antris
possessi stetit arce poli famulosque recepit
natura tradente deos; lanugine nondum

⁸²⁰ Müllner 1893, 108 cites Lucretius *DRN* 5.396-404,

ignis enim superavit et ambiens multa perussit,
avia cum Phaethonta rapax vis solis equorum
aethere raptavit toto terrasque per omnis
.at pater omnipotens ira tum percitus acri
magnanimum Phaethonta repentis fulminis ictu
deturbavit equis in terram, Solque cadenti
obvius aeternam suscepit lampada mundi,
disiectosque redegit equos iunxitque trementis,
inde suum per iter recreavit cuncta gubernans.

vernabant vultus nec adhuc per colla fluebant
moturae convexa comae; tum scindere nubes
discebat fulmenque rudi torquere lacerto. (197-202)

(4)
haud aliter summo gemini cum patre Lacones,
progenies Ledaea, sedent: in utroque relucet
frater, utroque soror; simili chlamys effluit auro;
stellati pariter crines. iuvat ipse Tonantem
error et ambiguae placet ignorantia matri;
Eurotas proprios discernere nescit alumnos.⁸²¹ (206-11)

(5)
submersa tenebris
proderit obscuro veluti sine remige puppis
vel lyra quae reticet vel qui non tenditur arcus. (222-4)

(6)
velut inmanis reserat dum belua rictus,
expleri pascique nequit: nunc verbere curas
torquet avaritiae, stimulis nunc flagrat amorum,
nunc gaudet, nunc maesta dolet satiataque rursus
exoritur caesaque redit pollutius hydra. (250-4)

(7)

⁸²¹ Jeep 1876, xcvi cites Statius *Theb.* 5.437-40,

ambiguo visus errore laccessunt
Oebalidae gemini; chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi,
ambo hastile gerunt, umeros exsertus uterque,
nudus uterque genas, simili coma fulgurat astro.

sic mollibus olim

stridula ducturum pratis examina regem
nascentem venerantur apes et publica mellis
iura petunt traduntque favos; sic pascua parvus
vindicat et necdum firmatis cornibus audax
iam regit armentum vitulus. (380-5)

(8)

velut ille carinae

longaevus rector, variis quem saepe procellis
exploravit hiems, ponto iam fessus et annis
aequoreas alni nato commendat habenas
et casus artesque docet: quo dextra regatur
sidere; quo fluctus possit moderamine falli;
quae nota nimborum; quae fraus infida sereni;
quid sol occiduus prodat; quo saucia vento
decolor iratos attollat Cynthia vultus.⁸²² (419-27)

(9)

sic, cum Threïcia primum sudaret in hasta,
flumina laverunt puerum Rhodopeia Martem.⁸²³ (525-6)

⁸²² Müllner 1893, 140 cites Seneca *Phaedra* 1072-5,

at ille, qualis turbido rector mari
ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctum fallit, haud aliter citos
currus gubernat.

⁸²³ Müllner 1893, 115 cites Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 7.644-6,

protinus in fluvium fumantibus evolat armis
Aesonides, qualis Getico de pulvere Mavors

(10)

sic Amphioniae pulcher sudore palaestrae
Alcides pharetras Dircaeaue tela solebat
praetemptare feris olim domitura Gigantes
et pacem latura polo, semperque cruentus
ibat et Alcmenae praedam referebat ovanti;
caeruleus tali prostratus Apolline Python
implicuit fractis moritura volumina silvis.

(532-8)

(11)

sic numina Memphis
in vulgus proferre solet; penetralibus exit
effigies, brevis illa quidem: sed plurimus infra
liniger imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos
testatus sudore deum; Nilotica sistris
ripa sonat Phariosque modos Aegyptia ducit
tibia; summissis admugit cornibus Apis.

(570-6)

(12)

talis Erythraeis intextus nebrida gemmis
Liber agit currus et Caspia flectit eburnis
colla iugis: Satyri circum crinemque solutae
Maenades adstringunt hederis victricibus Indos;
ebrius hostili velatur palmitate Ganges.⁸²⁴

(606-10)

intrat equis uritque gravem sudoribus Hebrum.

⁸²⁴ Müllner 1893, 10 cites Ovid *Amores* 1.2.47-8,
talis erat domita Bacchus Gangetide terra;

Fescenninae

(1)

tam iunctis manibus nectite vincula,
quam frondens hedera stringitur aesculus,
quam lento premitur palmite populus.⁸²⁵ (4.18-20)

Epithalamium

(1)

haec modo crescenti, plenae par altera lunae:
assurgit ceu forte minor sub matre virenti
laurus⁸²⁶ et ingentes ramos olimque futuras
promittit iam parva comas; vel flore sub uno
ceu geminae Paestana rosae per iugera regnant;
haec largo matura die saturataque vernis
roribus indulget spatio; latet altera nodo
nec teneris audet foliis admittere soles. (243-50)

(2)

tu gravis alitibus, tigribus ille fuit.
⁸²⁵ Jeep 1876, xcix cites Virgil *Ecl.* 9.41,
hic candida populous antro
imminent et lentae texunt umracula vites.
⁸²⁶ Jeep 1876, xcix cites Virgil *Georg.* 2.18,
etiam Parnasia laurus
parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra.

nobilis haud aliter sonipes, quem primus amoris
sollicitavit odor, tumidus quatiensque decoras
curvata cervice iubas Pharsalia rura
pervolat et notos hinnitu flagitat amnes
naribus accensis; mulcet fecunda magistros
spes gregis et pulchro gaudent armenta marito.⁸²⁷

(289-94)

⁸²⁷ Birt 1892, 137 cites Homer *Il.* 6.506-11,

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἑυρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδιῶν· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ᾧμοις αἰσσοῦνται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθὼς
ῥίμφα ἐ γοῦνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.

and Ennius *Ann.* 535-9,

et tum sicut equus qui de presepibus fertus
vincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam
spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas.

Birt 1892, 137 cites Virgil *Aen.* 11, 492-7,

qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.

Müllner 1893, 150 cites Statius *Ach.* 1.314-8,

ut pater armenti quondam ductorque futurus,
cui nondum toto peraguntur cornua gyro,

In Eutropium

(1)

si pelagi fluctus, Libyae si discis harenas,
Eutropii numerabis eros.⁸²⁸

(1.32-3)

(2)

haud aliter iuvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
e gemino ditata mari; cumserta refudit
canities, iam turba procax noctisque recedit
ambitus et raro pulsatur ianua tactu,⁸²⁹
seque reformidat speculo damnante senectus;
stat tamen atque alias succingit lena ministras
dilectumque diu quamvis longaeva lupanar
circuit et retinent mores, quod perdidit aetas.

(1. 90-8)

(3)

miserabile turpes
exedere caput tineae; deserta patebant

cum sociam pastus niveo candore iuencam
aspicit, ardescunt animi primusque per ora
spumat amor, spectant hilares obstantque magistri.

⁸²⁸ Müllner 1893, 13 cites Virgil, *Georg.* 2.105-6,

quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
dicere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae.

⁸²⁹ Jeep 1876, cvi cites Horace *Carm.* 1.25.1,

parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras
iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi.

intervalla comae: qualis sitientibus arvis
arida ieiunae seges interlucet aristae
vel qualis gelidis pluma labente pruinis
arboris inmoritur trunco brumalis hirundo.⁸³⁰ (1.113-8)

(4)
tandem ceu funus acerbum
infaustamque suis trusere Penatibus umbram. (1.130-1)

(5)
sic pastor obesum
lacte canem ferroque ligat pascitque revinctum,
dum validus servare gregem vigilique rapaces
latratu terrere lupos; cum tardior idem
iam scabie laceras deiecit sordidus aures,
solvit et exuto lucratur vincula collo.⁸³¹ (1.132-7)

(6)
sic multos fluvio vates arente per annos
hospite qui caeso monuit placare Tonantem,
inventas primus Busiridis imbuit aras
et cecidit saevi, quod dixerat, hostia sacri.

⁸³⁰ Müllner 1893, 13 cites Ovid *Ars am.* 3.249-50,

turpis sine gramine campus
etsine fronde frutex et sine crine caput.

⁸³¹ Müllner 1893, 140 cites Aeschylus *Choeph.* 444-6,

ἐγὼ δ' ἀπεστάτουν
ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία,
μυχῶ δ' ἀφειρκτος πολυσινοῦς κυνὸς δίκαν.

sic opifex tauri tormentorumque repertor,
qui funesta novo fabricaverat aera dolori,
primus inexpertum Siculo cogente tyranno
sensit opus docuitque suum mugire iuvencum.⁸³² (1.159-66)

(7)

qualis venit arida socrus
longinquam visura nurum; vix lassa resedit
et iam vina petit. (1.269-71)

(8)

humani qualis simulator simius oris,
quem puer arridens pretioso stamine Serum
velavit nudasque nates ac terga reliquit,
ludibrium mensis; erecto pectore dives
ambulat et claro sese deformat amictu.⁸³³ (1.303-7)

⁸³² Müllner 1893, 13 cites Ovid *Ars am.* 1.647-54,
dicitur Aegyptos caruisse iuvantibus arva
imbribus, atque annos sicca fuisse novem,
cum Thrasius Busirin adit, monstratque piari
hospitis adfuso sanguine posse Iovem.
illi Busiris “fies Iovis hostia primus,”
inquit “et Aegypto tu dabis hospes aquam
.”et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
torruit: infelix inbuit auctor opus.

⁸³³ I cite Pindar *Pythian* 2. 72-73,
καλός πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἶει
καλός.
and Scholium ΣΡ. 2. 132a Drachmann.

(9)

veluti nigrantibus alis
audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris.⁸³⁴ (1.348-9)

(10)

iam testudo volat, profert iam cornua vultur:
prona petunt retro fluvii iuga;⁸³⁵ Gadibus ortum
Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum
aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina videbo;⁸³⁶
iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane
nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis. (1.352-7)

(11)

sic armenta suo iam defensante iuvenco
celsius adsurgunt erectae cornua matri,
sic iam terribilem stabulis dominumque ferarum
crescere miratur genetrix Massyla leonem. (1.386-9)

ὡς ὁ πίθηκος ἀκούων παρὰ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι καλός ἐστιν, ἐπαίρεται.

⁸³⁴ Jeep 1876, cviii cites Virgil *Ecl.* 8.55,

certent et cycnis ululae.

⁸³⁵ Jeep 1876, cviii cites Horace *Carm.* 1.29.11,

pronos relabi posce rivos

montibus.

and Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, 340 cite Euripides *Medea* 410,

ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παραί.

⁸³⁶ Jeep 1876, cviii cites Horace *AP* 30,

delphinium silvis appingit.

(12)

ut Scythia post multos rediens exercitus annos,
cum sibi servilis pro finibus obvia pubes
iret et arceret dominos tellure reversos,
armatam ostensis aciem fudere flagellis:
notus ab inceptis ignobile reppulit horror
vulgus et addictus sub verbere torpuit ensis.

(1.508-13)

(13)

sic iuvenis nutante fide veterique reducta
paelice defletam linquit amica domum.

(*praef.* 2. 23-4)

(14)

cautior ante tamen violentum navita Corum
prospicit et tumidae subducit vela procellae.
quid iuvat errorem mersa iam puppe fateri?
quid lacrimae delicta levant?⁸³⁷

(2.5-8)

(15)

sic fatus clipeo, quantum vix ipse deorum
arbiter infesto cum percutit aegida nimbo,
intonuit.⁸³⁸

(2.160-2)

⁸³⁷ Müllner 1893, 141 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 1.687-9,

ut saepe e celsa grandaevus puppe magister,
prospiciens signis venturum in carbasa Caurum,
summo iam dudum substringit lintea malo.

⁸³⁸ Müllner 1893, 141 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 12.684-5,

(16)

nec dea praemissae stridorem segnius hastae
consequitur.

(2.174-5)

(17)

vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales
cum premitur calidas cursu transmittit harenas
inque modum veli sinuatis flamine pennis
pulverulenta volat; si iam vestigia retro
clara sonent, oblita fugae stat lumine clauso
(ridendum!) revoluta caput creditque latere,
quem non ipsa videt.

(2.310-6)

(18)

qualis pauperibus nutrix invisae puellis
adsidet et tela communem quaerere victum
rauca monet; festis illae luisse diebus
orant et positis aequaevas visere pensis,
irataeque operi iam lasso pollice fila
turbant et teneros detergunt stamine fletus.

(2.370-5)

(19)

tunc Ajax erat Eutropii lateque fremebat,
non septem vasto quatiens umbone iuencos,

rursus in arma vocat trepidos clipeoque tremendum
increpat atque armis imitatur murmura caeli.

sed, quam perpetuis dapibus pigroque sedili
inter anus interque colos oneraverat, alvum. (2.386-9)

(20)

efficiam leviolem pondere lanae
Tarbigilum tumidum, desertoresque Gruthungos
ut miseras populabor oves. (2.398-400)

(21)

fit plausus et ingens
concilii clamor, qualis resonantibus olim
exoritur caveis, quotiens crinitus ephebus
aut rigidam Niobem aut flentem Troada fingit. (2.402-5)

(22)

sic vacui rectoris equi, sic orba magistro
fertur in abruptum casu, non sidere, puppis. (2.423-4)

(23)

sic ruit in rupes amisso pisce sodali
belua, sulcandas qui praevis edocet undas
inmensumque pecus parvae moderamine caudae
temperat et tanto coniungit foedera monstro;
illa natat rationis inops et caeca profundi;
iam brevibus deprensa vadis ignara reverti
palpitat et vanos scopulis inludit hiatus. (2.425-31)

(24)

more suis, dapibus quae iam devota futuris
turpe gemit, quotiens Hosius mucrone corusco

armatur cingitque sinus secumque volutat,
quas figat verubus partes, quae frustra calenti
mandet aquae quantoque cutem distendat echino. (2.445-9)

(25)
hi pecudum ritu non impendentia vitant
nec res ante vident. (2.499-500)

(26)
ceu pueri, quibus alta pater trans aequora merces
devehit, intenti ludo studiisque soluti
latius amoto passim custode vagantur;
si gravis auxilio vacuas invaserit aedes
vicinus laribusque suis proturbet inultos,
tum demum patrem implorant et nomen inani
voce cient frustra que oculos ad litora tendunt. (2.509-15)

(27)
quales Aonio Thebas de monte reversae
Maenades infectis Pentheo sanguine thyrsis,
cum patuit venatus atrox matrique rotatum
conspexere caput, gressus caligine figunt
et rabiem desisse dolent.⁸³⁹ (2.522-6)

De bello Gildonico

⁸³⁹ Günther 1894, 35 cites Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 3.264-6,

ceu pavet ad crines et tristia Pentheos ora
Thyias, ubi impulsae iam se deus agmine matris
abstulit et caesi vanescunt cornua tauri.

(1)

sic cum praecipites artem vicere procellae
assiduoque gemens undarum verbere nutat
descensura ratis, caeca sub nocte vocati
naufraga Ladaei sustentant vela Lacones.
circulus ut patuit Lunae, secuere meatus
diversos.

(219-24)

(2)

pendula ceu parvis moturae bella colonis
ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquunt
Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo:
ordinibus variis per nubila textitur ales
littera pennarumque notis conscribitur aër.⁸⁴⁰

(474-8)

⁸⁴⁰ Birt 1893, 71 cites Virgil *Aen.* 10.264-6,

quales sub nubibus atris
Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.

Müllner 1893, 162 cites Homer *Il.* 3.2-6,

ὄρνιθες ὤς,
ἤύτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὔν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι

and Lucan *BC* 5.711-6,

Strymona sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquunt
poturae te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu
effingunt varias casu monstrante figuras;
mox, ubi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,

(3)

sic Agamemnoniam vindex cum Graecia classem
solveret, innumeris fervebat vocibus Aulis.

(484-5)

Manlio Theodoro

(1)

ac velut expertus lentandis navita tonsis
praeficitur lateri custos; hinc ardua prorae
temperat et fluctus tempestatesque futuras
edocet; assiduo cum Dorida vicerit usu,
iam clavum totamque subit torquere carinam:
sic cum clara diu mentis documenta dedisses.

(42-7)

confusos temere inmixtae glomerantur in orbes,
et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis.

and Statius *Theb.* 12.515-8,

ceu patrio super alta grues Aquilone fugatae
cum videre Pharon, tunc aethera latius implent,
tunc hilari clangore sonant; iuvat orbe sereno
contempsisse nives et frigora solvere Nilo.

He suggests a better parallel is Statius *Theb.* 5.11-6,

qualia trans pontum Phariis defensa serenis
rauca Paraetonio decedunt agmina Nilo,
cum fera ponit hiems: illae clangore fugaci,
umbra fretis arvisque, volant, sonat avius aether.
iam Borean imbresque pati, iam nare solutis
amnibus et nudo iuvat aestivare sub Haemo.

(2)

sed ut altus Olympi
vertex, qui spatio ventos hiemesque relinquit,
perpetuum nulla temeratus nube serenum
celsior exurgit pluviis auditque ruentes
sub pedibus nimbos et rauca tonitrua calcat.⁸⁴¹ (206-10)

(3)

vel qui more avium sese iaculentur in auras. (320)

De consulatu Stilichonis

(1)

sic Hercule quondam
sustentante polum melius librata pependit
machina nec dubiis titubavit Signifer astris

⁸⁴¹ Jeep 1876, *cv* cites Statius *Theb.* 2.35-40,

stat sublimis apex ventosque imbresque serenus
despicit et tantum fessis insiditur astris.
illic exhausti posuere cubilia venti,
fulminibusque iter est; medium cava nubila montis
insumpsere latus, summos nec praepetis alae
plausus adit colles, nec rauca tonitrua pulsant.

Birt 1892, 177 cites Statius *Theb.* 10.182-6,

non secus amisso medium cum praeside puppis
fregit iter, subit ad vidui moderamina clavi
aut laterum custos aut quem penes obvia ponto
prora fuit: stupet ipsa ratis tardeque sequuntur
arma, nec accedit domino tutela minori.

perpetuaque senex subductus mole parumper
obstupuit proprii spectator ponderis Atlas.⁸⁴² (1.143-7)

(2)
non sic intremuit Simois, cum montibus Idae
nigra coloratus produceret agmina Memnon,
non Ganges, cum tela procul vibrantibus Indis
inmanis medium vectaret belua Porum.
Porus Alexandro, Memnon prostratus Achilli,
Gildo nempe tibi. (1.264-9)

(3)
velut arbiter alni,
nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion,
exiguo clavi flexu declinat aquarum
verbera, nunc recta, nunc obliquante carina
callidus, et pelagi caelique obnititur irae.⁸⁴³ (1.286-90)

⁸⁴² Müllner 1893, 121 cites Seneca *Hercules* 70-3,

subdidit mundo caput
nec flexit umeros molis immensae labor
meliusque collo sedit Herculeo polus.
immota cervix sidera et caelum tulit.

It is imitated by Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm.* 7.81-4,

haud alio quondam vultu Tirynthius heros
pondera suscepit caeli simul atque novercae
cum Libyca se rupe Gigas subduceret et cum
tutior Herculeo sedisset machina dorso.

⁸⁴³ Müllner 1893, 140 cites Seneca *Phaedra* 1072—5,

at ille, qualis turbido rector mari

(4)

Dircaeis qualis in arvis
messis cum proprio mox bellatura colono
cognatos strinxit gladios, cum semine iacto
terrigenae galea matrem nascente ferirent
armifer et viridi floreret milite sulcus.⁸⁴⁴ (1.320-4)

(5)

obvia prosternas prostataque more leonum
despicias, alacres ardent qui frangere tauros,
transiliunt praedas humiles. (2. 20-2)

(6)

haut Amphiona quisquam
praeferat Aonios meditantem carmine muros
nec velit Orpheo migrantes pectine silvas. (2. 170-2)

(7)

ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctum fallit, haud aliter citos
currus gubernat.

⁸⁴⁴ Günther 1894, 36 cites Lucan *BC* 4.549-53,

Sic semine Cadmi

emicuit Dircaea cohors ceciditque suorum
volneribus, dirum Thebanis fratribus omen;
Phasidos et campis insomni dente create
terrigenae missa magicis e cantibus ira
cognato tantos inplerunt sanguine sulcus.

insidias retegunt et in ipsa cubilia fraudum
ducunt ceu tenera venantem nare Molossi. (2.214-5)

(8)

nec segnius illa
paruit officio; raptis sed protinus armis
ocior excusso per nubila sidere tendit.⁸⁴⁵ (2.270-2)

(9)

talis ab Histro
vel Scythico victor rediens Gradivus ab axe
deposito mitis clipeo candentibus urbem
ingreditur trabeatus equis; spatiosa Quirinus
frena regit currumque patris Bellona cruentum
ditibus exuviis tendens ad sidera quercum
praecedit, lictorque Metus cum fratre Pavore
barbara ferratis innectunt colla catenis
velati galeas lauro, propiusque iugales
formido ingentem vibrat succincta securim. (2.367-76)

(10)

sic ubi fecunda reparavit morte iuventam
et patrios idem cineres collectaque portat
unguibus ossa piis Nilique ad litora tendens

⁸⁴⁵ Müllner 1893, 110 cites Homer *Il.* 4.74-7,

βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀίξασα.
οἶον δ' ἀστέρα ἤκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω,
ἢ ναύτησι τέρας ἢ ἐ στρατῶ εὐρεί λαῶν,
λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἴενται.

unicus extremo Phoenix procedit ab Euro:
conveniunt aquilae cunctaeque ex orbe volucres,
ut Solis mirentur avem; procul ignea lucet
ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti.⁸⁴⁶ (2.414-20)

(11)
non sic virginibus flores, non frugibus imbres,
prospera non fessis optantur flamina nautis,
ut tuus adspectus populo.⁸⁴⁷ (3. 56-8)

(12)
auratos Rhodiis imbres nascente Minerva
indulsisse Iovem perhibent, Bacchoque paternum
iam pulsante femur mutatus palluit Hermus
in pretium, votique famem passurus avari

⁸⁴⁶ Müllner 1893, 165 cites Lactantius *Phoenix* 155-8,
 contrahit in coetum sese genus omne volantum,
 nec praedae memor est ulla nec ulla metus.
 alituum stipata choro volat illa per altum,
 Turbaque prosequitur munere laeto pio.

The passage was imitated by Sidonius Apollinaris 7.353-6,
 sic cinnama busto
 collis Erythraei portans Phoebeius ales
 conciat omne avium vulgus; famulantia currunt
 agmina, et angustus pennas non explicat aer.

⁸⁴⁷ Günther 1894, 35 cites Valerius Flaccus *Argo*. 7.23-5,
 nec minus insomnem lux orta refecit amantem,
 quam cum languentes levis erigit imber aristas
 grataque iam fessis descendunt flamina remis.

ditabat rutilo quidquid Mida tangeret auro;
fabula seu verum canitur; tua copia vincit
fontem Hermi tactumque Midae pluviamque Tonantis. (3.226-32)

(13)

aequora sic victor quotiens per rubra Lyaeus
navigat, intorquet clavum Silenus et acres
adsudant tonsis Satyri taurinaque pulsu
Baccharum Bromios invitant tympana remos:
transtra ligant hederæ, malum circumflua vestit
pampinus, antennis illabatur ebria serpens,
perque mero madidos currunt saliuntque rudentes
lynces et insolitæ mirantur carbasa tigres.⁸⁴⁸ (3.362-9)

⁸⁴⁸ Müllner 1893, 109-10 cites Ovid *Met.* 3.664-9,

inpediunt hederæ remos nexuque recurvo
serpunt et gravidis distinguunt vela corymbis.
ipse racemiferis frontem circumdatus uvis
pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam;
quem circa tigres simulacraque inania lyncum
pictarumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum.

and Statius *Theb.* 4.652-8,

Marcidus edomito bellum referebat ab Haemo
Liber; ibi armiferos geminae iam sidera brumæ
orgia ferre Getas canumque virescere dorso
Othryn et Icaria Rhodopen assueverat umbra,
et iam pampineos materna ad moenia currus
promovet; effrenæ dextra laeva que sequuntur
lynces, et uda mero lambunt retinacula tigres.

De bello Gothico

(1)

Post resides annos longo velut excita somno

Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris.

(*praef.* 1-2)

(2)

iam non in pecorum morem formidine clausi

prospicimus saevos campis ardentibus ignes

(44-5)

(3)

ex illo, quocumque vagos impegit Erinys,

grandinis aut morbi ritu per devia rerum,

praecipites per clausa ruunt.

(173-5)

(4)

utque sub occidua iactatis Pleiade nautis

commendat placidum maris inclementia portum,

sic mihi tunc maior Stilicho.

(209-11)

(5)

nil nautica prosunt

turbatae lamenta rati nec segnibus undae

planctibus aut vanis mitescunt flamina votis.

nunc instare manu, toto nunc robore niti

communi pro luce decet: succurrere velis,

exhaurire fretum, varios aptare rudentes
omnibus et docti iussi parere magistri. (271-7)

(6)

 sic ille relinquens
ieiunos antro catulos inmanior exit
hiberna sub nocte leo tacitusque per altas
incedit furiale nives; stant colla pruinis
aspera; flaventes astringit stiria saetas;
nec meminit leti nimbosve aut frigora curat,
dum natis alimenta parat.⁸⁴⁹ (323-9)

(7)

 multi ceu Gorgone visa
obriguere gelu. (342-3)

(8)

ac veluti famuli, mendax quos mortis erilis
nuntius in luxum falso rumore resolvit,
dum marcent epulis atque inter vina chorosque
persultat vacuis effrena licentia tectis,
si reducem dominum sors improvisa revexit,

⁸⁴⁹ Müllner 1893, 140 cites Virgil *Aen.* 2.355-60,

 inde, lupi ceu
 raptos atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
 exegit caecos rabies catulique relictis
 faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
 vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
 urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.

haerent attoniti libertatemque perosus
conscia servilis praecordia concutit horror:
sic ducis aspectu cuncti stupuere rebelles. (366-73)

(9)
qualis in Herculeo, quotiens infanda iubebat
Eurystheus, fuit ore dolor vel qualis in atram
sollicitus nubem maesto Iove cogitur aether. (377-9)

(10)
sic armenta boum, vastis quae turbida silvis
sparsit hiems, cantus ac sibila nota magistri
certatim repetunt et avitae pascua vallis
inque vicem se voce regunt gaudentque fideles
reddere mugitus et, qua sonus attigit aurem,
rara per obscuras apparent cornua frondes.⁸⁵⁰ (408-13)

De sexto consulatu

(1)
venator defessa toro cum membra reponit,
mens tamen ad silvas et sua lustra redit.

⁸⁵⁰ Müllner 1893, 150 cites Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 1.575-8,

ὡς δ' ὀπότ' ἀγραύλοιο κατ' ἴχνια σημαντῆρος
μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέπονται ἄδην κεκορημένα ποιῆς
εἰς αὖλιν, ὃ δέ τ' εἴσι πάρος σύριγγι λιγείη
καλὰ μελιζόμενος νόμιον μέλος.

iudicibus lites, aurigae somnia currus
vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis.
furto gaudet amans, permutat navita merces
et vigil elapsas quaerit avarus opes,
blandaque largitur frustra sitientibus aegris
irriguus gelido pocula fonte sopor.
me quoque Musarum studium sub nocte silenti
artibus adsuetis sollicitare solet.⁸⁵¹

(*praef.* 3-12)

⁸⁵¹ Birt 1892, 334 cites Nonnus *Dion.* 42.325-32,

ἀντίτυπον γὰρ

ἔργον, ὃ περ τελέει τις ἐν ἡματι, νυκτὶ δοκεύει
βουκόλος ὑπνώων κεραοὺς βόας εἰς νομὸν ἔλκει·
δίκτυα θηρητῆρι φαίνεται ὄψις ὄνειρου·
γαιοπόννοι δ' εὐδοντες ἀροτρεύουσιν ἀρούρας,
αὐλακα δὲ σπείρουσι φερέσταχυν· ἀζαλέη δὲ
ἄνδρα μεσημβρίζοντα κατάσχετον αἴθοπι δίψη
εἰς ῥόον, εἰς ἀμάρην ἀπατήλιος ὕπνος ἐλαύνει.

and Lucretius, *DRN* 4.962-74,

et quo quisque fere studio devinctus adhaeret,
aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,
atque in ea ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
in somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire:
causidici causas agere et componere leges,
induperatores pugnare ac proelia obire,
nautae contractum cum ventis degere bellum
,nos agere hoc autem et naturam quaerere rerum
semper et inventam patriis exponere chartis.
cetera sic studia atque artes plerumque videntur
in somnis animos hominum frustrata tenere.

(2)

namque velut stellas Babylonia cura salubres
optima tunc spondet mortalibus edere fata,
caelicolae cum celsa tenent summoque feruntur
cardine nec radios humili statione recondunt.

(18-21)

(3)

cum pulcher Apollo
lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras,
nil tum Castaliae rivis communibus undae
dissimiles, vili nec discrepat arbore laurus,

and Petronius, *Poemata* 31,

Somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
non delubra deum nec ab aethere numina mittunt,
sed sibi quisque facit. Nam cum prostrata sopore
urget membra quies et mens sine pondere ludit,
quidquid luce fuit tenebris agit. Oppida bello
qui quatit et flammis miserandas eruit urbes,
tela videt versasque acies et funera regum
atque exundantes profuso sanguine campos.
qui causas orare solent, legesque forumque
et pavidi cernunt inclusum chorte¹ tribunal.
condit avarus opes defossumque invenit aurum.
venator saltus canibus quatit. Eripit undis
aut premit eversam periturus navita puppem.
scribit amatori meretrix, dat adultera munus:
et canis in somnis leporis vestigia lustrat.
n noctis spatium miserorum vulnera durant.

antraque maesta silent inconsultique recessus.
at si Phoebus adest et frenis grypha iugalem
Riphaeo tripodas repetens detorsit ab axe,
tunc silvae, tunc antra loqui, tunc vivere fontes,
tunc sacer horror aquis adytisque effunditur Echo
clarior et doctae spirant praesagia rupes.
ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti
exultatque habitante deo potioraque Delphis
supplicibus late populis oracula pandit
atque suas ad signa iubet revirescere laurus.⁸⁵²

(25-38)

(4)

qualis piratica puppis,
quae cunctis infensa fretis scelerumque referta
divitiis multasque diu populata carinas
incidit in magnam bellatricemque triremim,
dum praedam de more putat; viduataque caesis
remigibus, scissis velorum debilis alis,
orba gubernaculis, antennis saucia fractis
ludibrium pelagi vento iactatur et unda,

⁸⁵² Dewar 1996, 79 suggests a poem by Alcaeus, citing Himerius *Or.* 48.10.

⁸⁵² Dewar 1996, 150-1 cites Horace *Carm.* 1.14. That poem, as noted by Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, 179 was cited by Quintilian *Inst.* 8.6.44 as an example of allegory, as he wrote

navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque Concordia dicit.

vastato tandem poenas luitura profundo. (132-40)

(5)

qualis Cybeleia quassans
Hyblaeus procul aera senex revocare fugaces
tinnitu conatur apes, quae sponte relictis
descivere favis, sonituque exhaustus inani
raptas mellis opes solitaeque oblita latebrae
perfida deplorat vacuis examina ceris.⁸⁵³ (259-64)

(6)

lustralem tum rite facem, cui lumen odorum
sulphure caeruleo nigroque bitumine fumat,
circum membra rotat doctus purganda sacerdos
rore pio spargens, et dira fugantibus herbis
numina purificumque Iovem Triviamque precatus
trans caput aversis manibus iaculatur in Austrum
secum rapturas cantata piacula taedas.⁸⁵⁴ (324-30)

⁸⁵³ Günther 1894, 35 cites Lucan *BC* 9.284-90,

Quam, simul effetas linquunt examina ceras
atque oblita favi non miscent nexibus alas,
sed sibi quaeque volat nec iam degustat amarum
desidiosa thymum, Phrygii sonus increpat aeris,
attonitae posuere fugam studiumque laboris
floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem;
gaudet in Hyblaeo securus gramine pastor
divitias servasse casae.

⁸⁵⁴ Dewar 1996, 246 cites Tibullus 1.5.9-12,

ille ego cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres

(7)

nec tali publica vota
consensu tradunt atavi caluisse per urbem,
Dacica bellipotens cum fregerat Ulpus arma
atque indignantes in iura redegerat Arctos,
cum fasces cinxere Hypanin mirataque leges
Romanum stupuit Maeotia terra tribunal.
nec tantis patriae studiis ad templa vocatus,
clemens Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cinctam
exiit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem
decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat
ambustus sonipes; hic tabescente solutus
subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis
canduit et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.⁸⁵⁵
tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
pugna fuit: Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu

te dicor votis eripuisse meis;
ipseque te circum lustravi sulphure puro,
carmine cum magico praecinisset anus.

⁸⁵⁵ Dewar 1996, 261 cites Silius Italicus *Punica* 12.622-6,

celsus summo de culmine montis
regnator superum sublata fulmina dextra
libravit clipeoque ducis, non cedere certi,
incussit: summa liquefacta est cuspis in hasta,
et fluxit, ceu correptus fornacibus, ensis.

armavere deos, seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

(333-50)

(8)

'nunc mihi Tydiden attollant carmina vatum,
quod iuncto fidens Ithaco patefacta Dolonis
indicio dapibusque simul religataque somno
Thracia sopiti penetraverit agmina Rhesi
Graiaque rettulerit captos ad castra iugales,
quorum, si qua fides audentibus omnia Musis,
impetus excessit Zephyros candorque pruinas.
ecce virum, taciti nulla qui fraude soporis
ense palam sibi pandit iter remeatque cruentus
et Diomedeis tantum praeclarius ausis,
quantum lux tenebris manifesta proelia furtis!
adde quod et ripis steterat munitior hostis
et cui nec vigilem fas est componere Rhesum:
Thrax erat, hic Thracum domitor. non tela retardant,
obice non haesit fluvii.'

(470-83)

(9)

sic ille minacem

Tyrrhenam labente manum pro ponte repellens
traiecit clipeo Thybrim, quo texerat urbem,
Tarquinio mirante Cocles mediisque superbus
Porsennam respexit aquis. celer Addua nostro
sulcatus socero: sed, cum transnaret, Etruscis
ille dabat tergum, Geticis hic pectora bellis.

(484-90)

(10)

ac velut officiis trepidantibus ora puellae
spe propiore tori mater sollertior ornat
adveniente proco vestesque et cingula comit
saepe manu viridique angustat iaspide pectus
substringitque comam gemmis et colla monili
circuit et bacis onerat cudentibus aures:
sic oculis placitura tuis insignior auctis
collibus et nota maior se Roma videndam
obtulit.

(523-31)

(11)

conspicuas tum flore genas, diademate crinem
membraque gemmato trabeae viridantia cinctu
et fortes umeros et certatura Lyaeo
inter Erythraeas surgentia colla smaragdos
mirari sine fine nurus.

(560-4)

(12)

partitis inde catervis
in varios docto discurritur ordine gyros,
quos neque semiviri Gortynia recta iuveni
flumina nec crebro vincant Maeandria flexu.

(632-5)

De raptu Proserpinae

(1)

ceu turbine rauco
cum gravis armatur Boreas glacieque nivali
hispidus et Getica concretus grandine pennas
disrumpit pelagus, silvas camposque sonoro
flamine rapturus; si forte adversus aënos

Aeolus obiecit postes, vanescit inanis
impetus et fractae redeunt in claustra procellae.⁸⁵⁶ (1. 69-75)

(2)

vitulam non blandius ambit
torva parens, pedibus quae nondum proterit arva
nec nova lunatae curvavit germina frontis.⁸⁵⁷ (1.127-9)

(3)

divino semita gressu
claruit, augurium qualis laturus iniquum
praepes sanguineo dilabitur igne cometes
prodigiale rubens: non illum navita tuto,
non impune vident populi, sed crine minaci
nuntiat aut ratibus ventos aut urbibus hostes.⁸⁵⁸ (1.231-6)

⁸⁵⁶ Jeep 1876, cxxviii cites Statius *Theb.* 10. 245-8,

his tandem virtus iuvenum frenata quievit:
non aliter moto quam si pater Aeolus antro
portam iterum saxo premat imperiosus et omne
claudat iter, iam iam sperantibus aequora ventis.

and Virgil *Aen.* 1.52-4,

hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.

⁸⁵⁷ Müllner, 1893, 151 cites Ovid *Fasti* 4.459-62,

ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere rapto
et quaerit fetus per nemus omne suos:
sic dea nec retinet gemitus et concita cursu
fertur.

⁸⁵⁸ Günther 1894, 21 cites Virgil *Aen.* 10.272-6,

(4)

non sic decus ardet eburnum,
Lydia Sidonio quod femina tinxerit ostro.⁸⁵⁹ (1.274-5)

(5)

qualis Amazonidum peltis exultat ademptis
pulchra cohors, quotiens Arcton populata virago
Hippolyte niveas ducit post proelia turmas,
seu flavos stravere Getas seu forte rigentem
Thermodontiaca Tanaim fregere securi;
aut quales referunt Baccho sollemnia Nymphae
Maeoniae, quas Hermus alit, ripasque paternas
percurrunt auro madidae: laetatur in antro
amnis et undantem declinat prodigus urnam.⁸⁶⁰ (2.62-70)

non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor
ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris
nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum.

⁸⁵⁹ Jeep 1876, cxxxiii cites Virgil, *Aen.* 12.67-8,
indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
si quis ebur.

and Homer *Il.* 4.141-2,

Ὦς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἔλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίην
Μηρονὶς ἢ Κάειρα, παρήιον ἔμμεναι ἵππων.

⁸⁶⁰ Müllner 1893, 132 cites Virgil *Aen.* 11.659-64,
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,
seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru

(6)

Parthica quae tantis variantur cingula gemmis
regales vinctura sinus? quae vellera tantum
ditibus Assyrii spumis fucantur aeni?
non tales volucer pandit Iunonius alas,
nec sic innumeros arcu mutante colores
incipiens redimitur hiems, cum tramite flexo
semita discretis interviret umida nimbis.

(2.94-100)

(7)

credas examina fundi
Hyblaeum raptura thymum, cum cerea reges
castra movent fagique cava dimissus ab alvo
mellifer electis exercitus obstrepat herbis.⁸⁶¹

(2.124-7)

Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.

⁸⁶¹ Müllner 1893, 165 cites Apollonis Rhodius *Arg.* 1.879-83,

ὡς δ' ὅτε λείρια καλὰ περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι
πέτρης ἐκχύμεναι σιμβληίδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶν
ἐρσήεις γάνυται, ταὶ δὲ γλυκὺν ἄλλοτε ἄλλον
καρπὸν ἀμέργουσιν πεποτημέναι· ὡς ἄρα ταί γε
ἐνδυκὲς ἀνέρας ἀμφὶ κινυρόμεναι προχέοντο.

and Virgil *Aen.* 6. 707-9'

ac veluti in pratibus ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.

and Homer, *Iliad* 2. 87-9,

ἤυτε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,

(8)

ac velut occultus securum pergit in hostem
miles et effossi subter fundamina campi
transilit inclusos arcano limite muros
turbaque deceptas victrix erumpit in arces
terrigenas imitata viros: sic tertius heres
Saturni latebrosa vagis rimatur habenis
devia, fraternum cupiens exire sub orbem.

(2.163-9)

(9)

sic, cum Thessaliam scopulis inclusa teneret
Peneo stagnante palus et mersa negaret
arva coli, trifida Neptunus cuspide montes
impulit adversos: tunc forti saucius ictu
dissiluit gelido vertex Ossaesus Olympo;
carceribus laxantur aquae factoque meatu
redduntur fluviusque mari tellusque colonis.⁸⁶²

(2.179-85)

πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων
βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν.

⁸⁶² Müllner 1893, 105 cites Lucan *BC* 6.343-51,

Hphos inter montes, media qui valle premuntur,
perpetuis quondam latuere paludibus agri,
flumina dum campi retinent nec pervia Tempe
dant aditus pelagi, stagnumque inplentibus unum

(10)

mox ubi pulsato senserunt verbera tergo
et solem didicere pati, torrentius amne
hiberno tortaue ruunt pernicious hasta:
quantum non iaculum Parthi, non impetus Austri,
non leve sollicitae mentis discurrit acumen.⁸⁶³
sanguine frena calent; corrumpit spiritus auras
letifer; infectae spumis vitiantur harenae.⁸⁶⁴

(2.197-203)

crescere cursus erat. Postquam discessit Olympo
Herculea gravis Ossa manu subitaeque ruinam
sensit aquae Nereus, melius mansura sub undis
Emathis aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis
eminet.

and Seneca *Hercules* 283-90,

dirutis qualis iugis
praeceps citato flumini quaerens iter
quondam stetisti, scissa cum vasto impetus
patuere Tempe—pectore impulsus tuo
huc mons et illuc cessit, et rupto aggere
nova cucurrit Thessalus torrens via—
talibus, parentes liberos patriam petens,
erumpe rerum terminus.

⁸⁶³Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer *Il.* 15.80-1,

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξει νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν
γαῖαν ἐληλουθῶς φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι νοήσῃ.

⁸⁶⁴ Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer *Il.* 17.4-5,

(11)

velut stabuli decus armentique iuencam
cum leo possedit nudataque viscera fodit
unguibus et rabiem totos exegit in armos:
stat crassa turpis sanie nodosque iubarum
excudit et viles pastorum despicit iras.⁸⁶⁵ (2.209-13)

(12)

conveniunt animae, quantas violentior Auster
decutit arboribus frondes aut nubibus imbres
colligit aut frangit fluctus aut torquet harenas.⁸⁶⁶ (2.308-10)

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖν' ὥς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ
πρωτοτόκος κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο.
and Statius *Theb.* 9.115-9,

imbellem non sic amplexa iuencum
infestante lupo tunc primum feta tuetur
mater et ancipiti circumfert cornua gyro;
ipsa nihil metuens sexusque oblita minoris
spumat et ingentes imitatur femina tauros.

⁸⁶⁵ Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer *Il.* 17.61-7,

ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε λέων ὄρεσίτροφος, ἀλκὴ πεποιθώς,
βοσκομένης ἀγέλης βοῦν ἀρπάσῃ ἢ τις ἀρίστη·
τῆς δ' ἐξ ἀυχέν' ἔαξε λαβῶν κρατεροῖσιν ὄδοῦσι
πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει
δηῶν· ἀμφὶ δὲ τόν γε κύνες τ' ἄνδρες τε νομῆες
πολλὰ μάλ' ἰύζουσιν ἀπόπροθεν οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι
νάντιον ἐλθέμεναι· μάλα γὰρ χλωρὸν δέος αἰρεῖ.

⁸⁶⁶ Müllner 1893, 170 cites Virgil *Aen.* 6.309-10,

(13)

quae teneros humili fetus commiserit orno
allatura cibos, et plurima cogitat absens:
ne gracilem ventus decusserit arbore nidum,
ne furtum pateant homini, ne praeda colubris.⁸⁶⁷

(3.141-5)

(14)

attonitus stabulo ceu pastor inani,
cui pecus aut rabies Poenorum inopina leonum
aut populatrices infestavere catervae;
serus at ille redit vastataque pascua lustrans
non responsuros ciet imploratque iuencos.⁸⁶⁸

(3.165-9)

quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
lapsa cadunt folia.

⁸⁶⁷ Müllner 1893, 160 cites Horace *Epod.* 1.17-22.

comes minore sum futurus in metu,
qui maior absentis habet;
ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis
serpentium allapsus timet
magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
latura plus praesentibus.

⁸⁶⁸ Jeep 1876, cxi cites Statius *Theb.* 3.45-52,

haud aliter saltu devertitur orbus
pastor ab agrestum nocturna strage luporum,
cuius erile pecus silvis inopinus abegit
imber et hibernae ventosa cacumina lunae
.luce patent caedes; domino perferre recentes
ipse timet casus, haustaque informis harena
questibus implet agros, stabulique silentia magni

(15)

arduus Hyrcana quatitur sic matre Niphates,
cuius Achaemenio regi ludibria natos
advexit tremebundus eques:⁸⁶⁹ fremit illa marito
mobilior Zephyro totamque virentibus iram
dispergit maculis timidumque hausura profundo
ore virum vitreae tardatur imagine formae.

(3.263-8)

(16)

sic, qui vecturus longinqua per aequora merces
molitur tellure ratem vitamque procellis
obiectare parat, fagos metitur et alnos
et varium rudibus silvis accommodat usum:
quae longa est, tumidis praebabit cornua velis;
quae fortis, clavo potior; quae lenta, favebit
remigio; stagni patiens aptanda carinae.

(3.363-9)

(17)

qualis pestiferas animare ad crimina taxos
torva Megaera ruit, Cadmi seu moenia poscat
sive Thyesteis properet saevire Mycenis:
dant tenebrae Manesque locum plantisque resultant
Tartara ferratis, donec Phlegethontis ad undam
constitit et plenos exceptit lampade fluctus.⁸⁷⁰

(3.386-91)

odit et amissos longo ciet ordine tauros.
⁸⁶⁹ Jeep 1876, cxl cites Statius *Theb.* 4.315-6,
raptis velut aspera natis
praedatoris equi sequitur tigris.

Carmina Minora

(1) interdum fugiens Parthorum more sequentem
vulnerat.

stimulis accensa tubarum
agmina collatis credas configere signis. (9.21-2, 26-7)

(2)

ceu lassa procellis
ardua Caucasio nutat de culmine pinus
seram ponderibus pronis tractura ruinam;
pars cadit adsiduo flatu, pars imbre peresa
rumpitur, abripuit partem vitiosa vetustas.⁸⁷¹ (27.31-5)

(3)

iam breve decrescit lumen languetque senili
segnis stella gelu, qualis cum forte tenetur

⁸⁷⁰ Jeep 1876, cxlii cites Statius *Theb.* 4.56-7,

seu Thracum vertere domos, seu tecta Mycenis
impia Cadmeumve larem.

⁸⁷¹ Günther 1894, 31 cites Virgil *Aen.* 12.684-9,

ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praiceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas;
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
exultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque
involvens secum.

nubibus et dubio vanescit Cynthia cornu.⁸⁷²

(27.36-8)

(4)

talis barbaricas flavo de Tigride turmas
ductor Parthus agit: gemmis et divite cultu
luxurians sertis apicem regalibus ornat;
auro frenat equum, perfusam murice vestem
Assyria signatur acu tumidusque regendo
celsa per famulas acies dicione superbit.

(27.83-8)

(5)

sic Venus horrificum belli compescere regem
et vultum mollire solet, cum sanguine praeceps
aestuat et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.
sola feris occurrit equis solvitque tumorem
pectoris et blando praecordia temperat igni.
pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnasque calentes
deserit et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.⁸⁷³

(29.44-50)

(6)

⁸⁷² Birt 1892, 313 cites Ovid *Met.* 2.117,

cornuaque extremae velut evanescere lunae.

⁸⁷³ Charlet 2018, 149 cites Lucretius *DRN.* 1.31-3,

nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare
mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mavors
armipotens regit.

quales Latonia virgo
et solo Iove nata soror cum forte revisunt
aequorei sortem patruī (spumantia cedunt
aequora castarum gressus venerata dearum;
non ludit Galatea procax, non improbus audet
tangere Cymothoen Triton totoque severos
indicit mores pelago pudor ipsaque Proteus
arcet ab amplexu turpi Neptunia monstra. (30.122-9)

(7)
non talem Triviae confert laudator Homerus
Alcinoo genitam, quae dum per litora vestes
explicat et famulas exercet laeta choreis,
auratam iaculata pilam post naufraga somni
otia progressum foliis expavit Ulixen. (30.141-5)

(8)
ceū flamine molli
tranquillisque fretis clavum sibi quisque regendum
vindicat; incumbat si turbidus Auster et unda
pulset utrumque latus, posito certamine nautae
contenti meliore manu seseque pavere
confessi (finem studiis fecere procellae). (30. 201-6)

(9)
ac velut hostilis cum machina terruit urbem,
undique concurrunt arcem defendere cives:
haud secus omnigenis coeuntia numina turmis
ad patris venere domos. (53. 49-52)

Bibliography

- Addison, J. 1721. *Dialogues on the Usefulness of Ancient Medals*. Tonson, London.
- Addison, J. 1757. *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c., In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*. Tonson, London.
- American Numismatic Society. 2017. Online Coins of the Roman Empire (Database).
- Anderson, W. B. 1936. *Sidonius, Poems* (ed. and trans.). Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Balzert, M. 1974. *Die Komposition des Claudians Gotenkriegen c. 26*. Hildesheim.
- Barchfeld, W. 1880. *De comparationum usu apud Silium Italicum*. Diss. University of Göttingen.
- Bardill, J. 1999. "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I." *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, 671-696.
- Barnes, T. D. 2011. "The Debate about the Fall of Rome: Is an End at Last in Sight?" *Sewanee Theological Review* 55, 46-65.
- Barr, W. 1979. "Claudian's In Rufinum : an invective?" *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Society* 2, 179-90.
- Barr, W. 1981. *Claudian's Panegyric on the Fourth Consulate of Honorius*. Liverpool.
- Baynes, N. H. 1922. "A Note on Professor Bury's A History of the Later Roman Empire." *Classical Review* 12, 207-29.
- Berlincourt, V., Galli Milić, L. and Nelis, D. 2016. *Lucan and Claudian: Context and Intertext*. Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.
- Bernstein, N. W. 2016. "Rome's arms and breast: Claudian's *Panegyricus Dictus Olybrio et Probino Consulibus* 83-90 and its tradition." *Classical Quarterly* 66, 417-9.
- Bernstein, N. W. 2022. *The Complete Works of Claudian* (trans.). Routledge, London.
- Bianchini, F. 1703. *De calendario et cyclo Caesaris*. Typis Aloisii et Francisci de Comitibus, Rome.
- Binns, J. W. 1974. *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Birt, T. 1888. *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*. Elwort, Marburg.
- Birt, T. 1892. *Claudii Claudiani Carmina*. Weidmann, Berlin.

- Bland, R. "The Changing Patterns of Hoards of Precious-metal Coins in the Late Empire." *Année Tardive* 5, 29-55.
- Boas, M. 1914. "De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione." *Mnemosyne* 42, 17-46.
- Bond, R. W. 1932. "Lucan's Pharsalia." *Greece & Rome* 1, 166-74.
- Bosio, A. 1632. *Roma sotterranea*. Guglielmo Facciotti, Rome.
- Braden, G. 1979. "Claudian and his Influence: the Realm of Venus." *Arethusa* 12, 203-31.
- Brock, R. 2013. *Greek Political Imagery from Homer to Aristotle*. Bloomsbury, London.
- Brown, P. R. G. 1967. *Augustine of Hippo: a biography*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Brown, P. R. L. 1971. *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 15-750*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Brown, P.R. L. 2012. *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Bruère, R. T. 1964. "Lucan and Claudian: The Invectives." *Classical Philology* 59, 2223-56.
- Bruzzone, A. 1999. *Merobaude: Panegyrico in Versi*. Academia Latinitati Fovendae, Rome.
- Bruzzone, A. 2004. "Il concilium deorum nella poesia panegyristica latina da Claudiano a Sidonio Apollinare." *Quaderni* 2, 129-41.
- Bureau, B. and Nicolas, C. 2008. *Commencer et finir: débuts et fins dans les littératures grecque, latine et néolatine*. CERGR, Paris.
- Burman, P. 1760. *Claudii Claudiani opera quae exstant omnia*. Officina Schouteniana, Amsterdam.
- Burrell, E. 2003. "Claudian's *In Eutropium liber alter*: fiction and history." *Latomus* 62, 110-38.
- Bury, J. B. 1889. *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 a.d. to 800 a.d.)*. Macmillan, London.

- Bury, J. B. 1923. *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*. Macmillan, London.
- Bussen, O. 1872. *De Valerii Flacci in adhibendis comparationibus usu*. Diss. University of Jena.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1965. "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt." *Historia* 14, 470-509.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1967. "Rutilius Namatianus, St. Augustine, and the date of the De Reditu." *Journal of Roman Studies* 57, 31-9.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1968. "Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilicho." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73, 247-80.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1970. *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1974. "Claudian." In *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, edited by J. W. Binns. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 1995. *Callimachus and his critics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2000. "Claudian Revisited." In *Letteratura e propaganda nell'occidente latino da Augusto ai regni romanobarbari*, edited by F. E. Consolino, 127-44. L'Erma Di Bretschneider, Rome.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2011. *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford University Press. New York.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2015. "City Personifications and Consular Diptychs." *Journal of Roman Studies*, 105, 250-87.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2016a. "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt." In his *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy*, 1-36. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2016b. "Claudian Revisited." In his *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy*, 133-46. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Cameron, A. D. E. 2020. "The Date and Purpose of Claudian's In Rufinum." In "*Academica Libertas*." *Essais en l'honneur du professeur Javier Arce*, edited by D. Moreau and R. G. Salinero, 265-70. Brepols, Turnhout.

- Cameron, A. M. 1969. "Agathias on the Sasanians." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23, 67-183.
- Carcopino, J. 1934. *Points de vue sur l'immérialisme Romain*. Le Divan, Paris.
- Castagna, L. & Riboldi, C. 2008. *Amicitiae Tempia Serenae: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Aricò*. Vita e Pensiero, Milan.
- Chang, L. 2005. "Catherine Des Roches' Two Proserpines: Textual Production and the "Ravissement de Proserpine" in the Missives des Mes-Dames Des Roches 1586." *Symposium* 58, 203-222.
- Charlet, J-l. 1988. "Aesthetic Trends in Late Latin Poetry (325-410)." *Philologus* 132, 74-85.
- Charlet, J-L. 1991. *Claudien Oeuvres tome I, Le rapt de Proserpine* (ed. and trans.). Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Charlet, J-L. 2000. *Claudien tome II, Poèmes politiques* (ed. and trans.). Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Charlet, J-L. 2002. Review of F. Felgentreu's *Claudians Praefationes. Bedingungen, Beschreibungen und Wirkungen einer poetischen Kleinform*. *Gnomon* 74, 19-23.
- Charlet, J-L. 2013a. "La romanité de Claudien, poète venu d' Alexandrie." *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 59, 321-50.
- Charlet, J-L. 2013b. "Claudien chanteur païen de Roma aeterna." *Koinonia* 37, 255-69.
- Charlet, J-L. 2016. In *Lucan and Claudian: Context and Intertext*, edited by Berlincourt, V., Galli Milić, L. and Nelis, D., 11-30. Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.
- Charlet, J-L. 2018. *Claudien petits poèmes, Oeuvres Tome IV* (ed. and trans.). Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Chastagnol, A. 1970. "Le poète Claudien et l'Histoire Auguste." *Historia* 19, 444-63.
- Chenault, R. 2012. "Statues of Senators in the Forum of Trajan and the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 102, 103-32.
- Christ, F. 1938. *Die römische Weltherrschaft in der antiken Dichtung*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
- Ciglencčki, S. 2016. "Claustra Alpium Iuliarum, tractus circa Alpes and the Defense of Italy in the Final Part of the Late Roman Period." *Arheolški vestnik* 67, 409-424.

- Clark, E. and Hatch, D. 1981. *The Golden Bough, the Oaken Cross: The Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba*. Scholars Press, Chicago.
- Clover, F. 1971. "Flavius Merobaudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association* 101, 61-78.
- Consolino, F. E. 2000. *Letteratura e propaganda nell'occidente latino da Augusto ai regni romanobarbarici*. L'Erma di Bretschneider, Rome 2000.
- Coombe, C. 2014. "A Hero in our Midst: Stilicho as a Literary Construct in the Poetry of Claudian." In *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century A. D.*, edited by L. Van Hoof and P. Van Nuffelen, 157-79. Brill, Leiden.
- Coombe, C. 2018. *Claudian the Poet*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cozza, L. 1987. "Osservazioni sulle Mura Aureliane a Roma." *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 16, 25-52.
- Crees, J. H. E. 1908. *Claudian as an Historical Authority*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cristante, L. 2010. "La Praefatio (Carm. 16) del Panegyrico di Claudiano per il Consolato di Mallio Theodoro tra Retorica e Ideologia." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 95, 85-97.
- Curran, J. D. 2000. *Pagan City and Christian Capital*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- de Montfaucon, B. 1702. *Diarium Italicum*. Johannes Anisson, Paris.
- Demougeot, E. 1952. *De l'unité à la division de l'empire Romain 395-410*. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris.
- Dempster, T. 1607. "Digestio historica operum Claudiani." In *Claudiani Opera Omnia*, edited by P. Burman. Officina Schouteniana, Amsterdam (1760).
- den Boeft, J. et al. 2007. *Ammianus after Julian: The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26-31 of the Res Gestae*. Brill, Leiden.
- Dewar, M. 1994. "Hannibal and Alaric in the Later Poems of Claudian." *Mnemosyne* 47, 349-72.
- Dewar, M. 1996. *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti* (ed.). Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Dewar, M. 2003. Review of Charlet's *Claudien, Oeuvres tomes II.1 and II.2, Les poèmes politiques*. *Classical Review* 53, 112-4.

- Dey, H. 2011. *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271-855*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Domergue, C. 1990. *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine*. Boccard, Paris.
- Dominik, W. J. 1994. *The Mythic Voice of Statius: Power and Politics in the Thebaid*. *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 136. Brill, Leiden.
- Döpp, S. 1975. Review of Cameron 1970. *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 28, 28-34.
- Dorfbauer, L. J. 2010. "Die praefationes von Claudian und von Prudentius." In *Text und Bild*, edited by V. Zimmerl-Panagl and D. Weber, 195-222. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
- Dorfbauer, L. J. 2012. "Claudian und Prudentius: Verbale Parallelen und Datierungsfragen." *Hermes* 140, 45-70.
- Downey, G. 1959. "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)." *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 103, 652-686.
- Drijvers, J. W. 2007. "Ammianus on the Revolt of Firmus." In *Ammianus after Julian: The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26-31 of the Res Gestae*, edited by J. Boeft et al., 129-58. Brill, Leiden.
- Dunn, G. 2010. "Easter and the Battle of Pollentia." *Journal of Religious History* 34, 55-66.
- Economidis, N. 1997. "The Historical Archives of Mount Athos." In *Treasures of Mount Athos*, edited by A. Karakatsanis, 433-51. Ministry of Culture, Thessaloniki.
- Ellul, J. 1965. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, translated by K. Kelle and J. Lerner. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Elsner, J. 2003. "Visualising Women in Late Antique Rome: The Projecta Casket." In *Through a Glass Brightly: Festschrift for David Buckton*, edited by C. Entwistle, 22-36. Oxbow, Oxford.
- Elsner, J. and Hernández Lobato, J. 2017. *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Erice, T. 1984. *La poesia antica: tra retorica, teologia e politica*. Centro di studi umanistici, Messina.

- Errington, R. M. 1996a. "Theodosius and the Goths." *Chiron* 26, 1-27.
- Errington, R. M. 1996b. "The Accession of Theodosius I." *Klio* 78, 438-453.
- Fargues, P. 1933. *Claudien: Études sur sa poésie et son Temps*. Hachette, Paris.
- Farrell, J. 2003. "Classical Genre in Theory and Practice." *New Literary History* 34, 383-408.
- Farrell, J. and Nelis, D. 2013. *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Feeney, D. 1991. *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Feeney, D. 2014. "First Similes in Epic." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 144, 189-228.
- Felgentreu, F. 1999. *Claudians Praefationes. Bedingungen, Beschreibungen und Wirkungen einer poetischen Kleinform*. Teubner, Stuttgart.
- Felgentreu, F. 2001. "Quomodo Claudianus in Stilichone laudando Ciceronem Poetam Imitatus sit." *Hyperboreus* 7, 276-82.
- Fisher, W. H. 1929. "The Augustan Vita Aureliani." *Journal of Roman Studies* 19, 125-49.
- Fitch, J. 1976. "Aspects of Valerius Flaccus' Use of Similes." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 106, 113-24.
- Fitzgerald, W. 2007. *Martial: The World of the Epigram*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Fitzgerald, W. 2013. *How to read a Latin poem if you can't read Latin Yet*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Fitzgerald, W. 2016. *Variety: The life of a Roman Concept*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Fo, A. 1979. "Osservazioni su alcune questioni relative al 'De raptu Proserpinae' di Claudiano." *Quaderni Catanesi* 1, 385-415.
- Fo, A. 1982. *Studi sulla tecnica poetica di Claudiano*. Carmelo Lo Stringale, Catania.
- Fränkel, E. 1957. *Horace*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Fraser, L. 1903. *At Delhi*. "The Times of India" Press, Bombay.

- Fuhrmann, M. 1968. "Die Romidee der Spätantike." *Historische Zeitschrift* 207, 529-61.
- Genette, G. 1991. "Introduction to the Paratext" trans. by M. Maclean. *New Literary History* 22, 261-72.
- Gernentz, W. 1918. *Laudes Romae*. Diss. Rostock University.
- Gibbon, E. 1776-88. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Strahan and Cadell, London.
- Gibbon, E. 1897-1902, reprinted 1995. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Edited by J. B. Bury. Modern Library, New York.
- Gillett, A. 1993. "The Date and Circumstances of Olympiodorus of Thebes." *Traditio* 48, 1-29.
- Gillett, A. 2007. "Rome's Fall and Europe's Rise: A View from Late Antiquity." *Medieval Review*. University of Michigan University Press, Ann Arbor.
- Gillett, A. 2012. "Epic Panegyric and Political Communication in the Fifth Century West." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G.A.J. Kelly 265-90. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Gineste, M.-F. 2004. "Poésie, pouvoir et rhétorique à le fin du 4e S. après J.-C.: les poèmes nuptiaux de Claudien." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 22, 269-96.
- Gnilka, C. 1977. Review of Cameron 1970. *Gnomon* 49, 26-51.
- Gordon, R. 2017. "Persae in spelaeis solem colunt: Mithra(s) between Persia and Rome" In *Persianism in Antiquity*, edited by R. Strootman and M. J. Versluys. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Gow, A. S. F. and Schofield, A. F. 1953. *Nicander. The poems and poetical fragments* (ed. and trans.). Bristol University Press, Bristol.
- Gowers, E. 2011. "Trees and Family-Trees in the Aeneid." *Classical Antiquity* 30, 87-118.
- Gradel, I. 2002. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Green, R. P. H. 2007. *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Greenberg, M. 2002. *Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*. Getty Publications, Los Angeles.
- Grierson, P. 1996. "Six Late Roman Medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50, 139-45.
- Grig, L. and Kelly, G. A. J. 2012a. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (ed.). Oxford University Press, New York.
- Grig, L. and Kelly, G. A. J. 2012b. "Introduction." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. A. J. Kelly, 3-31. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Grig, L. 2012. "Competing Capitals, Competing Representations." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. A. J. Kelly, 32-52. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Grumel, V. 1951. "L'Illyricum de la mort de Valentinian Ier (375) à la mort de Stilichon (408)." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 5, 5-46.
- Gruzelier, C. 1993. *De raptu Proserpinae* (ed.). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Gualandri, I. 1968. *Aspetti della tecnica compositiva in Claudiano*. Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, Milan.
- Gualandri, I. 2007. "Aspetti della synkrisis nella poesia latina tardoantica. Claudiano." In Hinojo Andrés, G. and Fernández Corte, J. C. 2007. *Munus quaesitum meritis, Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer*, 445-53. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca.
- Gualandri, I. 2008. "Solus post numina Tiphys." Varazioni claudiane sul tema della nave Argo (Bell. Get. 1-35)." In *Amicitiae Templa Serenae: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Aricò*, edited by L. Castagna and C. Riboldi, 753-76. Vita e Pensiero, Milan.
- Gualandri, I. 2013. "Claudian: From Easterner to Westerner." *Talanta* 45, 115-29.
- Guipponi-Gineste, M.-F. 2010. *Claudien: poète du monde à la cour d'Occident*. De Boccard, Paris.
- Günther, K. 1894. *De Claudii Claudiani comparationibus*. Diss.
- Hall, J. B. 1969. *Claudian: De Raptu Proserpinae* (ed.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Hall, J. B. 1983. Review of Olechowska, E.M. 1978. *Claudii Claudiani De Bello Gildonico: Texte établi, traduit et commenté*. Brill, Leiden. *Classical Review* 33, 203-7.
- Hall, J. B. 1985. *Claudii Claudiani Carmina* (ed.). Teubner, Leipzig.
- Hall, J. B. 1987. Review of J. Lehner's *Poesie und Politik in Claudians Panegyricus auf das vierte Konsulat des Kaiser Honorius: Ein Kommentar*. Anton Hain, Königstein. *Classical Review* 37, 184-6.
- Hall, J. B. 1988. "Pollentia, Verona, and the Chronology of Alaric's first invasion of Italy." *Philologus* 132, 245-257.
- Hall, J. B. 1993. Review of *Claudien, Oeuvres tome I, le rapt de Proserpine*. *Classical Review* 43, 52-4.
- Halsall, G. 2014. "Two Worlds Become One: A 'Counter-Intuitive' View of the Roman Empire and 'Germanic' Migration." *German History* 32, 515-532.
- Hammond, M. 1933. "Concilia Deorum from Homer to Milton." *Studies in Psychology* 30, 1-16.
- Hardie, P. 1986. *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Hardie, P. 1993. *The Epic Successors of Virgil*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hardie, P. 2017. *Conference Presentation* at Aristotle University, Thessaloniki.
- Harper, K. 2019. "The Climate of the Fifth Century." In *The Fifth Century: Age of Transformation*, edited by J. W. Drijvers and N. Lenski, 19-34. Edipuglia, Bari.
- Harrison, S. J. 2017. "Metapoetics in the Prefaces of Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*." In *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, edited by J. Elsner and J. Hernández Lobato, 236-51. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Heather, P. 2009. "Why Did the Barbarian Cross the Rhine?" *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2, 3-29.
- Heather, P. and Moncur, D. 2001. *Politics, Philosophy and Empire in the Fourth Century: Themistius' Select Orations* (ed. and trans.). Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
- Heinsius, N. 1650. *Cl. Claudiani quae exstant*. Officina Elseveriana, Lyons.
- Heinze, R. 1899. *Virgil's Epic Technique*. Bristol Classical Press, London.

- Hinojo Andrés, G. and Fernández Corte, J. C. 2007. *Munus quaesitum meritis, Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer*. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca.
- Hinds, S. 1989. Review of *Ovid's "Metamorphoses" and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry* by P. E. Knox. *Classical Philology* 84, 266-71.
- Hinds, S. 1998. *Allusion and Intertext*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hinds, S. 2013. "Claudianism in *De Raptu Proserpinae*." In *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature*, edited by T. D. Papanghelis et al., 169-92. De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Hofmann, H. 1988. "Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der nichtchristlichen Epik der lateinischen Spätantike." *Philologus* 132, 101-59.
- Horedt, K. 1974. "Interpretări Arheologice: Consideratii asupra Cameei Orghidan." *Revista Muzeul National* 1, 201-5.
- Horobin, S. 2007. "Politics, Patronage, and Piety in the Work of Osbern Bokenham." *Speculum* 82, 932-949.
- Hubbard, T. K. 1990. "Hieron and the Ape in Pindar, Pythian 2.72-3." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 120, 73-83.
- Hundt, G. 1886. *De M. Annaei Lucani comparationibus*. Diss. University of Halle.
- Hunt, D. & Drijvers, J. W. 2003. *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Innes, D. C. 1979. "Gigantomachy and Natural Philosophy." *Classical Quarterly* 29, 165-71.
- Jacobs, I. 2014. "Prosperity after Disaster? The effects of the Gothic invasion in Athens and Corinth." In *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian Period*, edited by I. Jacobs, 69-89. Peeters, Leuven.
- James, P. 1998. "Taceat Superata Vetustas: Living Legends in Claudian's In Rufinum 1." In *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, edited by M. Whitby, 151-75. Brill, Leiden.
- Jeep, L. 1872. "Zu Claudianus de VI consulatu Honorii: ein Beitrag zur römischen Topographie." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 27, 269-77.
- Jeep, L. 1876. *Claudii Claudiani Carmina* (ed.). Teubner, Leipzig.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Kalkan, H. and Sahin, S. 1994. "Ein neues Bauepigramm der Theodosischen

- Landmauer von Konstaninopuls aus dem Jahr 447." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 23, 145-159.
- Kehding, O. 1899. *De Panegyricis Latinis Capita Quattuor*. Diss. Marburg.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2004. "Ammianus and the Great Tsunami." *Journal of Roman Studies* 94, 141-167.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2007. "The Sphragis and Closure of the *Res Gestae*." In *Ammianus after Julian: The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26-31 of the Res Gestae* 219-41, edited by J. Boeft et al. Brill, Leiden.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2008. *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2012. "Claudian and Constantinople." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. A. J. Kelly, 241-64. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2013. "Sidonius and Claudian." In *New Approaches to Sidonius Apollinaris*, edited by J. van Waarden and G. A. J. Kelly, 171-94. Peters, Leuven.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2016. "Claudian's Last Panegyric and Imperial Visits to Rome." *Classical Quarterly* 66, 336-57.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2018. "The Fragments of Rutilius Namatianus." Handout at Conference in memory of Alan Cameron, Columbia, New York, October 26, 2018.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2020a. "Dating the Works of Sidonius Apollinaris." In *The Edinburgh Companion to Sidonius Apollinaris*, edited by G. A. J. Kelly and J. van Waarden, 166-94. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Kelly, G. A. J. 2020b. "Sidonius as a Reader of Rutilius Namatianus." *Invigilata Lucernis* 42, 151-61.
- Kent, J. 1993. "'Concordia' solidi of Theodosius I: a reappraisal." *Numismatic Chronicle* 153, 77-90.
- Keudel, U. 1970. *Poetische Vorläufer und Vorbilder in Claudians De consulatu Stilichonis*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Koch, J. 1889. "Claudian und die Ereignisse der Jahre 395 bis 398." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 44, 575-612.
- Krause, C. 1871. *De P. Papinii Statii comparationibus epicis*. Diss. University of Halle.

- Kulikowski, M. 2000a. "Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain." *Britannia* 31, 325-345.
- Kulikowski, M. 2000b. "The Notitia Dignitatum as a Historical Source." *Historia* 49, 358-377.
- Kulikowski, M. 2007. *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kulikowski, M. 2021. "The Historia Augusta: Minimalism and the adequacy of evidence." In *Late-Antique Studies in Memory of Alan Cameron*, edited by W. V. Harris and A. H. Chen, 23-40. Brill, Leiden.
- Leaf, W. 1899. *The Iliad*. Macmillan, London.
- Lebek, W. 1995. "Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel und ein neues Bauepigramm." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 2, 107-54.
- Lenski, N. 1997. "Initium mali Romano imperio: Contemporary Reactions to the Battle of Adrianople." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 127, 129-68.
- Lenski, N. 2002. *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State In the Fourth Century AD*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Lenski, N. 2015. "Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople." In *Contested Monarchy. Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, edited by J. Wienand, 330-52. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Lepelley, C. 1967. "Déclin ou stabilité de l'agriculture africaine au Bas-Empire? À propos d'une loi de l'empereur Honorius." *Antiquités africaines* 1, 135-44.
- Levene, D. 2012. "Defining the Divine in Rome: in memoriam S. R. F. Price." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 142, 41-81.
- Levick, B. 2010. *Augustus: Image and Substance*. Longman, Harlow.
- Levy, H. L. 1946. "Claudian's In Rufinum and the Rhetorical Ψόγος." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 77, 57-65.
- Levy, H. L. 1958. "Themes of encomium and invective in Claudian." *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 89, 336-347.

- Levy, H. L. 1971. *Claudian's In Rufinum: An exegetical commentary*. Press of Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 1993. Review of Heather 1991 and Matthews 1991. *Journal of Roman Studies* 83, 259-61.
- Liverani, P. 2004. "Arco di Onorio, Arco di Portogallo." *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 105, 351-70.
- Long, J. 1996. *Claudian's In Eutropium Or, How, When, and Why to Slander a Eunuch*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Long, J. 2004. "Claudian and the City: Poetry and Pride of Place." In *Aetas Claudiana*, edited by W-W. Ehlers, F. Felgentreu and S. Wheeler, 1-15. De Gruyter, Munich.
- Lunn-Rockliffe, S. 2008. "Ambrose's Imperial Funeral Services." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59, 191-207.
- Luttwak, E. N. 2016. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century CE to the Third* (revised edition). Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- MacCormack, S. 1975. "Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor and his genius." *Classical Quarterly* 25, 131-50.
- MacCormack, S. 1981. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Maciver, C. 2012. *Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica: Engaging Homer in Late Antiquity*. Brill, Leiden.
- Maenchen-Helfen. 1955. "The Date of Ammianus Marcellinus' Last Books." *American Journal of Philology* 76, 384-99.
- Maier, F. 2019. "Active Rulership Unrealized: Claudian's Panegyric on Honorius." In *The Fifth Century: Age of Transformation*, edited by J. W. Drijvers and N. Lenski, 209-31. Edipuglia, Bari.
- Mann, J. C. 1979. "Power, Force and the Frontiers of the Empire." Review of E. N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A. D. to the Third* (Baltimore, 1976). *Journal of Roman Studies* 69, 175-183.
- Marrón, G. A. 2013. "'Disonancia Armónica': Las Voces del Ejército en la Obra de Claudiano." *Athenaeum* 101, 677-82.
- Marx, K. 1852. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Paris.

- Mathisen, R. W. 2013. "Roma a Gothicis Alarico duce capta est." In *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD: The Event, its Context and its Impact* edited by J. Lips, C. Machado and P. von Rummel, 87-102. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- Mathisen, R. W. 2019. "The End of the Roman Empire in the Fifth Century CE: Barbarian Auxiliaries, Independent Military Contractors, and Civil Wars." In *The Fifth Century: Age of Transformation* edited by J. W. Drijvers and N. Lenski, 137-156. Edipuglia, Bari.
- Matthews, J. 1975. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, AD 364-425*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- McClymond, M. J. & McDermott, G. R. 2011. *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- McCormick, M. 1986. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- McEvoy M. A. 2013a. *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367-455*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- McEvoy, M. 2013b. "The mausoleum of Honorius: Late Roman imperial Christianity and the city of Rome." In *Old St. Peter's Rome*, edited by R. McKitterick et al. 119-36. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Meunier, D. 2019. *Claudien: Une poétique de l'épopée*. Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Michaud, É. 2001. "La construction de l'image comme matrice de l'histoire." *Vingtième Siècle* 72, 41-52.
- Miguélez-Cavero, L. 2008. *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid, 200-600 AD*. De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Moisil, C. 1943. "Cameea Orgidan si reprezentarea apoteozei imperial Romane." *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române* 91, 33-8.
- Mommsen, T. 1903. "Stilicho und Alaric." *Hermes* 38, 101-115.
- Moul, V. 2017. "Andrew Marvell and Payne Fisher." *Review of English Studies* 68, 524-48.
- Mozley, J. 1933. "Statius as an Imitator of Vergil and Ovid." *Classical Weekly* 27, 33-8.
- Müllner, K. 1893. "De imaginibus similitudinibusque quae in Claudiani carminibus inveniuntur." *Dissertationes Philologicae Vindobonenses* 4, 101-203. Gerold, Vienna.

- Mustard, W. R. 1921. "Petrarch's Africa." *American Journal of Philology* 42, 97-121.
- Nathan, G. 2015. "The Ideal Male in Late Antiquity: Claudian's Example of Flavius Stilicho." *Gender & History* 27, 10-27.
- Nelis, D. 2013. "Past, Present and Future in Virgil's Georgics." In *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*, edited by J. Farrell and D. Nelis, 244-62. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Nelson, T. 2020. "Pergamene Panegyric: Nicander's Hymn to Attalus." *Cambridge Classical Journal* 66, 182-202.
- Newlands, C. E. 2009. "Statius' Prose Prefaces." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi di testi classici* 61, 229-42.
- Nisbett, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. 2004. *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book III*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Norden, E. 1899. "Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 54, 466-82.
- Norman, A.F. 1960. "The Book-Trade in Fourth Century Antioch." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 80, 122-126.
- Olechowska, E.M. 1978. *Claudii Claudiani De Bello Gildonico: Texte établi, traduit et commenté*. Brill, Leiden.
- Oliver, J. 1953. "The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, 871-1003.
- Onorato, M. 2008. *De raptu Proserpinae* (ed.). Loffredo, Naples.
- Otis, B. 1963. *Virgil: A Study in Civilised Poetry*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Papanghelis, T. D. et al. 2013. *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature*. De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Parkes, R. 2005. "Model Youths? Achilles and Parthenopaeus in Claudian's Panegyrics on the Third and Fourth Consulships of Honorius." *Illinois Classical Studies* 30, 67-82.
- Paschoud, F. 1965. "Réflexions sur l'idéal religieux de Symmaque." *Historia* 14, 215-235.

- Paschoud, F. 1967. *Roma Aeterna: études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'occident latin à l'époque des grands invasions*. Institut Suisse de Rome, Neuchâtel.
- Paschoud, F. 1999. Review of J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court: Oratory, Civic Duty and Paideia from Constantine to Theodosius*. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5, 487-489.
- Paschoud, F. 2012. "On a recent book by Alan Cameron." *Antiquité Tardive* 20, 359-388.
- Paul Getty Museum. 2002. *Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*. Edited by M. Greenberg. Getty Publications, Los Angeles.
- Pelttari, A. 2014. *The Space that Remains; Reading Latin Poetry in Late Antiquity*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Perrelli, R. 1992. *I proemi claudiane; tra epica ed epidittica*. Università di Catania, Catania.
- Perry, B. E. 1965. *The Fables of Babrius and Phaedrus* (ed. & trans.). Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Platnauer, M. 1922. *Claudian* (ed. & trans.). Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Platner, S. B. and Ashby, T. 1929. *A Topical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Pohl, W. 2007. Review of W. Goffart's *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*. *American Historical Review* 112, 912-913.
- Postgate, J. P. 1895. "Review of Editions of Claudian by Birt and Koch." *Classical Review* 9, 162-9.
- Pratt, K. 1965. "Rome as Eternal." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26, 25-44.
- Pratt, R. 1947. "Chaucer's Claudian." *Speculum* 22, 419-29.
- Purgold, K. 1878. *Archäologische Bemerkungen zu Claudian und Sidonius*. Friedrich Andreas Perches, Gotha.
- Pyrrho, G. 1677. *Claudiani Opera* (ed. and trans.). In usum Delphini, Paris.
- Ramskold, L. and Lenski, N. 2012. "Constantinople's Dedication Medallions and the Maintenance of Civic Traditions." *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 119, 31-58.
- Ratti, S. 2011. *Antiquus Error: Les ultimes feux de la résistance païenne*. Turnhout. Leuven.

- Rees, R. 2012. "Bright Lights, Big City: Pacatus and the *Panegyrici Latini*." In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. A. J. Kelly, 203-22. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Rees, R. 2016. "Ghosts of Authors Past in Claudian's *De bello Gildonico*." In *Lucan and Claudian: Context and Intertext*, edited by V. Berlincourt, L. Galli Milić and D. Nelis. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.
- Reynolds, J. M. and Ward-Perkins, J. B. 1952. *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. British School at Rome, Rome. Enhanced electronic reissue by G. Bodard and C. Roueché (2009).
- Richardson, N. J. 2016. *Prudentius' Hymns for Hours and Seasons: Liber Cathemerinon*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Richmond, I. A. 1930. *The city wall of Imperial Rome; An account of its architectural development from Aurelian to Narses*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Ridley, R. 2018. "The Fate of the Column of Antoninus Pius." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 86, 235-69.
- Ripolli, F. 2006. "Adaptations latines d'un theme homerique: la théomachie." *Phoenix* 60, 236-58.
- Roberts, M. 1989. *The Jeweled Style*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Roberts, M. 2001. "Rome personified, Rome epitomized: representations of Rome in the poetry of the early fifth century." *American Journal of Philology* 122, 533-65.
- Roberts, M. 2017. "Lactantius' Phoenix and Late Latin Poetics." In *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature* edited by Elsner, J. and Hernández Lobato, J. 2017, 373-90. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Roche, P. 2021. "Panegyric on the Third Consulship of Honorius." *Journal of LateAntiquity* 14, 142-58.
- Rolfe, J. 1919. "Claudian." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 50, 135-49.
- Ross, D. O. 1987. *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the Georgics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Russell, D. 1988. "The Panegyrists and their Teachers." In *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, edited by M. Whitby, 17-49. Brill, Leiden.

- Russell, D. & Wilson, N. 1981. *Menander Rhetor*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Ryser, G. 2015. "The Hidden Model? Influences from Oppian in Claudian's Latin oeuvre." *Hermes* 143, 472-490.
- Safran, L. 1993. "Points of View: The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34, 409-435.
- Salzman, M. R. 2006. "Symmachus and the "Barbarian" Generals." *Historia* 55, 352-67
- Sánchez-Ostiz, Á. 2013. "Lucretius, Cicero, Theodorus: Greek Philosophy and Latin Eloquence in Claudian's Encomiastic Imagination." *Talanta* 45, 97-114.
- Sánchez-Ostiz, Á. 2018. "Claudian's Stilicho at the Urbs: Roman Legitimacy for the Half-Barbarian Regent." In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, edited by D. P. W. Burgersdijk and A. J. Ross, 310-30. Brill, Leiden.
- Sánchez-Ostiz, Á. 2021. "The New Consul and the Eagles of Jupiter: Poetics and Propaganda in Claudian's Preface to the Panegyric for Manlius Theodorus." *Philologus* 165, 273-94.
- Schlunk, R. 1974. *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid: A Study of the Influence of Ancient Homeric Literary Criticism on Vergil*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Schmidt, P. L. 1989. "Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Claudians Carmina maiora." *Illinois Classical Studies* 14, 391-415.
- Schweckendiek, H. 1992. *Claudians Invective gegen Eutrop (In Eutropium)* (ed.). Hildesheim, Zurich.
- Sebesta, J. L. 1980. "Claudian's Credo: the de Salvatore." *Classical Bulletin* 56, 33-7.
- Seeck, O. 1913. *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, Volume 5. J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart.
- Shanzer, D. 1994. "The Date and Identity of the Centonist Proba." *Recherches Augustiennes*, 74-96.
- Shorrock, R. 2011. *The Myth of Paganism: Nonnus, Dionysus and the World of Late Antiquity*. University of Bristol Press, London.
- Sivan, H. 1996. "Was Theodosius I a Usurper?" *Klio* 78, 198-211.

- Solly, D. S. 2019. "A Spanish Bonanza? A Reexamination of Roman Goldmining Technology." In *The Fifth Century: Age of Transformation*, edited by J. W. Drijvers and N. Lenski, 49-61. Edipuglia, Bari.
- Starr, R. J. 1987. "The circulation of Literary Texts in the Ancient World." *Classical Quarterly* 37.
- Steele, R. 1918. "The Similes in Latin Epic Poetry." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 49, 83-100.
- Stein, E. 1959. *Histoire de Bas Empire. Tome premier. De l'état Romain à l'état Byzantin 284-476*. Second Edition. Edited and translated by J-R Palanque. Desclée de Brouwer, Bruges.
- Stöcker, E. 1889. *De Claudiani poetae veterum rerum Romanorum scientia quae sit et unde fluxerit*. Diss. Marburg.
- Struthers, L. 1919. "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 30, 49-87.
- Taegert, W. 1988. *Claudius Claudianus: Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino consulibus* (ed.). Beck, Munich.
- Thomas, R. F. 1982. *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographic Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thomas, R. F. 1986. "Virgil's Georgics and the Art of Reference." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90, 171-98.
- Thomas, R. F. 1988. *Georgics*, edited. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thompson E. A. 1963. "The Visigoths from Fritigern to Euric." *Historia* 12, 105-26.
- Townend, G. B. 1973. "The Literary Substrata to Juvenal's Satires." *Journal of Roman Studies* 63, 148-160.
- Toynbee, J. 1947. "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365." *Journal of Roman Studies* 37, 135-44.
- Turcan-Verkerk, A-M. 2003. *Un poète latin chrétien redécouvert: Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, panegyriste de Théodose*. Collection Latomus, Brussels.
- Van Waarden, J. and Kelly, G. A. J. (ed.) 2013. *New Approaches to Sidonius Apollinaris*. Peeters, Leuven.

- Visser-Fuchs, L. 2008. "‘Honour is the Reward of Virtue’: The Claudian Translation made for Richard, Duke of York, in 1445." *The Ricardian* 18, 66-82.
- Vogel, L. 1973. *The Column of Antoninus Pius*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1986. "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus." *Journal of Roman Studies* 76, 66-87.
- Ware, C. 2004. "Claudian: The Epic Poet in the Prefaces." In *Latin Epic and Didactic Poetry*, edited by M. Gale, 181-201. Classical Press of Wales, Swansea.
- Ware, C. 2012. *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Ware, C. 2016. "Dreams of Genre and Interpretation: Multiple Allusion in Claudian (*VI Cons. praef.*). In *Classics Renewed: Reception and Innovation in the Latin Poetry of Late Antiquity*, edited by S. McGill and J. Pucci, 171-94. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.
- Wasdin, K. 2014. "Honorius Triumphant: Poetry and Politics in Claudian’s Wedding Poems." *Classical Philology* 109, 48-65.
- Wasdin, K. 2018. *Eros at Dusk: Ancient Wedding and Love Poetry*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Watts, E. 2006. "Alexandrian Intellectual Life in the Roman Imperial Period." In *City and School in Latin Athens and Roman Alexandria* by Edward Watts, 143-54. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Wheeler, S. M. 2007. "More Roman than the Romans of Rome: Virgilian (Self-) Fashioning in Claudian’s Panegyric for the Consuls Olybrius and Probinus." In *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority and Change*, edited by D. Scourfield, 97-133. Classical Press of Wales, Swansea.
- Wheeler, S. M. 2016. "The Emperor’s Love of Rome in Claudian’s Panegyric on the Sixth Consulate of Honorius." In *Tradition and Innovation in the Latin Poetry of Late Antiquity*, edited by S. McGill and J. Pucci, 195-220. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.
- Whitby, M. 1988. *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. Brill, Leiden.

- Whitby, M. 2003. "Images of Constantius." In Hunt, D. & Drijvers, J. W. *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, 77-88. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Wijnendaele, J. 2016. "Stilicho, Radagaisus, and the So-Called 'Battle of Faesulae' (406 CE)." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 9, 267-84.
- Wilkins, E. G. 1920. "A Classification of the Similes in Homer." *Classical Weekly* 13, 147-50 and 154-9.
- Wilkins, E. G. 1921a. "A Classification of the Similes in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius." *Classical Weekly* 14, 162-6.
- Wilkins, E. G. 1921b. "A Classification of the Similes in Vergil's Aeneid and Georgics." *Classical Weekly* 14, 170-4.
- Wilkins, E. G. 1932. "A Classification of the Similes of Ovid." *Classical Weekly* 25, 73-8 and 81-6.
- Wilkins, E.G. 1936. "A Classification of the Similes of Horace." *Classical Weekly* 29, 124-8.
- Wilkinson, K. 2009. "Palladas and the Age of Constantine." *Journal of Roman Studies* 99, 36-60
- Wilson, A. 2007. "The metal supply of the Roman empire." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 69, 109-25.
- Wolfram, H. 1988. *History of the Goths*, trans. Dunlap, T. J. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Yamagata, N. 2014a. "Camilla and Tomoe: Female Warriors in Virgil and in medieval Japan." *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 28, 81-98.
- Yamagata, N. 2014b. "The Justice of Zeus Revisited." In *Crime and Punishment in Homeric and Archaic Epic*, edited by M. Christopoulos and M. Paizi-Apostopolou. Kentro Odysseiakon Spoudon, Ithaca.
- Zanker, P. 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Zarini, V. 2000. "Brèves considérations sur le prologue du De raptu Proserpinae de Claudien (1. 1-31)." *Vita Latina* 158, 51-58.

- Zarini, V. 2007. "Trois Éloges comparés de Rome: Ammien Marcellin, Claudien, Rutilius Namatianus." *Camène* 2, 1-15.
- Zarini, V. 2008. "Les préfaces dans la poésie panégyrique de la latinité tardive." In *Commencer et Finir*, edited by B. Bureau and C. Nicholas. CERGR, Paris, 175-86.
- Zetzel, J. 1983. "Catullus, Ennius and the Poetics of Allusion." *Illinois Classical Studies* 82, 51-66.
- Ziegler, K. 1966. *Das hellenistische Epos*. Teubner, Leipzig.

