How Claudian changed epic to praise Stilicho

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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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, panegyrical 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.
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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.

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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 Rome\(^2\) 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

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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. 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. 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. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Iliad} and the \textit{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 \textit{Aeneid} is the concilium deorum

\textsuperscript{7} Charlet 1991, xx-xxxii. Hall 1969, 102-3, Gruzelier 1993, xvii, and Bernstein 2022, 1 concur, although proof is impossible.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{CIL} 6.1710. Claudian's pride in the statue is evident (\textit{Get. praef.} 9-10).
which forms the opening of Book 10.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{rex Iuppiter omnibus idem. Fata viam invenient}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{11} A major change is the introduction of the theme of the destiny of Rome, \textit{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.’)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{13} The visit of Aeneas to the Underworld in company of the Sibyl allows the dead Anchises to display future events to his son.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{15}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Aen.} 10.1-117.
  \item \textit{Aen.} 10.112-3. All translations are my own save otherwise indicated.
  \item \textit{Aen.} 12.791-840.
  \item \textit{Aen.} 1.5-6.
  \item \textit{Aen.} 1.257-96
  \item \textit{Aen.} 6.756-892.
  \item \textit{Aen.} 8.626-731.
\end{itemize}
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. 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.* 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, 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. 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. 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 inaccuracy\(^\text{27}\), 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.’\(^\text{28}\) He also accuses the poet of (self-)plagiarism.\(^\text{29}\) 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.\(^\text{30}\)

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.\(^\text{31}\) 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.

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, 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.

Earlier studies which concentrated on Claudian as a historical source include Crees (1908) and Fargues (1933) but there has been a renascence 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

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\(^{34}\) Cameron 1970, 42.

\(^{35}\) Long 1996, 205-12.

\(^{36}\) Cameron 2000, 127-44 (slightly revised 2016, 133-46).
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

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37 Gillett 2012, 265-6.
Stilicho on a virtually equal footing by reason of his ability to furnish his troops with Roman armour.  

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. Kelly has pointed out it seems very possible that Rome was seen as a possible permanent imperial residence in 404.

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. 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

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38 Cameron 1970, 187.
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.\footnote{Barchfeld 1880, Günther 1894, Hundt 1886, Krause 1871, and Müllner 1893.} 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 complained\footnote{Kelly 2013, 171-3. His analysis of Claudianic scholarship is both succinct and penetrating.}: 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.\footnote{Kelly 2013, 171-94. See also Bruzzone 2004, 135-6.} 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
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 Fous. 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.
provocative.\textsuperscript{50} Dewar (1996) in his otherwise estimable edition of \textit{VI Hon.} too often falls into this trap, as does Gruzelier (1993) in her edition of \textit{Rapt}. Platnauer\textsuperscript{(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 \textit{Stil. praef.} \textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{Olybr.} and \textit{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 Cameron\textsuperscript{51}, as a journalist\textsuperscript{52} and, in his own claim, as a poet, by his proud reference to the honorary inscription.\textsuperscript{53} My purpose is to show that this remains the most valid interpretation.

\textsuperscript{50} Huysmans 1884, Chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{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 renascence. 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

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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.\footnote{Get.14-21 makes clear his scepticism.} He also had to deal with the problem that was raised by both Pindar and Isocrates, in his Evagoras, that praise of contemporaries aroused φΘόνος 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.\footnote{Pindar Nem. 8.21 and Isocrates Evagoras 6-7.} 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 owed’) and will develop the theme further in the second book.\footnote{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.}

The rhetorical handbooks, such as those of Menander Rhetor, probably a provincial schoolmaster, and Apthonius, 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...
cities, referring ten times to the former and four times to the latter.\textsuperscript{57} Repeated readings of Aphonius 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

\begin{quote}
Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίοιο νόον καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

‘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.\textsuperscript{59} It is almost unprecedented that such a statue bears an inscription

\textsuperscript{57} Menander Rhetor, \textit{ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ}, 346-365.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{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 \textit{Odyssey} πολλῶν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω (\textit{Od.} 1.3), later picked up Horace in his \textit{Epistles}, multorum providus Urbis/et mores hominum inspexit (\textit{Ep.} 1.2.19-20). The mistake in βασιλῆς may be a misreading by the sculptor; H for EI.

\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{CIL} 6.1724 and \textit{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

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

\begin{flushleft}
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).
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\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{60} Fo 1982, 94-5.
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\textsuperscript{61} \textit{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.
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\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{62} As Fo suggested, see above.
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\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Get. praef.} 7.
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\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{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.
\end{flushleft}
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.*

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.*

(‘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.*

Claudian picks up this allusion as he writes in the preface to the second book of *Rapt. tu mea plectra moves.*

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;* the claim is made explicit in the preface to the second book of *Stil.*

The reference to Virgil is more complex, addressing both the range of the

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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. 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, 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. I shall examine first the literary environment during the time that the

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71 Noted by Macrobius, see below. Fo (1982, 93-4) commented that the two attributes, νόον 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[m] mater Olibrii et Aliepii(sic pro Alypii,) Constantini (sic pro Constantii) Imperatoris bellum adversus Magnentium conscripsisset, conscrisit 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{iam dudum temerasse duces pia foedera pacis,} \\
\textit{regnandi miseratos tenuit quos dira cupidio,} \\
\textit{diversasque neces, regum crudelia bella}
\end{align*}
\]
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*.\textsuperscript{74}

It is perhaps sensible to take the structure of a panegyrical epic as a starting-point, using the guidelines suggested by Virgil in the proem in the third book of the *Georgics*.\textsuperscript{75} The obvious caveat remains that we are, because of the lack of surviving examples, very limited in our ability to know how verse panegyrical 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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{75} *Georg.* 3.16-36.

\textsuperscript{76} *Stil.* 1.36-9.
There was a literary renascence 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* 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. As Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe has noted, a theme in Ambrose’s funeral sermons is that heaven is

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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

\[
\textit{mobile ponderibus descendat pegma reductis} \\
\textit{inque chori speciem spargentes ardua flammis} \\
\textit{scaena rotet varios.} \quad \text{(Theod. 325-7)}
\]

‘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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{80} In \textit{Get}, Claudian repeatedly characterises Stilicho as the sole architect of the victory of Pollentia, writing to describe the victory \textit{per te namque unum mediis exuta tenebris/ imperio sua forma redit} and \textit{quanto maius opus solo Stilichone peractum/ cernimus}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Contra Symmachum}

\begin{quote}
dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique.
\end{quote}

‘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

\begin{quote}
scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque receptis
huc Christo comitante veni.\textsuperscript{82}
\end{quote}

‘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.

\textsuperscript{79} Lunn-Rockliffe 2008, 205.

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

\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Get}. 36-7 and 133-4.

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{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. He may have complained that the senators in Rome were only able to read Juvenal and Marius Maximus but there was another audience, the new civil service, as Kelly has suggested, who might have appreciated his sophisticated references. 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.

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, 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 Homer\(^{88}\) 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 *Ὡς δ᾿ ὁ τις τίς ἔλεφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μηνή /Μηνίς ή Ἐκάερα (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); 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. He had a huge familiaririty 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. 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 discretion facta confundit.

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 panegyrical 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.
97 I discuss Proba’s epic above; Juvenicus, 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. 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 Panegyrical 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.

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. 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{concines laetosque dies et urbis} \\
\text{publicum ludum super impetrato} \\
\text{fortis Augusti reditu Forumque} \\
\text{litibus orbum .}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{(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

\[
aurea Fortunae Reduci si templa priores/ ob reditum vovere ducum
\]

\text{('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

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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.\textsuperscript{103} His colleague will be able (or might be able) to sing the praises of Augustus, \textit{concines maiore poeta plectro/ Caesarem}.\textsuperscript{104} The poet was clearly under some pressure to meet the demands of the \textit{princeps} who was perhaps dissatisfied with the mead of praise that he had been awarded in Virgil's \textit{Aeneid}. The latter had made no attempt to create the epic that he outlined in the proem in the third book of the \textit{Georgics}, where using the metaphor of a temple, \textit{in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit},\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{107} a literary genesis is more appropriate. In particular, as Alan Cameron has argued\textsuperscript{108}, 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 \textit{Hymn}

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Fortuna Redux}, dedicated by Augustus in 19 BCE (Dewar 1970, 63).
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Carm.} 4.2. 33-4.
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Georg.} 3.16
\textsuperscript{106} Hardie 1986, 128-9 citing Ziegler 1966, 51.
\textsuperscript{107} Zanker 1990, 3.
\textsuperscript{108} Cameron 1995, 266-7 & 283-90.
to Attalus\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{nec Mulciber}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Nicander \textit{fr.104} Gow-Schofield
\item Kelly 2019, 1-2.
\item \textit{Satyricon} 119-24.
\item \textit{III Hon. praef.} 3-6.
\item Gualandri 2013, 120-1.
\item Eutr. 1.303-6 and Pythian 2.72-3.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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 barbarin 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 ll. 10.476-80.
on no trickery. He continues by saying that it was absurd to compare the two, *et Diomedeis tantum praecellior ausis,/ quantum lux tenebris manifestaque 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’

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\(^{120}\) *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 εταυρον 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, *inctidunt 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 dicione sub una convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum,* ‘never had so many forces united under one command, nor so many differences in language.’\(^{126}\) regards it as a source of strength.\(^{127}\) 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 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


\(^{125}\) *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 ρέεθρα,/ οὐδὲ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ρόον εἰς ἄλα δίων/ στεινόμενος νεκόσσι, σο δὲ κτείνεις άιδήλως. 131 The lines are recalled by Virgil, so Jupiter tells Venus how gemerentque 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

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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 furentem/ cunctando victisque manu victumque relegat.*

We can see a clear inheritance in a second approach. As Richard Heinze noted, 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* 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

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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*. 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.

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* 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.* They do not, however, act as agents, a contrast to Megaera’s role as the nurse of Rufinus, an innovation that Merobaudes would follow.

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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. 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. Polyphemus the Cyclops is portrayed as heartless and cruel but his address to his ram shows him in a more sympathetic light. 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: panegyrical epic demands villains of the darkest hue to highlight the qualities of their heroes.

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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 aforetime 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

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\(^{148}\) 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.
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).

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. 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*. Servius does refer to plays of Pacuvius in his note on these lines but rather to suggest that his plays were based on Euripides. It serves as an allusion for Claudian; among the portents trumped by the prodigy of a eunuch as consul are *geminos soles*. 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.

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151 As Levy 1946, 59 reluctantly admits; the counter-examples cited by Long (1996, 46) are unconvincing.
153 Plutarch *Crassus* 33.
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 ἀράσσων; πᾶν δ’ ἀνήλωται δέμας/ τὸ καλλίμορφον τραυμάτων ὑπ’ ἀγρίων.\(^{158}\) Claudian describes how Rufinus’ corpse was hacked to pieces, *consumpto funere vix tum/ desertur 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 corpse\(^{161}\) 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

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\(^{157}\) 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. The image in the Odyssey 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. 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.

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

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164 Müllner 1893, 139-40, citing ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀπεστάτουν/ ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἄξια,/ μυχῇ 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.  

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.

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/ incolu mem tenui damno servasse carinam/fertur. In a similar fashion Seneca gave much greater prominence to the helmsman

\begin{verbatim}
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 orbes

169 Get. 4-6.
\end{verbatim}
than either Apollonius had given or Valerius Flaccus would give. He wrote *ausus Tiphys pandere vasto/ carbasae ponto legesque novas/ scribere ventis* emphasising his skills as a helmsman.

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.

Theodor Birt long ago suggested that *Eutr.* be regarded as a satire rather than the more usual invective (*vituperatio*) or rhetorical ψογός.

It is certain that Claudian’s contemporaries knew and appreciated Juvenal, as Ammianus complained. It is also clear that the Alexandrian took over some of Juvenal’s

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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.* 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.')

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,* preferring to discuss trivialities rather than to hear war news. Eutropius' counselors are similarly feckless, as Long has noted. 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. 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.

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176 *Gild.* 193.
178 *Sat.* 4.39.
180 I would suggest that John the Lydian's description of Claudian as οὗτος 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 panegyrical epic. Ruf. had opened with a concilium summoned by Allecto\textsuperscript{182} that is both a parody and the inverse of the traditional concilium deorum, a feature of panegyrical epic that dates back to Ennius and is found in Cicero’s De consulatu suo. It appears often in Claudian\textsuperscript{183} 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.\textsuperscript{184} Sidonius’ third panegyric (first in date of composition) opens with an outstanding example.\textsuperscript{185} Katharina Volk has suggested that the divine council might have served as a frame for the whole of Cicero’s poem;\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{182} Ruf. 1.27-117.

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{185} Carm. 7.20-44.

\textsuperscript{186} Volk 2013, 102.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{IV Hon.} he praises Theodosius’ homeland of Spain, and continues

\begin{quote}
\textit{Herculis et Bromii sustentat gloria Thebas}
\textit{haesit Apollineo Delos Latonia partu}
\textit{Cretaque se iactat tenero reptata Tonanti.} \textit{(IV Hon. 132-4)}.
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
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
\end{quote}

\(^{188}\) Kehding 1899, 28-44.

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

\(^{190}\) \textit{Laus Serenae (Carm. Min.} 30) 54 and \textit{Pan. Lat.} 2(12) 4.11-3.

\(^{191}\) \textit{VI Hon.} 58-62 clearly recalls the earlier description of the emperor’s behavior on his visit in 389 (\textit{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 \textit{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 confeceras bellu, iam agebas triumphum*. Claudian writes, emphasizing the speed of the defeat of Gildo,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{necdum Cinyphias exercitus attigit oras:} \\
\text{iam domitus Gildo. nullis victoria nodis} \\
\text{haesit, non spatio terrae, non obice ponti.} \\
\text{congressum profugum captum vox nuntiat una} \\
\text{rumoremque sui praevenit laurea belli.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*(Gild. 9-13)*

It clearly harks back to Julius Caesar’s famous line, *veni, vidi, vici* 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. The latter alludes to Claudian’s *Laus Romae*, as he describes Rome’s clemency. He wrote,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam:} \\
\text{profuit injustis te dominante capi.} \\
\text{dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,} \\
\text{urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*(De reditu suo 1.63-6)*

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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 \textit{Ruf}.\textsuperscript{196} Gavin Kelly has suggested that the former has replaced the figure of Rufinus as a denizen of hell with Stilicho,\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{196} Kelly 2018, 4.

\textsuperscript{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 Avitus\(^{200}\) that the full extent of Sidonius’ debt is revealed. He writes, describing the appearance of Roma before Jupiter and the _concilium deorum_, that

\begin{quote}
_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)
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
_vox tenuis tardique gradus oculique iacentes*  
_interius; _fugere genae; _ieiuna lacertos*  
_exedit macies. _umeris vix sustinet aegris*
\end{quote}

\(^{198}\) _Pan._ 2.67-8.  
\(^{199}\) _Carm._ 5.13-4.  
\(^{200}\) Kelly 2020b, 70 has suggested that the contratemporal ms. ordering has a specific motivation.
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.*

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{concipe praeteritos, respublica, mente triumphos:} \\
  & \text{imperium iam consul habet, quem purpura non plus} \\
  & \text{quam lorica operit, cuius diademata frontem} \\
  & \text{non luxu sed lege tegunt, meritisque laborum.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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,

\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret aedes,} \\
  & \text{quam sua cum pariter trabeis reparatur et urbi} \\
  & \text{maiestas: neque enim campus sollemnis et urna} \\
  & \text{luditur in morem.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{agnoscunt rostra curules} \\
  & \text{auditas quondam proavis, desuetaque cingit} \\
  & \text{regius auratis fora fascibus Ulpia lictor,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\footnote{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, panegyrical 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 panegyrical epic.

1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, Claudian succeeded in creating a new type of epic, epic panegyric,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{208}

The concepts of \textit{aemulatio} and \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Aeneid} with the words \textit{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 \textit{reges et proelia}, that he had been warned by Apollo to
abandon in the \textit{Eclogues}.\textsuperscript{210} Obviously, he recalls the first lines of both \textit{Iliad} and the
\textit{Odyssey} but here he reveals his own personal pride and his role as a poet when he
writes \textit{cano} as a dramatic contrast to Homer’s invocation to the Muse that opens the
\textit{Iliad}.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Sat.} 4.84).
\textsuperscript{208} Claudian’s pride certainly contrasts with Statius’ diffidence (\textit{Theb.} 12.816-7).
\textsuperscript{209} I highlight Virgil’s proem in the third book of the \textit{Georgics} where the format he
outlines is very different from the \textit{Aeneid}, and the opening of the \textit{Metamorphoses},
where the poem is said to be ‘both ‘continuous’ (\textit{perpetuum}) and ‘fine-spun’ as the
object of the verb \textit{deducite}. (Harrison 2002, 87).
\textsuperscript{210} \textit{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,\(^\text{211}\) 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.\(^\text{212}\) 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*).  

\(^\text{211}\) *Poetics* 1447b  
\(^\text{212}\) Farrell 2003, 394.
(iii) Panegyric. No surviving examples before Claudian.\textsuperscript{213}
(iv) Christian (Juvenecus, Proba (?) and Prudentius’s \textit{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 \textit{Ruf}, where he discusses what philosophical doctrine best explains the universe\textsuperscript{214}, and in the panegyric in honour of Manlius Theodorus, a noted Neo-Platonist who became consul in 399.\textsuperscript{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 panegyrical 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.\textsuperscript{216} The Trojan war was a prime source of content but other cycles included the voyage of the Argo and the Theban cycle. The \textit{Iliad} and the \textit{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

\textsuperscript{213} Otis 1963, 9-10, 16 argues that the first three sub-genres could be regarded as separate, before Hofmann in 1988.
\textsuperscript{214} \textit{Ruf}. 11-19.
\textsuperscript{215} \textit{Theod}. 84-112.
\textsuperscript{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 Mentes 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 Clianthur 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. Achilles in the Iliad is unusual in recognising Apollo and Athena immediately. 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. 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. The most gruesome death that he describes, of Rufinus, owes much to Euripides’ account of Pentheus’ dismemberment in the Bacchae, as noted above in the previous chapter. 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.
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 Glaucon 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*
In the opening of Get. there is praise of Stilicho as a second and greater Tiphys. Both Virgil and Horace predict the return of the golden age. It became a topos of imperial propaganda; emperors named as presiding over its return include Domitian and Commodus.

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. 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. 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 dismisso. (‘I am silent about King Alaric and his Goths, often conquered, often trapped and always let go.’) 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 Panegyrical epic.

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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 lassos in his account of Alexander's campaigns.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{240} Both Pindar and Isocrates, the latter in his Evagoras, argue that praise of contemporaries aroused φΘόνος in the audience; Isocrates complains that his audience only wanted to hear about the exploits of mythological figures.\textsuperscript{241}

Horace in his recusatio in the fourth book of the Odes\textsuperscript{242} suggests features of praise poetry which could include:

(i) Lavish praise of a living man and a description of his exploits.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{239} Noted by Horace (Ep. 2.1.232-4).

\textsuperscript{240} FGrHist 153 10a (Porphrion ad Hor. AP 357).

\textsuperscript{241} Pindar Nem. 8.21 and Isocrates Evagoras 6-7.

\textsuperscript{242} Carm. 4.2.

\textsuperscript{243} Carm. 4.2.33-40.

\textsuperscript{244} Carm.4.2.1.
statesman without fault. 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.

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. 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. 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 (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. 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 imperiique/ Christopotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius/ atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique 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.\(^{256}\)

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\(^{251}\) *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, to earlier scholars who had argued that the poet had real knowledge and understanding of philosophy. 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. 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.

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

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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.
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/ inradias*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 clear\(^{266}\) 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, argued that the transition that Claudian announced as he stated *Latinae cessit Graia Thalia togae* 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. Each was not just a *captatio benevolentiae*, intended to flatter his audience; there is a careful graduation in his audience from students in Alexandria to the emperor and Jupiter. 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

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269 Postgate 1895, 164.

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


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 *concilia 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 Honorius\(^{282}\) 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.

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\(^{279}\) 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 dicione 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 φθόνος 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 emphasis 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 victisque manu victumque relegat.  

(Get. 142-4)

In a similar fashion, Alaric is worse than Hannibal, Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale, ('A (second) Hannibal crueler than the original Hannibal.'). This may also be a reversal of Virgil's mechanism 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.

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. 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.

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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. 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 panegyrical epic. In this chapter I now examine the individual Prefaces.\textsuperscript{293} Twelve in elegiacs survive, ranging in length from eight to 76 lines, as follows (not in strict chronological order, as the dating of \textit{Rapt.} is uncertain), \textit{Rapt.} 1 (394?), \textit{III Hon.} (396), \textit{Ruf.} 1, 2(397), \textit{Nupt.} (398), \textit{Theod.} (399), \textit{Eutr.} 2 (399), \textit{Stil.} 3 (400), \textit{Get.} (402), \textit{VI Hon.} (404) and \textit{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, \textit{Rapt.1}, \textit{Ruf. 1}, \textit{Eutr. 2}, and \textit{Get.} A number of theories have been proposed, but none is wholly convincing. Alan Cameron has suggested that the second preface of \textit{Rapt.} and the single prefaces of \textit{Eutr. 2} and \textit{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.\textsuperscript{294} Koch has suggested that in some cases the absence of prefaces was due to the fact that the honorand was not present.\textsuperscript{295} Hall proposed that it may have been impolitic to lavish praise on Stilicho during the time he had been declared \textit{publicus hostis} in the East.\textsuperscript{296} The complexity of certain prefaces and the links between them suggest Claudian viewed them as fundamental to his epic poetry.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{294} Cameron, 1970, 77-8.

\textsuperscript{295} Koch 1889, 583.

\textsuperscript{296} Hall 1987, 186.
The prefaces in Claudian’s oeuvre

The earliest preface in date is probably the one that opens Rapt, 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 epic.

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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.\textsuperscript{298} The preface to the second book of \textit{Rapt.} is 52 lines and was probably delivered when Florentinus was \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{Praefatio haec aliena loco inserta videtur. Ad rem certe non facit. Ut tollenda fortasse sit.}\textsuperscript{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 Pindar\textsuperscript{300}, this test is one that both Honorius and the poet have to undergo; Claudian is confident that he has passed.

\textsuperscript{298} \textit{Olybr.} 1-7.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Rapt.} may have led Claudian to add a longer preface.

\textsuperscript{300} As noted by Gualandri 2013, 121, as Pindar explicitly compares himself to the bird of Zeus, the eagle (\textit{Ol.} 2. 86-9).
There are prefaces to the two books of Ruf, which were delivered on separate occasions in 397; 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.

It is probable that Claudian is looking back to the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. 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 embroidred with the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

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, who the poet suggests has now become his own epic Muse,

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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’).\textsuperscript{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, \textit{hoc video
coeetu quidquid ubique micat}.\textsuperscript{307} Claudian may be suggesting with his flattery that his
western audience should be ready to overturn or ignore any dictates from the
East.\textsuperscript{308}

The dating of the preface to \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{306} \textit{Theod. praef.} 6; the change in Thalia’s role is analysed by Ware (2012, 63-6).
\textsuperscript{307} \textit{Theod. praef.} 20, perhaps suggesting that a Christian emperor is now superior to
Jupiter.
\textsuperscript{308} Sánchez-Ostiz 2021, 273-94.
\textsuperscript{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 solutions\textsuperscript{310} and the timetable she has proposed seems reasonable.\textsuperscript{311} We should accept the lack of information in Constantinople that Eunapius records of events in the West\textsuperscript{312} was equally true in the opposite direction. Claudian was simply updating his poem \textit{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,\textsuperscript{313} Claudian has demonstrated how a preface can be used as a retrospective mechanism to make corrections.

There is a reference to \textit{exiguae... chartae} which sealed Eutropius’ downfall, discussed by Seeck and Cameron, both wrestling over this description.\textsuperscript{314} It makes an indirect comment to the earlier letter noted for its length when Tiberius ordered the elimination of Sejanus.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{310} Long 1996, 149-60.
\textsuperscript{311} Long 1996, 177-8.
\textsuperscript{312} Eunapius \textit{fr.} 74 Müller, cited by Long 1996, 179-80.
\textsuperscript{313} Genette 1991, 261.
\textsuperscript{314} Cameron 1970, 144, quoting Seeck 1913, 565.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{316}

Only the third book of \textit{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 \textit{Gild.} of 398, which lacks a preface, the second of Claudian’s poems describing an individual campaign, \textit{Get.} of 402, has a preface of 18 lines; it opens with the poet returning to his Roman Muse after a long silence, \textit{Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris.}\textsuperscript{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, \textit{adnuit hic princeps titulum poscente senatu.}\textsuperscript{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, \textit{vel meritum belli vel Stilichonis amor.}\textsuperscript{319} It is perhaps a sign that Claudian was well-aware of his

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{317} \textit{Get. praeef.} 2. Ware (2012, 636) has suggested that Claudian has transformed the decidedly unepic Thalia of the opening of Virgil’s sixth \textit{Eclogue} into a ‘Muse of all work.’

\textsuperscript{318} \textit{Get. praeef.} 9.

\textsuperscript{319} \textit{Get. praeef.} 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; 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.’) He continues by describing a poet’s objective as teneras victuri carmine mentes (to win over young minds with poetry). 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.

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, 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

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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. 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 Fous 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

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\(^{326}\) Pratt 1947, 420-1. Other authors in the *Liber Catonianus* include Cato and Statius.

\(^{327}\) 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. 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. 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. In the several poems that follow he goes on to describe the different audiences, including the general audience

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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.)


331 Martial, Prologus 5, Si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est ... potest epistula vel potiustitulo contentus esse.
at Rome, whom he describes as largely over-critical, the emperor, and the dedicatees. It is certainly informal, as Martial sets up straw men, first the _malignus interpres_ and then Cato. 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_. 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_.

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._

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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 emphasising 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. 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*. 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.* 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

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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.\textsuperscript{341} Only one provides significant details of his career, the stand-alone \textit{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 (\textit{Carm. 6. 27-8}) who were the subject of Claudian’s own poem (\textit{VI Hon. praef. 17-8}).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{343}

\textsuperscript{341} Dorfbauer 2010, 212 & 218. He perhaps underestimates the expository roles of the two prefaces to \textit{Ruf}.

\textsuperscript{342} Kelly 2013, 184-5.

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Corpus Maius} and \textit{Olybr.} and 17 in \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{345} I list the individual theses in the Bibliography. Fortunately they are all written in Latin.

\textsuperscript{346} My principal sources have been Müllner and Günther.
have been my principal guides. 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. 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/ audireturOLOR, corvo certante ligustris*. 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

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

The trend towards an increasing percentage and the increasing length of the similes is clear, with Valerius Flaccus as an exception\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{354} It seems likely that Rutilius

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{353} Noted by Fitch 1976, 113.

\textsuperscript{354} The two similes are

\textit{credere maluerim Pygmaeae damna cohortis}

\textit{et coniuratos in sua bella grues.} \hfill (1.291-2)

and

101
Namatianus intended to show his disdain for Claudian in his criticism of the first simile. 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 ravening 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.

\[\text{qualis in Euboicis captiva natatibus unda}\]
\[\text{sustinet alterno bracchia lenta sinu.}\] (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: \textit{Rapt.} 2.308-10.
From hail: \textit{Get.} 173-5.
From smoke: \textit{Eutr.} 1.130-1.
From the sea: \textit{Ruf.} 1.70-3; \textit{Ruf.} 1.183-7 (unchanging); \textit{Ruf.} 2.221-3; \textit{Eutr.} 1.32-3 (waves).
From mountains: \textit{Theod.} 206-10; \textit{Rapt.} 2.179-85 (Ossa).
From rivers: \textit{Olybr.} 48-54 (gold-producing); \textit{Ruf.} 1.269-72; \textit{VI Hon.} 632-5; \textit{Rapt.} 2.62-70; \textit{Rapt.} 2.197-03.
From disease: \textit{Ruf.} 1.301-4.

2.2 Similes drawn from the vegetable world
From trees: \textit{Carm. min.} 27. 31-5.
From wheat: \textit{Eutr.} 1.113-8.

2.3 Similes drawn from the animal kingdom
From bees: \textit{Ruf.} 2.460-5; \textit{IV Hon.} 380-5; \textit{VI Hon.} 259-64; \textit{Rapt.} 2.124-30.
From birds \textit{Gild.} 474-8 (cranes); \textit{Theod.} 320; \textit{Eutr.} 1.348-9; \textit{Eutr.} 2.310-6 (ostrich); \textit{Stil.} 2.414-20 (phoenix); \textit{Rapt.} 3.141-5.
From lions: \textit{Ruf.} 2.252-6; \textit{IV Hon.} 77-82; \textit{Eutr.} 1.386-9; \textit{Stil.} 2.20-2; \textit{Get.} 323-9; \textit{Rapt.} 2.209-13; \textit{Rapt.} 3.165-9.
From horses: \textit{Nupt.} 289-4 (stallion).
From cattle: \textit{Get.} 45-6; \textit{Get.} 408-13 (lost); \textit{Rapt.} 1.127-9 (heifer).
From dogs: \textit{Eutr.} 1.132-7; \textit{Stil.} 2.214-5.
From monkeys: \textit{Eutr.} 1.303-7.
From fish: \textit{Ruf.} 2.376-80 (killing); \textit{Eutr.} 2.425-31 (pilot-fish).
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 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

104
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). 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. 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. Ursula Keudel suggests that the scene was intended as a portrayal of an actual triumph, and it would thus serve to replace the hypothetical triumph that Claudian earlier posited, which would have surpassed any granted to his predecessors.

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, bacchants 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, introquet clavum Silenus et acres  
adsudant tonsis Satyri taurinaque pulsu  
Baccharum Bromios invitant tympana remos:  
transtra ligant hederae, malum circumflua vestit  
pampinus, antennis inlabitur ebria serpens,

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.

Keudel 1970, 147.

Stil. 3. 30-6.
perque mero madidos currunt saliuntque rudentes
lynces et insolitae mirantur carbasa tigres.\footnote{Müllner 1893, 109-10 cites Ovid \textit{Met.} 3. 664-9,}

\begin{verbatim}
  inpediunt hederae 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.
\end{verbatim}

'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

\footnote{Müllner 1893, 109-10 cites Ovid \textit{Met.} 3. 664-9,}

\begin{verbatim}
  et iam pampineos materna ad moenia currus
  promovet; effrenae dextra laevaque sequuntur
  lynces, et uda mero lambunt retinacula tigres.
\end{verbatim}

'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 bacchants 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

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 murmuré torvis
Sol occurrit equis; qui postquam rursus eriles
agnovere sonos, redit meliore magistro
machina concentusque poli, currusque recepit
imperium flammaeque modum. 363

‘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 is 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,

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

\(365\) Müllner 1893, 121 cites Seneca \textit{Hercules} 70-3,

\textit{subdidit mundo caput}

\textit{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 wanting\(^ {367}\) and Claudian will occasionally refer to historical events. Stilicho is

\[ \textit{meliusque collo sedit Herculeo polus.} \]

\[ \textit{immota cervix sidera et caelum tuit.} \]

‘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 Achilles and his victories found superior to those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, as the latters' 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. In the Iliad, there are 29 examples of lions, including one, describing the death of Sarpedon, where a bull is killed by a lion,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἡὔτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών, } \\
\text{αἴθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι, } \\
\text{ἀσέτο τε στενάχων ὑπὸ γαμφηλήσι λέοντος,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Iliad 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 but five in the Aeneid. One is an echo of the Homeric, as Virgil describes Turnus' assault on Pallas,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἡὔτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών, } \\
\text{αἴθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι, } \\
\text{ἀσέτο τε στενάχων ὑπὸ γαμφηλήσι λέοντος,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Iliad 16.487-9)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἐνεπεβίβασον μεταχεῖαν τοῦ Τύραννος πόλιον, } \\
\text{πολλὰς δὲ μελανεῖας τοῖς περατοῖς, } \\
\text{καὶ σχισάμεθαν ἐπὶ στενοῖς, } \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Aeneid 11.771-3)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἡὔτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών, } \\
\text{αἴθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι, } \\
\text{ἀσέτο τε στενάχων ὑπὸ γαμφηλήσι λέοντος,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Iliad 16.487-9)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἐνεπεβίβασον μεταχεῖαν τοῦ Τύραννος πόλιον, } \\
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\text{καὶ σχισάμεθαν ἐπὶ στενοῖς, } \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Aeneid 11.771-3)

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.
‘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.\(^\text{371}\) one of which shows his adaptation of the attack of a lion on a bull, namely

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ille velut stabuli decus armentique iuvencam} \\
\text{cum leo possedit nudataque viscera fodit} \\
\text{unguibus et rabiem totos exegit in armos:} \\
\text{stat crassa turpis sanie nodosque iubarum} \\
\text{executit et viles pastorum despicit iras.} \\
\end{align*}
\]  

\(^{371}\) maerebat regio saevi vastata leonis
incursu; pecudum strages passimque iuvenci
sparsaque sanguineis pastorum funera campis.
adgredior latebras monstri mirumque relatu
conspicio: dilapsus honos, cervice minaces
defluxere iubae; fractos inglorius armos
supposuit, servile gemens; iniectaque vincla
unguibus et subitae collo sonuere catenae.  

\(\text{Gild. 358-66}\)

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 the 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 emphsises the ineffectuality of his bee-keeper, describing him as *senex*, an old man who loses his bees and weeps as looks at his empty hives, the latter recalling Alaric's loss of his plunder.\(^{375}\)

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\(^{372}\) 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.
'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

\[
\text{tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum:}
\]

\[
\text{ipsae consident medicatis sedibus.}
\]

(\text{Georg. 4.64-5})


\[376\] Günther 1894, 35 cites Lucan BC 9.284-90,

\[
\text{quam, simul effetas linquunt examina ceras}
\]

\[
\text{atque oblit\ae favi non miscent nexibus alas,}
\]

\[376\] 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 metonomy 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.

\[veluti\ \textit{pastoris\ in\ ora}\]

\begin{quote}
\textit{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.}\footnote{Jeep 1876, xcii cites Statius \textit{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.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{levitat\ pastoris\ in\ or\ in\ qua\ dulcia\ raptu mella\ vehit,\ pennas\ ciente\ et\ spicula\ tendunt et\ tenuis\ saxa\ per\ propugnacula\ cinctae rimosam\ patriam\ dilectaque\ pumicis\ antra defendunt\ pronoque\ favos\ examine\ velant.}\footnote{Levy 1971, 211 cites Virgil \textit{Aen.} 12.587-92, inclusas\ ut\ cum\ latebroso\ in\ pumiceo\ pastor vestigavit\ apes\ fumoque\ implevit\ amaro; illae\ intus\ trepidae\ rerum\ per\ cerea\ castra discurrent\ magnisque\ acuunt\ stridoribus\ iras; volvit\ ater\ odor\ tectis,\ tum\ murmure\ caeco intus\ saxa\ sonant,\ vacuas\ it\ fumus\ ad\ auras.}
\end{quote}
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

\[saepe\ iam\ effossis,\ si\ vera\ est\ fama,\ latebris\ sub\ terram\ fovere\ larem,\ penitusque\ repertae\ pumicibusque\ cavis\ exesaque\ arboris\ antro.\] (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,

\[واصل\ μελισσάων\ σμῆνος\ μέγα\ μηλοβοτῆρες\ ἱὲ\ μελισσοκόμοι\ πέτρῃ\ ἐνὶ\ καπνιῶσιν,\ αἰ δὲ\ ἤτοι\ τεῖως\ μὲν\ ἄολλες\ ὅ\ ἐνὶ\ σῶμα\ βομβηδὸν\ κλονέονται,\ ἐπιπρὸ\ δὲ\ λιγνυόεντι\ καπνῷ\ τυφόμεναι\ πέτρης\ ἑκὰς\ ἀίσσουσιν’\ ἂς\ οἶ γ᾽\ οὐκέτι\ δὴν\ μένον\ ἐμπεδὸν,\ ἄλλα\ κέδασθεν\ εἴσω\ Βεβρυκής,\ Ἀμύκου\ μόρον\ ἀγγελέοντες.\]
‘glomerantur’ is especially apposite as a description of the appearance of a swarm of bees, also noticed by Virgil, who had written *magnum mixtæ glomerantur in orbem.* (Georg. 4.79).

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

\[
\text{sic mollibus olim}
\]
\[
\text{stridula ducturum pratis examina regem}
\]
\[
\text{nascentem venerantur apes et publica mellis}
\]
\[
\text{iura petunt traduntque favos.} \quad (IV \text{ Hon. } 380-3).
\]

‘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,

\[
\text{credas examina fundi}
\]
\[
\text{Hyblæum raptura thymum, cum cerea reges}
\]
\[
\text{castra movent fagique cava dimissus ab alvo}
\]
\[
\text{mellifer electis exercitus obstrepit herbis.} \quad (Rapt. 2.124-7)
\]

‘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.  

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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{pendula ceu parvis moturae bella colonis} \\
\textit{ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquunt} \\
\textit{Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo:} \\
\textit{ordinibus variis per nubila textur ales} \\
\textit{littera pennarumque notis conscribitur aër.}\footnote{Gild. 474-8}
\end{align*}
\]

\footnote{378 Theogony 594-601 and Works and Days 303-6, cited by Feeney 2014, 191.}

\footnote{379 Birt 1893, 71 cites Virgil Aen. 10.264-6,}

\[
\textit{quaes sub nubibus atris}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{Strrymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant} \\
\textit{cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{Drnythep ως} \\
\textit{ηύτε περ κλαγγη γεράνων πέλει ούρανόθι πρό,} \\
\textit{αι τε ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμώνα φύγων καὶ άθέσφατον ὀμβρον,} \\
\textit{κλαγγή ταῖ γε πέτονται ἐπ᾽ Ωκεανοῦ ροάων,} \\
\textit{άνδρασι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κήρα φέρουσαι.}
\end{align*}
\]

and Lucan BC 5.711-6,

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{Strymonae sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquunt} \\
\textit{poturae te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu} \\
\textit{effingunt varias casu monstrante figuris;} \\
\textit{mox, ubi percussit tensas Notos altior alas,}
\end{align*}
\]
'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. 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

\[
\text{confusos temere inmixture glomerantur in orbes,}
\]
\[
et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis.}
\]

and Statius \textit{Theb.} 12.515-8,
\[
\text{ceu patrio super alta grues Aquilone fugatae}
\]
\[
\text{cum videre Pharon, tunc aethera latius implent,}
\]
\[
\text{tunc hilar clangore sonant; iuvat orbe sereno}
\]
\[
\text{contempsisse nives et frigora solvere Nilo.}
\]

He suggests a better parallel is Statius \textit{Theb.} 5.11-6,
\[
\text{qualia trans pontum Phariis defensa serenis}
\]
\[
\text{rauca Paraetonio decedunt agmina Nilo,}
\]
\[
\text{cum fera ponit hiems: illae clangore fugaci,}
\]
\[
\text{umbra fretis arvisque, volant, sonat avius aether.}
\]
\[
\text{iam Borean imbresque pati, iam nare solutis}
\]
\[
\text{amnibus et nudo iuvat aestivare sub Haemo.}
\]

source for the belief that the birds attacked pygmies; certainly they are omnivores and feed on small reptiles.\footnote{Aristotle Historia Animalium, 597a4-10, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὡς εἴπειν, οἶνον αἱ γέρανοι ποιοῦσιν· μεταβάλλουσι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Σκωθικῶν πεδίων εἰς τὰ ἔλη τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ· ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος περὶ ὃν οἱ πυγμαῖοι κατοικοῦσιν· ὥσπερ λέγεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τρωγλόδυται δ᾿ εἰσι τὸν βίον.}

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,

\begin{quote}
\textit{vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales}
\textit{cum premitur calidas cursu transmittit harenas}
\textit{inque modum veli sinuatris flame pennis}
\textit{pulverulenta volat; si iam vestigia retro}
\textit{clara sonent, oblitera fugae stat lumine clauso}
\textit{(ridendum!) revoluta caput creditque latere, quem non ipsa videt.} (Eutr. 2.310-6).
\end{quote}

‘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.’
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 up to 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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{383} Daily Mail 30/ 5/ 2015; film is also available on You Tube.
'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.' 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 is 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.* As Alan Cameron and Gabriela Ryser have noted, it is probable that the source for the image is Oppian. He describes the relationship between the two animals in the fifth book of his *Halieutica,* τοὔνεκα καὶ πάντεσσιν ὁμόστολος ἔρχεται ἰχθῦς φαιὸς ἰδεῖν δολιχός τε δέμας, λεπτὴ δὲ οὐρή, ἔξοχος ὃς προπάροιθεν ἁλὸς πόρον ἡγεμονεύει σημαίνων· τῷ καί μιν ἐφήμισαν Ἡγητῆρα. Additional confirmation is suggested by his reference in the same book of the story of the poet

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384 Eutr. 2. 425-426.
385 Cameron 1970, 299; Ryser 2015, 475-476.
386 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


\(^{390}\) Perry 1965, 483.

\(^{391}\) Gualandri 2013, 115-129.

\(^{392}\) Hubbard 1990, 73-83.

\(^{393}\) *Eutr.* 1.306; ΣP. 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
καλὸς πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ
καλὸς. (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 divertissement394 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 *Kejsrens nye Klaeder* 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 ejempios* 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,

\[
\begin{align*}
sic ubi fecunda reparavit morte iuventam \\
et patris idem cineres collectaque portat \\
ęguibus ossa piis Nilique ad litora tendens \\
unicus extremo Phoenix procedit ab Euro: \\
conveniunt aquilae cunctaeque ex orbe volucre, \\
ut Solis mirentur avem; procul ignea lucet \\
ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti.\(^{396}\)
\end{align*}
\]  

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

\(^{396}\) Müllner 1893, 165 cites Lactantius *Phoenix* 155-8.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{contrahit in coetum sese genus omne volantum,} \\
&\text{nec praedae memor est ulla nec ulla metus.} \\
&\text{ailituum stipata choro volat illa per altum,} \\
&\text{turbaque prosequitur munere laeta pio.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 *felicium 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,

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

‘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
conspezere, 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 invisa puellis
adsidet et tela communem quaerere victum
rauca monet; festis illae lusisse diebus
orant et postis aequaevas visere pensis,
irataeque operi iam lasso pollice fila
turbant et teneros detergent 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,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ac velut innumeror amnes accedere Nereus} \\
&\text{nescit et undantem quamvis hinc hauriat Histrum,} \\
&\text{hinc bibat aestivum septeno gurgite Nilum,} \\
&\text{par semper similisque manet: sic fluctibus auri} \\
&\text{expleri calor ille nequit.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(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, perhaps drawing from a direct statement of Socrates. In the Aeneid, it is clear that

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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 segnis 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.\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{quote}
\textit{velut arbiter alni}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion, 
exiguo clavi flexu declinat aquarum 
verbera, nunc recta, nunc obliquante carina 
callidus, et pelagi caelique obnittur irae.\textsuperscript{407}
\end{quote}

‘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

\textsuperscript{406} \textit{IV Hon.} 419-421.

\textsuperscript{407} \textit{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. The historian explicitly compares Jovian, Julian's inexperienced successor, to a tyro helmsman unequal to the task facing him, blaming Fortune

\[ \text{quaes diffiantibus procellis rem publicam, excussa regimentera perito rei gerendae ducitori, consumando iuveni porrexisti}. \]

'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.'

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

\[ \text{nunc instare manu, toto nunc robore niti communi pro luce decet: succurrere velis,} \]

\[ 408 \text{Kelly 2004, 162.} \]
\[ 409 \text{AM 25.9.7.} \]
\[ 410 \text{Trans. Kelly 2008, 97.} \]
\[ 411 \text{Compare } \text{VI Hon. 566-8 to AM 16.10.7 (dragon standards) and VI Hon. 569-77 to AM 16.10.8 (cataphracts). Claudian is obviously fond of this picture as he had used it earlier (Ruf. 2.353-63).} \]
\[ 412 \text{Or. 15.195bc.} \]
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 tempestatibus 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.  

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

\[
\text{ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ωρῶν καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρων καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ τέχνῃ προσηκόντων, εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεώς ἀρχικὸς ἔσεσθαι.} 
\]

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‘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 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.  

It may be that its originality attracted Claudian, as he adds a delightful variation by portraying Alaric as a pirate ship.  

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*

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416 *Carm.* 1.14, 19-20.
417 Brock 2013, 60.
418 *VI Hon.* 133-136.
iactatur.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{force de frappe}, that Claudian often highlights.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{421}

7. A ‘window allusion’\textsuperscript{422}

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

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{419} \textit{VI Hon.} 138-139, although Claudian’s description seems much closer to a prize ship from Napoleonic times.

\textsuperscript{420} E.g. Ruf. 2.106-107.

\textsuperscript{421} Quintus Smyrnaeus \textit{Posthomerica} 13.309-15. The highlight is

\begin{verbatim}
λιπὼν οίήια μούνος
τυτθὸν ἐπὶ σκάφος εἶσι, μέλει δὲ οἱ οὐκέτι νηὸς
φορτίδος.
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{422} The definitions of Macrobius and Thomas are cited in Chapter 2.
the depth of Claudian’s engagement with his predecessors. 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,

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

‘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.\footnote{Breeding sires service up to 200 mares each year.}

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\footnote{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.}
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. It was vital not only to ward off the evil eye but to ensure the fertility of the newly-weds.

The image of the untrammeled horse, obviously striking and much appreciated in the ancient world, can be traced back from Homer to both Ennius and Virgil 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

\[
\text{ὡς δ’ ὁ τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνη,}
\]
\[
\text{δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,}
\]
\[
\text{εἰῳθὼς λούεσθαι ἑυρρεῖον ποταμόιο,}
\]
\[
\text{κυδιών ψυθοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίται}
\]
\[
\text{ὡμίως ἀίσσονται’ ὣ δ’ ἀγλαίφῳ πεποίθως,}
\]
\[
\text{ῥίμφα έ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ’ ἠθεα καὶ νομὸν ἱππων.} \quad (I. 6.506-11)
\]

‘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.

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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’ἀγε 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.
‘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. 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. 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 while both Ennius and Virgil suggest that the horse was chained by the use of vincla/ vinclis. 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. 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. He attempts to woo her with gifts of imperial heirlooms and complains that his promised marriage has been thwarted by Stilicho. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{441} This is made clear as he uses \textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{442} Thessaly was famous throughout antiquity as the source for the best horses and Pharsalus may have been a breeding-centre.\textsuperscript{443} In his poem \textit{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 \textit{seu laeta solebas/ Thessaliae rapido perstringere pascua cursu}, \textsuperscript{444} (‘You used to graze the pleasant pastures of Thessaly at a rapid gallop.’) \textsuperscript{445}

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

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

\textsuperscript{442} Catullus 61.37.

\textsuperscript{443} In the fifth century Daochos, tyrant of Pharsalus c. 441-13 BCE, issued silver hemidrachms (trioboli) 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.

\textsuperscript{444} \textit{Carm. min.} 47.5-6.

\textsuperscript{445} \textit{Carm. min.} 47.5-6.

\textsuperscript{446} \textit{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. 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. 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* but was even more appropriate for the young emperor on his wedding-night.

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.’ 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

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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 (*Posthomera* 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{453} Ovid \textit{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.\footnote{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).}

Although Claudian’s creation of Roma is largely literary,\footnote{Roberts 2001, 538.} 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,\footnote{Divi Augusti 52.} 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 are in his first and last political poems. To provide a background, I then analyse briefly Roma’s role in Roman culture and religion.
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. 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 Constantinoplis. 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.

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. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{460} In a different medium numismatic evidence of coins showing Roma and Constantinopolis together\textsuperscript{461} 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 \textit{Olybr.} where the river-god serves as an extension of Roma;\textsuperscript{462} the Eridanus (the modern Po) plays a similar role in \textit{VI Hon.}\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{464} were suitable.\textsuperscript{465}

Roma appears in six of Claudian’s political poems. She first appears in \textit{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.\textsuperscript{466} She then engages in

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{460}] I shall describe below how some scholars, notably Charlet, have suggested that
\item[\textsuperscript{461}] See below. The earliest extant today are solidi from 343.
\item[\textsuperscript{462}] \textit{Olybr.} 209-62.
\item[\textsuperscript{463}] \textit{VI Hon.} 146-92.
\item[\textsuperscript{464}] AM. 27.11.1.
\item[\textsuperscript{465}] Long 2004, 5.
\item[\textsuperscript{466}] \textit{Olybr.} 77-100.
\end{itemize}
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

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\(^{467}\) *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.
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’ ἔννους ἔφ’ ἐαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε καὶ συνιδὼν ὃτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τούτ’ ἔπαθε μὲν Ἰλιόν, εὐτυχὴς ποτὲ πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνος ἀρχή μεγίστη γενομένη καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, ... Πολυβίου δὶ αὐτὸν ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησία καὶ γὰρ ἢν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὃ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὄνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἥς ἃρα ἐς τὰνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν ἐδεδίει.

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.\footnote{Dio 69. 4. 3-5.} He is reported to have said that the statues were too tall for the height of the cella, ἄν γὰρ αἱ θεαί” ἐκή “ἔξαναστήσομαί τε καὶ ἔξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωμιν, οὐ δυνηθήσονται. ‘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 laterabant: 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.\footnote{Ammianus 16.10.14.}

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:

\begin{quote}
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 manuque ducem.\footnote{Epigr. 8.65.1-6.}
\end{quote}
‘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. 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_ (‘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. The column, made of red granite, was huge, over 15 metres in height and notably heavy. 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. 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.
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). Is he also recalling Venus wearing *cothurni* in the *Aeneid*?  

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 parallels) 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. 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

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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.

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,\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{quote}
\textit{nam neque caesariem crinali stringere cultu colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto; dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos, audacem retegit mammam, laxumque coercens mordet gemma sinum.}\textsuperscript{502}
\end{quote}

‘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 \textit{innuptae ritus imitata Minervae}, (‘imitating the practice of unwed

\textsuperscript{501} All gold, both \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{502} \textit{Olybr.} 85-9.
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.

\begin{quote}
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. \(^ {506}\)
\end{quote}

'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.'

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\(^ {503}\) *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.\(^509\)

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\(^{507}\) 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:

\begin{quote}
\textit{continuo redit ille vigor seniique colorem}
\textit{mutavere comae. solidatam crista resurgens}
\textit{erexit galeam cipeique recanduit orbis}
\textit{et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus.}\footnote{Gild. 209-12.}
\end{quote}

‘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: \textit{dixit et afflavit Romam meliore iuventa}, ‘he spoke and with his breath filled Roma with a better youthfulness.’\footnote{Gild. 208.} 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 \textit{Laudes Romae} in \textit{Stil. 3}.\footnote{Stil. 3.130-73.} He may have taken over Christian imagery of Mary as intercessor; he had shown in \textit{De Salvatore} that he was very knowledgeable about Christianity.\footnote{Cameron 1970, 214-6 and Charlet 2018, 176-7 believe that the poem (\textit{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 \textit{Logos}, to be rejected in the Council of 431.} Her first
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.\(^\text{514}\)

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.\(^\text{515}\) Her martial appearance is still emphasised:

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constitit ante ducem tetrica nec Pallade vultum
deterior nec Marte minor. tremit orbe corusco
iam domus et summae tangunt laquearia cristae.  (Stil. 2.275-7)\(^\text{516}\)
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‘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.\textsuperscript{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*.\textsuperscript{518}

Claudian in individual similes has demonstrated that he was a keen observer of the physical world.\textsuperscript{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.’\textsuperscript{520} In *VI Hon.* he first describes what Roma, the emperor and his audience would have seen as they looked over the Capitol,

\begin{quote}
*iuvat infra tecta Tonantis*
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
*cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantas*
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
*caelatasque fores medisique volantia signa...*
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
*spolisque micantes*
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
*innumerous arcus. acies stupet igne metalli*
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
*et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.\textsuperscript{521} (VI Hon. 43-6, 50-2)*
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{517} *VI Hon.* 359-83.

\textsuperscript{518} *Aen.* 1.278-96.

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

\textsuperscript{520} Roberts 2001, 535.

\textsuperscript{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, 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. Describing the Honorian rebuilding, he writes

\[
\text{addebant pulchrum nova moenia vultum...} \\
\text{erexit subitas turres cunctosque coegit} \\
\text{septem continuo colles iuvenescere muro.}
\]

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,

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\(^{526}\) 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.
'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 works, 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,

---

*Stil. 3.65–70.*

*Cameron 2016, 21-2, 32.*
haec est in gremium victos quae sola recept
humanumque genus communi nomine fovit
matris, non dominae ritu, civesque vocavit.\textsuperscript{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 and 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- τούτο δ᾽εἰπὼν ἀπασαν εἰρηκα τὴν οἰκουμένην- τὸ μὲν χαριέστερόν τε καὶ γενναιότερον καὶ δυνατότερον πανταχοῦ πολιτικὸν ἢ καὶ ὁμόφυλον πᾶν ἁπεδώκατε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑπῆκοον τε καὶ ἄρχομενον.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{quod cernere}

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

\textsuperscript{532} \textit{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 Ἕλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ .. βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται ῥᾳδίως 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 speech\(^{541}\) 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 \textit{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, entreatng their help against Eutropius.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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, Cybele\textsuperscript{546} 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 \textit{Eutr.} where she is seated on Mount Ida, watching her devotees dance and play the drums. Claudian continues:

\begin{quote}
\textit{aurea sanctarum decus inmortale comarum defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus vertice crinalis violatur pulvere murus.}  \textit{(Eutr. 2.282-4)}\textsuperscript{547}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{543} \textit{Eutr.} 1.391- 513.
\textsuperscript{545} \textit{Gild.} 330-78.
\textsuperscript{546} Kelly 2012, 258-9 makes clear the different roles of the two deities.
\textsuperscript{547} \textit{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.* Auror’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.* 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. It seems very likely that this was a statue of Cybele.

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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.\footnote{Zosimus 2.31.3.} 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 Cybele\footnote{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. 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,\footnote{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.} and bemoans the fate that is going to befall Phrygia, iamque vale Phrygiae tellus perituraque flammis/moenia.\footnote{Eutr. 2.296-7.} (‘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,
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,

\[
\textit{aurea sanctarum decus inmortale comarum}
\]
\[
\textit{defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus}
\]
\[
\textit{vertece crinalis violatur pulvere murus}. \textsuperscript{556}
\]

‘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.\textsuperscript{557} Ovid wrote, recording her own remarks, \textit{nam mihi sunt totum rarissima templae 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{556} \textit{Eutr.} 2.282-4.

\textsuperscript{557} Noted by Levene 2012, 56. His suggestion that she had no temples may be wrong: Ovid’s \textit{rarissima} is more appropriate if there was only one temple, perhaps the one in Rome rebuilt in 396 BCE, also titled \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{558} \textit{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

\begin{quote}
erige crinales lauros seniumque sacrati 
verticis in virides, Roma, refinge comas, 
aurea turrigero radient diademata cono 
perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat!  
\end{quote}

\textit{(De reditu suo 115-8)}\footnote{De reditu suo 115-8. Roberts (2001, 540) notes Rutilius’ intentional ambiguities.}

‘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
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 whole-hearted 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.’
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).
excepit gremio micante Roma;
et nudi lateris recincta vestem,
quaet bellis procul omnibus patebat,
nutricem tibi praebuit papillam.  \textit{(Carm. 4.50-3)}\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{566}
Roma appears in each of the three panegyrics in a brief description.\textsuperscript{567} It is clear he
adopted Claudian’s imagery enthusiastically, whether it was the broken-down Roma
taken from \textit{Gild.} although she is helmetless, her hair covered in dust, rather than
Claudian’s picture of a gray-haired old woman;\textsuperscript{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,

\textit{sederat exserto bellatrix pectore Roma,}
\textit{cristatum turrita caput, cui pone capaci}

\textsuperscript{565} \textit{Carm. 4.50-3}. Clover’s translation (1971, 11) is irresistible.

\textsuperscript{566} Gibbon and Kelly provide nice starting and end points (Gibbon (ed. Bury) Vol. 2,

\textsuperscript{567} 2.391-404, 5.13-31, and 7.45-9.

\textsuperscript{568} 7.47-8.
'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.' 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.' 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.

It is intriguing that the much later Corippus will take over Claudian’s imagery, writing after 565,
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

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.\textsuperscript{575}

\textsuperscript{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 panegyrical epic in the proem in the third book of the *Georgics*. 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*. 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.

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. 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*

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580 *Georg.* 3.10-36.
581 *Carm* 3.4.
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. 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. 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. Perhaps in deliberate engagement with his predecessor, Claudian’s *gigantomachia* was delivered to Jupiter and the other Olympians.

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. It is a dream from Zeus that led to the impulse to try a new strategy. 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. 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. 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. 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

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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.
592 *Aen.* 2.314.
Euryalus that turned into a fiasco: multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae/ omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant.\textsuperscript{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 Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνήρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἔλθε/ τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ᾿ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{quote}
unus in hoc Stilicho diversis artibus hoste
tris potuit complere duces fregitque furentem
cunctando victique manu victumque relegat.\textsuperscript{596}
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{593} Aen. 9.312-3.
\textsuperscript{594} Il. 2.673-4.
\textsuperscript{595} Nathan 2015, 19. He cites the description of Pompeius in Cicero’s Pro lege Manilia 29 as a forerunner.
\textsuperscript{596} Get. 142-4.
sincera bonorum/ sors ulli concessa viro. 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. Zeus is outraged by Achilles' treatment of the corpse of Hector and makes sure that the body is returned for burial. 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. In his last, he executes Turnus in a seething rage, fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra, a deliberate recall of Aeneas' first appearance. 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.

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. On his arrival in Ctesiphon the leaders are astonished and the populace surround him.
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. Even the king falls under his sway and initiates him into the secret rites of Mithras. 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. It is possible that Stilicho maintained a special connection with the east.

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

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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 ἔπαρχος ἐν Ῥώμῃ 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

\(^{609}\) *Ill 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,\textsuperscript{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, \textit{et Diomedeis tantum praeclarior ausis,/ quantum
lux tenebris manifestaque proelia furtis}\textsuperscript{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, \textit{uno
se pectore cuncta vetustas/ condidit}\textsuperscript{617} It is perhaps, as she has suggested, a
development of the doctrine of the hero as \textit{unus homo} that Philip Hardie has
elaborated as he cites how both Ennius and Virgil emphasise the uniqueness of
Fabius Maximus, the former writing \textit{unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem} and
Virgil \textit{tu Maximus ille es}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Georgics} he writes, comparing the world to a chariot
out of control, \textit{hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo/ ne prohibete}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{a Christi nomine alienus} and Orosius as \textit{paganus}

\textsuperscript{615} \textit{Iliad}. 10.476-80.
\textsuperscript{616} \textit{Vitae Honoris}. 479-480.
\textsuperscript{617} \textit{Theod.}. 91-2 (Ware 2012, 203).
\textsuperscript{618} Ennius \textit{Annales}. 370, Virgil, \textit{Aeneid}. 6.845 (Hardie 1993, 5).
\textsuperscript{619} \textit{Georgics}. 1. 500-1.
pervicacissimus. 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*. 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*. 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*.

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*.

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

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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.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{desistite, quaeo, atque avidam differte manum}.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{dum redeo lectum referens in classica robur}.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{nec minus accepto nostrae rumore cohortes/ (sic ducis urget amor) properantibus undique signis/ conveniunt}.\textsuperscript{628} He then, described as \textit{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: \textit{patrem clipeis defendite Thybrim}.\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{625} \textit{Il.} 4.231-41.
\textsuperscript{626} \textit{Ruf.} 2.247-8.
\textsuperscript{627} \textit{Get.} 313. ‘While I bring a chosen force to the trumpets.’
\textsuperscript{628} \textit{Get.} 404-6.
\textsuperscript{629} \textit{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. 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.

Homer contrasted the disciplined silence of the Greek troops to the Trojan forces which he compared to a flock of bleating sheep. Virgil also described the wide diversity of the troops taken prisoner at Actium and paraded in his triumph, *incidunt victae longo ordine gentes,/ quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis*. 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. Claudian however, as he describes how Stilicho has created an army of an unparalleled diversity, *numquam tantae dicione sub una/ convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum*, regards it as a source of strength. In particular, as Marrón notes, Claudian describes the army not as *barbarus* but as *dissonus*. 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*.

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630 Vegetius *De re militari* 1.28.
631 Marrón 2013, 677-82.
635 Ruf. 2.106-7.
637 Ruf. 2.246-7.
the river Frigidus, there is no hostility between the two, *non odit victus victorve superbit*. 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:

\[
\text{nec soles imbresve pati multumque priori}
\text{dispar, sub clipeo Thracum qui ferre pruinas,}
\text{dum Stilicho regeret, nudoque hiemare sub axe}
\text{sueverat et duris bipennibus Hebrum.}
\text{cum duce mutatae vires.} \quad \text{Eutr. 411-5.}
\]

A second (?) army that Stilicho raised is similarly polyglot: *certe nec tantis dissona linguis/ turba nec armorum cultu divisior umquam/ confluxit populus*. 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*. 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 \text{Ruf. 2.116.}
\[639 \text{Stil. 1.152-4.}
\[640 \text{BC 3.288-90.}
\]
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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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. 

\[ \text{iamque tuis, Stilicho, Romana potentia curis/ et rerum commissus apex,} \]
\[ \text{tibi credita fratrum/ utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus aulae.} \]

\[ \text{It is only if enemies were removed that he could write of their proper destiny, unanimi fratres quorum mare terraque fatis/ debetur.} \]

\[ \text{The poet emphasised that this ability to create discord (quam fallere mentes/ doctus et unanimos odiis turbare sodales) was a special talent of Rufinus that recommended him to Megaera.} \]

\[ \text{However the poet's treatment of the two eastern leaders is very different, Rufinus a creation sent to destroy the human world after the Furies reject a proposal to renew their Gigantomachia whereas Eutropius is a figure of ridicule.} \]

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/ vexarie pios he is led to believe how the world is

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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.\textsuperscript{648} The chorus in \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{iam regale tumens et principe celsior}.\textsuperscript{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: \textit{dehisce tellus, recipe me dirum chaos/ recipe, haec ad umbras iustior nobis via est}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{vultur relictio transvolet Tityo ferus/ meumque poenae semper accrescat iecur}, while Claudian wrote \textit{in tua mansurus migret praecordia vultur}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{648} Ruf. 1.13-4, 17-8.
\item \textsuperscript{649} Phaedra 986-7, 978-80.
\item \textsuperscript{650} Ruf. 2.344.
\item \textsuperscript{651} Phaedra 1238-9.
\item \textsuperscript{652} Phaedra 1233-4, Ruf. 2.511 ‘a vulture, long to remain, will move (to attack) your midriff.’
\item \textsuperscript{653} Ruf. 2.524-7.
\end{itemize}
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.*

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 crur.*\(^6^{55}\)

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.*\(^6^{56}\)

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.*\(^6^{57}\)

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 tingui*).\(^6^{58}\)

\(^6^{54}\) *Thyestes* 1013-6.
\(^6^{55}\) *Thyestes* 32-3, 44.
\(^6^{56}\) *Thyestes* 210.
\(^6^{57}\) *Thyestes* 884-5, a nice forerunner to Verdi’s Otello and, as Fitzgerald 2013, 216 pointed out, a mirror image of Stoic virtue.

\(^6^{58}\) *Phaedra* 1256-8, Ruf. 2.431-2. *Sanguine tingui* 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 tingue* 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. 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.* 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. 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

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659 *Ruf.* 1.239-49; the significance and dating of the events is discussed by Cameron 1970, 69, 80.

660 *Eutr.* 1.8.

Spartan hoplites (from a force of 420) at Sphacteria in 425,\textsuperscript{662} writing καὶ πρώην γ’ ἐμοῦ/ μᾶζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικήν,/ πανουργότατά πως περιδραμών ύφαρπάσας/ αὐτός παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ’ ἕμοι μεμαγμένην.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{665}

Eutropius always shares the same purpose as Rufinus, namely to disrupt the harmony between the brothers Arcadius and Honorius, geminam quid dividis aulum/ conarisque pios odiis committere fratres?\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{668}

\textsuperscript{662} Thucydides 4.38.
\textsuperscript{663} Equites 54-8.
\textsuperscript{664} Eutr. 1.271-2, 284-5.
\textsuperscript{665} Equites 2; the play was certainly in circulation in Constantinople.
\textsuperscript{666} Eutr. 1.281-2.
\textsuperscript{667} Eutr. 2.214-6.
\textsuperscript{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

\[
\text{eadem sed causa trophaei}
\]

\[
civilis dissensus erat. Venere superbi,
\]

\[
\text{scilicet ut Latio respersos sanguine}
\]

\[
\text{aspi rerem!}
\]

\[
(VI \text{ Hon. 394-7})
\]

\[
\text{fructum sincerae laudis ab hoste}
\]

\[
\text{desuetum iam redde mihi iustisque furoris}
\]

\[
\text{externi spoliis santes absolve triumphos.}
\]

\[
(VI \text{ Hon. 404-6})
\]

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{672}

Gildo was one of the many sons of the Mauri clan leader Nubel, who was also an imperial officer, the \textit{praepositus} of the \textit{equites armigeri iuniores}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{solidi} of 324-325, each surrounded by twelve small medallions of mythological figures, connected by an elaborate filigree necklace.\textsuperscript{674}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{672} Eunapius \textit{fr.} 78. Bardill 1999, 689 records three triumphs, 24\textsuperscript{th} November, 381 (described as ‘hardly justified), 12\textsuperscript{th} October 386 and 10\textsuperscript{th} 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 \textit{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 29\textsuperscript{th}) and the Proclamation of open Durbar (January 2\textsuperscript{nd}) (Fraser 1903, 64, 69).

\textsuperscript{673} \textit{PLRE} 1: ‘Nubel’, 633-4.

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{676} This new prosperity inevitably led to Roman attempts to exploit the provinces, notably by the \textit{comes Africae} Romanus, whose behavior led Ammianus to write \textit{aerumnas, quas, ut arbitrator, Iustitia quoque ipsa deflevit.}\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{678} The general’s brutality, which the historian describes as he describes Firmus calling him \textit{truculentum... et dirum et suppliciorum saevum repertorem} fits well with Roman attempts to dispossess semi-independent subjects by force.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{veteres detrudit rure colonos}.\textsuperscript{680} The actual

\textsuperscript{675} \textit{Carm. min.} 31.55-8.
\textsuperscript{676} Harper 2019, 30.
\textsuperscript{677} Ammianus 28.6.1, cited by Drijvers 2007, 130.
\textsuperscript{678} Ammianus 29.5.8,15-6. Theodosius returns to Sitifis \textit{triumphanti similis} (56), all the honours that he could expect to receive if not emperor, suggesting military glory was not his primary objective.
\textsuperscript{679} Ammianus 29.5.48
\textsuperscript{680} \textit{Gild.} 198, recalling the \textit{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 Igzman.\(^{681}\) 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 Mycenas/ 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Aethiopis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres, as he writes exterret cunabula discolor infans.\textsuperscript{687} He also echoes the characterisation of Augustus’s opponents at the battle of Actium, as Virgil writes sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.\textsuperscript{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 sceptrareponis?\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{690} He was, perhaps, ready to write a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{684} Get. 399-401.
\item \textsuperscript{685} Thyestes 193-5, 1035-6.
\item \textsuperscript{686} Get. 21-5, 108-9.
\item \textsuperscript{687} Juvenal 6.599-600, Gild. 193.
\item \textsuperscript{688} Aen. 8.688.
\item \textsuperscript{689} Aen. 1.253.
\item \textsuperscript{690} Cameron 1970, 115-6.
\end{itemize}
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,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\textit{hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo} \\
&\textit{imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis,} \\
&\textit{quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni} \\
&\textit{effera?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{(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 \textit{toto orbe pacifico d(omino) n(osto) Flavio Arcadio Pio Felici victor ac triumfatori semper Augusto} and the second to Honorius reads \textit{domino [n(osto)] Honorio Pio Felici victori ac triumfatori semper Augusto}.\footnote{\textit{CIL}. 8 with no further details; Reynolds and Ward-Perkins 1952, Numbers 478, 479.} It is tempting to suggest that the slight difference (although the top of the Honorius inscription is missing) in wording, the use of \textit{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
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
obcis, inveniens animoquae mente gerenda,
efficiens patranda manu, dictare paratus
quae scriptis peragenda forent.       (Stil. 1.300-3)
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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

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692 *Stil.* 1.385.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{695} There is even a suggestion that his baggage train included plunder from the battle of Adrianople, purpureos cultus absumptique igni Valentis/ exuvias.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{694} VI Hon. 191-2.
\textsuperscript{695} Get. 633-4.
\textsuperscript{696} Get. 610-1.
\textsuperscript{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/ detriora 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.\footnote{Fitzgerald 2013, 193, referring to BC 7. 196-246.}

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 \textit{Iliad}.\footnote{See Appendix to this chapter.} 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 ρέεθρα, / οὐδὲ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἀλα δῖων/ στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι, σὺ δὲ κτείνεις ἀιδήλως, lines recalled by Virgil, so Jupiter tells Venus how gementerque repleti/ amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset/ in mare se Xanthus.\footnote{\textit{Il.} 21.218-20, \textit{Aen.} 5.806-8.} Aeneas is first introduced in the \textit{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 \textit{ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis/ scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!}\footnote{\textit{Aen.} 1.100-1.} 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, \textit{et strage cruenta / interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor/ ad molem stetit unda sequens}.\footnote{BC 2.212-4.} Valerius Maximus certainly reported a blocking of the Tiber.\footnote{Val. Max. 9.2.1, noted by Fantham 1992, 118.} An account of a more recent campaign in northern Greece suggests that Claudian’s accounts may have a basis in fact.
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, reidiens 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

\begin{quote}
Alpheus late rubuit Siculumque per aequor
sanguineas belli rettulit unda notas. \\
(Ruf. praef. 9-10)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
im rubet altus Halys. \\
(Ruf. 2.32)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Alpinae rubuere nives et Frigidus amnis
mutatis fumavit aquis turbaque cadentum
staret, ni rapidus iuvisset flumina sanguis. \\
(III Hon. 99-101)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Odrysium partier Geticos foedavimus Hebrum
Sanguine. \\
(III Hon. 147-8)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
corporibus premitur Peuce: per quique recurrens
ostia barbaricos vix egerit unda cruores. \\
(IV Hon. 630-1)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Hister sanguineos egit de te consule fluctus. \\
(IV Hon. 636)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
sanguine quam largo Graios calefecerit amnes. \\
(Get. 515)
\end{quote}
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, his epic was also contemporary, concerned with actual and very recent events, in contrast to almost all his surviving predecessors 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). 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

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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.
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. 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.’ Gibbon does claim that he attempted to

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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

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\(^{718}\) 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.
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.’ 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’.

Gibbon often cites Claudian as his source for events, including Stilicho’s first expedition to the Rhine, and the death of Rufinus. 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. 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.’ 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.

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723 Gibbon 1995, 912.
725 Gibbon 1995, 914 citing Ruf. 2.405-7.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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*.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{731} He ended his account of his time in power

\textsuperscript{728} Gibbon 1995, 932, n. 22. Gibbon suggested Asta, but, as Crees 1908, 163, n. 1 writes, most authorities prefer Milan.

\textsuperscript{729} Gibbon 1995, 924-7.

\textsuperscript{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*.

\textsuperscript{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.’ 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.

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.’ 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.’

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.’

This statement was widely viewed as extreme and was criticised by a number of scholars, most notably the German scholars, Christian Gnilka and Siegmar Döpp, on the grounds that Claudian’s audience was small in number and the poems not widely disseminated. 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

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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.’\textsuperscript{738} Earlier he described the triumph of the ‘Knechtssinn.’\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{VI Hon.} but also in the preface to \textit{Theod.}\textsuperscript{741} It seems clear that the audiences for the two invectives, \textit{Ruf.} and \textit{Eutr.} were of similar standing.\textsuperscript{742} Certainly his poems were in circulation

\textsuperscript{738} Seeck 1919, 2.431.
\textsuperscript{739} Seeck 1919, 1. 336.
\textsuperscript{740} Stein, 1959, 52.
\textsuperscript{741} \textit{VI Hon. praef.} 3-6, \textit{Theod. praef.} 19-20. In \textit{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 ennobled by Honorius or Theodosius.
\textsuperscript{742} Long 1996, 196 citing \textit{Ruf. praef.} 16.
after their first delivery, as Augustine and Prudentius\textsuperscript{743} respectively quote directly from individual poems and, in close intertextual engagement, comment on and correct lines.\textsuperscript{744} Usually this may be considered part of the Roman poetical tradition of \textit{variatio}, where for example the image of the stalled horse can be traced from

\textsuperscript{743} Dorfbauer's analysis (2012, 48-58, 69) of the literary relationship between Claudian and Prudentius is especially useful.

\textsuperscript{744} Augustine and Orosius emend Claudian's lines describing the battle of Frigidus, `O nimmium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris/ Aeolus armatas hiemes , cui militat aether/ et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti' (\textit{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 (\textit{De civ. Dei} 5.25, Orosius \textit{Hist.} 7. 35). It should be added that both writers had just condemned Claudian as a pagan, \textit{a Christi nomine alienus} and \textit{paganus pervicacissimus}. Prudentius wrote after Claudian, describing the battle of Pollentia as follows:

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
numquid et ille dies love contulit auspice tantum
virtutis pretium? dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique.
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}
\textit{(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, 

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
quis Musis ipsoque licet Paeane recepto
enarrare queat, quantum Gradivus in illa
luce suae dederit fundator originis urbi?
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}
\textit{(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 \textit{Get.} was written first.
Homer through Ennius and Virgil to Claudian, as each poet adjusted the imagery of his predecessors.\footnote{I discuss this image in detail in chapter 5.} 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.\footnote{Schmidt 1989, 391.} 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.\footnote{See chapter 4 above.} 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.\footnote{Gnilka 1976, 100-1 and 1977, 27-8.} 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...
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?*

('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*. ('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. 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. An additional argument that Döpp introduces is that the two-part poems were written and conceived as a single unity, and therefore both *Ruf.* 1 and *Eutr.* 1 describe events

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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. 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. 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.

A tendency of Cameron that Döpp and Gnïlka 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. 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.

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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.
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.

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\(^{758}\) 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 Stilio.\(^762\)

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: *capitum 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 confici.* (‘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.
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. 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.

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. 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.

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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.
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 500,000) 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 Herculian, and the Augustan, the Nervian auxiliaries and three additional units, one with a lion as a standard, and the others named Fortunate and Invincible. 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. 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. In this last campaign, he was even compelled to recruit slaves. 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.

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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 378-404

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].
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].

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].


396\(^776\) 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).

Revolts 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].


Battle of Verona. *VI Hon.* 201-3. [90].

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\(^776\) 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 376 778 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.
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. 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. 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.

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

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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.


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 Harper\textsuperscript{784}) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{786} His visit to Rome was brief and apparently largely ceremonial, intended perhaps to win over the senators who had supported Maximus.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{781} Harper 2019, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{785} See chapter 7.
\textsuperscript{786} McCormick 1986, 44-5.
\textsuperscript{787} Dewar 1996, 101.
\textsuperscript{788} Eunapius fr. 74 (Müller).
\textsuperscript{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. 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.

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. Both Döpp and Gnalka 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.

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

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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 geminisque 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 discodia mundum. (63-4)

barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes
sceptraque deicto 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.  

    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 militant aether
    et coniurati vehint ad classica venti.  

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 traiercerat altum

    non uno mucrone latus, duplexque tepebat
    ensis, et ultrices in se converterat iras.  

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 medium veherere per urbem.  

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 grandaeus 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 
relliquias. (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 ulterior, 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 laniunt 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 ulterior 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
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, attritus 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 incestant 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 console monstra.**  
(8)
Every monster has given way to a eunuch consul.

41. **pro victore redit: peditum vexilla sequuntur**
et turmae similes eunuchorumque manipli,
Hellespontiacis 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.
There has never been a eunuch consul in the world, nor a judge or military leader.

He (Gildo) at least paid a deserved penalty, as Tabraca knows.

But a greater cause of shame, Eutropius a consul.

The year which gave him (both) the consulate and exile.

The madness ended because of the damage of a short letter.

Because a refuge has created for you on the shores of Cyprus.

Do you believe that the palace (Constantinople) has been properly cleansed if Cyprus holds Eutropius?
The ravager of the Greek people and (the man) who recently plundered an unavenged Epirus governs Illyricum.

50. armatam rursus Babylona minari
    rege novo.  
(475-6)
Under a new king, an armed Babylon is again threatening (war).

Stil. 1

51. conubii necdum festivos regia cantus
    sopierat, cecinit fusō Gildone triumphos.  
(3-4)
The palace had not yet tired of the festive songs for the wedding and, after Gildo’s overthrow, sang of triumphs.

52. vix primaevus eras, pacis cum mitteris auctor
    Assyriae; tanta foedus cum gente ferire
    commissum iuveni.  
(51-3)
You had hardly reached your majority, when you were sent to Assyria (Persia) as an adviser on the peace; a young man was entrusted to negotiate a treaty with such a powerful race.

53. et gener Augustis olim socer ipse futurus
    accedis.  
(78-9)
And you belong, once as a son-in-law and now a future father-in-law, to the imperial family.

54. quis enim Visos in plaustra feroces
    reppulit aut saeva Promoti caede tumentes
    Bastarnas una potuit delere ruina?  
(94-6)
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 recondem ensem,
    solveret obsessos, praebert 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.
64. nec pignora curas
   plus tua quam natos, dederat quos ille monendos
tutandosque tibi.  \(53-5\)
Nor do you take more care of your children than his sons, whom he had given to you
to advise and protect.

65. at Stilicho non divitias aurique relictum
   pondus, sed geminos axes tantumque reservat
depositum teneris, quantum sol igneus ambit.  \(58-60\)
But Stilicho does not try to save the wealth and inherited weight of gold but the two
poles (of empire) and the huge trust granted by the young children as large as the
blazing sun surveys.

66. mittitur et miles, quamvis certamine partes
   iam tumeant.  \(95-6\)
Troops are sent, although both sides are inflamed in strife.

67. ‘me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus Hivernen
   movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.’  \(250-2\)
She (Britannia) said ‘Stilicho also fortified me as I was being ruined by the
neighboring tribes, when the Scot attacked and Tethys (the wife of Ocean) foamed
with a threatening fleet.’

68. ‘Servatas, Stilicho, per te, venerande, curules,
   ornatas necdum fateor. quid profuit anni
   servilem pepulisse notam?’  \(279-81\)
'I confess, revered Stilicho, that it was through you that the consular carriage, not yet decorated, was saved. What was the good of a year which drew the brand of a slave?'

Stil. 3

69. septem circumspice montes,
    qui solis radios auri fulgore lacessunt,
    indutosque arcus spoliis aequataque templaque
    nubibus. (65-8)
Survey the seven hills which challenge the rays of the sun with the brightness of their gold, and the arches decked with spoils and the temples level with the clouds.

70. quis Gallica rura,
    quis meminit Latio Senonum servisse ligones? (91-2)
Who remembers when the fields of Gaul or the hoes of the Senones, had been of use to Latium?

71. The beauty of Rome at the time of Honorius. (132-5)

Get.

72. per te namque unum mediis exuta tenebris
    imperio sua forma redit. (36-7)
For through you alone its own beauty, set free from the midst of darkness, returns to the empire.
aspice, Roma, tuum iam vertice celsior hostem,
aspeque quam rarum referens inglorius agmen
Italia detrusus eat.  

sua pignora vidit
coniugibus permixta trahi.  

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.

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.  

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.

hic celer effecit, bruma ne longior una
esst hiemserum.  

He finished it quickly, lest the winter of our discontent be any longer than a single one.

non, si perfida nacti penetrabile tempus
inrupere Getae, nostras dum Raetia vires
occupat atque alio desudant Marte cohortes.  

Unless the Getae, finding an opportunity allowing passage through treachery, while Raetia takes up our forces and the cohorts sweat in another war.
Why do you look for Gallic estates and want, after you have abandoned Latium, to encircle (line) the distant Saône with refugee camps? (296-8)

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. (419-22)

Finally under a whirlwind of dust the helmet of Stilicho glittered like a star and his well-known white hair shone forth. (458-60)

‘If I am not mistaken in my counting, it is almost the thirtieth winter since we swam across the swift Danube.’ (488-9)

‘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).'</ref>

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
innumerlos 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 barbarum 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 quaeereret 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 408\(^{794}\) 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

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\(^{794}\) 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 Huns\textsuperscript{796} is clearly the source for the poet’s own description of them in \textit{Ruf.} 1. 323-31. As Dewar has noted, the historian’s description of the mailed knights who were part of Constantius’ \textit{adventus} in 357, as well as the dragon standards they carried,\textsuperscript{797} are the source for the similar processions in \textit{VI Hon.} (566-79) and in \textit{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

\textsuperscript{796} AM 31.2.2
\textsuperscript{797} AM 16.10.8-9.
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. 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 Apollonaris, 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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, panegyrical 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

\textsuperscript{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 iner tem.  

(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.  

(3) non, mihi centenis pateant si vocibus ora multifidusque ruat centum per pectora Phoebus.  

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800 Jeep 1878, lxxviii cites Lucan 7.755-6 quidquid fodit Hiber, quidquid Tagus extulit auri, quodque legit dives summis Arimaspus harenis.
qualis letifera populatus caede Gelonos
procubat horrendus Getico Gradius in arvo; \(801\)
exuivas Bellona levat, Bellona tepentes
pulvere solvit equos, immensaque cornus in hastam
porrigitur tremulisque ferit splendoribus Hebrum. \(802\)

\[\text{(119-23)}\]

\begin{quote}
\text{‘ante dabunt hiemes Nilum, per flumina dammae}
errabunt \(803\) glacieque niger damnabitur Indus,
ant Thyesteis iterum conterrita mensis
intercisa dies refugos vertetur in ortus, \(804\)
quam Probus a nostro possit discedere sensu.’
\end{quote}

\[\text{(169-73)}\]

\begin{footnotesize}
801 Birt 1892, 8 cites Virgil \textit{Aen.} 3.35,
Gravidumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis.

802 Jeep 1878, lxxix cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 12.733-5,
ceu pater Edonos haemide vertice Mavors
impulerit currus rapido mortemque fugamque
axe vehens.

803 Jeep 1878, lxxx cites Virgil \textit{Ecl.} 1.59,
antleves ergo pascentur in aequore cervi.
and Horace \textit{Carm.} 1.2.11-2
pavidae natarunt
aequore dammae.

804 Jeep 1878, lxxx cites Ovid \textit{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 \textit{fr.} 74.7-9,
\end{footnotesize}
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)

credas ex aethere lapsam
stare Pudicitiam vel sacro ture vocatam
Iunonem Inachiis oculos advertere templis. (194-6)

In Rufinum

ceu murmurat alti
impacata quies pelagi, cum flamme fracto
durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque per aestum
lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.805 (1.70-3)

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,
est mihi prodigium cunctis immanius hydris,
tigride mobilius feta,
violentius Austris acribus, Euripi fulvis incertius undis
Rufinus. (1.89-92)

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 inviso votum damnavit in auro. (1.165-9)

ac velut innumeratos 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, lxxiv 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 venturosnaulis prodentia ventos.
par semper similisque manet: sic fluctibus auri
expleri calor ille nequit.\textsuperscript{808}  (1.183-7)

(5)
quae sic Gaetuli iaculo percussa leaena
aut Hyrcana premens raptorem belua partus
aut serpens calcata furit?\textsuperscript{809}  (1.226-8)

(6)
haud secus hiberno tumidus cum vertice torrens
saxa rotat volvitque nemus pontesque revellit,
frangitur obiectu scopuli quarensque meatum
spumat et illisa montem circumtonat unda.\textsuperscript{810}  (1.269-72)

\textsuperscript{808} Levy 1971, 56 cites Ovid \textit{Met.} 8.835-6,
\hspace{1em} utque fretum recipit de tota flumina terra
\hspace{1em} nec satiatur aquis peregrinosque ebibit amnes.
Birt 1892, 35 cites Aelius Aristides \textit{Roman Oration} 62.

\textsuperscript{809} Levy 1971, 65 cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 6.787-8,
\hspace{1em} non leo, non iaculo tantum indignata recepto
tigris.
\textsuperscript{810} Birt 1892, 8 cites Virgil \textit{Aen.} 2.305-7,
\hspace{1em} aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
\hspace{1em} sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
\hspace{1em} praecipitisque trahit silvas.
and Virgil, \textit{Aen.} 7.567,
\hspace{1em} dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens.
Austin 1964, 135 cites an Homeric original, \textit{Il.} 4.452-4,
\hspace{1em} ὡς δ’ ὀτε χείμαρροι ποταμοί κατ’ ὄρεσφι ρέοντες ἡς
μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ
κρουνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων κούλης ἐντοσθὲ 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 tripex 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 ἐπῄρησε καὶ κόνας ἄργους,
ventis veluti si frena resolvat
Aeolus, abrupto gentes sic obice fudit.  

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.

omnes una fremuere manipli
quantum non Italo percussa Ceraunia fluctu,
quantum non madidis elisa tonitra Coris.

αὐτάρ ἔπειτ᾿ αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς
βάλ᾿· 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 †isdem
suppositionque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente.
and Lucian Or. Pr. 18,
καὶ ἄει ὁ Ἀθως πλείσθω καὶ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος πεζεύσθω καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν
Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκεπέσθω.
814 Birt 1894, 42 cites Lucan BC 6.691-2,
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.\textsuperscript{815}  

exprimit et planctus inlisae cautibus undae
silvarumque sonum fractaeque tonitrua nubis.
Levy 1971, 17 cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 3.593-6,
bella ore fremunt; it clamor ad auras,
quantus Tyrreni gemitus salis, aut ubi temptat
Enceladus mutare latus; super igneus antris
mons tonat.

\textsuperscript{815} Birt 1894, 43 cites Silius Italicus \textit{Punica} 7.717-22,
ceu, stimulante fame, rapuit cum Martius agnum
averso pastore lupus fetumque trementem
ore tenet presso; tum, si vestigia cursu
auditis celerit balatibus obvia pastor,
imam sibimet metuens, spirantem dentibus imis
reiectat praedam et vacuo fugit aeger hiatu.

Günther 1894, 29 cites Homer \textit{Il.} 11.548-55,
ὡς δ᾿ αἰθῶνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο
ἐσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἀγροϊῶται,
oi τέ μιν οὐκ εἴωσι βοῶν ἐκ πῶρ ἐλέσθαι
πάννυχοι ἐγρήσσοντες· ὁ δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
ἰθώει, ἀλλ᾿ οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γὰρ ἄκοντες
ἀντίον ἀίσσουσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν,
credas simulacra moveri
ferrea cognatoque viros spirare metallo.  (2.359-60)

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)

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 ἐσσύμενός περ´
ηῷθεν δ´ ἀπονόσ φιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῷ.
Levy 1971, 182 cites Virgil Aen. 9.972-6,
ceu 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.
sic mons Aonius rubuit, cum Penthea ferrent
Maenades aut subito mutatum Actaeona cornu
traderet insanis Latonia visa Molossis. (2.418-20)

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
discurrent 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,
ὡς δὲ μελισσάων σμῆνος μέγα μηλοβοτήρες
De tertio consulatu

(1)

non ocius hausit Achilles
semiferi praecepta senis, seu cuspidis artes
sive lyrae cantus medicas suo disceret herbas.\textsuperscript{817} (60-2)

\begin{quote}
\textit{\textit{ἀὴὲ μελισσοκόμοι πέτρη ἐνι καπνιώσωσιν,
api δ’ ἦτοι τεῖσς μὲν ἄσσι ζῆν ὃ ἐνι σύμβλων
βουμπηδὸν κλονέονται, ἐπιπρὸ δὲ λυγυνόεντι
καπνῷ τυφόμεναι πέτρης ἑκὰς αἰσσουσιν’
ὡς ο’γ’ οὐκέτι δὴν μένον ἔμπεδον, ἀλλὰ κέδασθεν}
eἰς Ὀμέρων Βεβρυκῆς, Ἀμύκου μόρον ἀγγελέοντες.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{and Homer \textit{Il.} 12.167-71,
粮油 τε σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι ἠὲ μέλισσαι.
oἰκία ποιήσωνται ὁδῷ ἐπι παπαλοέσσῃ,
oὐδ’ ἀπολείπουσι κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες
ἀνδρὰς θηρητῆρας ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων.}
817 \textit{Jeep 1876, xciv cites Statius \textit{Achill.} 2.152-60},
sic me sublimis agebat
gloria, nec duri tanto sub teste labores.
nam procul Οεβαλίως in nubila condere discos
et liquidam nodare palen et spargere caestus,
ludus erat requiesque mihi; nec maior in istis
sudor, Apollino quam fila sonantia plectro
cum quaterem priscosque virum mirarer honores.
quin etiam sucos atque auxilianitia morbis
gramina.}
ut leo, quem fulvae matris spelenca tegebat
ubepibus solitum pasce, cum crescere senscit
ungue pedes et terga iubis et dentibus ora,
iam negat imbelles epulas et rupe relictam
Gaetulo comes ire patri stabulisque minari
aestuat et celsi tabo sordere iuvenci.\textsuperscript{818}  
(77-82)
(4)
quis non Luciferum roseo cum Sole videri
credndit aut iunctum Bromio radiare Tonantem?\textsuperscript{819}  
(131-2)

De quarto consulatu

\textsuperscript{818} Jeep 1876, xcv cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 9.739-43,
\begin{quote}
  ut leo, cui parvo mater Gaetula cruentos
  suggerit ipsa cibos, cum primum crescere senscit
colla iubis torvusque novos respexit ad ungues,
  indignatur ali, tandemque effusus apertos
  liber amat campos et nescit in antra reverti.
\end{quote}
Müllner 1893, 158 cites Horace \textit{Carm.} 4.4.13-6,
\begin{quote}
  qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
  intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
  iam lacte depulsum leonem
  dente novo peritura vidit.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{819} Birt 1894, 146 cites Virgil \textit{Aen.} 8.589-91,
\begin{quote}
  qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
  quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.
velut ordine rupto
cum procul insanae traheuent 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)

quantus numeratur nocte Bootes,
emicuitque plagis alieni temporis hospes
ignis et agnosti potuit, cum luna lateret. \(^{(186-8)}\)

Müllner 1893, 108 cites Lucretius \textit{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 omnipotentis ira tum percitus acri
magnanimum Phaethonta repenti fulminis ictu
deturbavit equis in terram, Solque cadenti
obvius aeternam succepit lampada mundi,
disiectosque redegit equos iuxitque trementis,
inde suum per iter recreavit cuncta gubernans.

\(^{820}\) Müllner 1893, 108 cites Lucretius \textit{DRN} 5.396-404,
vernabat 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 ambiguæ placet ignorantia matri;
Eurotas proprios discernere nescit alumnos.  
(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 pascisque nequit: nunc verbere curas
torquet avaritiae, stimulus nunc flagrat amorum,
nunc gaudet, nunc maesta dolet satiataque rursus
exoritur caesaque redit pollentius hydra.  (250-4)

(7)

821 Jeep 1876, xcvii cites Statius Theb. 5.437-40,
ambiguo visus errore lassunt
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.

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.  

sic, cum Threïcia primum sudaret in hasta,
flumina laverunt puerum Rhodopeia Martem.

---

\(^{822}\) Müllner 1893, 140 cites Seneca \textit{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 \textit{Argonautica} 7.644-6,
protinus in fluvium fumantibus evolat armis
Aesonides, qualis Getico de pulvere Mavors
(10)
sic Amphioniae pulcher sudore palaestrae
Alcides pharetras Dircaeaque 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.

(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.

(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 palmitae Ganges.

intrat equis uritque gravem sudoribus Hebrum.

---

824 Müllner 1893, 10 cites Ovid Amores 1.2.47-8,
talis erat domita Bacchus Gangeticide 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
laurus\(^{826}\) 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.\textsuperscript{827}  

\textsuperscript{827} Birt 1892, 137 cites Homer \textit{Il.} 6.506-11,

\begin{quote}
ως δ’ ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνη,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,
eἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐυρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδίων’ ὑψω ὑ ὃ κάρη ἕχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὅμοις ἀίσσονται’ ὁ δ’ ἀγλαίηφι πεποιθώς
ῥίμφα ἐ γοῦνα φέρει μετὰ τ’ ἥθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.
\end{quote}

and Ennius \textit{Ann.} 535-9,

\begin{quote}
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.
\end{quote}

Birt 1892, 137 cites Virgil \textit{Aen.} 11, 492-7,

\begin{quote}
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
emicit, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.
\end{quote}

Müllner 1893, 150 cites Statius \textit{Ach.} 1.314-8,

\begin{quote}
ut pater armenti quondam ductorque futurus,
cui nondum toto peraguntur cornua gyro,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{827} Birt 1892, 137 cites Homer \textit{Il.} 6.506-11,
In Eutropium

(1)
si pelagi fluctus, Libyae si discis harenas,
Eutropii numerabis eros.\textsuperscript{828} \hspace{1cm} (1.32-3)

(2)
haud aliter iuvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
e gemino ditata mari; cum serta refudit
canities, iam turba procax noctisque recedit
ambitus et raro pulsatur ianua tactu,\textsuperscript{829}
seque reformidat speculo damnante senectus;
stat tamen atque alias succingit lena ministras
dilectumque diu quamvis longaeva lupanar
circuit et retinet mores, quod perdidit aetas. \hspace{1cm} (1. 90-8)

(3)
miserabile turpes
exedere caput tineae; deserta patebant

cum sociam pastus niveo candore iuvencam
aspicit, ardescunt animi primusque per ora
spumat amor, spectant hilares obstantque magistri.

\textsuperscript{828} Müllner 1893, 13 cites Virgil, \textit{Georg.} 2.105-6,
quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
dicere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae.

\textsuperscript{829} Jeep 1876, cvi cites Horace \textit{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)

\[
\text{tandem ceu funus acerbum}
\]
\[
\text{infaustamque suis trusere Penatibus umbram.} \\
\]
\[(1.130-1)\]

(5)

\[
\text{sic pastor obesum}
\]
\[
lacte canem ferroque ligat pascitque revinctum,
\]
\[
dum validus servare gregem vigilique rapaces
\]
\[
latratu terrere lupos; cum tardior idem
\]
\[
iam scabie laceras deiecit sordidus aures,
\]
\[
solvit et exuto lucratur vincula collo.}\(^{831}\) (1.132-7)

(6)

\[
sic multos fluvio vates arente per annos
\]
\[
hospite qui caeso monuit placare Tonantem,
\]
\[
inventas primus Busiridis imbuit aras
\]
\[
et cecidit saevi, quod dixerat, hostia sacri.
\]

\footnotesize
\(^{830}\) Müllner 1893, 13 cites Ovid \textit{Ars am.} 3.249-50,
\textit{turpis sine gramine campus}
\textit{etsine fronde frutex et sine crine caput.}

\(^{831}\) Müllner 1893, 140 cites Aeschylus \textit{Choeph.} 444-6,
\textit{ἐγὼ δ’ ἀπεστάτουν}
\textit{ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία,}
\textit{μυχῶ δ’ ἀφειρίκτος πολυσινοῦς κυνὸς δίκαν.}
sic opifex tauri tormentorumque repertor,
qui funesta novo fabricaverat aera dolori,
primus inexpertum Siculo cogente tyranno
sensit opus docuitque suum mugire iuvenum.\footnote{Müllner 1893, 13 cites Ovid \textit{Ars am.} 1.647-54,
dicitur Aegyptos caruisse iuvantibus arva
imribus, atque annos sicca fuisse novem,
cum Thrasius Busirin adit, monstratque piari
hospitis adfuso sanguine posse Iovem.
illi Busiris “fies lovis hostia primus,”
inquit “et Aegypto tu dabis hospes aquam
.“et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
torruit: infelix inbuit auctor opus.}{1.159-66}

(7)
qualis venit arida socrus
longinquam visura nurum; vix lassa resedit
et iam vina petit.\footnote{I cite Pindar \textit{Pythian} 2.72-73,
καλός πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰει
καλός. and Scholium ΣP. 2.132a Drachmann.}{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.\footnote{I cite Pindar \textit{Pythian} 2.72-73,
καλός πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰει
καλός. and Scholium ΣP. 2.132a Drachmann.}{1.303-7}
veluti nigrantibus alis
audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris.\textsuperscript{834}

iam testudo volat, profert iam cornua vultur:
pron a petunt retro fluvii iuga,\textsuperscript{835} Gadibus ortum
Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum
aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina video,\textsuperscript{836}
iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane
nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis.

sic armenta suo iam defensante iuvenco
celsius adsurgunt erectae cornua matri,
sic iam terribilem stabulis dominumque ferarum
crescere miratur genetrix Massyla leonem.

\textsuperscript{834} Jeep 1876, cviii cites Virgil Ecl. 8.55,
certent et cyncis ululae.
\textsuperscript{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,
\textsuperscript{836} Jeep 1876, cviii cites Horace AP 30,
delphinium silvis appingit.
(12)
ut Scytha 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 proceliae.
quid iuvat errorem mersa iam puppe fateri?
quid lacrimae delicta levant? 837

(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 lindea malo.

838 Müllner 1893, 141 cites Silius Italicus Punica 12.684-5,
(16) nec dea praemissae stridorem segnius hastae consequitur.  

(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.  

(18) qualis pauperibus nutrix invisa 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.  

(19) tunc Aiax erat Eutropii lateque fremebat, 
non septime vasto quatiens umbone iuvencos, 

\begin{multicols}{2} 
\begin{itemize}  
\item rursus in arma vocat trepidos clipeoque tremendum \item increpat atque armis imitatur murmura caeli.  
\end{itemize} 
\end{multicols}
sed, quam perpetuis dapibus pigroque sedili
inter anus interque colos oneraverat, alvum. (2.386-9)

(20)

efficiam leviorem pondere lanae
Tarbigilum tumidum, desertoresque Gruthungos
ut miseris 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)

tsic vacui rectoris equi, sic orba magistro
fertur in abruptum casu, non sidere, puppis. (2.423-4)

(23)

tsic ruit in rupes amisso pisce sodali
belua, sucludas qui praevius 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 inlidit hiatus. (2.425-31)

(24)

more suis, dapibus quae iam devota futuris
turpe gemit, quotiens Hosius mucrone corusco
armatur cingitque sinus secumque volutat,
quas figt verubus partes, quae frusta calenti
mandet aquae quantoque ctem distendat echino. (2.445-9)

(25)
hi pecudum ritu non imponentia 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 ciet frustraque oculos ad litora tendunt. (2.509-15)

(27)
quales Aonio Thebas de monte reversae
Maenades infectis Pentheo sanguine thyrsis,
cum patuit venatus atroce matrione rotatum
conspexere caput, gressus caligne fugunt
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.
sic cum praecipites artem vicere procellae
assiduoque gemens undarum verbere nutat
descensura ratis, caeca sub nocte vocati
naufraga Ledæi sustentant vela Lacones.
circulus ut patuit Lunae, secuere meatus
diversos. (219-24)

pendula ceu parvis moturæ bella colonis
ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquent
Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo:
ordinibus variis per nubila texitur aëris
littera pennarumque notis conscribitur aër.\textsuperscript{840} (474-8)

\textsuperscript{840} Birt 1893, 71 cites Virgil \textit{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 \textit{Il.} 3.2-6,
\textit{ὄρνιθες ὅς,}
\textit{ἡύτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,}
\textit{αἳ τ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,}
\textit{κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,}
\textit{ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κήρα φέρουσαι}
and Lucan \textit{BC} 5.711-6,
Strymona sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquent
poturæ te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu
effingunt varias casu monstrante figuræs;
mox, ubi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,
sic Agamemnoniam vindex cum Graecia classem
solveret, innumeris fervebat vocibus Aulis.  \(484-5\)

**Manlio Theodoro**

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 hilaris clangore sonant; iuvat orbe sereno
contempsisse nives et frigora solve 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.
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.\footnote{Jeep 1876, cv cites Statius \textit{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
insulae est, summos nec praepeitis alae
plausus adit colles, nec rauca tonitrua pulsant.\textsuperscript{841}}

vel qui more avium sese iaculentur in auras.\footnote{Birt 1892, 177 cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 10.182-6,
non secus amissi 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.}

\textbf{De consulatu Stilichonis}

sic Hercule quondam
sustentante polum melius librata peependit
machina nec dubis titubavit Signifer astris

\footnote{841}
perpetuaque senex subductus mole parumper
obstupuit proprii spectator ponderis Atlas.\textsuperscript{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. \textsuperscript{(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 obnitetur irae.\textsuperscript{843} (1.286-90)

\textsuperscript{842} Müllner 1893, 121 cites Seneca \textit{Hercules} 70-3,
subdidit mundo caput
nec flexit ueros molis immensae labor
meliusque collo sedit Herculeo polus.
immota cervix sidera et caelum tulit.
It is imitated by Sidonius Apollinaris \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{843} Müllner 1893, 140 cites Seneca \textit{Phaedra} 1072—5,
at ille, qualis turbido rector mari
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)

obvia prosternas prostataque more leonum
despicias, alacres ardent qui frangere tauros,
transiliunt praedas humiles.  

(2. 20-2)

haut Amphiona quisquam
praeferrat Aonios meditantem carmine muros
nec velit Orpheo migrantes pectine silvas.  

(2. 170-2)

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.  

(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 excuviiis tendens ad sidera quercum
praeceedit, 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 patris idem cineres collectaque portat
unguibus ossa piis Nilique ad litora tendens

845 Müllner 1893, 110 cites Homer Il. 4.74-7,

βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμποι καρῆνων ἀίξασα.
οἶον δ’ ἀστέρα ἢκε Κρόνου πάις ἄγκυλομήτεω,
ἡ ναύτησι τέρας ἢ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,
λαμπρὸν’ τοῦ δὲ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἵνται.
unicus extremo Phoenix procedit ab Euro:
conveniunt aquilae cunctaeque ex orbe volucre,
ut Solis mirentur avem; procul ignea lucet
ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti.

(2.414-20)

(11)
non sic virginibus flores, non frugibus imbris,
prospera non fessis optantur flamina nautis,
ut tuus adspectus populo.

(3. 56-8)

(12)
auratos Rhodiis imbris 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 volantium,
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
concitat 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 hederae, malum circumflua vestit
pampinus, antennis illabitur ebria serpens,
perque mero madidos currunt saliuntque rudentes
 lynces et insolitae mirantur carbasa tigres.  

848 Müllner 1893, 109-10 cites Ovid Met. 3.664-9,
inpediunt hederae 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 brumae
orgia ferre Getas canumque virescere dorso
Othryn et Icaria Rhodopen assueverat umbra,
et iam pampineos materna ad moenia currus
promovet; effrenae dextra laevaque 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 saevas 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.  

(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
raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
exegit caecos rabies catulique relictì
faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
urbìs iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
haerent attoniti libertatemque perosus
conscia servilis praeordia 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 love 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’ ἀγραύλοιοι κατ’ ἵναια σημαντήρος
μυρία μήλ’ ἐφέπονται ἀδην κεκορημένα ποίης
εἰς αὐλιν, ὁ δὲ τ’ ἐξι πάρος σύριγγι λιγεύῃ
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 largit tur frustra sitientibus aegris
irriguus gelido pocula fonte sopor.
me quoque Musarum studium sub nocte silenti
artibus adsuetis sollicitare solet.\textsuperscript{851} (praef. 3-12)

\textsuperscript{851} Birt 1892, 334 cites Nonnus Dion. 42.325-32,
\begin{quote}
ἀντίτυπον γὰρ ἐργον, δ’ ἐπερ τελέει τις ἐν ἤματι, νυκτὶ δοκεύει·
βουκόλος ὑπνώων κεραοὺς βόας εἰς νομὸν ἐλκεῖ·
δίκτυα θηρητήρι φαινεῖται δύσις ὀνείρου·
γειστὸι δ’ εὐδοντες ἀροτρεύουσιν ἀρούρας,
αὐλακα δὲ σπείρουσι φερέσταχυν ἀξιλη δὲ
ἀνδρα μεσμβριζοντα κατάσχετον αἰθοπὶ δίψη
eἰς ρόον, εἰς ἀμάρην ἀπατήλιος ὕπνος ἐλαύνει.
\end{quote}

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 belum
,nos agere hoc autem et naturam quaeere 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 Castalieae 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 chortel tribunal.
condit avarus opes defossumque invenit aurum.
venator saltus canibus quatit. Eripit undis
aut premit eversam perituras 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.\textsuperscript{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,
orna gubernaculis, antennis saucia fractis
ludibrium pelagi vento iactatur et unda,

\textsuperscript{852} Dewar 1996, 79 suggests a poem by Alcaeus, citing Himerius Or. 48.10.

\textsuperscript{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
Hybleus procul aera senex revocare fugaces
tinnitu conatur apes, quae sponte relictis
descivere favis, sonituque exhaustus inani
raptas mellis opes solitaeque obita latebrae
perfida deplorat vacuis examina ceris.  

(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 loven Triviamque precatus
trans caput aversis manibus iaculatur in Austrum
secum rapturas cantata piacula taedas.  

(324-30)

853 Günther 1894, 35 cites Lucan BC 9.284-90,
Quam, simul effetas linquunt examina ceras
atque obita favi non miscent nexibus alas,
sed sibi quaeris volat nec iam degustat amarum
desidiosa thymum, Phrygii sonus increpat aeris,
attonitae posuere fugam studiumque laboris
floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem;
gaudet in Hybleo securus gramine pastor
divitias servasse casae.

854 Dewar 1996, 246 cites Tibullus 1.5.9-12,
ille ego cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres
nec tali publica vota
consensu tradunt atavi caluisse per urbem,
Dacica bellipotens cum fregerat Ulpius arma
atque indignantes in iura redegerat Arctos,
cum fasces cinxere Hypanin mirataque leges
Romanum stupuit Maeotia terra tribunal.
nec tantis patriae studiis ad templum vocatus,
clemens Marce, redi, cum gentibus undique cinctam
exuit 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 fulgere cuspis
canduit et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.
tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
pugna fuit: Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu

te dicer votis eripuisse meis;
ipseque te circum lustravi sulphure puro,
carmine cum magico praecinuisset 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 augentibus omnia Musis,
impetus excessit Zephyros candorque pruinas.
cece virum, taciti nulla qui fraude soporis
ense palam sibi pandit iter remeatque cruentus
et Diomedeis tantum praeclorior ausis,
quantum lux tenebris manifestaque 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
Tyrrenham labente manum pro ponte repellens
traiecit clipeo Thybrim, quo texerat urbem,
Tarquinio mirante Cocles mediisque superbis
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 candentibus 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 trabae 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 iuvenci
flumina nec crebro vincent Maeandria flexu. (632-5)

De raptu Proserpinae

(1)
ceu turbine rauco
cum gravis armatur Boreas glacieque nivali
hispidus et Getica concreitus grandine pennas
disrumpit pelagus, silvas camposque sonoro
flamine rapturus; si forte adversus aēnos
Aeolus obiecit postes, vanescit inanis
impetus et fractae redeunt in claustra procellae.\textsuperscript{856} (1. 69-75)

(2)

vitulam non blandius ambit
torva parens, pedibus quae nondum proterit arva
nec nova lunatae curvavit germina frontis.\textsuperscript{857} (1.127-9)

(3)

divino semita gressu
claruit, augurium qualis latus iniquum
praepes sanguineo dilabitur igne comites
prodigiale rubens: non illum navita tuto,
non impune vident populi, sed crine minaci
nuntiat aut ratibus ventos aut urbibus hostes.\textsuperscript{858} (1.231-6)

\textsuperscript{856} Jeep 1876, cxxviii cites Statius \textit{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 \textit{Aen.}1.52-4,

hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantis ventos tempestatessque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carceri frenat.

\textsuperscript{857} Müllner, 1893, 151 cites Ovid \textit{Fasti} 4.459-62,

ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere rapto
et quaeet fetus per nemus omne suos:
sic dea nec retinet gemitus et concita cursu
fertur.

\textsuperscript{858} Günther 1894, 21 cites Virgil \textit{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
percurretur auro madidae: laetatur in antro
amnis et undantem declinat prodigus urnam.\(^{860}\) (2.62-70)

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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,

Ὡς δ᾿ ὁτε τις τ᾿ ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικα μιήνη
Μηνυίς ἢ Κάειρα, παρῆσον ἐμμεναι ὑπων.

\(^{860}\) 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
Parthica quae tantis variantur cingula gemmis
regales vinctura sinus? quae vellera tantum
ditibus Assyrii spumis fucantur aeni?
non tales volucer pandit Iunonius alas,
neic sic innumeros arcu mutante colores
incipiens redimitur hiems, cum tramite flexo
semita discretis interviret umida nimbis. (2.94-100)

credas examina fundi
Hyblaeum raptura thymum, cum cereria reges
castra movent fagique cava dimissus ab alvo
mellifer electis exercitus obstrepet herbis.861 (2.124-7)

Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.

and Virgil, Aen. 6. 707-9'
ac veluti in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.

and Homer, Iliad 2. 87-9,
ήπτε ἕθυεα ἔισι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
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)

sic, cum Thessaliam scopulis inclusa teneret
Peneo stagnante palus et mersa negaret
arva coli, trifida Neptunus cuspidem montes
impulit adversos: tunc forti saucius ictu
dissiluit gelido vertex Ossaeus Olympos;
carceribus laxantur aquae factoque meatu
redduntur fluviusque mari tellusque colonis.⁸⁶²  (2.179-85)

⁸⁶² Müller 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
mox ubi pulsato senserunt verbera tergo
et solem didicere pati, torrentius amne
hiberno tortaque ruunt pernicius 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 harenæ.\(^{864}\)

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crescere cursus erat. Postquam discessit Olympos
Herculea gravis Ossa manu subitaque ruinam
sensit aquae Nereus, melius mansura sub undis
Emathis aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis
eminet.

and Seneca *Hercules* 283-90,

dirutis qualis iugis
praeeips 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—
talis, parentes liberos patriam petens,
erumpe rerum terminus.

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\(^{863}\) Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer *Il.* 15.80-1,

\(^{864}\) Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer *Il.* 17.4-5,
(11)
velut stabuli decus armentique iuvencam
cum leo possedit nudataque viscera fodit
unguibus et rabiem totos exigit in armos:
stat crassa turpis sanie nodosque iubarum
excutit et viles pastorum despicit iras.\textsuperscript{865} (2.209-13)

(12)
conveniunt animae, quantas violentior Auster
decutit arboribus frondes aut nubibus imbres
colligit aut frangit fluctus aut torquet harenas.\textsuperscript{866} (2.308-10)

\begin{quote}
\begin{alltt}
ἀμφὶ δ᾿ ἀρ᾿ αὐτῷ βαῖν ὡς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ
πρωτοτόκος κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο.
\end{alltt}
\end{quote}
and Statius \textit{Theb.} 9.115-9,
imbellem non sic amplexa iuvencum
infestante lupo tunc primum feta tuetur
mater et ancipiti circumfert cornua gyro;
ipsa nihil metuens sexusque oblita minoris
spumat et ingentes imitatur femina tauros.

\textsuperscript{865} Günther 1894, 31 cites Homer \textit{Il.} 17.61-7,

\begin{quote}
\begin{alltt}
ὡς δ᾿ ὅτε τίς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ἀλκὶ πεποιθῶς,
βοσκομένης ἀγέλης βοῦν ἀρπάσῃ ἢ τις ἀρίστη·
τῆς δ᾿ ἐξ αὐχέν’ ἔαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὀδοῦσι
πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ θ᾿ αἷμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει
δηών ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν γε κόνες τ` ἀνδρες τε νομῆς
πολλὰ μάλ` ἰώζουσιν ἀπόπροθεν οὐδ᾿ ἐθέλουσι
νάντιον ἔλθέμεναι` μάλα γὰρ χλωρόν δέος αἵρει.
\end{alltt}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{866} Müllner 1893, 170 cites Virgil \textit{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.\textsuperscript{867} (3.141-5)

(14)
attenitus 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 iuvencos.\textsuperscript{868} (3.165-9)

quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
lapsa cadunt folia.

\textsuperscript{867} Müllner 1893, 160 cites Horace \textit{Epod.} 1.17-22.
comes minore sum futurus in metu,
qui maior absentis habet;
ut adsidens implumbibus pullis avis
serpentium allapsus timet
magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
latura plus praesentibus.

\textsuperscript{868} Jeep 1876, cxl cites Statius \textit{Theb.} 3.45-52,
haud aliter saltu devertitur orbis
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
arduus Hyrcanaquatitur sic matre Niphates, cuius Achaemenio regi ludibria natos advexit tremebundus eques: fremit illa marito mobilior Zephyro totamque virentibus iram dispergit maculis timidumque hausura profundo ore virum vitreae tardatur imagine formae. (3.263-8)

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 praebèbit cornua velis; quae fortis, clavo potior; quae lenta, favebit remigio; stagni patiens aptanda carinae. (3.363-9)

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 constituit et plenos except lampade fluctus.\textsuperscript{870} (3.386-91)

odit et amissos longo ciet ordine tauros.

\textsuperscript{869} Jeep 1876, cxl cites Statius \textit{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 confligere 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 praeceps
   cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
   proluit autannis solvit sublapsa vetustas;
   fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
   exsultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque
   involvens secum.
nubibus et dubio vanescit Cynthia cornu.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{873} (29.44-50)

(6)

\textsuperscript{872} Birt 1892, 313 cites Ovid \textit{Met.} 2.117,
cornuaque extremae velut evanescere lunae.

\textsuperscript{873} Charlet 2018, 149 cites Lucretius \textit{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 patrui (spumantia cedunt
aequora castarum gressus venerata deorum;
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)
ceu 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)
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