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THE POETICS OF CLAUDIAN:

PANEGYRIC IN THE ANCIENT EPIC TRADITION

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Trinity College, Dublin

2006

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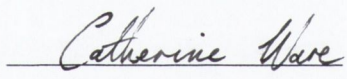

Catherine Ware

SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Claudian's political work as epic poetry, written by a poet who specifically associates himself with Homer, Ennius and Vergil, and whose work alludes to the epics of Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus and Statius. Claudian's reliance on their work and his varied techniques for the incorporation of allusion is essential to the full understanding and appreciation of the poetry.

The introduction discusses the prose and verse traditions of panegyric, focusing in particular on the relationship between panegyric and epic, and discussing the importance of the *Aeneid* in this regard. Vergil's understanding of contemporary Roman identity and nationhood challenged future epic poets to imitate his achievement.

The first section, comprising three chapters, examines Claudian's poetic technique. Chapter 1 deals with Claudian's poetic identity, concentrating in particular on the prefaces in which he creates his literary persona, and states his poetic and generic ambition. His epic claim, while insistent, has marked ambiguities: Claudian suggests that the reader must be alert for generic interplay; as will be noted, his reliance on Ovid throughout his work suggests that he follows Ovid's manipulation of genre.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the sense in which Claudian's work is epic, the extent to which he conforms to and differs from the conventions, concluding that it is above all in his allegiance to the "epic code", evident in the *Aeneid* and later epics, that Claudian merits the appellation "epic poet". He presents his work as part of the cycle of Roman epic history, the latest segment of an ongoing *carmen perpetuum*.

Much of the epic quality of Claudian's work depends on his use of allusion and in the third chapter I look at Claudian's use of earlier writers to add depth of meaning to his own work. Such references are rarely straightforward in Claudian: knowing that he was addressing a highly sophisticated and well-read audience, he delighted in setting them puzzles. Allusions are divided, doubled and multi-layered, as the poet refers to two or more works in proximity, creating, as it were, a dialogue between the different authors.

Having discussed these techniques, I apply them to a single passage, examining both the allusions and their significance for the work as a whole.

The second part of the thesis concerns Claudian's establishment of an epic framework for the empire of the late fourth century. In Chapter 4, his redefinition of empire is described. As the hostility between East and West increases, Claudian abandons hope of reconciliation and instead separates the two halves, showing – in Roman epic terms – how the East is unworthy to be part of the empire. As well as establishing the geographical boundaries, Claudian defines the temporal setting of empire. Throughout his work, history is seen as a series of cycles within the framework of *Roma aeterna*, and the same patterns are seen to repeat themselves as *furor* constantly strives with stability. In this chapter, I examine Claudian's creation of an epic time frame for his work, how he removes his subjects from their own time and places them within the eternal epic of Roman history, identifying them with heroes of the past and suggesting a literary, if not actual, metempsychosis.

Chapter 5 examines the specific manifestations of *furor* in Claudian's era, the enemies who arise and who, as the latest in the series of epic opponents to Roman order, are portrayed as the successors of Hannibal or the Gauls, epic enemies who face Claudian's epic heroes. Taking on a cosmic dimension, they are compared to the Giants or Phaëthon, threatening the universe with destruction.

Chapter 6 considers the most important of imperial cycles, the recurrence of the golden age. In his exploration of this encomiastic *topos*, Claudian builds on the work of Vergil in particular to make the golden age specific, a condition rather than a time. The golden age is attainable through the work and sacrifice of individuals, the consuls and officials of the empire. Through their knowledge and self-sacrifice, Claudian shows how the idealised golden age may be made real and permanent for his generation.

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To my mother Elizabeth; to Dorothy, John, Nick, Elizabeth and Claire; and above all, to Paddy, Niall and Conor who had to live with it, this thesis is dedicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

P&O	*Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*
In Ruf. 1, 2	*In Rufinum* I, 2
Gild.	*De bello Gildonico*
Eut. 1, 2	*In Eutropium* I, 2
Fesc.	*Fescennina de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti*
Epith.	*Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti*
III Cons.	*Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*
IV Cons.	*Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*
Theod.	*Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli*
Stil. 1, 2, 3	*De consulatu Stilichonis* 1, 2, 3
VI Cons.	*Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*
Get.	*De bello Getico*
Rapt.	*De raptu Proserpinae*
c.m.	*carmina minora*
Laus Ser.	*Laus Serenae*

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INTRODUCTION

CLAUDIAN'S LITERARY BACKGROUND: PANEGYRIC IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Little is known for certain about the life of the poet Claudian Claudianus.[1] The information supplied by his own poetry offers suggestions rather than factual detail. By his own account Claudian came from Egypt, most probably from Alexandria,[2] and was a professional poet who believed that Rome would give full scope to his abilities,[3] since he was as fluent in Latin as in Greek.[4] From the references to his friendship with the young brothers of the Anicii family, it is probable that he arrived in Rome as a young man.[5] Contemporary sources claim that he was a pagan;[6] if this was the case, it did not appear to affect him adversely. His panegyrics can be dated exactly and indicate a very swift rise to favour: it is likely that he went to Rome with letters of introduction to the Anicii family since his first Latin panegyric was on the consuls Probinus and Olybrius in 395.[7] He attracted the attention of Stilicho, the regent of Honorius and *magister militum*,[8] and moved into imperial circles, writing his first panegyric in honour of the young emperor Honorius in 396. That for the most part Claudian's poetry was designed to promote the policies of Stilicho has been conclusively argued[9] and from 395 until 404 Claudian remained the court poet, writing in honour of Stilicho and the imperial family. His last datable work, *De bello Getico*, was written in 404 and it is assumed that he died shortly thereafter.

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[1] Fargues (1933) 5-38, Schmidt (1976) 11-12. For a comprehensive examination of what is known of Claudian's life, see Cameron (1970a) 1-29.

[2] His own poems refer to *nostro Nilo* (*c.m.* xix.3) and describe Alexander the Great as *conditor hic patriae* (*c.m.* xxii.20), which Cameron (1970a) 3 interprets as Alexandria.

[3] Cameron describes him as one of the "wandering poets", professional poets of Egypt, largely pagan, who moved from city to city, in order to further their careers: see Cameron (1965); cf. Cameron (1970a) 22-3.

[4] It may be assumed that Claudian wrote exclusively in Latin after A.D. 395; of his Greek work, some epigrams and a fragmentary *Gigantomachy* survive.

[5] *c.m.* xl and xli. Cameron (1970a) 2 suggests A.D. 370 as the approximate date of his birth.

[6] Augustine *Civ. Dei* v.26, Orosius *Adv. Pag.* vii.35. Cf. Döpp (1980) 24-41; for pagans writing in a Christian empire see Consolino (1995) and Cameron (1965), on Claudian's lack of differentiation between religion and culture, McCormack (1981) 52, Döpp (1980) 33-6.

[7] Cameron (1970a) 31, Döpp (1980) 13-4.

[8] Stilicho was the chief general of Theodosius the Great and a kinsman by marriage, his wife being the niece of Theodosius, Jones (1964) 174, *PLRE* I.853-8. It is likely also that Theodosius entrusted the care of his younger son Honorius to Stilicho: see Cameron (1970a) 38-9.

[9] Cameron (1970a). Cf. Döpp (1980), Schmidt (1976).

The poems written for the court include panegyrics, invectives, epithalamia as well as shorter poems, and are evidence of the high favour which Claudian enjoyed. He held the office of tribune and notary,[10] and he attributes his marriage to the aid of Stilicho's wife, Serena.[11] In honour of his literary achievement, a statue was erected in the Forum of Trajan, with an inscription in Latin and Greek.[12] The Latin dedicates the statue *praegloriosissimo poetarum* while the Greek, more specifically, asserts that Claudian had combined the inspiration of Homer with the mind of Vergil. This was an honour of which Claudian was proud since he refers to it as *favor* and *praemia tanta* (*Get. pr.* 11, 12). It is this inscription which suggests a starting point for the study of Claudian's poetry since it claims that by the consensus of the emperors, the Senate and no doubt the poet himself, Claudian was an epic poet, writing in the tradition of Homer and Vergil. Although Claudian had written at least one mythological epic, the unfinished *De raptu Proserpinae*, this was not the source of his fame.[13] The statue was erected to honour Claudian as a court poet, the writer of panegyric, and it is for his political poetry above all that his contemporaries honoured him with the title of epic poet.

By the late fourth century A.D., epideictic oratory was a long established genre and panegyric had become an intrinsic part of court ceremonial as *laudationes* were required to honour the emperor, a new consul or high official.[14] Panegyrics could be written in prose and verse and the two traditions coexisted and developed together. While the subject matter remained the same (praise of an individual, a god, a place or geographical feature), there were of necessity stylistic differences as a result of the generic differences between rhetorical and poetic writing. Although performed for similar occasions, Claudian's poetic panegyrics are clearly different from the prose panegyrics of the Gallic rhetoricians.[15] Nevertheless, because Claudian's work served a clear ceremonial purpose, the rhetorical background to his work should not be ignored. It is worthwhile, therefore,

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[10] As described on the inscription to his statue below.

[11] *c.m.* xxxi.43-6.

[12] [Cl.] Claudiani v.c. | [Cla]udio Claudiano v.c., tri | [bu]no et notario, inter ceteras | [de]centes artes prae[g]loriosissimo | [po]etarum, licet ad memoriam sem|piternam carmina ab eodem | scripta sufficiant, adtamen | testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui | [fi]dem, dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius | [fe-]licissimi et dictissimi | imperatores senatu petente | statuam in foro divi Traiani | erigi collocarique iusserunt.

Εἰν ἑνι Βιργιλίοιο νόον | καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου |
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥωμη καὶ | βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν. *CIL* vi. 1710.

[13] Gruzelier (1993) xviii-xx dates *Rapt.* to 395-7 and sees it as "a more experimental work of his earlier Roman years".

[14] See McCormack (1981).

[15] Collected, with Pliny's panegyric on Trajan, as the *Panegyrici Latini*. On which most recently see Rees (2002).

as a preliminary to the study of Claudian's work as epic poetry, to examine this rhetorical background, and to look briefly at the history of panegyric and its place in the antique world. For the purpose of discussing the oratorical tradition and Claudian's innovations in the genre, it is useful here to make a temporary and artificial distinction between prose and verse panegyric, while noting that both prose and verse encomia continued to be written at least from the 5th century B.C. until Claudian's time.

Panegyric and Rhetoric

The earliest panegyrics seem to have been written in verse to celebrate festivals and the winners of contests or to honour the dead as a funeral oration. Initially, the term *enkomion* was used to describe the winner of a contest,[16] while *panegyrikos* initially referred to a work of praise recited at a festival.[17] Gradually, *enkomion* (or, in Latin, *laudatio*) came to refer generally to praise of an individual. Techniques of praise, later described by the rhetoricians, are apparent in the odes of Pindar who in congratulating Timasarchus of Aegina for winning the wrestling match also praises Timasarchus' father who had been a musician and his grandfather, whose poetry had celebrated the athletic victories of Timasarchus' uncle (*Nem.* 4). Laudatory verse continued to be written during the Hellenistic period: Theocritus' *Encomium of Ptolemy* praises the king as a demi-god (5-8, 35-6), traces his descent from Hercules (26-7), and marvels at his wealth and prosperity (95-130), comparing him to the Olympians (132-4).[18] The writing of encomia, in both prose and verse, was encouraged by the proliferation of competitions begun in the Hellenistic period[19] to the extent that encomiastic poetry was occasionally treated as a separate category by the first century B.C.[20]

The orators and rhetoricians were also cultivating the genre. Isocrates had coined the term *panegyrikos* for an oration written for the Olympic festival in 380 B.C. and he is considered to be the creator of the genre in prose. While encomia continued to be written

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[16] Viljamaa (1968) 7. The Olympian festival of 476 B.C., for example, caused Pindar to write five odes in honour of the victories: Kurke (1991) 3-5.

[17] Specifically, the word referred to Isocrates' panegyric on Athens. *panegyricus* had the same festal meaning in Latin; but by the fourth century, it was used in the same sense as *laudatio*: see McCormack (1975) 143.

[18] For consideration of genre, Hunter (2003) 8-24.

[19] Cameron (1995) 44.

[20] Cameron (1995) 48.

in verse, epideictic oratory became a subject of study both in Greece and Rome and the rules governing the writing of encomia were set down and continually refined.[21] The composition of eulogies became a feature of poetic festivals.[22] Initially, the main function of panegyric in Rome was the funeral oration but gradually it acquired a more prominent part in imperial ceremonial in the *actio gratiarum*, a speech of thanks made to the emperor by the new consul.[23] Cicero, claiming that the writing of panegyric was essentially Greek, admitted that the genre was necessary for Romans also, since virtue must be praised.[24] He asserted that epideictic oratory was one of the three categories of oratory, together with deliberative and judicial.[25] As the empire grew and ceremonial flourished, epideictic oratory became increasingly important.[26] An ambitious politician would need to be able to compose a *laudatio* for any given occasion, his acceptance of the consulship, a speech to honour the accession or the visit of the emperor, or to mourn his death.[27] Although Cicero may have argued that all virtue was praiseworthy, in reality the most usual subject of a panegyric was the emperor whose praises formed an important part of many court ceremonies.

Given the public importance of epideictic oratory, the subject had to be studied in schools and carefully practised. The rules for encomia were minutely detailed, the subject matter categorised and sub-categorised, and the guidelines written down.[28] Rather than relying on a Muse for inspiration, an orator could turn to a rhetorical handbook in Latin or Greek for the scaffolding of a speech in praise of an emperor, a river, or town. In his treatise on writing an imperial oration, Menander Rhetor in the late third/early fourth century outlines how an emperor should be praised and breaks down the different categories: the circumstances of his birth, his education, family, nature, accomplishments, actions in war and peace, virtues of war and peace, as well as the joy and prosperity which his reign brought to his people.[29] Suggestions are made for dealing with awkward topics: if an emperor does not have a praiseworthy family for example, the section should be omitted

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[21] Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 1-3.
[22] For their influence on Statius' style, see A. Hardie (1983) 84.
[23] Kennedy (1972) 429. Originally the thanks would be given to the Senate, later to the emperor. Pliny's panegyric on Trajan is the first of these to survive: see Nixon and Rogers (1994) 3.
[24] *De or.* II.lxxxiv-v.
[25] Cicero, *De or.* II.ix.34, *De part. or.* iii.10; *Rhet. ad Her.* II.2; Quintilian discusses this subdivision and the nature of panegyric at *Inst. Or.* III.iii.14-iv.2.
[26] Viljamaa (1968) 8.
[27] For the particularly Roman features of the funeral oration and its political use, McCormack (1975) 146-8.
[28] For the rhetorical theory and practice, Viljamaa (1968) 13-24.
[29] Russell and Wilson (1981) 76-127.

or the orator might suggest that the emperor is divine.[30] Although his panegyrics are in verse, Claudian uses the prescribed construction for his work. In examining the structure of these poems, L.B. Struthers concluded that although Claudian may not have intended to write by the rules, "the study of his panegyrics does show that Claudian has been continually guided in his workmanship by the precepts of the rhetores".[31]

Stylistic guidelines were also prescribed. While forensic oratory might rely on logical persuasion, *laudationes* were intended to entertain, to convince emotionally rather than rationally. Metaphor, archaisms, neologisms were expected, as were references to prodigies, omens and portents.[32] Such ornamentation was also a feature of poetic panegyric: Pindar drew on mythological heroes to honour contemporary victors[33] and Claudian would compare the youthful Honorius to Achilles (*III Cons.* 60), Jupiter (*IV Cons.* 197-202) and Bacchus (*IV Cons.* 606-10).

In spite of the formalised structure of the panegyric, the performance of a *laudatio* was something more than ritualised flattery.[34] In an autocracy, a panegyric was a chance for an individual to speak to the emperor, even to offer him advice, whether by praising him for qualities he might already have displayed or by giving *exempla* of great rulers of the past. He is expected to possess the cardinal virtues.[35] This is illustrated in the *Panegyrici Latini*, a collection of speeches of the third and fourth centuries, written in Gaul by rhetoricians and teachers of rhetoric.[36] Pliny praises Trajan for his *civilitas*, thereby making the emperor a model for rulers and for private citizens,[37] but also calls him *dis simillimum* (7.5),[38] preserving the distinction of rank. To encourage the emperor to do his best, Pliny contrasts the godlike behaviour of Trajan with the bestial actions of his predecessor, Domitian (48.3, 52.7).[39] Dio Chrysostom's *Orations on Kingship*, dedicated to Trajan, discuss the qualities of good rulership in the form of a dialogue between Philip

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[30] Russell and Wilson (1981) 78-81.
[31] Struthers (1919) 87.
[32] Cicero, *De part. orat.* xxi.
[33] For example, there are comparisons to Ajax in *Nem.* 2.21.-2, and to Meleager and Hector in *Isth.* 7.31-2. For his use of metaphor, Steiner (1986).
[34] See Newlands (2002) 18-27 for summary of various interpretations of panegyric. For specific texts, Levene (1997), Moles (1990).
[35] For the "almost obligatory themes" of imperial virtues, see Seager in Cairns (1984) 129. See also Wallace-Hadrill (1981) for the propagation of the imperial virtues in various media.
[36] Excepting Pliny's panegyric on Trajan (A.D. 100) which is included in the collection.
[37] Rees (1998) 83.
[38] Braund (1998) 63-5.
[39] Hardie (1993a) 68.

and Alexander:[40] Claudian later drew on the imagery of these discourses for the lengthy *speculum principis* in the panegyric on Honorius' fourth consulship. In this central section of the poem, the emperor Theodosius takes on the role of Philip while Honorius is the young Alexander (*IV Cons.* 374-79). Honorius is advised to learn his own character thoroughly (225-7) so that he may learn to control his base impulses and study virtue. *virtus* (220), *pietas* (276), *fides* (283) and *iustitia* (296-302) are all required of the young emperor as are military prowess (320-52) and the perusal of history for great Roman examples (396-418). The fact that Honorius was nothing at all like Alexander and the eager words which Claudian attributes to him are most unlikely was beside the point. The giving of advice was a *topos* of panegyric.[41]

Panegyric was also an expression of the attitude of the community, represented by the orator. If they expected certain virtues from their emperor, by the very performance of the panegyric, they in turn promised him their loyalty as good Romans. The *Panegyrici Latini* of the third and fourth centuries give no hint of the instability of Gaul at the time;[42] instead, the rhetoricians emphasise the continuity of empire. Subject matter and style suggest the Republic and early Empire as the rhetoricians modelled their speeches on Cicero and alluded to Vergil[43] to stress their links with the past. Similarly in Claudian's panegyrics, written within two decades of the fall of Rome, there is no suggestion of a crumbling empire: hordes of barbarians are defeated by the lone Theodosius (*IV Cons.* 49-58), the dangers which arise from Maximus and Eugenius (*III Cons.* 63-105, *IV Cons.* 72-97) or Gildo are easily overcome and crowds of loyal subjects from every land hail the emperor whenever he appears (*III Cons.* 133-141, *IV Cons.* 565-83).

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[40] Moles (1990).

[41] The question of sincerity in court poetry is a pressing concern of modern scholarship. Did Lucan, for example, honestly intend to praise Nero (*BC* 1.33-66), or Statius Domitian (*Silv.* 1.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3)? Claudian may indeed have revered Stilicho but it would be difficult to imagine that his praise of the ineffectual Honorius was anything but lip service: indeed, his panegyrics have been described as "the rhetorical monstrosities of flattery favoured in the late Roman world": Weitzmann (1980) 109. Ancient writers acknowledged the difference between forced and honest praise but they also knew the dangers of seeming to criticise an emperor under the guise of flattery (Pliny *Pan.* 3). Nevertheless, some scholars suggest that, on occasion, panegyric was intended to be subversive, that the reader was encouraged to make connections unflattering to the subject of the panegyric: see Bartsch (1994) 24, Ahl (1984a), Ahl (1984b), Moles (1990). While this work is not concerned with Claudian's intentions (his political aims have been exhaustively analysed by Cameron (1970a)), there is no reason to believe that he intended anything other than praise. In the study of his panegyrics, it is perhaps best to follow Nauta's summary: "panegyric is only possible on the basis of a contract between the poet and his audience which defines the context of utterance as, precisely, panegyric": Nauta (2002) 426. By the terms of this contract, Claudian knew that his task was to praise the emperor, while the emperor and his court knew that they were listening to ritual praise, part of a court ceremony, and that sincerity was not a matter to trouble anyone.

[42] Rees (2004) 35.

[43] Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 16, Rees (2004) 33-46.

From a generic point of view, then, Claudian's work had much in common with prose panegyrics, at least in theme and occasion. The structure of his encomia followed the suggestions of such writers as Menander; like the *Panegyrici Latini*, his work was designed to be recited at important court events, whether the *adventus* of the emperor or the inauguration of a consul. What is different, however, is the colour and imagination which Claudian's poetic panegyrics brought to these events and how his poetry reflected the glory of the ceremony itself. By late antiquity, court dress, titles and formality had reached an apex of magnificence.[44] The splendour of the emperor was the focal point of every ceremony, as he was revered not as a man, the Augustan *primus inter pares*, but almost as a divinity.[45] His role was to impress the spectator with his splendour and authority and he knew this.[46] When Constantius arrived in Rome in triumph, his carriage glittered with gold and jewels, while he sat rigid, looking neither left nor right.[47] Edward Gibbon described late antique ceremonial as "splendid theatre"[48] and Claudian's panegyrics set the scene and introduced the actors. The precious fabrics and jewels worn by the emperor in court or procession are depicted vividly by Claudian.[49] As speech writer for this "splendid theatre", Claudian's poetry was a far more flexible medium than the prose and prosy speeches of the rhetoricians.[50] As Dewar concludes, "Claudian's great innovation with the genre [of panegyric] was to extend the range of verse panegyric at the expense of prose".[51] This was in part a reflection of the taste of his age and late antique appreciation of elaborately described episodes.[52] More importantly, his use of verse distanced Claudian from the prosaic occasional works of the rhetoricians. The tradition of verse encomia, the celebration of kings and heroes, while responsible for occasional works of praise, was also the source of epic poetry, the unending narration of time. Claudian's success was founded on his ability to see the events and people of his

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[44] Garnsey and Humfress (2001) 83-4 describe the increased status-consciousness and the proliferation of bureaucracy. See also Grant (1976) 89-95. For titles and rank, Jones (1964) 523-52.

[45] Garnsey and Humfress (2001) 25-7, Gardner (1974) xxix-xxx.

[46] Brilliant (1963) 164.

[47] Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi.10.7-11; on imperial deportment, Charlesworth (1947), McCormack (1981) 57.

[48] II.xvii, Womersley (1997) II.25.

[49] *IV Cons.*, for example, closes with Honorius in Liguria being worshipped like a god by the people, carried on a golden throne, dressed in pearls, emeralds, amethysts and sapphires (*IV Cons.* 565-601), a costume which suggests that worn by Theodosius the Great on the silver *missorium*. The exaggerated size of the emperor, his staring gaze fixed on the spectator, the formal poses of his sons and courtiers all emphasise the ceremonial importance of the emperor's appearance.

[50] McCormack (1981) 7.

[51] Dewar (1996) xxv.

[52] Roberts (1989a) 38-65.

time in epic terms, and to interpret the crises of his day in language derived from his epic predecessors.

Panegyric and Epic

Encomia in verse can be dated back to Pindar; as lyric poetry declined in popularity, they came to be more usually written in hexameters.[53] As in the case of the prose panegyric, any great hero or patron could be praised, but the emperor became the most usual subject. If a panegyric was a citizen's chance to address the emperor's mode of government, the emperor could also benefit from the panegyrist and could use his work to promote the imperial image. The interdependence of epic poetry and panegyric was evident from the time of Homer: his epics describe the great deeds of mighty heroes.[54] Vergil summed up epic as the relation of *reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.3)[55] and this is probably the best expression of what epic is expected to be. However, even if the whole genre of didactic epic is omitted, the definition is not as simple as it appears. Homer was the model for the *reges et proelia* epic. That he had many imitators is suggested by Callimachus' rebuke to the Telchines for their love of wordiness and their measuring of poetry by the "Persian chain" (*Aet.* 1.18).[56] Callimachus objected not to the writing of epic itself (as the existence of his own *Hecale* shows), but to what epic had become. Rulers and poets had been quick to see that a poem telling of the deeds of a king need not be confined to mythology, and could describe the wars and actions of a living monarch. The living monarch was also quick to see that such a poem could be used as propaganda. Alexander the Great most famously attempted to create his own mythology: unfortunately, the poet chosen was not equal to the deeds of the ruler.[57] Epics were written to honour wars – the *Persica* of Choerilus of Samos, for example – or to give cities a history: the *Messeniaca* of Rhianus described the Second Messenian War of the seventh century B.C. in six books.[58] Not all works ran to such length. Several hundred lines (the length of Claudian's individual

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[53] Cameron (2004) 329-30.
[54] E.g. Homer *Il.* 9.189.
[55] Cf. Hor. *AP* 73, *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella.*
[56] Cameron (1995) 263-7 challenges the common interpretation of Callimachus' prologue to the *Aetia*, arguing that for the most part, large-scale epics were not written during the Hellenistic period and pointing out that Vergil changes Callimachus' "kings and heroes" to "kings and warfare", concluding that "there is thus no real justification for seeing a reference here to long poems on living kings", 267.
[57] Hainsworth (1991) 66.
[58] Pausanias iv.6.i: see Otis (1963) 16-17.

books) would be suitable for a single performance and this, rather than the multi-book epic, was a pattern throughout the Hellenistic and Byzantine world.[59]

Romans were quick to appreciate the qualities of the historical panegyrical epic.[60] Naevius' *Punica* was followed by Ennius' *Annales*, a work intended to cover all of Roman history to the writer's own time. These inspired the further versification of wars.[61] Hostius wrote a *Bellum Histricum*,[62] Varro wrote the *Bellum Sequanicum*, while M. Furius Bibaculus wrote on Caesar's Gallic campaigns.[63] In the empire, encomiastic poetry was written in honour of the emperor:[64] many of Statius' *Silvae* for example, are specifically encomiastic in theme and epic in tone and style.[65] As regards his subject matter, therefore, Claudian's claim to be an epic poet was eminently reasonable. He too celebrated the deeds and victories of the emperor and officials of the court, and there is little difference in subject matter or style between the three-book panegyric on Stilicho and the poem entitled *De bello Getico*.[66] That Claudian saw these early epics as to some extent forerunners of his own work is suggested by the preface to the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* in which he draws an explicit comparison between Scipio Africanus and Stilicho, and their chroniclers, Ennius and Claudian himself. Claudian, however, did not claim that his work was based on these early historical-political epics. The inscription on his statue asserted that he had inherited the mind of Vergil and this specification has a double significance in the study of Claudian's work. The writing of epic had been irrevocably changed with the publication of the *Aeneid* and it was this altered tradition which inspired Claudian. Secondly, in terms of *Romanitas*, the importance of the *Aeneid* was such that by the fourth century, the very name of Vergil conferred an imprimatur on any writer.

In Vergil's work can be seen the various strands of the multi-faceted epic tradition. The careful elegance of the Alexandrian school and the inspiration of Callimachus are

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[59] Cameron (1995) 273.
[60] Hainsworth (1991) 77.
[61] Hainsworth (1991) 83, Bardon (1952) 363-8.
[62] Courtney (1993) 52.
[63] Courtney (1993) 192-200.
[64] Fargues (1993) 194.
[65] A. Hardie (1983) 86.
[66] For the blurring of the separation between historical and encomiastic epic by this period, see Feeney (1986a) 147. Cf. Cameron (1970a) 260 who notes that while Claudian distinguished panegyric from epic by title, otherwise there is no difference.

expressed in the *Eclogues*.[67] These qualities he applies to the didactic hexameters of the *Georgics* with their stated debt to Hesiod,[68] and to the *Aeneid*, with its Homeric and Apollonian structure.[69] Vergil's work was also a product of its own time. To what extent he supported Augustus' rule and policies is unknown;[70] however, there can be no doubt that Vergil is creating a new vision of Rome which coincided with the vision being promoted by the emperor. In the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, the Romans were given a hardy past (e.g. *Geo.* 2.533, *Aen.* 8.315, 9.603, 9.613) and a golden future (e.g. *Geo.* 2.149-54, 2.458-540, *Aen.* 6.791-7). The *Aeneid* spanned Roman history from the earliest days of Rome to the time of Augustus and beyond. Vergil wrote for an expanding empire: his epic was not simply a story to be read and enjoyed by a small circle but a vehicle for the Augustan ideals to be carried wherever Romans went.[71]

To his contemporaries and to later readers, Vergil had restyled and resurrected the epic, giving an obsolete genre new life.[72] Later Latin epic writers wrote through a Vergilian lens, as it were, always seeing their work in the context of this great Roman epic and interpreting his poem for their own time. In theme and style, they viewed the *Aeneid* as the epic against which all others would be measured. Because Vergil had written an epic without end, giving *imperium sine fine* to Rome, all work had to fall within Vergilian boundaries.[73] Lucan's *De bello civili* can be read as a rejection of the Vergilian world view,[74] as an "anti-Vergil" or "ultra-Vergil".[75] Silius took the historical conflict between Carthage and Rome and reinterpreted it in mythological and Vergilian terms, referring to the two sides as the [*gens*] *Aeneadum* (*Pun.* 1.2) and the *gens Cadmea* (1.6).[76] Following Vergil, later epic poets wrote lengthy works, each poem consisting of many books of many hundreds of lines and dealing with *reges et proelia.*

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[67] Elder (1961) 389.
[68] Farrell (1991) 31.
[69] Nelis (2001) 1-21.
[70] For ideals of rulership/kingship see Cairns (1989) 1-28; on the creation of an "Augustan" Vergil, generally, Thomas (2001).
[71] Von Albrecht (1999) 7, Boyle (1993c) 80.
[72] Otis (1963) 5-37. As Pollmann (2000) 11 succinctly remarks: "epicizing after Vergil meant Vergilizing". While this is not his full conclusion, Goldberg (1995) 169 notes that it is possible to associate the early development of Roman epic with the growth of Roman greatness and identity, and that epic as an expression of Roman power was no longer needed by the time of Cicero.
[73] Hardie (1993a) 12.
[74] Fantham (1992) 8.
[75] Von Albrecht (1999) 236.
[76] Wilson (1993) 219.

Vergil had used a mythological format to analyse concerns of his own time and this innovation created a code for later writers who could not speak openly or discuss current events.[77] While the Flavians may have restricted themselves to past history or mythological epics, their themes were not without contemporary relevance, concerning an individual's response to tyranny, for example,[78] or the examination and elevation of the Roman character. Historical subjects could explain how Rome had changed. The civil war, as described by Lucan, was relevant one hundred years later for the continued loss of *libertas* which came about through war and was reinforced by the establishment of empire.[79] When Vergil gave Romans an epic which told them of their national character and its virtues and faults, their past and present glories and the inherent dangers, he recreated the epic genre as a medium of *Romanitas*. Vergil himself had analysed Augustan Rome for his generation: future poets would look back to Vergil and in their epics, whether historical or mythological, would analyse Rome for their own time.[80]

The association of Vergil and *Romanitas* did not diminish with time or with the advent of Christianity. The education of a Roman was the same for pagan and Christian, and Vergil's canonical position in the school curriculum meant that every educated Roman was thoroughly familiar with his work. To allude to Vergil was to give a stamp of *Romanitas*.[81] Vergil was considered such an authority that on at least one occasion, his words were used convincingly against his own ideology. The association of Rome and the gods of Rome is central to the *Aeneid*[82] yet in A.D. 384 when Symmachus as champion of the Roman pagan aristocracy pleaded for the restoration of the statue of Victory, he was answered by Prudentius' *Contra Symmachum* and Vergilian terminology. Prudentius argued that the splendour of Rome was being defiled by worship of *cariosorum...monstra deorum* (*c. Symm.* 1.434). By accepting Christ, Rome was cleansed and renewed and Prudentius describes what the future holds:

> denique nec metas statuit nec tempora ponit:
> imperium sine fine docet, ne Romula virtus
> iam sit anus, norit ne gloria parta senectam (*c. Symm.* 542-4).[83]

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[77] Boyle (1993b) 3. As Boyle remarks of the *Aeneid*, "Virgil made myth the main narrative and history the digression and subtext" (1993c) 81.
[78] McGuire (1990) 24.
[79] Ahl (1976) 23, Ahl (1993a) 132, Leigh (1997) 1.
[80] Hardie (1993a) xi.
[81] Rees (2004) 44.
[82] Feeney (1991) 179, Edwards (1996) 44-68.
[83] For Prudentius' assertion that *pax Romana* is the peace of God, see Edwards (2004a) 209.

In this clear allusion to *Aen.* 1.279 and Jupiter's promise of *imperium sine fine*, Prudentius uses Vergil's authority as the voice of *Romanitas* to bridge the splendour of ancient Rome (the phrase *Romula virtus* suggesting the most ancient foundations of the city) and the future glory of Christian Rome.

Like his contemporaries, Claudian acknowledges Vergil's status as the "Roman" poet, and relies heavily on Vergilian allusion to establish the Roman credentials of his subjects. Anchises' words to Aeneas in the Underworld are taken as the ruling principles of Theodosius, Honorius and Stilicho, linking them with the founder of Rome and with the ideal Roman character: Anchises does not address Aeneas by name but calls him *Romanus* (*Aen.* 6.851). Like Aeneas, the emperor Theodosius displays *pietas* (*IV Cons.* 113), and obeys the admonition of Anchises (*Aen.* 6.853) in that he is sparing of the fallen (*IV Cons.* 114). Likewise, Anchises' advice *debellare superbos* (*Aen.* 6.853) justifies the defeat of usurpers and barbarians in Claudian's work as all are proud (*Gild.* 73, *IV Cons.* 87-8).[84]

Nor is Claudian's debt to Vergil confined to the *Aeneid.* While the *Aeneid* provides him with the ideals of government and the concept of the Roman hero and ruler, Claudian turns to Vergil's didactic epic, the *Georgics*, for his considerations of the ideal life, whether for the individual or the state. The association of didactic and panegyric is not difficult to see since both in part are influenced by the Eastern tradition of Wisdom literature,[85] in which instruction is given, whether father to son, or subject to king. Theodosius' speech to Honorius (*IV Cons.* 214-418) is a perfect example of this type of instruction.[86] Some of his poems, however, contain passages which, while less explicitly instructive, are still didactic in intent, sometimes involving a dialogue between teacher and pupil (the speech of *Iustitia* to Mallius Theodorus, for example), sometimes an interpolation by the poet (Claudian's address to Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.196-219) becomes a discussion of the true nature of the *vita beata*). Vergil's definition of the happy life in the *Georgics* is complex and Claudian does not ignore the complexities; one could argue that his own deliberation on the good life, his definition of *labor*, *ars* and the *aurea aetas*, are

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[84] Ware (2004a) 160-1.
[85] Volk (2002) 44, following West (1978) 3-25.
[86] Born (1934).

as much a commentary on the *Georgics* as a workable suggestion for his own contemporaries.

In common with the epic successors of Vergil, Claudian's work is an exploration of what it means to be Roman in his own time. His mythological epic, the unfinished *De raptu Proserpinae*, lacks overt commentary on the late antique empire and has been described as being "largely without contemporary reference",[87] nevertheless the essential tension between Jupiter and his brother Dis may suggest the division between the courts of the imperial brothers Honorius and Arcadius, while the underlying threat of cosmic upheaval may imply the fear of barbarian destruction, ever present to the fourth century audience.[88]

Although *De raptu Proserpinae* is a specifically mythological narrative, in this work and in his political epics, Claudian uses mythological themes as shorthand for discussing contemporary political issues. Vergil had taken the Hesiodic myth of the races of man to announce the recurrence of a golden age for Rome under Augustus (and at the same time, to suggest doubts and ambiguities about the nature of this gold). Even though the notion of the recurrent golden age had become a cliché of propaganda by late antiquity, Claudian returned to Vergilian ambiguity and reworked the theme for his own day.[89] In his poetry there is evident a concern with the balance between stability and chaos, harmony of government and disorder. This is also expressed in mythological terms: those who attempt what they should not – usurpers and rebels – are Phaëthon, aiming too high and destined to crash and burn. Attacking barbarians are Giants, ugly monsters from unknown regions, bursting out of darkness to challenge the brightness of divinely sanctioned Olympian rule. In Claudian's work, the stable harmonious government of Stilicho and Honorius is constantly threatened by Eastern forces or usurping insiders: the agents of *furor*, the literary yet real descendants of the enemies of order who appeared in the work of Statius, Lucan and, of course, Vergil. In summary, Claudian's epics ostensibly deal with contemporary *reges et proelia*, the victories of the Roman emperor and his officials, although like Vergil and later epic writers, his work concerns the nature of the Roman empire in his own time.

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[87] Gruzelier (1993) xxi sees only suggestions of the splendour and ceremony of Honorius' court; see also Charlet (2000a) 183-4 for summary of scholarship on this topic.

[88] References to the Battle of the Giants or an outbreak of *furor* can refer to the sudden attack of whatever enemy a particular generation feared or to general fears of chaos: on Gigantomachy see Hardie (1986) 85-156, for the eruption of *furor*, Hardie (1993a) 57-87. For this theme in *De raptu Proserpinae*, Wheeler (1995a) 117-18.

[89] Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 24.

The Professional Court Poet of Late Antiquity

Unlike Vergil, Claudian was not a leisured poet who could devote his time to the composition of one lengthy epic, but a working professional poet of rapid output. Having come from Alexandria to Rome to make his fortune, he was ready to turn his hand to any type of poetry required, panegyric or invective, epithalamia, lampoon. In this sense, his true Latin predecessor was neither Vergil nor the writers of the *Panegyrici Latini*, but Statius, born in Naples and, like Claudian, steeped in the Greek tradition.[90] In the introduction to the first book of the *Silvae*, Statius describes the circumstances of the work in a letter to his friend Stella.[91] It is such a letter as Claudian might have written, dealing with the concerns of a successful professional poet. Although Statius complains that he was asked for three hundred lines on the equestrian statue of Domitian, the day after its dedication, the complaint disguises his pride, firstly that he was asked to do so and secondly that the poem was delivered on time. He reminds Stella that it took only two days to finish an epithalamium of the same length (*Silv.* 1.i). Statius describes these as lighter poems produced in the heat of the moment and by a kind of joyful improvisation, *subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate*,[92] and as such, distinct from his *Thebaid*, recently finished.[93] Short or long, however, they were all worthy of publication and all sprang from the same inspiration: the *subitus calor* which produced the shorter works so quickly appears in the introduction to the *Thebaid* as *Pierius calor* (1.3). Three hundred years later, Claudian wrote his own lighter works, an epithalamium for Palladius and Celerina (*c.m.* xxv), short poems dealing with natural phenomena such as the lobster (*c.m.* xxiv), the phoenix (*c.m.* xxvii) and the magnet (*c.m.* xxix), or trifles to charm his patrons: "On a strap embroidered by Serena for Honorius' horse" (*c.m.* xlviii). Like Statius, he had his more serious works. There was the mythological *De raptu Proserpinae*, and there were the epics deriving their subject from a contemporary event: the defeat of Gildo, for example, supplied Claudian with enough material for the *De bello Gildonico* and a three book panegyric on Stilicho.

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[90] A. Hardie (1983) 2-36.
[91] Nauta (2002) 249-56.
[92] For his improvisation, Coleman (1988) xxvi.
[93] Newlands (2002) 33 sees Statius' comments on his work as equivalent to Catullus' calling his poetry *nugae*.

In short, Claudian's poetry was the culmination of several literary and rhetorical traditions. It seems probable that he took advantage of the handbooks written by such authors as Menander, Quintilian and Cicero on the writing of encomia and praised his subjects according to their suggestions. As a professional poet, he turned naturally to the shorter epic form which, combined with the prescribed structure of a panegyric, allowed him to praise Honorius or Stilicho with appropriate embellishment in as short a space as was compatible with a single performance. That he was steeped in the poetry of Vergil and later epic writers is clear from his own work: like Vergil, Lucan and Statius, Claudian views epic as a medium for discussing the nature of empire in his own time and uses the traditional language of "imperial" poetic writing to encompass the concerns of the world of late antiquity.

However, to define Claudian as an epic poet leaves considerable leeway for interpretation. His work is a highly self-conscious literary production, constantly acknowledging the poet's debt to the past. In narrating the wars and heroes of late antiquity, Claudian relies on the Vergilian epic world view, depicting any threat to imperial stability as an outburst of *furor*, employing the Vergilian terms *labor* and *ars* to redefine the ideals of government for late antique society and redrawing the map of empire to dissociate the decadent East from true *Romanitas*. For Claudian, the literary and cultural chain was unbroken: in the Augustan era, Vergil gave expression to the hopes and fears of a new empire. Four hundred years later, Claudian, using the same vocabulary and imagery, described the end of that regime. Although much of his political poetry was written for specific occasions, the continuity of character, theme and tone allows – even encourages – his work to be read as a whole, an up-dated version of Ennius' *Annales*, perhaps, incorporating the literary influences of Vergil and the post-Vergilians.

While grounding his epic in Vergil's creation of *Romanitas*, Claudian was fully conscious of the intervening literary generations and of the many elements which epic encompassed. Stilicho, the hero of the empire, is praised in the high epic style while the panegyric of the philosopher Mallius Theodorus is strongly didactic. Alaric is condemned in Lucanian terms while Gildo is the subject of satire. The work of his predecessors is acknowledged in allusion and manipulation as Claudian plays with beginnings and endings to weave the epic past into his epic present. The opening of the *Aeneid* ends *De bello Gildonico*, the

repeated beginnings of the *Metamorphoses* are linked with the first book of the *Fasti* in the second book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* to reinforce Claudian's concept of time as a series of unending cycles. His self-conscious and often playful approach to genre is summed up in his choice of Muse, the sportive Thalia, and suggests that Claudian might have claimed Ovid as much as Vergil for his epic forefather.

The purpose of this thesis, then, is to examine Claudian's political work as epic poetry, written by a poet who specifically associates himself with Homer, Ennius and Vergil, and whose work alludes to the epics of Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus and Statius. Claudian's reliance on their work and his varied techniques for the incorporation of allusion is essential to the full understanding and appreciation of the poetry. The first part of this work will examine Claudian's poetic technique, Chapter 1 dealing with Claudian's poetic identity, concentrating in particular on the prefaces in which he creates his literary persona. Chapter 2 will discuss the sense in which Claudian's work is epic, the extent to which he conforms to and differs from the conventions. Much of the epic quality of Claudian's work depends on his use of allusion and in the third chapter I will look at Claudian's use of earlier writers to add depth of meaning to his own work. Such references are rarely straightforward in Claudian: knowing that he was addressing a highly sophisticated and well-read audience, he delighted in setting them puzzles. Allusions are divided, doubled and multi-layered, as the poet refers to two or more works in proximity, creating, as it were, a dialogue between the different authors.

The second part of the thesis concerns Claudian's establishment of an epic framework for the empire of the late fourth century. In Chapter 4, his redefinition of empire is described. As the hostility between East and West increases, Claudian abandons hope of reconciliation and instead separates the two halves, showing – in Roman epic terms – how the East is unworthy to be part of the empire. As well as establishing the geographical boundaries, Claudian defines the temporal setting of empire. Throughout his work, history is seen as a series of cycles within the framework of *Roma aeterna*, and the same patterns are seen to repeat themselves as *furor* constantly strives with stability.[94] In this chapter, I will examine Claudian's creation of an epic time frame for his work, how he removes his subjects from their own time and places them within the eternal epic of Roman history. Chapter 5 examines the specific manifestations of *furor* in Claudian's

[94] Hardie (1993a) xi.

era, the enemies who arise and who, as the latest in the series of epic opponents to Roman order, are portrayed as the successors of Hannibal or the Gauls, epic enemies who face Claudian's epic heroes. Finally, Chapter 6 considers the most important of imperial cycles, the recurrence of the golden age. In his exploration of this encomiastic *topos*, Claudian builds on the work of Vergil in particular to make the golden age specific, located in a certain place – the Western half of the Roman empire – and brought about through certain people, the consuls and officials of the empire. Through their knowledge and self-sacrifice, Claudian shows how the idealised golden age may be made real and permanent for his generation.

CHAPTER 1

THE POET IN THE PREFACES

Introduction

To those who commissioned the statue in honour of Claudian, the attribution of "the inspiration of Homer with the mind of Vergil" was a flattering *topos* of epigraphy.[1] To some extent, however, the definition was inevitable. With the exception of his mythological works, the characters in Claudian's poems are emperors, generals, tyrants and usurpers, and the themes are stirring ones: the battles of Frigidus and Pollentia, the machinations of Gildo and Alaric, the heroism of Stilicho. This is the subject matter of contemporary *carmina heroum.* By setting his themes in the epic metre of hexameter,[2] Claudian signals that his occasional poems are to be interpreted in the context of epic, as episodes, perhaps, in the epic continuity of Roman history.

Nevertheless, Claudian's work has tended to be categorised as an ornate subgenre of the prose panegyrics rather than as panegyrical epic.[3] His debt to rhetorical handbooks cannot be denied: his panegyrics are structured according to the convention established by the rhetoricians, progressing from birth and education to glorious deeds, and they were commissioned and performed for specific ceremonial occasions. He himself makes a generic distinction between different works by title, so that one poem dealing with the victories of Stilicho is labelled *De consulatu Stilichonis*, marking it as a panegyric, while another on the same topic is *De bello Getico*, an epic title.[4] It can be argued that there was no generic distinction and that the difference lay only in the circumstances of performance, *De consulatu Stilichonis* having been written for Stilicho's consular inauguration. It is of course also possible to dismiss the question on the grounds that Claudian was writing panegyric and epic at the same time in a tradition of *carmen heroum* which went back to Homer. However, to do so is to miss or ignore much of

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[1] *CIL* vi. 1710.
[2] Arist. *Poet.* 1459b, Hor. *AP* 73-4.
[3] Cameron (1965) 480, for example, admits that while it was natural for an epic on a living general to take on some aspects of panegyric, there was always felt to be a difference between the two genres: see also Feeney (1986a) 146.
[4] Charlet (2000a) xxxvi.

Claudian's skill. His political poetry is a well-crafted combination of specifically encomiastic elements (as described by the rhetorical handbooks or illustrated in the *Panegyrici Latini*) and epic. It is therefore relevant to ask how we recognise epic and to what extent Claudian conforms to our epic expectations. Before considering the epic conventions as they appear in Claudian's poetry, it is worthwhile to examine what Claudian himself said about his poetic intentions and to what extent he saw himself as an epic poet.

In the prefaces, Claudian's epic ambitions are stated openly. Although he employs many of the conventions of the prose panegyrics (he was, after all, writing for particular ceremonies), Claudian makes them part of his epic background, transforming what, to the rhetoricians, would have been a perfunctory compliment to the emperor into a splendid setting for his poetic performance. As the emperor and his court become Jupiter and the divine assembly, Claudian's patron Stilicho becomes an epic hero, whether mythological (Apollo against Python in *In Rufinum*) or historical (Scipio against Hannibal in the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis*).

In creating an epic opening for his poems, Claudian creates an epic poetic persona for himself. As the recorder of great deeds, he bestows *fama* on his heroes and so fulfils the role of poet.[5] The prefaces to the mythological *De raptu Proserpinae* tell of the poet's epic daring and glorify his power; poetic bravery is the opening theme of the panegyric on Mallius Theodorus (*Theod. pr.* 1). Claudian refers with pride to the fame he himself has achieved (*Get. pr.* 7-9).[6] It becomes clear that Claudian sees his role as something more than simple recorder: throughout the prefaces, he draws parallels between the epic hero and poet in their mutual participation in the epic[7] and suggests that in his poetic daring, the poet is as entitled to glory as the soldier, attributing the vocabulary of epic bravery and adventure to himself. In this context, Claudian suggests in *De consulatu Stilichonis* that Ennius is the ideal model for the epic poet, as soldier and recorder. Claudian reinforces his epic claim by using the themes and language of his literary predecessors: the personal poetic declarations in his prefaces owe much to the poetic claims made by other poets in the epic line of descent which stretched, as Claudian saw it, from Ennius to himself.

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[5] Goldhill (1991) 69-166.
[6] Fargues (1933) 26-7.
[7] Hardie (1993a) 99-101, Schmitz (2004) 54-6.

Claudian's creation of an epic persona is not, however, without generic qualification. The preface to the panegyric on Theodorus opens with the epic question *audebisne* and tells of the poet's literary time in the camp, yet the Muse addressed is the un-epic Thalia who is also the inspiration of the specifically epic *De bello Getico*. An invocation to the Muse who presides over humorous and pastoral verse is perhaps in part a nod to Claudian's role as entertainer: the preface to *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, for example, demonstrates his ability to build up and misdirect audience expectation. More profoundly, it can be argued that the appeance of Thalia in epic poetry is a indication of generic metamorphosis. Possibly inspired by the writer of the *Culex*, Claudian creates a new role for the pastoral Thalia whom Vergil had forbidden to sing of kings and battles (*Ecl.* 6.3). Acknowledging the shifting genres which create his own panegyrical epic, Claudian calls on Thalia to change with the theme and adapt herself to preside over the blend of heroic, didactic and encomiastic poetry which is his epic.

In examining Claudian's treatment of the preface, I will consider how Claudian uses prefatory *topoi* to create an epic background for his poetry and epic characters for his subjects. In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* and *In Rufinum*, in particular, the poet takes advantage of the splendour of his audience assembled for the consul's inauguration, blending the imperial dedication with an invocation to the gods, identifying the emperor with the divine machinery of epic and, through mythological allusion, preparing the way for the epic struggles to come. These prefaces and the mythological *De raptu Proserpinae* also establish the poet's epic daring while in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* Claudian glorifies his own epic ability, diverting what appears to be praise of the emperor to praise of the poet. Finally, the prefaces to the panegyric on Theodorus and to the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* offer insight into Claudian's understanding of the nature of his epic poetry and the role of the contemporary epic poet.

The Conventions of the Preface

It is in the prefaces to his poetry that Claudian openly presents his epic persona, taking advantage of the tradition which allowed the poet to speak directly to his audience at the

beginning of his work.[8] The preface or proem began simply as an invocation to the Muses and a summary of the plot. The poet could be brief: in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the invocation and theme are contained within the first line.[9] Hesiod's prefaces are longer and more complex. The *Works and Days* turns the invocation into a prayer to Zeus, while his *Theogony* praises the Muses at length.[10] In both these works, however, Hesiod introduces a theme which would become central to the proem in general: the persona of the poet himself, speaking in his own voice to an addressee.[11] Unlike Homer, he gives his name to the listener (*Theog.* 22). A self-conscious poet and one who is concerned with the nature of poetry, Hesiod acknowledges the power of poetry to persuade men that lies are true (*W&D.* 10).[12] In the *Theogony*, Hesiod tells of the circumstances of his inspiration, the visit of the Muses and how they taught him to sing. Thereafter, the preface often became the poet's personal poem within a poem. While the body of a poem was seen to be inspired by the Muses, the gift of this inspiration could be described within the preface and so became the poet's own territory, his chance to address a second person directly, to speak of his own concerns, his reasons for and the actual act of writing. The original association of the preface with didactic poetry gave authority to the poet's words; in addressing a student, friend or patron[13] he set forth the inspiration and mechanics of composition. In prose and verse, conventions were established for the writing of prefaces: in addition to a summary of the theme, a writer could speak of his professed inability for the task, his friendship for and gratitude to the addressee, the hours of study he had spent and even the works he intended to write.[14]

In the Hellenistic period, the preface became more complex. Invocation and thematic outline were still required but as poetry became more overtly self-conscious, it was necessary for a poet to give additional information about his intentions and techniques.[15] Callimachus, the most widely read of the new generation, originally prefaced his *Aetia*

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[8] This was the most usual convention but not an absolute rule. For the introduction of a second proem in the middle of a work, in which the poet could reinforce or amend his initial poetic declaration, Conte (1992). Fowler (1997a) 19 notes that allusion in the closing lines of the work could even raise new questions about the true setting of the work.

[9] Kirk (1985) 51-3, Goldhill (1991) 1-5.

[10] West (1966) 150-1.

[11] Lamberton (1988) 54-55 discusses the individual voice of the poet: cf. Janson (1964) 15-16.

[12] Pucci (1997) 8-40, G. Wheeler (2002) 33-8.

[13] Janson (1964) 16.

[14] For a discussion and examples of these *topoi* and an overall analysis of the prose preface, Janson (1964).

[15] Conte (1986) 149. For the self-consciousness of the Hellenistic poets, faced with the multiple authorities of previous writers in many genres, Goldhill (1991) 223-5.

with a reworking of the dream of Hesiod.[16] As the the originator of didactic poetry (a genre which appealed to the learned and literary Hellenists[17]), Hesiod found favour with the Alexandrians, Callimachus appreciating the relative shortness of his poems, the personal voice and craftsmanship.[18] In the preface to the elegiac *Aetia*, Callimachus famously rejected the conventions of epic, the well-trodden path, the thousands of lines, in favour of brevity and refinement (*Aetia fr.* 1).[19] It was no longer enough for a poet to state the genre in which he wrote, he had to give some indication of his poetic style. Alexandrian poets, creating a new type of poetry designed to be read rather than heard, did not abandon their literary origins but by means of allusion to earlier poets, consciously and carefully maintained continuity with the past.[20] Poets looked to the past and future as they attempted innovations while simultaneously drawing attention to their literary origins.[21]

For the Romans of the Republic, trying to put their own stamp on genres modelled on the Greek, and writing after the changes brought about by Hellenisation, such self-consciousness became an intrinsic part of all literature, as poets acknowledged their Greek sources and their own poetic aims. Epic poets looked to Homer or Hesiod. Ennius' dream of Homer was a self-consciously poetic vision based on Hesiod's dream of the Muses; in embracing Homer, he asserted the subject of his song: he would be an epic poet but would sing the *carmen heroum* rather than the didactic poetry of Hesiod.[22] The immediate model for this scene was Callimachus' dream: while scholars differ on Ennius' attitude to Callimachus, it seems most likely that Ennius intended to follow the Homeric style of epic under the influence of the Hellenistic school.[23] In lyric poetry, the opening poem of Horace's first book of odes associates him with the lyric poets of Greece, but makes it clear that lyric poetry has now become a Latin genre.[24] In didactic epic, Lucretius in praising Ennius and Homer (*DRN* 1.117-26) focuses on their originality.

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[16] Nisetich (2001) xli.
[17] Bing (1988) 14-48 discusses the bookish qualities of Hellenistic poetry.
[18] Newman (1986) 23, Clausen (1964) 183-5, Farrell (1991) 31. Cameron (1995) 362-86 disagrees with this usual interpretation of Hesiod's influence on Callimachus, although he allows that the structure and "intrusive narrator" of the *Aetia* (369) are Hesiodic at least.
[19] Cameron (1995) 263-302.
[20] Bing (1988) 75.
[21] Goldhill (1991) 284-5, Otis (1966) 4-5.
[22] Dominik (1993) 38-41.
[23] Clausen (1964) 186 argues that Ennius rejects Callimachus, while Skutsch (1968) 7-9 disagrees and observes that Ennius as a Greek speaker would have been familiar with the principles of Callimachus and was proposing to be an *alter Homerus* in Alexandrian terms. See also Newman (1986) 108, Goldberg (1995) 89-92.
[24] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 3, Barchiesi (2000), Millar (1991) 378-9.

Homer, as the originator of all poetry and science needs no description,[25] Ennius is described specifically as the founder of Latin didactic poetry: *qui primus amoeno/detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam* (*DRN* 1.117-18). By association, Lucretius claims this originality for himself: he too is exploring new territory (*DRN* 1.925-30).[26] In the context of philosophy, the invocation of these two poets is complex; as Harrison notes with reference to 1.126, Lucretius appears to suggest that both Ennius and Homer are creators of *natura rerum*.[27] Since they were not following the doctrines of Epicurus, to Lucretius their account of the universe must be scientifically unsound and inferior to the account contained in his *De rerum natura*. Nevertheless, by his allusion, Lucretius acknowledges the influence of Ennius and Homer and aspires to take their place as first and greatest.[28]

For a poet to associate himself with his predecessors (whether favourably or not) was, therefore, a literary device which acted as a generic indicator. By explicitly drawing attention to those who had written in a similar genre, a poet established his own place within the tradition and his poetic models. This had become particularly important to Roman epic poets, the writers of the *carmen heroum*. Ennius had introduced epic to Latin poetry;[29] with the *Aeneid* the genre had been Romanised, and now, Roman writers had to find their feet in a new Roman tradition.[30] As the originator of Latin epic, Ennius intended his *Annales* to cover all Roman history from the foundation of Rome until his own time; Vergil extended these temporal boundaries, beginning like Ennius with the fall of Troy but guaranteeing limitless rule, *imperium sine fine* (*Aen.* 1.279), to the Roman empire.[31] Ovid moved the starting point back to chaos, *ab origine mundi* (*Met.* 1.3), and promised a *carmen perpetuum* (*Met.* 1.4).[32] All Roman epics, therefore, necessarily set within the boundaries of all time, became to some extent part of the epic *carmen*

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[25] Hardie (1986) 22.

[26] For the complexities of an epic poet's assertion to be *primus*, see Hinds (1998) 52-6 who discusses the claims of Vergil and Lucretius with relation to Ennius. Cf. Gale (1994) 108.

[27] Harrison (2002a) 2-4 also discusses Lucretius' approval of Ennius as poet together with his rejection of Ennius' ideas of the afterlife. For Ennius' self-association with Homer, Dominik (1993) 40-1.

[28] Hardie (1986) 18. For Empedoclean influence, Hardie (1995) 209-10.

[29] Naevius and Livius Andronicus had also written epic, but Ennius crucially replaced the Latin Saturnian metre with the Greek hexameter and, by invoking the Muses for his *Annales* rather than the Latin *Camenae*, drew attention to the transition from Greek to Rome: see Skutsch (1968) 3-5. See also Boyle (1993b) 1 for Ennius' influence on Vergil.

[30] For Vergil's immediate importance, Tarrant (1997) 56-60.

[31] On *sine fine*, Mitchell-Boyask (1996).

[32] As Wheeler (1999) 27 notes, the phrase *carmen perpetuum* suggests Callimachus' *Aetia fr.* 1.3, which combined with the Vergilian/Callimachean *deducite* suggests an epic of Hellenistic refinement: cf. Otis (1966) 45-6.

perpetuum[33] and the poets had to inform their audience clearly which part of the ongoing *carmen* they were writing.[34]

The beginning of a poem was the obvious place to give such information. The preface, therefore, had two distinct functions: to introduce the poem itself, with thematic and dedicatory material, and to communicate the writer's poetic aims.[35] The preface need not be separate from the body of the poem, or it could be distinguished by metre; Statius prefaces his *Silvae* (mainly written in hexameters) with epistolary prose prefaces.[36] Epic poetry tended to incorporate the preface into the body of the text. Whether separate from the text or included, the literary conventions were the same, allowing for a certain variation within prefatory *topoi*. Here is found the *recusatio*, a poet's unwillingness to deal with themes too grand for his pen,[37] the invocation to a god or a Muse,[38] or an encomiastic dedication to the emperor.[39] While these were variables, an outline of the plot was not and the main themes were sketched out in a few lines. Since the reader would have been familiar with the coming story, a writer did not have to give much detail but rather highlighted important themes which would be developed. Vergil sets the foundation of Rome in a divine context: the anger of Juno, the transferral of the gods, the importance of *pietas* (*Aen.* 1.1-11),[40] while Lucan emphasises the evil of civil war and the similarity between the opposing sides in such lines as:

> in commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis
> signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis (*BC* 1.6-7).[41]

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[33] Hardie (1993a) 11-14, Fowler (1997a) 20.

[34] Conte (1986). For the themes of the epic successors of Vergil, Hardie (1993a). As regards self-consciousness with relation to Vergil, Hardie (1990b) discusses the Flavians in general while Rees (2004a) examines writers of Late Antiquity, and Williams (1978) explores the difficulties involved in such self-consciousness. For individual poets within the tradition, Fantham (1992) 3-19 summarises Lucan's position: see also Ahl (1993), Delarue (1996), Henderson (1987) 166; for Statius, A. Hardie (1983) 86 (*Silvae*) and 152 (*Thebaid*), Wilson (1993), Henderson (1991) 213, Pollmann (2000); while Zissos (1999) 289 describes Valerius' Flaccus' self-perception as "poetic recycler".

[35] Conte (1992) 149 sums up the material as the *quid* and the *quale*.

[36] Newlands (2002) 32-3 discusses Statius' prefaces as marks of literary distinction to discriminating honorees.

[37] Statius, for example, will write about Thebes, feeling incapable of describing Domitian's victories (*Theb.* 1.132-40), and continues the apology in the epilogue: see Henderson (1993) 162-4.

[38] Lucr. *DRN* 1.1-40, Verg. *Aen.* 1.8, 7.37, Val. Fl. *Argo.* 1.5, Sil. *Pun.* 1.3, Stat. *Theb.* 1.3-4, *Ach.* 1.1.

[39] Luc. *BC* 1.33-66, Stat. *Theb.* 1.17-33. For the complexities of such encomia, Delarue (1996) 220-1 and Dewar (1994b) discuss Lucan's praise of Nero; for relationship between poet and patron in general, Nauta (2002), Ahl (1984a) and (1984b). Naturally, a poet could experiment with the conventions: Vergil honours Octavian in the preface to the first book of the *Georgics*, with a reference to Lucretius' preface to *De rerum natura*, combining the Lucretian figures of Venus, Epicurus and Ennius in the single person of Octavian: see Gale (2000) 27.

[40] Feeney (1991) 129-31, Coleman (1982) 143.

[41] Bartsch (1997) 54, Henderson (1987) 194-5.

In addition to introducing future themes, the plot outline also allowed the poet to link his work with earlier epics by means of a specific reference to another poet or by an allusion to his poetry. The opening lines could suggest the literary and historical heritage of the poem: Vergil, for example, combines the opening of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in his introduction, suggesting his Homeric model before giving the background to the very Latin epic which he will narrate.[42] By beginning with Homer and the fall of Troy, Vergil takes his poem back both to the beginning of epic and of Roman history, an implied claim that as Homer was first of all epic poets, Vergil will be the first of the Latin epicists. This is of course the claim which he made in the *Georgics* for his future work:

> **primus ego** in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas (*Geo.* 3.10-11).[43]

Later writers, following explicitly in Vergil's footsteps, did not necessarily claim to be first but stated their position with regard to the history of Rome established in the *Aeneid.* Lucan's opening deliberately contrasts his theme with that of Vergil[44] and Statius' opening words, *fraternas acies* (*Theb.* 1.1), follow Lucan's subject of civil war.[45] Writing at the end of the first century A.D., Silius stated his theme and intention in Vergilian terms: his epic will tell of the hostility between Carthage and the descendants of Aeneas, recalling how the enmity was initially created in the fourth book of the *Aeneid.* His opening words, *ordior arma* (*Pun.* 1.1) suggest Vergil,[46] *arma* being the first word of the *Aeneid*, and *ordior* used programmatically in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*,[47] but *ordior* also looks back to Ennius and the methodical annalistic method of describing history of the *Annales.*[48]

An explicit comparison between one poet and another may seem a clear generic signal but a poet could and often did qualify the comparison, claiming poetic descent from more than one writer. Statius introduces his *Achilleid* by referring the reader to Homer as his

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[42] Hardie (1993a) 1-2.

[43] The lines suggest Lucr. *DRN* 1.117-19: see Mynors (1990) 180. At the same time in the following lines (*Geo.* 3.8-9) he acknowledges Ennius as his predecessor by saying that he too – *me quoque* – had to raise himself up: see Kennedy (1997) 145. Cf. Nelis (2004) 81-2. Gale (2000) 12-14 discusses Lucretius' harmonisation of Pindar, Callimachus, Ennius and Lucretius.

[44] Fantham (1992) 8, Tarrant (1997) 65-7.

[45] Vessey (1973) 62, Henderson (1993) 165.

[46] Spaltenstein (1986a) 1.

[47] Woodman (1989) 132-4, Brink (1971) 128-30, Nelis (2004) 92-4 discusses Vergil's use of *ordo*

[48] Vessey (1973) 62. Given the poetic context, perhaps the *perenni studio* with which the Romans and Carthaginians hated each other (*Pun.* 1.17-18) may also suggest Ennius (cf. Lucr. *DRN* 1.118)?

source, but he finds fault with the *Iliad*, observing that Homer does not give enough detail of Achilles' infancy and death.[49] This later epic will fill in the gaps. By the references to Homer, the reader is also given guidelines of what kind of poetry to expect: certainly epic, and a narrative of the deeds of the greatest of all heroes, Achilles. Statius mentions the *acta inclita* (*Ach.* 1.3) sung by Homer but regrets that much is missing: *plura vacant* (*Ach.* 1.4). His desire, he states, is to tell the whole story. But will he fill in *plura* in Homer's style? The vocabulary argues that he will not. Statius' wish is *tota iuvenem deducere Troia* (*Ach.* 1.7), and the selection of the word *deducere* is another generic signpost, directing the reader to the Callimachean *carmen deductum* of Vergil's *Ecl.* 6.5 and the refinement of post-Alexandrian epic.[50] In short, it was not enough merely to claim descent from Homer or Vergil: this indicated only that a poet wrote epic. Further references and allusions were needed to refine the claim, to show what kind of epic and in what precise tradition.

Claudian's Epic Setting: Gods and Heroes (*In Rufinum*)

Claudian's prefaces are distinguished from the main body of the text by metre, being written in elegiac couplets.[51] Thematically, they are also separate from the poem.[52] On occasion, Claudian introduces themes which will be developed in the body of the poem but, for the most part, there is no need for an outline of the plot: in encomium, the addressee is the main theme. The prefaces of the two invectives, *In Rufinum* and *In Eutropium*, are exceptions to this, anticipating themes which are developed in the poems. The preface to the first book of *In Rufinum* mythologises the downfall of Rufinus, comparing it to the death of Python at the hands of Apollo, and is balanced thematically and stylistically by the preface to the second book which shows the aftermath of the fight, and the gods – this time Apollo and Mars – resting after battle.[53] The preface to the second book of *In Eutropium* deals entirely with the overthrow of the eunuch, his

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[49] Konstan (1997) 79-88. Vessey (1973) 43 notes the "hyperbolic" poetic claim in *Ach.* 1.10-13, very different to the modest ending of the *Thebaid.*

[50] For *deducere* used to introduce epic, see Ovid *Met.* 1.4, Vergil, *Geo.* 3.10-11.

[51] Cameron (1970a) 119 notes that in Greek poetry of late antiquity, it was usual to preface a poem in hexameters with an iambic prologue. In Latin poetry, a wider variety of metres was employed but the elegiac couplet was the most usual choice: see Gruzelier (1993) 80, Viljamaa (1968) 92-7, Felgentreu (1999) 8.

[52] For categorisation of prefaces, see Felgentreu (1999) 5. Cf. Dewar (1996) 47-8.

[53] Felgentreu (1999) 75, Levy (1971) 1-8, 115-18.

departure from office and his humiliation.[54] This preface is unique in Claudian's work in that there is no reference to the poet, the emperor, the setting of the poem, or any of the standard *topoi*.

With the above exception, Claudian's prefaces are essentially dedicatory, introducing and praising the subject of the panegyric in the context of the setting, the assembly of the imperial court. The dedication of the poem had remained a feature of the proem, although in the Roman empire the emperor was often the addressee, and a poet would include a brief prefatory encomium to honour him[55] or would combine a dedication with an invocation.[56] Since the theme of Claudian's poems was the glory of the emperor,[57] instead of writing an official dedication within the preface, he spoke of the magnificence of the imperial court, gathered to hear the poem. In doing so, he was following the pattern of prose panegyrics, in which the presence of the emperor was a frequent prefatory theme.[58] The theme may have been prosaic, but Claudian made it poetic, recreating the scene before him as though presenting an idealised mirror to his audience.

This technique is comparable to that employed in the panegyrics themselves where the real splendour of the emperor is enhanced by mythological parallels.[59] When, in describing Honorius in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian attests to the magnificence of the emperor in his jewelled and embroidered robes, the rows of green emeralds, the gleam of the amethyst and Spanish gold, the dull fire of the sapphires (*IV Cons.* 585-88), he is describing what is in front of him, bringing the scene before him into his poem, incorporating the visual display and the words of the poet into

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[54] Cameron (1970) 136-7 discusses the dating and political circumstances of this preface, see also Long (1996) 175-6, Schweckendiek (1992) 112-7, Felgentreu (1999) 102-3. It is worth noting that this preface falls into its own distinct generic category, being an inverted propemptikon, in which Eutropius is vitriolically speeded on his way by the poet.

[55] The need to honour the emperor was contemporaneous with empire: Vergil dedicates his *Georgics* to Maecenas (*Geo.* 1.2) but also incorporates passages in praise of Octavian (*Geo.* 1.24-42, 3.10-48). Fantham (1996) 74-84 discusses the role of Augustus as patron and theme.

[56] Janson (1964) 106.

[57] This was the case not only for panegyrics in honour of the emperor. While Stilicho remained Claudian's main encomiastic subject (Cameron (1970)), it was in Stilicho's own interests that Claudian intertwined praise of the emperor with praise of the regent, the former acting as quasi-divine influence, the latter as his agent (*Gild* 381-3, *VI Cons.* 426-37).

[58] To the extent that the imperial *praesentia* was hailed, even if the emperor was absent: see Rees (2002) 12-15.

[59] E.g. *III Cons.* 126-41, *IV Cons.* 565-610.

the ceremony.[60] The seamless joining of the exaltation of Honorius with the procession of Bacchus, the association of reality and fantasy, further glorifies the emperor. In the prefaces, Claudian refines this technique to its essence, dispensing with physical description and presenting the court officials before him with their mythological reflection, making them part of the divine court of Jupiter. In the preface to the first book of *In Rufinum*, the court becomes the gods assembled to hail the death of Python, in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, they have come together to hear the battle of the Giants. The young emperor Honorius, cast as Jupiter,[61] has no active role in the prefaces; he is required simply to be present with his court in all his majesty, a living icon of *imperium*.[62]

While a poet's treatment of his subjects must be determined to a certain extent by the character of those subjects, it is the mark of a skilful poet to take the conventions of an imperial ceremony, the courtly distinctions between emperor and official, and to create from these the necessary divisions of divine and mortal action found in epic. It may be said that the poet's task was to raise his heroes to divine status:[63] this is precisely what Claudian did with the *topos* of imperial dedication. Although he was writing for a Christian court, Claudian's poems are fully equipped with the divine machinery of epic.[64] Claudian's gods perhaps are less complex than those of the *Aeneid* and closer to allegorical figures:[65] Jupiter rules the world with order, the Furies plot to overthow stability, Mars and Bellona fight the barbarians. They are often brought in purely for decorative and comparative purposes: the young Jupiter and Bacchus parallel the handsome young Honorius (*IV Cons.* 197-202, *IV Cons.* 604-10), Stilicho is as brave as

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[60] For Claudian's fondness for such scenes, see Gruzelier (1993) xxv and, for a detailed consideration, cf. Gruzelier (1990), Fargues (1933) 305-8; for such descriptions as a feature of Late Antique literature, Roberts (1989a). McCormack (1981) 6-7 discusses the links between visual and verbal images in panegyric: cf. Roberts (1989a) 89-94.

[61] Cf. also the prefaces to *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti* and *Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli.*

[62] McCormack (1981) 6. Cf. McCormack (1975) 177-86 for the link between imperial art and panegyric.

[63] As Wilson (1993) 229 notes of Silius.

[64] Whether Claudian was himself a pagan or not (see Paschoud (1966) 136-8, Cameron (1970a) 189-227; for other pagan poets of the period, Cameron (1965) 471-7) is irrelevant here. The Roman religion was not based on faith but ritualistic, and completely intertwined with *Romanitas* on every level of life and art (Feeney (1998) illustrates the complexities of the relationship between literature and religion). From Augustus, emperors associated themselves with patron deities; for the identification of Octavian/Augustus with Apollo and with Jupiter, Zanker (1988) 48-53, 230-8, while the Tetrarchs associated themselves with Jupiter and Hercules, symbols of government and benefit to mankind rather than allegiance to the Olympic pantheon: see Béranger (1970), Fears (1977), Nauta (2002) 382. This association did not change with the coming of Christianity and most Christians saw no inconsistency with the pious Theodosius being compared to Jupiter or Mars: see Fargues (1933) 153-89, Ware (2004a) 157-8.

[65] Lewis (1936) 73.

Apollo (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.*), or the *vivida Martis imago* (*Get.* 468).[66] These Olympians are supported by other divinities: countries such as Africa (*Gil.* 134-200), Spain, Gaul, Britain and Italy appear (*Stil.* 2.228-68), the goddess Roma features frequently (*Stil.* 2.269-61, *P&O* 75-99, *VI Cons.* 356-425). Since Homer had given a role to the river Scamander and Vergil to the Tiber, Claudian gives a speaking part to Eridanus (*VI Cons.* 146-200), while the Muses appear in invocation and to organise the games for Theodorus (*Theod.* 270-310). All these divinities are a feature of epic and to this pantheon Claudian adds the emperor as an equivalent to Jupiter, and his court, who play the part of a divine assembly.

The elevation of Honorius to the status of god was a useful and easy transition for Claudian to make. For the epic poet, Honorius was not epic material, being at first too young and later too ineffectual. Furthermore, Claudian wanted to honour his patron Stilicho rather than Honorius.[67] Honorius, therefore, becomes a god while Stilicho is shown to be the epic hero. By portraying Honorius as a quasi-divine figure, a divinity of Late Antique epic, Claudian detached him from any active involvement in government or war.[68] Late Antiquity could readily accept the identification of the emperor with Jupiter: the Jupiter/emperor in Claudian's work is the one who preached detachment from human affairs (*Aen.* 10.104-13) and now exists to receive the prayers of lesser gods and mortals. Jupiter and the emperor share the same functions in Claudian's poems: as in the *Aeneid* Venus approached Jupiter to ask help for her son (*Aen.* 1.227-9), so Roma and Africa ask him for salvation in *De bello Gildonico* (17-200), while equally Roma appears to Honorius in *VI Cons.* 361-425 to beg for his return, suppliant deity to ruling deity. Honorius' implicit divinity is reinforced by the fact that his father, the emperor Theodosius, is treated by Claudian in the same way. When Theodosius was emperor, Roma had gone to him to beg honours for the Anicii brothers (*P&O* 124-63),[69] while after his death, he, with his father, acted as messenger between Olympus and earth (*Gild.* 213-18). With Honorius established as god, exempted from the mundane business of empire,

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[66] For the most part, Claudian compares Stilicho to heroes rather than to gods or, if he does make divine comparisons, he keeps them short. He was careful to protect Stilicho from charges of seeking empire: see Cameron (1970a) 46-9. Christiansen (1969) 16-26 discusses the imagery applied to Stilicho.

[67] Cameron (1970a) 30-63.

[68] As Honorius is directed specifically at *Gild.* 380-5, *IV Cons* 369-74, Heim (1992) 237.

[69] Gods may also appear to mortals, but Honorius really has no existence other than on this divine and decorative level.

Claudian can honour his epic hero and his epic opponents: Stilicho (the epic successor of Theodosius) against Gildo or Alaric or the whole tribe of the Goths.

In the prefaces, we see the establishment of this epic structure. In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, the poet is asleep, dreaming that he is reciting before Jupiter and the assembled gods. When he awakes there is no change. Honorius and his court are blended with the divine gathering and Rome is equated with Olympus:

> en princeps, en orbis apex aequatus Olympo,
> en, quales memini, turba verenda, deos! (*VI Cons.* pr. 23-4).[70]

Similar themes appear in other prefaces. In *In Rufinum,* the *sacra caterva* hearing the poet's song is simultaneously the gods on Parnassus and the emperor's court (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 16). In the preface to *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* the emperor is the *deus* of Rome (*III Cons. pr.* 16) and is compared again to Jupiter in the preface to *Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli.* The juxtaposition of real and unreal through mythological metaphor blurred the distinction between actuality and fiction, the mythological comparison glorifying the real emperor and his court, the real scene giving credibility to the poet's fantasy.

To cast the emperor and his court as Jupiter and the Olympians was part of the glorious theatre of Late Antique ceremonial, and it allowed Claudian to create from the same people an audience and actors. It was, after all, the epic role of the gods to keep themselves apart, to watch the actions of mankind and, occasionally, to intervene.[71] In the prefaces, the emperor as god is summoned to hear the glorious deeds of the heroes, ready to hear of his divine and imperial role within the poem. The myths which Claudian uses to prefigure the victories of Stilicho and the downfall of his enemies emphasise the coming epic treatment of the narrative.

While mythological parallels were also employed by the rhetoricians[72] Claudian expanded their use by extended narrative and detailed comparisons to elevate further his audience, his theme and himself,[73] as illustrated by the preface to the first book of *In*

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[70] For epic echoes and the Gigantomachic theme in this passage, see Dewar (1996) 55-63.
[71] Coleman (1982) 143, Feeney (1991) 46-56.
[72] Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 24.
[73] Fargues (1933) 255-84.

Rufinum.[74] Here, Claudian describes the defeat of the monstrous Python at the hands of Apollo. In the final lines of the preface, Claudian identifies Rufinus as the monster and Stilicho as Apollo:

> nunc alio domini telis Pythone perempto
> convenit ad nostram sacra caterva lyram (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 15-16),

lines which also serve to introduce his audience and compliment them as the divine *sacra caterva*. They are now associated with the gods who came to hear of the death of Python:

> auditoque procul Musarum carmine dulci
> ad Themidis coeunt antra severa dei (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 13-14).

These lines fulfil the various functions which Claudian required of a preface. Programmatically, they introduce the theme of the invective, the downfall of Rufinus, and suggest that Claudian's treatment of this theme will be mythological.[75] They acknowledge those present and honour them by raising them to divine status. Above all, from a poetic point of view, the preface gives strong generic signals. If the nobles of Honorius' court are the gods of Olympus, then it is Claudian who sings the sweet song of the Muses and it is a particularly epic song, the defeat of a monster, the theme of which is summed up in the first three words, *Phoebeo domitus Python*, which give hero, villain and action. The entire passage is a nexus of epic allusion. The story itself, as told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, marks a self-consciously epic passage, intended to highlight the contrast between the heroic Apollo, slayer of the monster, and the lovesick Apollo, rejected by Daphne (*Met.* 1.438-44).[76] Claudian's theme and description are very similar to Ovid's version, but he does not specifically allude to this passage.[77] Instead, he turns to Statius' version of the myth:

> animos advertite, pandam.
> postquam caerulei sinuosa volumina monstri,
> terrigenam Pythona deus septem orbibus atris
> amplexum Delphos squamisque annosa terentem
> robora, Castaliis dum fontibus ore trisulco
> fusu hiat nigro sitiens alimenta veneno,
> perculit, absumptis numerosa in vulnera telis
> Cirrhaeique dedit centum per iugera campi
> vix tandem explicitum (*Theb.* 1.561-9)[78]

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[74] Levy (1971) 1-8.

[75] Apollo as the god of light pitted against the dark monster also prefigures the theme of light and dark in the poem: see Levy (1971) 1-2.

[76] Conte (1994) 108-9.

[77] Although there are allusions to Ovid here, they are taken from other sources: see Eaton (1943) 14. He retains, however, the "epic flavour" of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: see James (1998) 160.

[78] Claudian's use of Statius here is typically playful: while he creates the first preface from two Statian passages, he creates both prefaces (with the exception of *campis*, also in *Theb.* 1.505) from one passage

and combines it with another Statian passage on a different serpent:

> Interea campis, **nemoris** sacer horror Achaei,
>
> terrigena exoritur serpens, **tractuque soluto**
> immanem sese vehit ac post terga relinquit.
> livida fax oculis, tumidi stat in ore **veneni**
> **spuma** virens (*Theb.* 5.505-9).

Claudian's version has many similarities, in imagery and vocabulary:

> Phoebeo domitus Python cum decidit arcu
> membraque Cirrhaeo fudit anhela iugo,
> qui spiris tegeret montes, hauriret hiatu
> flumina, sanguineis tangeret astra iubis,
> iam liber Parnasus erat, **nexuque soluto**
> coeperat erecta surgere fronde **nemus**,
> concussaeque diu spatiosis tractibus orni
> securas ventis explicuere comas,
> et qui vipereo **spumavit** saepe **veneno**
> Cephisos nitidis purior ibat aquis (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 1.-10).[79]

As Bruère notes, the grove in which the action takes place is taken from Lucan (*BC* 5.153-8) while the vocabulary applied to Python suggests other literary snakes, the *sanguineis...iubis* (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 4) reminding the reader of Laocoon's serpents, *sanguineae...iubae* (*Aen.* 2.206-7).[80] In all respects, the passage is an epic pastiche, designed to impress and entertain Claudian's aristocratic audience.

This epic song is the *carmen dulce* (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 13) sung by the Muses, who, by the terms of the mythological simile, represent Claudian himself. In the preface to the second book, Claudian makes a similar claim, asking Stilicho to give time to the Muses, *tenuem Musis...moram* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 16). Levy suggests that *tenuem* is deprecatory, following Horace's use of *tenues grandia* (*C.* 1.6.9) as a *recusatio*.[81] Certainly, Claudian's *tenuis mora* contrasts with the *inmensis curis* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 13) and *longos labores* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 15) of Stilicho. However, it does not suggest any real modesty on the part of the poet and perhaps should be read as a signpost to Alexandrian refinement; the epic quality of Claudian's theme has been emphasised, but he will treat it with poetic delicacy and skill. There is also the rather ironic suggestion that the *tenuis mora* devoted to his poetry will relax even *indomitus Mavors* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 17). *indomitus* picks up *domitus Python* of the

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alone, *Theb.* 1.561-74. Drawing attention to his borrowing with the opening *pandite*, he picks up *campos* (*campi*, *Theb.* 1.568), *Castalios latices* (*Castalibus...fontibus*, *Theb.* 1.565), *Delphis* (*Delphi*, *Theb.* 1.564) and *Delie* (*Delia*, *Theb.* 1.573).

[79] Bruère (1964) 224.

[80] Bruère (1964) 224-5.

[81] Levy (1971) 117-18, cf. Verg. *Geo.* 4.3-7.

first preface and suggests Claudian's real opinion of his power: by the strength of his invective, Python has been brought down; by the beauty of his poetry, even Mars is overcome. The epic persona which Claudian begins to create for himself in this poem will be discussed in detail later; for the present, it is enough to note that in singing of the death of Python in the voice of the Muses, Claudian is making a very specific assertion: not only is he an epic poet, but, as a poet who dares claim that he represents the Muses, he is a brave poet, epic in his own character as well as theme.

The Poet Proves Himself (*Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*)

Even in the treatment of prefatory conventions, Claudian keeps his epic persona before his audience. It was a convention of a proem to express humility or fear of speaking before an exalted audience,[82] Claudian acknowledges and inverts this *topos* by reassuring his listeners that he is capable of the task he has undertaken. In several prefaces, he draws attention to his qualifications, his curriculum vitae, as it were, the exams he has undergone and the prizes he has won.[83] He combines the suggestion of the poetic contest where traditionally the professional poet made his name[84] with poetic testing. As the young Honorius begs his father to be allowed to prove himself (*IV Cons.* 352-68), arguing that he has the ability of Achilles' son Pyrrhus, so Claudian shows that he has been tested and has shown that he is competent to write epic poetry.

In his first imperial panegyric, written on the occasion of Honorius' third consulship, Claudian reveals his epic credentials. The preface to the panegyric describes a young eagle who must stare unblinking into the sun to prove his fitness as Jupiter's weapon bearer. This is a metaphor for the poet, Claudian asserts, who has likewise been tested by the Muses and has won the right to appear before the emperor, Rome's god, *Augusto iudice* (*III Cons. pr.* 18).[85] A similar passage is found in the *Epithalamium* for Honorius and Maria in which Claudian describes Venus' garden:

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[82] In the *Panegyrici Latini*, Pacatus trembles before Theodosius (*PL* II (XII) 1) and Nazarius feels that no words can be adequate to address Constantine (*PL* IV (X) 1).

[83] His acknowledged worthiness and poetic ability are the theme of the prefaces to *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *De consulatu Stilichonis III*, *Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli*, *De bello Getico* and *De raptu Proserpinae*.

[84] These festivals had almost entirely died out by the fourth century, but as a professional poet in search of a patron, Claudian would have been no stranger to competition: see Cameron (1965) 485.

[85] Felgentreu (1999) 78-80.

umbrosumque nemus, quo non admittitur ales,
ni probet ante suos **diva sub iudice** cantus (*Epith.* 62-3).

Here, Venus is judge: *diva sub iudice*.[86] In this poem, the imagery of the panegyric is shorn of its epic features: the *ales* is no eagle and Venus is far removed from Jupiter and his thunderbolts, but the theme is the same.[87] The insistence on a divine judge in both passages suggests the lines from Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* in which the poet declares that neither Orpheus nor Linus could compete with him in song and concludes:

Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum **si iudice** certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat **se iudice** victum (*Ecl.* 4.58-9).

The fourth *Eclogue* had also been written in honour of a consul, Pollio: for Claudian there was no conflict in his suggestion that he had inherited Vergil's poetic superiority.

Singing competitions in literature were not, of course, a feature of epic but are more usually associated with pastoral poetry.[88] However, although the contest in Venus' garden suggests the gentle and harmonious features of pastoral, the testing which the poet undergoes in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* is overtly epic in tone. The description of the training of young eagles[89] suggests to the listener that the poet is creating a simile between the eaglet and the eleven-year-old emperor. The parallel between the young emperor and a young eagle being tested by the *lux magistra* seem obvious:

parvos non aquilis fas est educere fetus
ante fidem **solis** iudiciumque poli.
nam pater, excusso saluit cum germine proles
ovaque maternus rupit hiulca tepor,
protinus **inplumes convertit ad** aethera nidos
et **recto** flammas imperat ore pati.
consulit ardentes **radios** et luce magistra
natorum vires ingeniumque probat.
degenerem refugo torsit qui **lumine** visum,
unguibus hunc saevis ira paterna ferit.
exploratores oculis **qui p**ertulit ignes

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[86] Braden (1979) 219-20.

[87] While the eagle as the bearer of the thunderbolt suggests epic, the assocation of poet and eagle in connection with poetic competition goes back to Pindar who describes the relationship between himself and other poets as an eagle against crows (*O.* 2.154) or against jackdaws (*N.* 3.143): see Bowra (1964) 6. For Pindar, the supreme swiftness and flight of the eagle represented the similar skills of the athlete and the poet: see Steiner (1986) 104.

[88] Verg. *Ecl.* 3 and 7, Theoc. *Id.* 5, 6, 8, 9. Such pastoral poetry, however, was a highly self-conscious genre: see Martindale (1997c) 107-9; Elder (1961) 389 notes that was often used to highlight poetic virtuosity. For Vergil's employment of pastoral as a medium for panegyric and Statius' imitation of this in the *Silvae*, Newlands (2002) 37.

[89] For the eagle in an epic simile, cf. *Gild.* 467-71. Olechowska (1978) 196 notes that the simile is modelled on Verg. *Aen.* 11.751-2; cf. use of Homer *Il.* 12.200-5: see Goldberg (1995) 141-4.

sustinuitque acie nobiliore **diem**,
nutritur **volucrum**que potens et fulminis heres,
gesturus summo tela trisulca **Iovi**. (*III Cons.* pr. 1-14).

The vocabulary is drawn from the language of government (*iudicium* (2), *imperat* (6)) and nobility; a weakling is *degenerem*, unworthy of his family (9),while the successful eagle displays his aristocratic gaze, *acie nobiliore* (12). The one who can endure will represent Jupiter as king of the birds and bearer of the thunderbolt (13-14). The source of the passage is even more explicitly epic, being a double allusion to Lucan and Silius.[90] Claudian's lines are very close to the Lucan model:

utque **Iovis volucer**, calido cum protulit ovo
inplumes natos, **solis convertit ad** ortus:
qui potuere pati **radios** et **lumine recto**
sustinuere diem, caeli servantur in usus,
qui Phoebo cessere, iacent (*BC* 9.902-6).

However, that he is also indebted to Silius[91] is shown by details which appear in Silius and not Lucan:

armiger haud aliter magni Iovis, anxia nido
cum dignos nutrit gestanda ad fulmina fetus,
obversam spectans ora ad Phaethontia prolem,
explorat dubios Phoebea lampade natos (*Pun.* 10.108-11).

Lucan's lines describe the journey of Cato's army through the desert while the Silius passage is more epic yet and tells of the fight of Crista and his six sons against Hannibal. Knowledge of the earlier passages would emphasise the epic nature of this test but Claudian's lines can stand alone. The image seems to make such an emphatic and detailed comparison between the young eagle and Honorius that when Claudian delivers the punchline and claims that it is he who has been tested, not in the bright light but in the dark caves of the Muses (15), he succeeds in honouring both himself and the emperor.[92] Primed to expect a compliment to Honorius, the audience is instead presented with one to the poet while Claudian quickly elevates the emperor even higher: if he himself is the eagle, then Honorius as now his judge is the sun. It is the poet who has faced the epic testing and has succeeded. With hindsight, the test acquires literary connotations: the

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[90] Felgentreu (1999) 79 gives additional verbal parallels. The story itself can be found in Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* 9.34, Lucian *Icaromenippus* 14, Pliny *NH* 10.3.10, Aelian *Hist. Anim.*2.26, 9.3.

[91] Eden (1999) 637.

[92] The concept of the eagle metaphor being applied to both poet and addressee, with deliberate ambiguity, has been noted in the work of Pindar: see Pfeijffer 1994. Here Claudian uses the ambiguity to set up and thwart the audience's expectations.

poet's *ingenium* (8) has been proved; no degenerate, *degenerem* (9), he has met the challenge of his genre.[93]

The Epic Poet (*De raptu Proserpinae*)

Having been tested, Claudian emphasises his poetic bravery throughout his work. The preface to *De bello Getico* suggests that the testing is continual (*Get.* 10), while the prefaces to the panegyric on Theodorus and the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* insist that the poet is up to the task. The most sustained argument of poetic daring occurs in the preface to the first book of *De raptu Proserpinae* which, taken in conjuction with the preface to the second book, associates the poet with Orpheus, drawing parallels between the powers of the poet and those of the hero, and implicitly attributing those powers to Claudian.

The preface to the first book is a metaphorical treatment of a poet's emotions and his bravery in attempting to write epic poetry, equated with the courage of the first man to make a ship and put to sea.[94] Claudian tells of the initial terror and eventual triumph of the first sailor, dwelling most of all on his courage, emphasising the words *ausus* and *primus*, his daring and the fact that he was first.[95] Although Claudian does not explicitly connect the writer of the poem with the first sailor, the comparison between ship and poem is a familiar *topos* in all genres.[96] In this case, Claudian associates a ship striking out into deep water and the poet embarking on an epic poem, the most difficult genre of all.[97] For Claudian's own work, the points of comparison match perfectly. The sailor, nervously staying close to the shore, represents the young Claudian, practising his craft on such works as "On a Strap embroidered by Serena for Honorius' Horse" (*c.m.* xlviii). Gradually the sailor plucks up his courage and heads for the open sea, just as Claudian

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[93] Felgentreu (1999) 80.
[94] Hall (1969) 188. For this metaphor as a prefatory *topos*, Janson (1964) 146-7.
[95] Connor (1993) 237-8.
[96] For poem and ship as *topos* in various poetic genres, Pindar, *P.* 10.51-2, *O.* 12.51, Ovid *Fasti* 1.2-3, Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.87-9, *Theb.* 12.809, Prop. 3.3.23-5, 3.9.2-3, 3.9.35-6. Cf. Dougherty (2001) 19-37, Albis (1996) 43-66. Claudian also describes the *audax Argo* in the opening to *De bello Getico*: although the image is eventually revealed to be a parallel between the helmsman Tiphys and Stilicho, Claudian may have intended to tease his audience, relying on their familiarity with the poetic *topos* to establish a connection between the daring of the ship and the poet. Gruzelier (1993) 81 suggests that Statius may be the model for this passage.
[97] Cf. Ver. *Aen.* 9.80-1, Hor. *C.* 1.3.

dared to embark on a full scale epic, *De raptu Proserpinae*, the phrase *pandere vela* bridging the literal and metaphorical meanings.[98] Once embarked, the sailor and poet are verbally united in their daring, the first seafarer growing in bravery, *audacia crevit* (*Rapt.* 1. *pr.* 9), while the poet tells his story *audaci cantu* (*Rapt.* 1.3).

Daring is required for the poet is expressly seeking out forbidden ways. In relating his fears for Vergil's epic venture, the poetic journey of the *Aeneid*, Horace used the image of the first sailor to describe the poet's audacity: *illi robur et aes triplex/circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci/commisit pelago ratem/primus* (*C.* 1.3.9-12).[99] He underlines the fact that the sailor was acting contrary to the will of the gods:

> **audax** omnia perpeti
> gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
> **audax** Iapeti genus
> ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit (*C.* 1.3.25-8).

His condemnation is ambiguous: as the descendant of Prometheus, man by his courage acquires great gifts and great punishment. Similarly, Claudian acknowledges that he is trespassing, *quas natura negat praebuit arte vias* (*Rapt.* 1 *pr.* 4), but *ars* is his justification: it is the role of the poet to open up frontiers and unknown territories.[100]

The metaphor of the first sailor is not simply an epic assertion, creating a heroic persona for the poet, but also invokes the myth of the *Argonautica*, the epic which related the voyage of the first ship, the Argo, an epic embodiment of mankind's courage. Valerius Flaccus began his *Argonautica* in terms which may have provided a model for Claudian:[101]

> **prima** deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis
> fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras
> **ausa** sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
> **rumpere** flammifero tandem consedit Olympo (*Argo.* 1.1-4),

both poets emphasising the originality of the journey, or epic, and the courage required:[102]

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[98] Gruzelier (1993) 81. *Pandite* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 1) is used to introduce invocation to Muses. Cf. also Ovid's wider canvas, *velis...maioribus*, with which the second book of the *Fasti* opens (*Fast.* 2.3) and the deep water of epic, *Aen.* 1.34, 9.80-1, *Geo.* 2.39-46. The *topos* was not confined to epic: cf. Pindar *P.* 10.51-4; later Claudian's contemporary, St Jerome, described his *oratio* progressing from shallow to deep water (*Ep.* xiv.10) and remained popular throughout the Middle Ages: see Curtius (1953) 128-30.

[99] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 40-1, Elder (1952), Lyne (1995) 79-81; for influence on Claudian, Felgentreu (1999) 165.

[100] Cf. Dougherty (2001) 6 on the journey of Odysseus.

[101] For a discussion of the epic features and literary allusiveness of Valerius' opening, Davis (1993).

[102] Malamud & McGuire (1993) 196 note that it is proved, in Catullus as well as Valerius, that the Argo cannot have been the first ship and suggest that for Valerius, the Argo "is a metaphor for the impossibility

> inventa **primus** secuit qui nave profundum
> et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
> qui dubiis **ausus** committere flatibus alnum
> quas natura negat praebuit vias...
> iam vagus **inrumpit** pelagus caelumque secutus
> Aegaeas hiemes Ioniumque domat (*Rapt.* 1. *pr.* 1-4, 11-12).

The poet/sailor here is unnamed; that Orpheus, who sailed with the Argo, is the theme of the second preface confirms the Argonautic source of the first preface and transforms the conventional epic assertions of originality and daring into a consideration of the nature and power of poetic *ars*. In a shorter poem, Claudian had compared himself to Orpheus (*c.m.* xxxi.1.34);[103] here, in the dedication to Florentinus, he makes the same comparison:

> Thracius haec vates. sed tu Tirynthius alter,
> Florentine, mihi (*Rapt.* 2. *pr.* 49-50).[104]

Orpheus is presented in this preface as an epic poet, inspired to tell the heroic deeds of Hercules, the quintessential poet singing of the quintessential hero[105] yet it is clear that the role of the singer is Claudian's true concern and that Hercules' achievements are no greater than Orpheus' power over nature. Exploring the development of the Orphic theme in *De raptu Proserpinae*, Christine Schmitz argues that Orpheus' control over natural forces (*Rapt.* 2 *pr.* 17-28) is the ultimate expression of poetic power, and is prefigured in the actions of the sailor in the first preface. Orpheus tames wind and waves, *venti frenantur et undae* (*Rapt.* 2 *pr.* 18) as the first sailor overcame the sea, *Ioniumque domat* (*Rapt.* 1 *pr.* 12).[106] As the sailor had to cross forbidden ways, so Orpheus had penetrated to the Underworld and returned alive; his descent and return can be seen as an allegory for the artistic boundaries which the poet must cross. Combining the roles of poet and hero,[107] Orpheus is both inside and outside the text; as poet he represents Claudian's epic endeavour, as mythological figure in the text (although only in the preface: he remains always on the boundary), his story has relevance for the myth of Proserpina.

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of creating a truly original text". Cf. Hershkowitz (1998b) 35-6. The irony cannot have been lost on Claudian, making the same literary journey several hundred years later.

[103] For Claudian's debt to the Orphic *Argonautica*, Cameron (1970a) 309-15. Cf. Fargues (1933) 268-74, Charlet (2000b) 187-9. On the importance of Orphic *Argonautica*, Vian (1987). Nelis (2005a) discusses texts used by the author which are of relevance for later epic writers.

[104] For the historical identification of Florentinus, Hall (1969) 95-7. In his treatment of Hercules' greatness, Orpheus like Claudian seems to follow the guidelines of panegyric, beginning with Hercules' infancy and moving on methodically to his deeds: see Gruzelier (1993) 156.

[105] Hercules is the "epic hero *par excellence*" according to Hardie (1993a) 66. One may note in passing that there is in existence a *Laus Herculis* which has been attributed to Claudian (ed. Guex, 1999).

[106] Schmitz (2004) 43-4. On reactions to Orpheus' song, Nelis (2005a) 5-6.

[107] Albis (1996) 29.

De raptu Proserpinae is a poem about the breaking of boundaries and the reversal of nature,[108] themes which are prefigured in the line *quas natura negat...vias* (1 *pr.* 4). The poem itself is concerned with change, as Pluto's desire for a wife combines with Jupiter's decision to advance mankind by ending the Saturnian golden age. The upheaval begins with the violent *inrumpit* of the first preface (1. *pr.* 11) and includes the explosive charge of Pluto into the upper world and the abduction of Proserpina into Hades as well as the physical rape.[109] Nature is denied when Ceres refuses fertility to the world and reversed in the blossoming of the Underworld at the marriage of Pluto. The significance of Orpheus in this connection is profound. As Argonaut, he represents the evils of that first journey and the termination of the golden age;[110] as poet, he embodies the necessity and inevitability of the journey and its eventual benefit to mankind. Horace's Orpheus had led mankind from savagery:[111]

> silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
> caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus (*AP* 391-2)

and it is this belief in the poet's power to civilise which is central to Claudian's poem.

As a parallel to the sailor of the first preface, Orpheus is ostensibly associated with Claudian, the poet of this epic. Verbal and thematic parallels, however, link him with Proserpina. Her abduction by Pluto can be equated to the death of Eurydice,[112] yet like Orpheus she was a living being in the Underworld. Of more signficance is her initial appearance in the poem, singing at her work, *domum tenero mulcens Proserpina cantu* (1.246). As Schmitz notes, the phrase *cantu mulcere* is frequently applied to Orpheus.[113] Furthermore, the tapestry on which she is working marks her as an artist and creator.[114] She is weaving the cosmos (*Rapt.* 1.248-68), the ecphrasis linking her initially with

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[108] Wheeler (1995a) 124-7; on the gender conflict of the poem, Dupraz (2003).

[109] With reference to the Argonautic allusion, Proserpina becomes the *praeda* of Pluto (*Rapt.* 1.288) as Polyxena was of Achilles (Cat. 64.362) and Medea was of Jason (Ovid, *Her.* 12.111), Davis (1999) 49, 54.

[110] Davis (1990) 47 describes the voyage of the Argo "as primal fault, fall from grace and loss of the golden age, breaking of the bonds of kinship as a reflection of the breaking of barriers in nature, and a longing to return to the simple joys of paradise. Cf. Konstan (1993) 61, Malamud and McGuire (1993) 195, Hardie (1993a) 83.

[111] In the *Georgics*, Orpheus can be interpreted as a Golden Age figure: see Johnston (1980) 106-20, Stehle (1974) 364-68.

[112] Wheeler (1995a) 124-5.

[113] Schmitz (2004) 46.

[114] Cf. Ovid's Arachne (*Met.* 6.1-145): see Harries (1990). See also Barchiesi (1997c) 41-2, Wheeler (1990) 50, Rosati (2004). For the association of Arachne and Proserpina, see the different interpretations of Slavitt (1997) 49 and Heslin (1998).

Orpheus' cosmological song[115] and ultimately with Claudian, who is describing her work in his poetry. Orpheus had won Pluto's favour by his song; when Pluto abducts Proserpina, her words soothe his natural ferocity (*Rapt.* 2.273-4), and in the Underworld itself, the inhabitants become festive at her arrival, song replacing lamentation (2.329-30).[116] Pluto promises her an ideal life, a land inhabited by the *aurea progenies* (2.286) of Elysium, a golden age of her own. As Acheron and Cocytus flow with wine and milk in celebration (2.348-53), it is apparent that the golden age indeed has come to the Underworld because of Proserpina.

In calming the fierce Pluto, Proserpina has echoed the deeds of Orpheus since Pluto had been as unmoveable as the mountains which leaned down to hear the poet's song (*Rapt.* 2 *pr.* 19-20). The golden age which has blossomed in the Underworld reflects the new age awaiting mankind, one created from wisdom rather than ignorant contentment and centred on the skill, *ars*, embodied in Proserpina, Orpheus and, by extension, Claudian. As artists and creators they possess the power to bring civilisation. Jupiter's plan for man's development

> provocet ut segnes animos rerumque remotas
> ingeniosa **vias** paulatim exploret egestas
> utque **artes** pariat sollertia, nutriat usus (*Rapt.* 3.30-2)[117]

combines the goal, *vias*, and method, *ars*, of the sailor in the first preface, who finds new lands, *vias*, by his skill, *ars* (1 *pr.* 4). Once again, Claudian glorifies the poet as creator: the powers over nature shared by Orpheus and Proserpina are also his. His Argo/poem will bring about the end of the golden age but there is no pessimism in this version: the triumph of the sailor heralds the necessary progress for mankind, symbolised by the civilising power of poetic *ars*.

The Epic Poet (*Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*)

Claudian's identification of Orpheus as a poet of encomiastic epic is repeated and extended in *Epistula ad Serenam* when the reader is reminded that the mother of Orpheus is Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry. In this short poem, which thanks Serena for

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[115] Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.496-511, *OA* 1.419-31: see Nelis (2005a) 4-6.
[116] Schmitz (2004) 46-50.
[117] Schmitz (2004) 41.

arranging the poet's marriage, Orpheus/Claudian is both an epic and a court poet, sponsored by and praising Serena/Juno, and singing of the war with the Giants (*c.m.* xxxi.25-8). In *De raptu Proserpinae*, Hercules, the greatest of epic heroes, had been his theme, now with the *Gigantomachy* he takes up the most epic of all themes.[118] Claudian had himself written a Greek and a Latin version of the *Gigantomachy*, fragments of which survive.[119] As a metaphor for usurpation, or any challenge to stable government, the myth appears frequently in his work.[120] In this short poem, however, it also encapsulates the qualities of encomiastic epic, being simultaneously the greatest of all epics and a panegyric performed by the court poet of Olympus in honour of Juno's husband: *proeliaque altisoni referens Phlegraea mariti* (*c.m.* xxxi.27).

The battle of the Giants appears again in the preface to the panegyric on Honorius' sixth consulship in a skilful combination of encomiastic and epic themes. The emperor Honorius has come to Rome for the first time since he was a small child and the panegyric addresses Rome as much as the emperor. The preface is a priamel,[121] describing the various dreams of different men: the huntsman dreaming of woods, the judge of lawsuits.[122] The poet is also preoccupied with his daily employment and dreams of singing to Jupiter and the assembly of the gods. When he awakes, he finds that it was no dream and that before him is the emperor and his court, a *turba verenda* (*VI Cons. pr.* 24). There is no attempt to disguise the flattery: to associate the emperor and Jupiter was a *topos* of imperial ideology. The parallel is taken further and Rome is united with Olympus as true mistress of the world: *en orbis apex aequatus Olympo* (*VI Cons. pr.* 23). Claudian's care to give each point of his simile an actual comparison strengthens his self-portrait as epic poet. He shows himself romantically harassed by his poetic studies:

> me quoque Musarum studium sub nocte silenti
> artibus adsuetis sollicitare solet (*VI Cons. pr.* 11-12).[123]

His subject matter is that most instantly recognisable epic theme, the battle of the Giants:

> Enceladus mihi carmen erat victusque Typhoeus
> (hic subit Inarimen, hunc gravis Aetna domat) (*VI Cons. pr.* 17-18).

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[118] Hardie (1986) 85-157 discusses the importance of the Gigantomachy as a political and cosmic metaphor. To write a Gigantomachy had become synomymous with writing epic; as a *topos* of epic *recusatio*, see Innes (1979).

[119] Cameron (1970a) 467-9.

[120] See Chapter 5 for a full discussion.

[121] For the priamel as a feature of encomium, Bundy (1986) 5-13.

[122] Cf. Petr. *Sat. fr.* 30, also Lucr. *DRN* 4.962ff and Nonnus *D.* 42.325ff: see Dewar (1996) 48-51, Race (1982) 157-8.

[123] As prefatory *topos*, see Janson (1964) 97, 147-8.

As sung to Jupiter, it is also encomiastic since Olympus was victorious. The gigantomachic image prefigures the theme of the poem: the epic and doomed struggle of the Giants against Olympus becomes the epic and doomed struggle of Alaric against the empire. In the poem itself, the comparison is explicit as the river Eridanus rises to upbraid the defeated Alaric:

> o cunctis Erebi dignissime poenis,
> tune Giganteis urbem temptare deorum
> adgressus furiis? (*VI Cons.* 184-6).

The poem may be entitled "Panegyric" but in the mind of the poet, it is clearly an epic.

Claudian confirms his status as epic poet by the metaphor used to describe his awakening from the dream:

> additur ecce fides nec me mea lusit imago,
> inrita nec falsum somnia misit ebur (*VI Cons. pr.* 21-2).

The image is taken from the sixth book of the *Aeneid* in which the poet described the two doors of sleep, the one of horn which sent true dreams and the other of ivory:[124]

> altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
> sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes (*Aen.* 6.896-7).

For Aeneas, these doors mark the transition from the Underworld back to the world of men.[125] For Claudian, they allow him to transcend the boundary between the real world and Olympus, and to mingle fact and flattery under the guise of truth. Claudian had indeed written on the wars with the Giants both in Greek and in Latin; if this was true, then, by means of the Vergilian image, all could be true: the quasi-divine audience and the epic bard about to tell of an epic struggle.

The preface to *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* illustrates many of the components of Claudian's claim to write epic. Poet, audience and subject are elevated to the level of Olympus, subject matter becomes the greatest epic of all, and the whole is confirmed by a detailed allusion to the greatest epic poet. As has been shown, much of Claudian's epic claim depends upon his use of allusion, whether to the different retellings of the *Argonautica* or to a specific version of Apollo's defeat of Python. The use of mythological comparisons alone was also a feature of prose panegyrics and, although Claudian embellishes his similes in a manner very different from that of the rhetoricians,

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[124] The image is originally Homeric (*Od.* 19.562-7): see Austin (1977) 274-6.
[125] Dewar (1996) 60-1. For the complexities of this passage, West (1987) 224-38.

alone they are not enough to validate Claudian's assertion to be an epic poet. Rather it is the manner in which Claudian presents himself and his themes, his consciousness of earlier epic writers and their creation of the tradition as well as his own contribution to the genre, which confirm his claim. Two prefaces in particular proclaim his debt to his predecessors; together they epitomize Claudian's allusive style and express his opinion of his own work and suggest the extent of the role of the poet.

The All-Purpose Muse (*Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro Consuli*)

The earlier of these prefaces, written to celebrate the consulship of Mallius Theodorus, was recited in January 399.[126] It opens with an invocation to the Muse and largely concerns the poet's hesitation in addressing so splendid a gathering, together with an encomiastic passage on the power of the emperor. This passage, which takes up nearly half the preface, would appear to emphasise Claudian's role as court poet, creator of panegyrics. He draws attention to the *maiestas* of the assembly before him (*Theod. pr.* 7) and he describes his understanding of the task in front of him in the simile of the eagles. Claudian tells how Jupiter sent two eagles to measure the earth[127] and concludes that such action is not necessary for Honorius as the assembly before him is the measure of the world:

> hoc ego concilio collectum metior orbem;
> hoc video coetu quidquid ubique micat (*Theod. pr.* 19-20).

More precisely, his description of the assembly is the measure. That Claudian sees himself as the eagles is shown by the vocabulary – *metior*, *video* – and by the earlier lines in which his poem will travel like the eagles, *omnibus audimur terris mundique per aures/ibimus* (*pr.* 9-10). Although the eagle has appeared elsewhere in specifically epic contexts, here the image suggests a different literary model: Pindar, the eagle of Thebes.[128] Pindar employed the simile of eagle not as a parallel for birdsong but because the eagle symbolises swiftness and strength, his flight resembling the journey of the

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[126] For the character of Theodorus, Werner (1975) 60-71. Cameron (1970a) 125-7 describes the historical background to the panegyric. Cf. Felgentreu (1999) 94.
[127] For the source of this story, Strabo 9.3.6, Pausanias 10.16.3.
[128] Bowra (1964) 9-11. Felgentreu (1999) 99 notes that the myth goes back to Pindar.

poet.[129] In a poem concerned with *fama* (*pr.* 3), both that of the poet and his audience, Pindar was an appropriate model.[130]

The first half of the passage, however, while also concerned with the splendour of the assembly, draws attention also to Claudian's epic intentions, giving strong – if ambiguous – generic signals. The opening word *audebisne* immediately challenges the poet's Muse, *audebisne* suggesting the same theme as the preface to *De raptu Proserpinae*, that the poem required will be a challenge, one which must be met with daring, and implies that something more than the usual is necessary: Vergil's *paulo maiora* (*Ecl.* 4.1) perhaps, a song in honour of a consul, *consulis urget amor* (*pr.* 10). The opening lines summarise the vocabulary of a *carmen heroum*, with references to *fama* and fighting:

> audebisne, precor, tantae subiecta catervae,
> inter tot proceres, nostra Thalia, loqui?
> nec te fama vetat, vero quam celsius auctam
> vel servasse labor vel minuisse pudor?
> an tibi continuis crevit fiducia castris
> totaque iam vatis pectora miles habet? (*Theod. pr.* 1-6).

Soldier and poet are united: the reference to military service is presumably a poetic one and refers to the two book invective against Rufinus, written in 397, and the epic *De bello Gildonico* of 398.

The references to military/epic training, however, are deliberately misleading: Claudian is not required to write a *carmen heroum* in this case. Since Theodorus is a scholar persuaded to come out of studious retirement in order to hold the consulship, Claudian turns to didactic rather than political epic as his model. As will be seen, much of the poem is a meditation on the best life a man can lead, for himself and for the State,[131] and Theodorus is shown to have found a life of contentment for himself in terms strongly reminiscent of the *beata vita* of Vergil and Lucretius.[132] Although on the whole, classical authors did not distinguish generically between didactic and other epic,[133] it can be argued

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[129] Steiner (1986) 104.

[130] Cameron (1970a) 306-7 notes that Pindar was read in the fourth century, but as regards Claudian's familiarity with Greek poets in general, concludes that there is not enough evidence to argue knowledge. However, Newland's words on Statius could seem to be written equally for Claudian, as she asserts that the "*Silvae* as a whole have a Pindaric sweep that...powerfully elevates the occasions and topics of their verse through a rhetoric of luxury and magnificence...Statius shares with Pindar the search for an authoritative voice that interweaves the honour of the patron with that of the poet": see Newlands (2002) 31-32.

[131] The importance of the Golden Age in this poem will be discussed in full in Chapter 6.

[132] Most recently Nelis (2004), see also Gale (2000) 38-44, Galinsky (1996) 91-5, Smolenaars (1987), Boyle (1986) 57-8, Stehle (1974).

[133] With the exception of Aristotle, *Poet.* 1447b13-20: see Laird (2004) 28, Gale (2004b) xii-xiii.

that certain stylistic features pertain particularly to didactic. Volk, for example, lists four didactic criteria: explicit didactic intent, teacher-student constellation, poetic self-consciousness and poetic simultaneity[134] all of which are present to a greater or lesser extent. The didactic intent is evident from the opening passage, in which Claudian lectures Theodorus and his audience on the nature of virtue (*Theod.* 1-9),[135] and from the summary of philosophies which Theodorus has studied (*Theod.* 68-112).[136] The student-teacher role is also present, Claudian being the first teacher in his discourse on virtue, and *Iustitia* showing Theodorus where his duty lies (*Theod.* 135-97). Poetic simultaneity is present from the preface, *cerne, audimur* (*pr.* 9-10), as well as from the fact that much of the poem is narrated in the present tense. The remaining condition is that of poetic self-consciousness which, in this preface, takes the form of generic preoccupation. In only a few lines, Claudian moves from heroic to didactic epic, perhaps also suggesting his debt to lyric encomia in the reference to the eagle.

These prefatory conventions - a modest hesitation, a *captatio benevolentiae* and an invocation to a Muse[137] - focus attention on Claudian's involvement with generic manipulation. Above all, his choice of Muse raises questions. Although Platnauer translates these lines as "Wilt dare to sing, my Muse, when so great, so august an assembly shall be thy critic?",[138] the original is not so straightforward. Claudian does not simply address "the Muse" but one particular Muse, in this case, Thalia. This is not the only instance of an invocation to the Muses in Claudian's work. He is troubled by their epic inspiration in the preface to *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* while in the second book of *In Rufinum* he addresses them as a body: *pandite defensum reduces Helicona sorores* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 1).[139] In this poem, however, Thalia is singled out as his inspiration. She is *nostra Thalia* and, three years later, again as *nostra Thalia*, inspires him for the epic *De bello Getico*. Assuming that he is not merely picking a Muse at random, why Thalia?

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[134] Volk (2002) 40. Cf. Fowler (2000) 205.
[135] This is also within the encomiastic tradition of giving instruction: see Moles (1990), West (1978) 3-23.
[136] Fargues (1933) 132.
[137] Felgentreu (1999) 95, Werner (1975) 119-20.
[138] Platnauer (1963) 337.
[139] Felgentreu (1999) 75 suggests that Claudian is here alluding to Horace *C.* 3.4.37-40, and, from the Horatian *utcumque mecum vos eritis* (*C.* 3.4.29), is guaranteeing himself the perpetual attendance of the Muses. It seems more likely that he is using the phrase as a specifically Vergilian (and therefore epic) invocation, alluding to *Aen.* 7.641, 10.163: see Curtius (1953) 232.

The distinct spheres of influence of the Muses had been long established[140] and Claudian acknowledges the tradition in this very poem, placing Theodorus, the philosopher and scholar, under the direction of Urania when he is studying the movement of the stars (*Theod.* 274-5). Urania is not responsible for Claudian's poetry as his Muse specifically inspires epic:

> an tibi continuis crevit fiducia castris
> totaque iam vatis pectora miles habet? (*Theod. pr.* 5-6)

and seems eager to inspire more, *nimius consulis urget amor!* (*Theod. pr.* 10). Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, or even Clio who presided over history would seem a more likely choice than Thalia here; Calliope, in the guise of Orpheus' mother, has already been his inspiration for a Gigantomachy.[141]

Thalia's sphere of influence was, for the most part, pastoral and comic poetry.[142] To Statius she is wanton, *lasciva Thalia* (*Silv.* 2.1.116), while Martial describes her as presiding over feasts and the reading of his books late into the night (4.8.11-12). She inspires Martial again when he sings of pastoral imagery (9.26.3-4) but he specifies that she is *parva Musa* (9.26.8). Most notably, Vergil places her in pastoral scenes in his sixth *Eclogue* as *nostra Thalia* (*Ecl.* 6.2). In this context she acquires a very specific generic role as Vergil's first Muse, the goddess who inspired his slight poetry:

> prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
> nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalea.
> cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
> vellit et admonuit: "pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
> pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen." (*Ecl.* 6.1-6).

The lines make it clear that Thalia is not a suitable guide for themes of *reges et proelia.* In the *Eclogue*, Thalia is a slight creature, like Martial's *parva Musa*, to be invoked *tenui harundine* (*Ecl.* 6.8). Her finespun song, *deductum carmen*,[143] is in specific contrast to the fat sheep (*Ecl.* 6.4-5) and, by implication, to the large-scale *perpetuum carmen* of epic. She represents Vergil's *recusatio*, his refusal to sing of the praises of Varus and of grim wars, *tristia bella* (*Ecl.* 6.7).

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[140] Barchiesi (1991) 10-13, Curtius (1953) 228-32, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 282-3.

[141] *c.m.* xxxi. Calliope and Clio do appear in the panegyric to Theodorus together with Erato, but only in organising the games in his honour: they are not distinguished generically in any way: see Werner (1975) 252, 254, 256. One could argue, however, that given the invocation to Erato in *Aen.* 7.37, following Apollonius *Argo.* 3.1, these Muses could be described as the epic Muses (see Curtius (1953) 232), who with the didactic Urania and the augmented Thalia, are the inspiration for the poem.

[142] Berg (1974) 94-5.

[143] Servius glossed *deductum* as: *translatio a lana quae deducitur in tenuitatem*: see Coleman (1977) 175-6, Claudsen (1994) 174-5. Cf. for example Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.225, Cic. *Or.* 20, Quint. 10.1.44, Prop. 3.1.7-8.

The generic relevance of the sixth *Eclogue* with its emphasis on the Hellenistic virtue of the *carmen deductum*, was well known to Claudian and his treatment of Vergil's slight Thalia deserves serious consideration. He takes the Vergilian image of fineness – *deductum* (*Ecl.* 6.5), *tenui* (*Ecl.* 6.8) - and literally inflates it. The fourth century Muse, like Vergil's *nostra Thalia* grows large, her reputation is increased, *auctam* (*Theod. pr.* 3). Claudian tells how her confidence grew, *fiducia crevit* (*pr.* 5), with time in the camp, so that now she is to look at the majesty and might of Rome before her and the whole world is to hear her poetry. This is no shy retiring country Muse – this Thalia is elbowing her way into the limelight.

Vergil's Thalia may have been excused from singing of *reges et proelia* but Vergil was not being entirely honest about the separation of slight and mighty themes. The *recusatio* to Varus in *Eclogue* 4 is itself an encapsulation of encomiastic epic themes:[144]

> namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
> Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella (*Ecl.* 6.6-7)

and, by the introduction of this theme into her world, Thalia is associated with encomium. Nor is this the first time. In the fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil deliberately invokes the pastoral Muses to sing more serious themes, *Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!* (*Ecl.* 4.1), themes intended to honour a consul (*Ecl.* 4.3), and so brought panegyric into pastoral. His lead was followed: Newlands argues that Statius took the title *Silvae* for his collection of short panegyrical poems from Vergil's programmatic use of *silvae sint dignae consule* (*Ecl.* 4.3).[145] By Late Antiquity, then, Thalia had a certain amount of experience in encomium.

Like Vergil's Muse, Claudian's Thalia was with the poet at the start of his career. In a poem addressed to Probinus, Claudian recalls his first Latin panegyric addressed to Probinus and his brother Olybrius, his introduction to the imperial court:

> Romanos bibimus primum te consule fontes
> et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togae (*c.m.* xli.13-14).[146]

Claudian's Thalia, then, has been with him from the beginning, a Greek Muse who donned the Latin toga as he himself, once a Greek poet, now writes Latin. She has grown

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[144] For the *recusatio* as the Augustan method of encomium, Newlands (2002) 3.
[145] Newlands (2002) 36-7. Lucan also wrote ten books of *Silvae* which are lost.
[146] Cameron (1970a) 6-7, Fargues (1933) 12.

with his theme, living in the camp, as he says, to the extent that she is now at ease with epic themes. When he comes later to write an epic on the war with the Goths, Thalia was his Muse without qualification:

> post resides annos longo velut excita somno
> Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris (*Goth. pr.* 1-2).

Or perhaps there was some qualification. Claudian was not the only poet to suggest that Thalia could adapt herself to more serious themes. The writers of the *Culex* and *Ciris* suggest the same, the *Culex* connecting Thalia with *gracilis* and *tenuis*, her poetry with sport, *ludere*:

> **lusimus**, Octavi, **gracili** modulante Thalia
> atque ut araneoli **tenuem** formavimus orsum (*Culex* 1-2)[147]

while the *Ciris* moves from *gracilis* to *magnus*:

> non equidem, quamvis interdum **ludere** nobis
> et **gracilem** molli libeat pede claudere versum;
> sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo (*Ciris* 19-21).[148]

The more serious themes facing Thalia in these poems are hardly *reges et proelia* in the usual sense but, even if only mock-epic (or, in the case of *Ciris*, *epyllion*), are still epic. We do not know what her previous work involved: since these works were attributed to Vergil,[149] this is probably a reference to bucolic. What is of importance here is the fact that Thalia can preside over a higher genre of literature, even if it is only an epic concerning a gnat[150] – that she could perhaps to some extent be a transitional Muse, a cross-over Muse. This is not to suggest that Claudian is making such drastic experiments as writing Vergilian-style epic in prose or turning one of the *Panegyrici Latini* into hexameters.[151] Rather, Claudian recognised very clearly that, although epic, his poetry was derived from various generic sources and that Thalia, as Vergil's Muse of generic selection, was the appropriate inspiration for such work. The preface to Claudian's *De bello Getico* supports this suggestion. His Thalia is to enjoy Roman song, *Romanis fruitur choris* (*Get. pr.* 2). As the eagles in the preface to the panegyric on Theodorus may suggest Pindar, the Theban eagle, so here the word *choris* may suggest the lyrics of Pindar and the epic/encomiastic/ceremonial nature of Claudian's poetry. The repeated invocations to Thalia in ceremonial panegyric and epic would appear to suggest

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[147] For Alexandrianisms of *Culex*, Berg (1974) 95-6.
[148] On proem of *Ciris*, Goodyear (1984) 798.
[149] Tarrant (1997) 58, Most (1987).
[150] For this *ludus* as mock-epic or parody, Barrett (1976).
[151] For genre crossing, Barchiesi (2001). Cf. Cairns (1972).

Claudian's versatility. Vergil could allow his Muse to refuse work inappropriate to her, but his fourth-century descendant needed an adaptable Muse – a Muse of all work - who had turned from her own slight themes to celebrating the epic deeds of the mighty with the skill of an accomplished panegyrist.

The Power of the Poet (*De consulatu Stilichonis III*)

The association of epic poetry and military service presented in the preface to the panegyric on Theodorus is developed to the extent that the soldier overtakes the poet. In the prologue to the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis*, through association with Ennius, Claudian sends himself out into battle. This is the only separate preface in the three book panegyric, the first two books containing hexameter proems, and is specifically a preface only to the third book.[152] In the first book, Claudian describes Stilicho's military conquests in all parts of the world while in the second, he appeals to a gentler Muse, *mitior Musa* (*Stil.* 2.5), an unspecified Muse, to tell of his hero's virtues. The third book celebrates Stilicho's triumph over Gildo and this triumph is anticipated in the preface by the reference to Hannibal's downfall. On one level, the preface describes the relationship between poet and patron, on another, the relationship between Claudian and his epic predecessors. Structurally and thematically, it resembles the preface to the first book of *In Rufinum*. There is no dedication to the emperor nor any real glorification of his court. In both cases, the poem proper concerns a specific victory and this is prefigured in the preface. In *In Rufinum*, the death of Rufinus is described in mythological terms as the defeat of Python by Apollo, fourteen lines of mythological parallel explained in the last four lines. In the panegyric to Stilicho, Claudian gives a historical simile of twenty lines and explanation of four, describing Gildo as a second Hannibal, Stilicho as Scipio reborn and himself as the new Ennius.[153] There is no reference to poetic testing in this preface or to honours done to the poet: Claudian proves his ability by associating himself openly with Ennius and, by allusion, with Ennius' epic successors.

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[152] Keudel (1970) 118. For the proem to the second book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* as a clear allusion to the opening of *Georgics* 2: see Felgentreu (1999) 125-6. Cameron (1970a) 76-8 points out that since the individual books were recited on separate occasions, a separate preface would be required (or not) for each.
[153] Felgentreu (1999) 119-20.

The theme of the preface is designed to give the greatest possible glory to Stilicho by portraying Gildo as the greatest possible danger to Rome. This portrayal was inevitable: Gildo was from Africa, he was an enemy of Rome; he must therefore be seen as a latter-day Hannibal.[154] While Gildo never left Africa and sought power by manipulating the coldness between eastern and western halves of the empire, allying himself with the East and withholding the corn supply from Rome, in *De bello Gildonico* Claudian saw the threat of starvation to be as real a weapon as an army and depicted Gildo as the enemy at the gates, like Brennus the Gaul or Hannibal (*Gild.* 123-6). And, although Gildo was defeated by his vengeful brother Mascazel, Mascazel died quickly and appropriately after the campaign so that Stilicho and Honorius could claim credit for the victory over Gildo.[155] Stilicho, therefore, was Scipio to Gildo's Hannibal. The elder Scipio fought *non sine Pieriis...artibus* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 3) accompanied by *doctus Ennius* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 11-12). By extension, Claudian is a new Ennius, the poet who immortalized Scipio's victories and, lest there be any doubt, Claudian gives the key in the final lines:

> Noster Scipiades Stilicho, quo concidit alter
> Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale,
> te mihi post quinos annorum, Roma, recursus
> reddidit et votis iussit adesse suis (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 21-4),

emphasizing the *noster* and the fact that this modern Hannibal was much more savage than the original. Ennius and Claudian, Scipio and Stilicho, poet and patron, epic poet and hero: the comparison on all points is reasonably believable and flattering to both. However, it does suggest a further question: to what extent did Claudian really see himself as Ennius?

On the surface, the image is purely complimentary. Claudian is alluding to Scipio's patronage of Ennius, acknowledging his own position in relation to his patron and honouring Stilicho by associating him with a great hero of the Republic. Furthermore Claudian, like Ennius, was using material from his own time for his poetry.[156] Despite his poetic claim to dwell in the camp (*Theod. pr.* 5-6), Claudian was not a soldier as Ennius was, but he could still describe the wars and triumphs of his patron. At the same time, in view of Ennius' crucial role in Roman literary history, Claudian is also complimenting himself. Even superficially, the comparison between Claudian and Ennius, Stilicho and

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[154] For the historical background, Cameron (1970a) 93-5, Olechowska (1978) 3-5.
[155] Cameron (1970a) 116.
[156] Boyle (1993b) 2-3, Dominik (1993) 38.

Scipio, Gildo and Hannibal is suggestive. Through this image, the poet informs his audience that while his work may be encomiastic – Stilicho was no Scipio and Gildo, so easily defeated, was no Hannibal – it has the same epic theme: the salvation of Rome from barbarian attack. Ennius' *Annales* described Rome from the time of Aeneas to his own day; Claudian's work, it is implied, carries on the task where Ennius left off, incorporating the glorious deeds of Stilicho, the present-day Scipio, into the history of Rome. This is his section of the *carmen perpetuum* begun by Ennius.

Within the *carmen perpetuum* of epic and Roman history is an unending cycle of repetition, wars followed by peace, followed by war.[157] Restoration and repetition are signalled by Claudian with the word *reddidit* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 24), a term which always bears investigation in Claudian's work.[158] In this case, *reddidit* brings back more than a new Hannibal and new Scipio but acts poetically to bring back the reader to the beginning of *De bello Gildonico* (recited less than two years earlier) which described the defeat of Gildo, that latter day Hannibal, and opened with *redditus* (*Gild.* 1). Now Rome, the poet claims, has brought Stilicho back, but at the same time, in his poetry and by his simile, Claudian has brought back Scipio in the form of Stilicho to save Rome again from this new Hannibal. The history begun by Ennius both finds its culmination and repeats itself in Claudian.

A closer look at the simile shows that Claudian had more than Ennius in mind. While Ennius was honoured as the father of Roman literature, his style was not imitated,[159] being considered rugged rather than polished and less to the taste of a generation which valued wit and style. Propertius described his poetry as adorned with *hirsuta corona* (4.1.61), to Statius he is *ferox* (*Silv.* 2.7.75), while Quintilian admires him at a distance:

> Ennium, sicut sacros vetustate lucos, adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.88).

If Ennius can be so described, then surely he is not a suitable model for the stylized and mannered poet of a most sophisticated court?

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[157] Hardie (1993a) 14-18.
[158] See page 105 below.
[159] Hinds (1998) 69-74 discusses the changing attitude to Ennius among Republican and Augustan poets.

What Claudian requires from Ennius is not literary style but *auctoritas*. Although Ennius is the focus of the passage, Claudian – as far as can be ascertained – does not cite any of his lines.[160] Claudian's real literary models are introduced from the very beginning:

> Maior Scipiades, Italis qui solus ab oris
> in proprium vertit Punica bella caput,
> non sine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma:
> semper erat vatum maxima cura duci (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 1-4).

The Ennian reference is established by the mention of the elder Scipio, but the following words are a clear allusion to the start of the *Aeneid*: *arma virumque cano qui primus ab oris/Italiam* (*Aen.* 1.1-2).[161] The phrase *qui solus ab oris* manifestly recalls Vergil's *qui primus ab oris* (*Aen.* 1.1), reinforced by *arma* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 3), while Claudian's *Italis* picks up the Vergilian *Italiam*. The Vergilian reference may be strengthened by the later line *inferret Libyco signa tremenda mari* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.*10), suggesting Aeneas' actions, *inferretque deos Latio* (*Aen.* 1.6). Now present, whether by name or allusion are the heroes, Stilicho, Scipio and Aeneas, together with their poets, Claudian, Ennius and Vergil, but it is the poet Claudian who directs the action. The key word in this passage is *vertit*.[162] Claudian, not Scipio, is doing the turning. The phrase *in proprium vertit Punica bella caput* applies far more to Claudian than to the elder Scipio. Within two lines, he has turned what appears to be a reference to Ennius and the Punic Wars into an allusion to Vergil, and will redirect the reader from Hannibal's Carthage to that of Gildo. Simultaneously, he turns the subject from the apparent glorification of the hero to a discussion of the glory due to a poet, a theme central to epic and encomium.[163]

Ennius remains the central figure of the passage. Although he is not named until the middle of the preface, the reference to the *vatum maxima cura* of the Scipiones (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 4) invokes his presence from the outset. He serves as a link for both military and poetic honours and the various allusions with their different connotations radiate out from him. Once his presence is suggested with *maior Scipiades*, then the allusion to Vergil's ***qui primus ab oris*** may also seem to hint at Lucretius' lines:

> Ennius ut noster cecinit **qui primus amo**eno
> detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam (*DRN* 1.117-18)

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[160] Skutsch (1985) 19-20. For Ennius' *auctoritas* in Ovid, Conte (1986) 59.
[161] Felgentreu (1999) 119.
[162] For the metaliterary use of *vertit*, see page 105 below below.
[163] Goldhill (1991) 69-70.

in which the eternal honour paid to Ennius is reinforced by the pun *per**enni** fronde*. This both suggests and reinforces the phrase *maxima cura* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 4) as another reference to Ennius, this time drawn from Ovid's *cura...magna*:[164]

> cura deum fuerunt olim regumque poetae,
> praemiaque antiqui magna tulere chori...
> Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
> contiguus poni, Scipio magne tibi (*AA* 3.405-6, 409-10).

The various allusions have created a dialogue between the poets of the past and present. Ennius may have had *perenni fronde* but Ovid complains that in his day, the ivy garlands of the poets have fallen dishonoured (*AA* 3.411-12). In response, Claudian proudly demonstrates the honour in which poets (if only epic poets) are held in his time: the final lines of the preface describe the poet decked with victor's laurel, companion of the general and sharer in the military triumph (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 20).[165]

But who is the poet decked with laurel? In the opening lines, Claudian has claimed to be Ennius but he made the claim in Vergil's words. He himself is Ennius who influenced Vergil but at the same time in the same lines he is Claudian, acknowledging his own indebtedness to Vergil (and, by his brief allusion to Ovid, giving back to poets of his own day the honour which they had enjoyed in the time of Ennius). The association with Vergil serves to link Stilicho with more than Scipio: Stilicho is taking on the persona of Aeneas also, and with it the responsibility for Rome's destiny. And at the same time, Claudian becomes not merely the historian of wars, but the poet who puts into words the ideal of eternal Rome.[166]

Ennius, therefore, is the inspiration of Roman epic poets and proof of the honour due to a poet, but he has still further significance for Claudian. In presenting his own epic persona, Claudian has suggested that he is in some sense an actor within the drama he describes, identifying himself with the daring of the Argonauts in *De raptu Proserpinae* or the courage of the camp soldier in the panegyric on Theodorus. In the preface to *Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli* he showed how his poetic confidence grew *continuis castris* (*Theod. pr.* 5), a suggestion perhaps of the epic *carmen continuum* of

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[164] Keudel (1970) 119. Ovid is presumably also referring to the lines of Lucretius when he describes his ambition *mihi fama **perennis**/quaeritur* (*Am.* 1.15.7) before listing great poets of the past, including Ennius.

[165] Felgentreu (1999) 121 also notes references to Cic. *Arch.* 22, and Hor. *C.* 4.8.13-20. Cf. Keudel (1970) 119.

[166] While this is a recurrent theme in Claudian's work, *Stil.* 3. in particular eulogises Rome: see Paschoud (1966) 153.

Rome. In this poem, he identifies with Ennius who combines learning with actual time in the camp:

> haerebat doctus lateri **castrisque** solebat
> **omnibus** in medias Ennius ire tubas (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 11-12).[167]

The most complex allusion in the preface, however, is not to Vergil but to Silius' *Punica*: the allusion is not as clear-cut as the initial reference to the *Aeneid* but the similarities in vocabulary and its thematic relevance are unmistakable. Silius compares Ennius, as soldier poet, to Orpheus, who fought for the Argo (*Pun.* 12.398-400).[168] He proceeds to describe Ennius' own actions in battle:[169] how Apollo deflected a spear aimed at the poet by Hostus and proclaimed:

> "Sacer hic ac **magna sororum**
> Aonidum **cura** est et **dignus** Apolline **vates**.
> Hic **canet** illustri **primus bella** Itala versu
> attolletque **duces** caelo; resonare **docebit**
> hic Latiis Helicona modis nec cedet honore
> Ascraeo famave seni." Sic Phoebus et Hosto
> **ultrix** per geminum transcurrit tempus harundo (*Pun.* 12.408-14).

Silius applies these words to Ennius who was both poet and soldier: Claudian divides them between the poet, Claudian/Ennius and the soldier, Stilicho/Scipio:

> Maior Scipiades, Italis qui solus ab oris
> in proprium vertit Punica **bella** caput
> non sine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma:
> semper erat **vatum maxima cura duci**.
> gaudet enim virtus testes sibi iungere Musas;
> carmen amat quisquis carmine **digna** gerit.
> ergo seu patriis **primaevus** manibus **ultor**
> subderet Hispanum legibus Oceanum,
> seu Tyrias certa fracturus cuspides vires
> inferret Libyco signa tremenda mari,
> haerebat **doctus** lateri castrisque solebat
> omnibus in medias Ennius ire tubas.
> illi post lituos pedites favere **canenti**
> laudavitque nova caede cruentus eques (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 1-14).

Silius' passage is not only homage to Ennius but is a metaphor for the writing of epic and the power of the poet.[170] When Hostus tries to kill Ennius, he is thwarted by Apollo who

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[167] It may be forcing the meaning of the words, but if there is a generic epic significance to *castris continuis*, then surely *castris omnibus* refers to Ennius' mastery of all genres?

[168] Spaltenstein (1986b) 180.

[169] For Ennius' influence on Silius, Skutsch (1985) 17-18; for Silius' praise of Ennius, Newman (1986) 111.

[170] Spaltenstein (1986b) 180-1.

laughs at his attempts, sends the spear into the winds and destroys Hostus with an arrow, or, more accurately, an *ultrix harundo*. Since Hostus had done no harm to Apollo, this act proved that Ennius (and, by extension, every poet[171]) was in actual fact protected by the god. The *harundo*, literally a reed, is frequently used to refer to the shaft of an arrow but it is also a common word for the pen: this meaning cannot go unremarked since the flight of the *harundo* accompanies Apollo's speech prophesying the writings of Ennius.[172] One could hardly show more plainly how the pen is mightier than the sword and, lest there be any doubt, the words and actions are attributed to Apollo, the inspiration of poets. Apollo, of course, was god both of archery and poetry: at the same time, Silius equips him with arrow and pen so that in this case the *harundo* is doubly Apollo's weapon. To be even more exact, the reader is not told specifically that Apollo sent the *harundo* even though it is clear from the context that he is responsible for the attack: in the text, the *harundo* flies by itself so that Hostus appears to be destroyed by the very spirit of poetry.

Ennius' physical survival symbolizes the survival of his poetry while Hostus is punished by a twofold death: *Hosto/ultrix per geminum transcurrit tempus harundo* (*Pun.* 12.413-14). The *harundo* pierces his head twice, through each temple. Here is further word play. *tempora*, used to describe the temples, is usually plural: and *tempus*, singular, almost always refers to time.[173] Claudian, it would seem, combines the two meanings of the word, indicating the double meaning by the indicator *geminum*.[174] As well as referring to Hostus' temples, *tempus* incorporates its more usual definition of time and unites the future tenses of Apollo: *hic canet...attolletque duces caelo...docebit...nec cedet honore* (*Pun.* 12.410-2) with the present tense of Hostus' death. Hostus will die twice, once on the battle field, and later when the events are described in Ennius' work. The double *tempus* also suggests a paradox of time: Hostus dies while trying to kill the poet but he will be immortalized in poetry.

Vergil is the model for Silius' passage, and the complexity of the allusion confirms Silius' concerns with the importance of the poet. As Hardie observes, Hostus' death

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[171] Cf. Phemius (*Od.* 23.345-9) who begged Odysseus for his life on the grounds that he was a poet: see Goldhill (1991) 59.

[172] Ovid may well have been Silius' model here: for the use of *penna* as synonym for arrow, Newlands (1995) 186-7.

[173] Lewis and Short (1984) 1851. For Ovid's frequent double use of the word, Ahl (1985) 290.

[174] For allusive signalling, Hinds (1998) 1-16. Again, Ovid may be the model: for the double use of *tempora*: see Newlands (1995) 184-5, Ahl (1985) 291.

looks back to Ascanius' victory over Remulus Numanus in *Aeneid* 9, most particularly to Apollo's sanction of the deed and argues that "epic success, in the sense of successful deeds of valour successfully preserved for posterity, depends on the proper succession of both hero and poet". Ascanius will found the Julian line which is destined for the stars while Ennius will succeed Hesiod.[175] The theme of *bella Itala*, combined with *canet* and *primus* suggests a layering of allusion, to the opening of the *Aeneid*, to the Ennius praised by Lucretius (*DRN* 1.117-19), and to Ennius himself, the father of Roman epic.[176] Silius goes farther. The phrase *resonare docebit* (*Pun.* 12.411) alludes to Vergil's first poetic genre and the *resonare doces* of *Ecl.* 1.5.[177] Didactic poetry is also included: Silius' reference to *Ascraeo seni* (*Pun.* 12.413) suggests the *Ascraeum carmen* of *Geo.* 2.176. Silius' Ennius is a composite of Vergil's achievements: the proto-poet.

Even in the physical details of Hostus' death, there is an allusion to the power of the poet. The wound itself suggests Silius' model: the episode of Nisus and Euryalus in the ninth book of the *Aeneid* in which Nisus kills Tagus and his spear pierces both temples, *per tempus utrumque* (*Aen.* 9.418).[178] Vergil here makes no reference to the double meaning of *tempus* but his epitaph on Nisus and Euryalus centres on the power of the poet:

> fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo (*Aen.* 9.446-7).

Silius unites the poet and soldier; Ennius is both within the poem as an actor and the one who controls the action since he recreates it in his work. It is this double nature of the poet which caused Claudian to identify with Ennius. As Silius used the Ennian episode to comment on the nature of poetry, so Claudian's preface is likewise a comment on writing and, in this case, on the nature of the poet.[179] He claims to be Ennius, singing the praises of a new Scipio but modifies his claim by the very words which he uses. After the opening reference to Ennius, Claudian turns at once to Vergil, Lucretius and Ovid, while the body of the preface contains strong echoes of Silius, distancing Claudian further from his putative model. Rather than being Ennius, he is a poet citing a poet who praises Ennius. By these allusions, Claudian suggests that stylistically he prefers the smoothness of Vergil and the post-Vergilians to the shagginess of Ennius. However, Ennius has a double significance for Claudian. As the originator of Roman epic poetry, Ennius is

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[175] Hardie (1993a) 114-15.
[176] Spaltenstein (1986b) 181. Cf. Vessey (1973) 61-2.
[177] Newman (1986) 228.
[178] Cf. *Il.* 4.501-2: see Hardie (1994) 148.
[179] See Hardie (1993a) 114 on the importance of succession for hero and poet in this context.

Claudian's counterpart: he was the first as Claudian is the latest in an illustrious line of epic poets, part of the unbroken *carmen perpetuum* of Roman epic. More important still, in Ennius, Silius combines the twin roles of soldier poet, the descendant of Orpheus, and the sacred *vates*, inspired by the Muses and protected by Apollo, the first to sing of glorious battles whose words will never die.

Epic Poet, Epic Hero (*In Rufinum*)

As already discussed, the theme of poet as participant is one which recurs throughout the prefaces to Claudian's work. His first imperial preface, to the panegyric on Honorius' third consulship, is concerned with proving his ability to write for the emperor; in his second (to book 1 of *In Rufinum*) he begins to glorify the power of the poet and his role in epic. *In Rufinum* is probably the most blatantly epic and allusive of all Claudian's works.[180] Rufinus was the eastern counterpart of Claudian's patron Stilicho. He was the advisor and chief official of Honorius' brother Arcadius and, like Stilicho, angled constantly for further power. Fortunately for Stilicho, Arcadius never trusted Rufinus fully, he speedily fell from favour and met a spectacular end, being torn apart by his own soldiers in the presence of Arcadius.[181] The following year, in 396, Claudian delivered his two book invective.

As the mouthpiece of Stilicho, it was Claudian's brief to depict Rufinus as a creature of blackest evil and he performed this task to perfection. Such a portrayal was not always necessary in invective: Claudian's condemnation of the eunuch consul Eutropius, for example, achieves its aim by heaping ridicule on his subject,[182] likening Eutropius to a wrinkled old woman (*Eut.* 1.10), a walking corpse (*Eut.* 1.38), a monkey in silken robes (*Eut.* 1.303-7). Rufinus was a different matter. He was no figure of fun but a creature from Hell,[183] the foster son and protégé of the Fury Megaera, deliberately reared to destroy the Golden Age created by the reign of Theodosius. The poem abounds with epic *topoi*. There is a Council of Hades (a combination of the Underworld of *Aeneid* 6 and the

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[180] Cameron (1970a) 83 asserts that book 2 in particular "is conceived and treated as a straightforward historical epic".

[181] Cameron (1970a) 63-6.

[182] How to classify *In Eutropium* has preoccupied scholars: see Long (1996) 17-26; an acceptable definition seems to be satire based on rhetoric with elements of epic travesty.

[183] James (1998) 151 notes that Claudian uses images drawn from Christianity as well as mythology to make Rufinus terrible to all religious groups.

concilium deorum of *Aeneid* 10), immortals who disguise themselves to give warnings to mankind, colourful enemies in the form of the Huns, who slash their faces and ride like Centaurs, and Mars and Bellona equipping their chariots to join in the battle. Naturally, against Rufinus and his barbarian allies, Stilicho stands firm and saves the day; the figure of Justice confronts Megaera to inform her that her brief rule is over and that the Golden Age will return. In the second book after some treachery when Stilicho is ordered back to Italy and Rufinus exults, right prevails, Stilicho's faithful army remains loyal to him and Rufinus perishes violently.

Rufinus is a creature of *furor*, driven by the rage which inspires the Furies themselves. Stilicho is his opposite, a man of the Golden Age, which has been restored under Theodosius, *en aurea nascitur aetas,/en proles antiqua redit* (*Ruf.* 1.51-2). Clearly Stilicho is part of the *proles antiqua.* The preface to this book encapsulates the battle between the two in the tale of the defeat of Python at the hands of Apollo. The scale of the victory is indicated by the physical size of Python:

> qui spiris tegeret montes, hauriret hiatu
> flumina, sanguineis tangeret astra iubis (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 3-4).

As noted earlier, this is a truly epic monster. Ovid described Python as being the size of a mountain side, *tantum spatii de monte tenebas* (*Met.* 1.440), but Claudian's Python is even bigger, his coils covering a number of mountains, his crest reaching the sky. This is to be expected: as in the preface to *De consulatu Stilichonis III.* Claudian's Hannibal was fiercer than the original, so one must expect more from his Python. The parallel between Rufinus and Python is carefully accurate in every detail, points of comparison being worked out in the poem. Python, for example, drains rivers at a mouthful while Rufinus is later described as being so greedy that the golden waters of Pactolus could not satisfy him (*Ruf.* 1.102-3).[184]

Like Rufinus, Python is a force of nature, with no motive other than to do harm to mankind. Rufinus has been trained by the Fury Megaera, who announced that her intention was to bring harm to the world: *laedere mundum...et populis commune intendere letum* (*Ruf.* 1.87-8) and had created Rufinus as the ideal tool for this end.

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[184] Python also recurs in the snake imagery of the poem: see James (1998) 160-1.

Python is the monstrous expression of Rufinus' evil nature.[185] As a contrast to Python, creature of the Underworld, is Apollo, god of light and order whose attributes are naturally shared with Stilicho, his earthly partner, opponent of Rufinus. In metaphor and in reality, the world is saved and stability restored.

However, a further figure can be seen behind the metaphor, the figure of the poet himself. The setting of this preface is particularly poetic: we are on Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, with both Apollo and the Muses present. But Apollo is not here as the god of poetry. He appears as a fighter, in the aftermath of a bloody battle. As in the Silius passage cited above, Apollo plays a double role, both as the poet and the object of the poem. Apollo may stand ostensibly for Stilicho but, as the god of poetry, he also stands for the poet. Stilicho defeated Rufinus with weapons (as Claudian claims erroneously at the end of the passage) but the poet has destroyed him equally in his invective. One could even argue that Claudian's role is the more effective: his poem will ensure that historical fact (the death of Rufinus at the hands of the eastern army)[186] will be supplanted by heroic fiction (Stilicho destroyed Rufinus). After all, neither Claudian nor his epic predecessors underrated the power of the poet and the hero's need for fame, as the comment on the Ennius/Claudian, Scipio/Stilicho connection indicates: *carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit* (*Stil.* 3 *pr.* 6).

The interdependence of poet and hero is a complex theme which dates back to Homer.[187] It was the duty of the hero to perform great deeds, but such deeds would be useless unless they were known. Goldhill notes that *kleos* comes from the verb to hear, *kluo*; as the poet put the deeds into words for men to hear, the hero acquired *kleos*.[188] As the poet made known the reputation of the hero, the hero acquired immortality: the poet's task was therefore a sacred one and was seen as such in classical literature from Homer to Claudian.[189] This is understandable in the Homeric world, a time before writing and formal history, when the memory of the past depended on the song of the poet, but the

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[185] Python also prefigures Claudian's treatment of Rufinus. In the invective, Rufinus is constantly compared to various monsters (*Ruf.* 1.89-90, 1.261-3, 1.278-96) before actually dressing in animal skins and taking on the physical attributes of a beast (*Ruf.* 2.78-85).

[186] Cameron (1970a) 66.

[187] Goldhill (1991) 1-68.

[188] Goldhill (1991) 69; for difference in *kleos* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, 93-105. Bowra (1964) 32-3 argues that Pindar and Bacchylides saw their task as to immortalise those whom they honoured.

[189] E.g. Lucan: *O sacer et magnus vatum labor! omnia fato/eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum* (*BC* 9.980-1).

concept never lost strength.[190] Even in a society of annals, documents and histories, poets insisted that their work was where memory resided. Vergil interrupted his narrative to promise immortality to Nisus and Euryalus (*Aen.* 9.446-9), Lucan insisted that Pharsalia and the deeds of Caesar would live because of his verse (*BC* 9.980-6),[191] Silius would give fame to Ennius for his deeds (*Pun.* 12.391-2) while Ennius' poetry would raise leaders to the heavens (*Pun.* 12.411).[192] Claudian's lines to Stilicho are part of this tradition:

> quis Punica gesta,
> quis vos, Scipiadae, quis te iam, Regule, nosset,
> quis lentum caneret Fabium, si iure perempto
> insultaret atrox famula Karthagine Maurus?
> haec omnes veterum revocavit adorea laurus.
> restituit Stilicho cunctos tibi, Roma, triumphos (*Stil.* 1.380-85).[193]

Stilicho's victory in Africa has consolidated all victories of the past and restored laurels to Rome but in the question *quis caneret?* Claudian gives equal credit to the poet. His song as much as Stilicho's valour is needed to preserve the glories of the past. The victories of Rome depend on both soldier and singer: one needs the other. The epic takes over the reality of the event and the poet assumes the power of the hero; without poet and poem, the glorious deeds never took place.

That the poet would also gain immortality from his work derived originally from his role as speaker of the truth, conduit of information from the Muses.[194] But in publishing the fame of others, the bard earned glory for himself. Invited to speak of the Trojan Horse, the bard Demodocus is promised fame equal to that of a hero (*Od.* 8.496-8).[195] The personal voice of the poet, originally heard only in telling of the inspiration of the Muses, began to speak on its own behalf and extol the poet's own glory.[196] In honouring the victor at the games, Pindar makes clear associations between athlete and poet[197] as the writing of poetry is presented as toil equal to that of the athlete.[198] That the poet would

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[190] On memory and history, Gowing (2005) 27.
[191] Delarue (1996) 215.
[192] On the power of epic to confer immortality in Silius, Wilson (1993) 229. On this topic most recently, Gowing (2005).
[193] Cf. for example Tib. 1.4.63-4; on the convention, see Murgatroyd (1980) 152.
[194] A poet's power to tell truth goes back to Hesiod, *W&D* 10: see Pucci (1997) 8-40). For Odysseus as truthful narrator, *Il.* 11.363: see Goldhill (1991) 48; for Pindar, see Bowra (1964) 26-33.
[195] Goldhill (1991) 95.
[196] Goldhill (1991) 110-11.
[197] E.g. *O.* 2.82-90, *P.* 8.33-4: see Lefkowitz (1991) 163. Cf. Bowra (1964) 7. For Pindar's voice as persona, Bundy (1986) 3-4.
[198] Goldhill (1991) 142, Lefkowitz (1991) 161-8.

live through his poetry became part of the poet's own manifesto;[199] it is noticeable that in the preface to the panegyric on Theodorus, Claudian speaks of his own fame before that of the consul.

Given their similar goals and similar toils, hero and poet seem made for each other, sometimes to the extent of going together into battle, as Ennius did with Scipio. The performance of a poet within a poem is a *topos* of epic - Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, Iopas in the *Aeneid* - but heroes themselves can also perform. Achilles sings of the deeds of heroes in the *Iliad*, Odysseus tells his own story in the *Odyssey*, as does Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. The transition works both ways. If the hero can become a bard, the bard can also portray himself as a hero. One of the victims of the war in Italy is Cretheus, a poet, who *semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat* (*Aen.* 9.777).[200] The echo of *arma virumque cano* is too great to be ignored: this *poeta miles* is another Vergil, taking physical part in the battle, symbolising Vergil's active part in creating the epic.[201]

Claudian does not himself take up weapons, claiming instead to live in the soldiers' camp (*Theod. pr.* 5-6), or portrays himself as the first sailor, daring the storms of the Aegean (*Rapt.* 1 *pr.* 1). As the first sailor and poet he is Orpheus, and Claudian's Orpheus is not only a poet but an epic poet, not merely an epic poet but an epic character. As poet and sailor on the Argo, he embodies the *audacia* and *ars* of both, suggesting that Claudian too, by the comparison, is something more than a poet, one whose work allows him to play a role in the narrative he describes. As will be discussed in later chapters, the epic hero was distinguished by his loneliness as well as by his bravery. In seeking to be the best, the hero becomes the only one who can succeed; in his discussion of the nature of epic and the hero, Hardie points to the isolation of the great epic heroes, Achilles, Odysseus, Aeneas.[202] Such isolation is a theme developed throughout Claudian's work. He presents first Theodosius and later Stilicho as the only man who can hold the empire against the barbarians using the words *solus*, *unus* and *unicus* repeatedly to define the hero.[203] As is evident from the prefaces to his work and the presentation of the poet, there is very little difference in the vocabulary which Claudian attaches to the epic poet. The final word of the preface, *domat* (12), recalls the prefaces to *In Rufinum*: Python had been

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[199] E.g. Verg. *Geo.* 3 *pr.*, Hor. *C.* 3.30.6, Ovid *Met.*15.879.
[200] Felgentreu (1999) 206.
[201] Cf. Hardie (1993a) 101.
[202] Hardie (1993a) 3-10.
[203] See pages 130-37 below.

tamed, *domitus* (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 1) by Stilicho who, in the second preface, is associated with *indomitus Mavors* (*Ruf.* 2 *pr.* 17).[204] In *De raptu Proserpinae*, Claudian as Orpheus is the tamer, he is the first and therefore the only; poet and hero are joined in epic venture.[205]

The figure of Ennius reinforces Claudian's poetic aspirations. As described by Silius, Ennius is the supreme example of the *poeta miles*. The passage which describes Hostus' attempt on his life is introduced in a classically epic invocation to Calliope, expressing the poet's inability to deal worthily with such a theme (*Pun.* 12.387-9), and his intention of making famous the poet's military deeds:

> nota parum magni longo tradantur ut aevo
> facta viri, et meritum vati sacremus honorem (*Pun.* 12.391-2).

Ennius is described as a great warrior:

> spectandum sese non parva strage virorum
> fecerat, et dextrae gliscebat caedibus ardor (*Pun.* 12.401-2)

and he is also the poetic descendant of Orpheus, who, as Silius notes, had once fought for the Argo (*Pun.* 12.399-400). The reference to Orpheus brings the theme full circle back to Claudian, the preface to *De raptu Proserpinae*, and the poet as daring adventurer. The motif of poet as actor suggests the technique of *In Rufinum* in which Claudian was both the opponent of Rufinus, attacking him in verse, and the representative of the Muses, narrating the attack. In the comparison to Ennius, Claudian becomes a soldier, fighting for Rome, and like Ennius a poet, celebrating the victory in song for future ages.

In summary, several conclusions can be reached from an overview of Claudian's prefaces. Following, to a certain extent, the guidelines of the prose panegyrists, Claudian takes rhetorical *topoi* and gives them an epic orientation, using the preface to transform the court ceremonial – emperor, officials, court poet and surroundings – into an epic introduction for an epic poem. The conventional invocation of the emperor presents the emperor as Jupiter, his court as the Olympian gods, ready to become the divine machinery of epic. The subjects of the panegyrics become epic heroes, transformed through mythological similes: Stilicho against Rufinus is metamorphosised into Apollo against Python.

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[204] And *edomitas* appears in the first line of *Ruf.* 2 in relation to Theodosius' victories. Given its prominence, the word must be considered programmatic to some extent.

[205] Manilius 2.58 describes poet as *solus*: see Volk (2002) 213.

Even more than his subjects, the poet is honoured, the prefaces a showcase for his poetic ambition. He is an eagle tested by the Muses, ready to bear the – epic – thunderbolt of Jupiter. His songs celebrate the victories of his heroes, yet it is manifest from his identification with Orpheus and Ennius that his songs have their own power. Ennius, the *poeta miles*, and Orpheus, whose poetic *ars* controlled wild nature, are the perfect model for a court poet whose work combined glorification with persuasion. The epic imagery and tone of the prefaces support Claudian's self-presentation as epic poet; nevertheless the generic ambiguities which Claudian introduces – in particular, his repeated invocation of Thalia as a Muse of heroic poetry – suggests that the poet recognises his work is epic only with some qualification. The following chapter, therefore, will look at the nature of epic, how it is recognised as such, and will examine in what sense Claudian's poetry corresponds in theme and technique to the conventions of the epic tradition.

CHAPTER 2

ROMAN EPIC: *CARMEN PERPETUUM*

Recognising Epic

The conventions of epic metre, theme and style were defined early on, based on the models of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Aristotle looked to Homer's works as *exempla*, stating that epic "is a representation, in metrical language, of serious people...it keeps to a single metre and is in narrative form" (*Poet.* 1449b), it should, like tragedy, "centre upon a single action, whole and complete...about one man, or a single period of time, or a single action made up of many parts" (*Poet.* 1459a).[1] This Homeric ideal of narrative was not always practised as historical epics gained popularity in Greece[2] and epic was accepted as a suitable vehicle for the praise of a contemporary ruler or general. This encomiastic element was taken over by the pioneers of Roman epic, Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and Ennius' *Annales* elevating contemporary Roman history through the new literary medium. Epic did not pass unchanged from Greece to Rome, however. As Goldberg argues, Naevius' focus on the victory of the community rather than of the individual would become central to Roman epic.[3] Influenced by Naevius, Ennius' large scale *Annales*, which covers the entire history of Rome, was a national epic. His use of hexameters created more obvious links between Roman and Homeric epic,[4] augmenting by comparison the magnitude and importance of his theme. Unlike Homer, Ennius associated heroes of the present with those of the past so that the victors of contemporary wars were easily identifiable with the victors of the Trojan war. Yet Ennius was not writing of single heroes but of the entire history of Rome: glorify individuals as he might, the *Annales* encompassed all those involved in the struggle for Roman greatness. For Roman writers, epic had become identified with nationality, the writing of epic following the desire to define the ever-evolving national identity.[5]

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[1] For discussion, Feeney (1986a) 139-40.
[2] Newman (1986) 17.
[3] Goldberg (1995) 55-6.
[4] Goldberg (1995) 86.
[5] Hardie (1993a) 1-3, Goldberg (1995) 169-71.

In returning to Homer and mythology as his inspiration, Vergil incorporated the "Roman" element of epic as established by his predecessors into the *Aeneid.* Because only fragments survive, we cannot tell to what extent Ennius' poetry functioned as a critical analysis of the politics of his world. Vergil's decision, however, to write of contemporary political concerns in terms of myth made Roman epic, whether historical or mythological, a political medium.[6] In an increasingly autocratic society, Vergil's successors followed his lead and avoided contemporary – and possibly dangerous – topics.[7] Lucan dealt with a century-old civil war, Statius described the conflict in Thebes, Silius dealt with the Punic Wars and Valerius Flaccus told of the voyage of the Argo. Regardless of the subject matter, however, these works were relevant for their own society. As Sullivan observes, "the driving force of epic, its essential subject, is the struggle for power, even when manifested as devotion to king and country, military prowess or chivalric honour".[8] The persona of *poeta miles* which Claudian creates in the prefaces to his work is an appropriate one for the court poet of Late Antiquity. Although some works were performed expressly for ceremonial occasions and are labelled panegyric while others bore epic titles, the characters and events in both are the same and Cameron has demonstrated conclusively the pressing importance of politics underlying all the ceremonial poems.[9] The fact that Claudian wrote of contemporary rulers and battles might suggest that his poetry is closer to that of Choerilus than of Vergil.[10] Claudian's opinion, however, as expressed in *De consulatu Stilichonis*, shows that he saw himself as the successor of Ennius, writing national epic, his subject and audience being the contemporary rulers of Rome.[11]

Vergilian epic also created expectations of structure and style. As Hainsworth remarks, "narrative is the formal root of epic"[12] and any subtext must depend on a strong narrative structure. The *Aeneid*, spanning all of Roman history from the fall of Troy to the *imperium sine fine* promised by Jupiter (*Aen.* 1.279), demonstrated the Aristotelian ideal of unity, being a *carmen perpetuum*, in which the author wove different episodes into a

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[6] Boyle (1993b) 3.
[7] Fantham (1996) 111-82 discusses the dangers to writers in the first century and suggests that poetry never recovered from the suppression of art which began with Augustus. Cf. Ahl (1984a).
[8] Sullivan (1993) 143-4. Cf. Hardie (1993a) 57.
[9] Cameron (1970a), Schindler (2004) 19-20.
[10] For the belief that epic concerns events of the past, Toohey (1992) 2, Goldhill (1991) 285-6.
[11] Goldberg (1995) 109.
[12] Hainsworth (1991) 5.

seamless whole.[13] This ideal was quickly challenged. While the narrative of the *Aeneid* is tightly-knit and carefully structured,[14] Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which claims specifically to be a *carmen perpetuum,*[15] offers the reader several different beginnings[16] and invites his audience to find a continuous connection between the various episodes.[17] As literary styles changed, the continuous narrative of epic become increasingly episodic. Lucan's style has been described as cinematic, a series of highlighted scenes without connecting passages.[18] The storyline of Statius' *Thebaid*, like that of *De bello civili* was straightforward but, like Lucan, Statius deliberately interrupted the literary flow, devoting over two books to the mini-epic of Hypsipyle, and favouring the episode over a smooth-flowing narrative.[19] Poetic technique became increasingly mannered as novelty was constantly expected.[20] Narrative provided a framework for the poetic excess of "extravagant language, elaborate metaphors and similes":[21] Newlands' description of Statius' poetry could be applied in general to post-Vergilian writers and can be dated back to Ovid.[22] It was a mannered style, in which the art and erudition of the poet were made conspicuous[23] as he strove, with *imitatio* and *aemulatio* to outdo his predecessors.

The frequent intrusion of the poet's voice marked a further change in post-Vergilian epic. Williams suggests that as style ceased to be a marker of genre, the epic poet no longer felt that he had to preserve his distance.[24] From Lucan onward, it became usual for the poet to speak directly to his reader: Bartsch notes an unparalleled use of apostrophe in *De bello civili*, and argues that Lucan's narrative persona even develops "the semblance of a character".[25] Lucan was motivated by political ideology; later writers, inspired by rhetoric and the desire to impress, addressed their audience in *sententiae* and aphorisms,

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[13] Grandsen (1984) 47. For a contradicting argument on the innately episodic nature of epic, Vessey (1973) 55-60.
[14] Grandsen (1984) discusses the *Aeneid* as work of unity which cannot be appreciated fully until the end.
[15] Wheeler (1999) 203, Kenney (1973) 116, Williams (1978) 246-7.
[16] Feeney (1999) 15.
[17] Solodow (1988) 2, 34-36, Keith (1992) 3.
[18] Fantham (1992) 16-17. Cf. Ahl (1993) 126 who notes that Lucan's work could be said to dismember the genre, see also Bartsch (1997) 64.
[19] Williams (1978) 247-52, Newlands (2002) 2-4.
[20] Williams (1978) 231.
[21] Newlands (2002) 3.
[22] For Williams' view that Ovid marked the beginning of the "decline" of Latin literature, Hardie (2002b).
[23] Curtius (1953) 273-86, Vessey (1973) 7-14.
[24] Williams (1978) 232-46.
[25] Bartsch (1997) 93.

absorbing many qualities of didactic poetry[26] as they pointed out the morals of the epic scenes they had described and attempted to direct the audience's emotional response.

These trends continued to develop and all are displayed in Claudian's work. As Roberts notes, commenting on Cameron's distaste for Claudian's narrative style,[27] late Latin poetry in general is criticised for its lack of "apparently seamless composition...The seams not only show, they are positively advertised...These are precisely the qualities the poets aim for".[28] As will be shown, insofar as Claudian's poetry is epic, it is composed of a series of epic episodes, set pieces which rely on the poet's skill at ornamentation and the audience's recognition of allusion to function as epic within the narrative. Small linking scenes are embellished so that they are inflated beyond their structural importance: in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* for example, Honorius' journey from Thrace to Rome becomes a mythological Grand Tour (*III Cons.* 111-25) as he visits the settings for Hercules' pyre, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and the landing place of Phaëthon. The audience can be educated as well as entertained: Honorius' later journey from Ravenna to Rome (*VI Cons.* 495-522) is a didactic digression on the strange properties of the rivers Clitumnus and Narnia.[29] Claudian's interest in scientific phenomena is apparent from his short poems;[30] it is tempting to suspect that he could not here resist the opportunity to show off his erudition.[31]

While he addresses the audience directly only in the prefaces, Claudian's voice can also be heard within the poems as he comments on the events, drawing morals for his readers. The downfall of Rufinus, for example, provides the lesson and aphorism *tolluntur in altum/ ut lapsu graviore ruant* (*Ruf.* 1.22-3). The sentiment and phrasing are characteristic of post-Vergilian epic but the philosophical debate which leads to this conclusion is typical of panegyric.[32] *sententiae* abound. Rufinus provides further lessons: *semper inops quicumque cupit* (*Ruf.* 1.200), *vivitur exiguo melius* (*Ruf.* 1.215), as does Eutropius with the wordier: *asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum* (*Eut.* 1.181). The virtuous also supply material, the love of the people for Honorius inspiring *non quaerit pretium, vitam qui debet, amori* (*VI Cons.* 610). The more exhortatory a

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[26] Williams (1978) 235.
[27] Cameron (1970a) 262.
[28] Roberts (1989a) 3.
[29] Dewar (1996) 335 notes that this can also belong to the category of journey poems.
[30] Cf. *Magnes* (*c.m.* xxix), *De crystallo cui aqua inerat* (*c.m.* xxxiii).
[31] Cameron (1970a) 292-6, Gruzelier (1990) 303.
[32] See also Rees (2002) 107-8 on cosmological philosophy used to praise Maxentius.

passage, the more numerous the *sententiae*, whether in the voice of the poet or another speaker. Theodosius' advice to Honorius is phrased in very short sentences, as though designed to be read as sound-bites, each line worthy of being set independently in a book of sayings. Advice is pithily given and there is no shortage of it: *virtute decet, non sanguine niti* (*IV Cons.* 220), *vile latens virtus* (*IV Cons.* 222), *disce orbi, quod quisque sibi* (*IV Cons.* 228).

The difficulties in classifying Claudian's work are obvious. Rhetoricians might apply rules for epic, but the genre was evolving constantly, from Homer to Callimachus to Vergil to Claudian. Epic in A.D. 395 when Claudian wrote his first court panegyric was not the same as in 19 B.C. when the *Aeneid* was published. To attempt to single out the epic features of Claudian's poetry is often to select what is also a feature of panegyric or didactic or rhetoric. The *sententiae* in Theodosius' speech to Honorius, for example, are, as above, typical of panegyric but also of didactic epic,[33] even heroic epic,[34] as well as being rhetorical ornaments, phrases easily caught by the ear. The tone of the speech is clearly didactic but speeches of advice can also be seen as a feature of epic: Anchises to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6, or Evander's speeches in *Aeneid* 8, are among such instances.[35] One must also note that short showy sentences had increasingly become a feature of post-Vergilian epic. It becomes impossible to point to any one passage in Claudian and assert, without qualification, that it is epic or panegyric. The breakdown of clearly defined generic categories in this period[36] coupled with Claudian's own skill in combining epic and encomiastic elements means that his work can be classified as both and neither at the same time.

What then are the constants of epic? Style has changed, length can vary, from the eighteen books of Silius' *Punica* to the two volumes of Statius' *Achilleid* (admittedly unfinished). Some features, however, are reliable. The metre does not change, and the language of epic remains elevated,[37] there are no "low" expressions, and archaic and specifically poetic terms are employed. Setting aside these features, epic remains recognisable. Toohey sums up the characteristics of mythological/heroic epic as:

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[33] E.g. the notorious, if frequently curtailed, *labor omnia vicit improbus* (*Geo.* 1.145-6).
[34] Evander, for example, advises Aeneas *aude...contemnere opes* (*Aen.* 8.364).
[35] Fowler (2000) 207, Gale (2004c) 51-2.
[36] Williams (1978) 232-6, Feeney (1986a) 147.
[37] Conte (1987) 282. For Vergil's "simple" epic language, fit to be read by all Roman citizens, see Wilkinson (1959) 37, O'Hara (1997) 254-7, Conte (1987) 282, Lyne (1984) 117-18.

> "narratives concerning the heroic actions of mythological heroes; a concern with the relation between these heroes and divine powers; length matched with an elevation of style; the use of the hexameter metre; an ostensible glorification of the past – often achieved by repetition of description, by catalogues, and by fixed descriptive formulas. There are, too, shared technical features such as similes, battles, set speeches, invocations of the Muses, councils of the gods and of the leaders, and the description of shields and other artefacts".[38]

Although such a list may seem an oversimplification of the genre,[39] such stylistic devices as these function as epic markers.[40] Consciously or unconsciously, the reader notes these *topoi* as signals, familiar from works by Homer, Vergil, Lucan and other epic writers, and accepts that the poet is presenting a poem intended to be read as part of the epic genre.

The essential constant of epic, however, is its preoccupation with the evolution of the Roman state and the necessity to respond to and build on the works of earlier writers. The focus on national identity begun with Naevius and Ennius became, with Vergil, a consideration of Rome under Augustus; Lucan responded with an analysis of post-Augustan empire, seen through the lens of civil war, when the freedom of the Republic was lost forever. If Claudian is to be judged as an epic writer on stylistic criteria alone, he will be seen both to succeed and fail. His metre is the epic hexameter[41] and his language is decorated with archaic phrases and poetic circumlocutions, the erudite *Tomari Iovis* (*Get.* 18), for example,[42] or the grandiose description of Trajan as *bellipotens Ulpius* (*VI Cons.* 335).[43] His use of epic *topoi* and the creation of a timeless mythological background for his panegyrics give an epic gloss to his poetry but the lack of any real epic action, the encomiastic and episodic structure of his work at the expense of an epic narrative continuum contradict the veneer. If, however, his poetry is examined as an attempt to create and continue the expression of Roman nationality, then Claudian must be counted among the epic poets. His poetry engages with earlier epic to interpret the history of his own time; in this regard it can be argued that Claudian was indeed continuing the *carmen perpetuum* of Roman history and that his preoccupation with the Roman and literary past, recreated in contemporary terms, was enough to transform his panegyrics into Roman epic song.

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[38] Toohey (1992) 2-3.
[39] For a highly complex and sophisticated summary and discussion of epic themes, Hardie (1993a).
[40] Laird (2003) 155, although for length as characteristic of epic, see Cameron (1995) 263-302.
[41] For a discussion of his metrical polish, Cameron (1970a) 288-92, Duckworth (1967) 120-5, and, most recently, Ceccarelli (2004).
[42] Cameron (1970a) 313.
[43] Schindler (2004) 21.

Structure

The episodic nature of Claudian's poetry is perhaps the greatest obstacle for modern readers in accepting his work as epic. Literary style may have turned away from the smooth continuous narrative of Vergil, but Claudian's work lacks any real narrative impetus, moving instead through a series of set pieces or episodes which are embellished for their own sake.[44] Roberts, however, has demonstrated that far from being a sign of poetic inability, this style, the "jeweled style", was prized in Late Antiquity.[45] Practising the jeweled style, the poet turns artist,[46] recreating visual scenes in words, not merely in a careful choice of adjectives but also by structure, framing, enumeration, word-positioning: in short, all the rhetorical tools of the poetic trade.[47] Colours and texture are carefully documented and nothing left to the imagination, whether it is the precise colour of the river Tiber's eyes: *glauca...lumina... caeruleis infecta notis* (*P&O* 214-5)[48] or the golden threads which embroider Honorius' robe (*IV Cons.* 590-1). The very elaboration of the detail makes the pictures static.[49] A poem by Claudian leaves the impression of a series of tableaux, linked by rhetorical passages. As the episodes tend to be epic and the linking passages are often quite lengthy passages of panegyrical outburst, the more pictorial poems have a more epic flavour. Although the structure of *In Rufinum* is modelled closely on rhetorical guidelines, the sequence of episodes is tightly knit with little rhetorical linkage. The listener is left with a colourful impression of a Fury-inspired villain, scenes of the Underworld, Midas-like visions of gold and greed and a hero who equals Perseus or Hercules: an epic mélange. The second book on Stilicho's consulship, by contrast, is extremely rhetorical, describing Stilicho's virtues in times of peace: *hactenus armatae laudes* (*Stil* 2.1). Ornamentation does not come from epic allusion but from Claudian's delight in description: Theodosius' treasure (*Stil* 2.88-94), the face of

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[44] Braden (1979) 207. Cameron's comments on Claudian's writing are typical of such criticism: "Claudian is almost incapable of writing true narrative" (1970) 262; on *De raptu Proserpinae* "Some of these descriptions are very beautiful of their kind...but their frequency and length cannot but hold up the flow of the narrative": see Cameron (1970a) 264. For descriptive style, Fargues (1933) 305-8.

[45] Roberts (1989a) 1-8.

[46] Roberts (1989a) 66-121 discusses the association between art and poetry from Horace's *Ars Poetica* onwards; for similar connection between poetic language and art in Statius, Newlands (2002) 4. This technique in Claudian's work has often been noted: see Cameron (1970a) 269-73, Fargues (1933) 285-8; Gruzelier (1990) 307-8 discusses Claudian's delight in details of bright colours, rich fabrics and contrast between darkness and light.

[47] See Roberts (1989a) 9-65 for a detailed analysis of this technique in individual texts.

[48] Cameron (1970a) 269.

[49] Connor (1993) 240 notes that Claudian holds the components of the narrative "in suspense".

Luxuries (131-39), the appearance of the personified countries and Roma (228-77), the embroidery of Stilicho's cloak (341-61).

This could be described as an ecphrastic style[50] in which all action stops so that the audience can visualise the picture brought to life before them. Unlike an ecphrasis, however, these pictorial scenes do not necessarily offer the listener an interpretation of the poem. While the "jeweled style" represents word painting without implied commentary, the ecphrasis is a metaliterary device which focuses on a work of art in order to comment on the narrative, whether past or future, or to explore the different points of view held by different characters.[51] As a vehicle for flattery, the ecphrasis had become a popular literary technique of late antiquity, and could be used to pay a delicate compliment to the emperor. The unknown writer of the panegyric to Maximian and Constantine adorns his speech with a description of a painting in the palace of Aquileia, which shows the infant Constantine being offered a gold and jewelled helmet (*PL* 6).[52] Claudian's description of Stilicho's cloak (*Stil* 2. 339-61) which depicts Stilicho's grandson as a future emperor, is a more elaborate image, but carries the same encomiastic message of honoured *imperium*.

There are examples of the classical epic ecphrasis in Claudian's work – the shield of Roma (*P&O* 96-9), Stilicho's cloak (*Stil* 2.339-61), the *palla* and urn of Eridanus (*VI Cons.* 165-77) – but only in his mythological epic, *De raptu Proserpinae*, does he allow the ecphrasis to comment fully on the scene, letting the reader share the omniscient point of view which emphasises the character's ignorance. Proserpina's tapestry (*Rapt.* 1.246-75) is a proleptic ecphrasis,[53] giving information on the coming plot: Proserpina's trembling as she weaves the scene of Hades prefigures her terror at the abduction by Pluto. The cosmic design of the weaving reflects the underlying concern of the epic: the threat of upheaval from Pluto, the efforts of Jupiter to maintain stability. Gruzelier suggests that the cosmic design of the weaving echoes Claudian's view of the world as a small centre of order besieged by dark forces.[54]

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[50] Cameron (1970a) 272. For rhetorical background, Fargues (1933) 285-6. While ecphrasis most usually defines the description of a man-made artefact, it can also be applied to any description intended to recreate the visual impact of a scene: see Roberts (1989a) 38-9, Barchiesi (1997b) 271.

[51] Fowler (1991) 64-85, Harrison (2001a) 71. For the possible complexities of the epic ecphrasis in Vergil alone, see, for example, Thomas (1999), Putnam (1998a), Harrison (1997), Barchiesi (1997b).

[52] Rees (2002) 90.

[53] Harrison (2001a) 71.

[54] Gruzelier (1993) 143.

Although the ecphrasis of Proserpina's tapestry is classically treated, for the most part the distinction between an ecphrasis and an ordinary passage of description, typical of Claudian's usual style, is blurred. There is no special importance attached to the detailed depiction of an artefact when all scenes are treated in this way, and there is little need for interpretive commentary when the meaning is always encomiastic and the poet is on hand to explain. In a panegyric, after all, there can be only one point of view. Claudian's ecphraseis are recognisable as such only because they concern works of art: they have little or no more interpretive function than any other decorative passage. That Claudian was aware of the inevitable devaluing of the ecphrasis is suggested by his treatment of the scene of Eridanus' rebuke to Alaric (*VI Cons.* 146-200). As an episode, the passage is typical of Claudian's style, a mythological scene with many colourful figures, and apparently centering on the interpretive description of the river-god's cloak and urn. The cloak is embroidered with the story of Phaëthon, while the urn is engraved with scenes from the downfall of Phaëthon: the transformation of Cycnus and the Heliades, the winding course of Eridanus. Ovid had narrated the story at length (*Met.* 1.747-2.400)[55] but Claudian mentions the details only with little elaboration. The cloak receives even less description:

> palla tegit latos umeros, curruque paterno
> intextus Phaethon glaucos incendit amictus (*VI Cons.* 165-6)

The colours and brightness – *glaucos*, *incendit* – embellish the overall scene but do not turn the *palla* into a full ecphrasis.[56] Instead, Claudian's poetic palette in this scene is devoted to Eridanus, whose shining horns and crown of poplars are as detailed as though the poet is describing a picture before him. Nor is the authorial message centred on the artefacts. Even though the image of Phaëthon on cloak and urn is clearly meant for the defeated Alaric, Claudian puts the moral into words and gives them to Eridanus to speak: *simili bacchatur crimine, quisquis/adspirat Romae spoliis aut Solis habenis* (*VI Cons.* 191-2). The whole scene, rather than the engraved art work, has become the ecphrasis, all

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[55] For allusions in this passage, particularly to Ovid, Dewar (1996) 170-9, Eaton (1994) 91, 94. There may also, perhaps, be echoes of *Aen.* 5.250-7 and the ecphrasis of Ganymede, Claudian's *intextus Phaëthon* possibly suggested by *intextusque puer* (*Aen.* 5.252), *nati qui vulnera lavit anheli* (*VI Cons.* 171) echoing *anhelanti similis* (*Aen.* 5.254), and both adorned with winding rivers, *maeandro duplici* (*Aen.* 5.251) and *Eridanus sinuatis flexibus errans* (*VI Cons.* 175). These verbal links are tenuous but in keeping with the poet's self-consciousness: the vocabulary of the Vergilian ecphrasis being reused for Claudian's ecphrasis. For the Ganymede episode, Putnam (1995).

[56] Dewar (1996) 169 describes this passage (*VI Cons.* 165-6) as a "brief ecphrasis", noting that it is unusual in that the message is political.

descriptive detail and moral being given to Eridanus while his urn becomes a mere corroborative detail of his dress.

So close is the link between the traditional ecphrasis and Claudian's episodic style that even his action scenes take on the aspect of a painting.[57] Stilicho's raising of the siege of Milan is a case in point. In epic terms, this should be his *aristeia*, his chance in the spotlight as epic hero. Claudian gives the scene an epic introduction, *cuncta quidem centum nequeam perstringere linguis* (*VI Cons.* 436),[58] and later *nunc mihi Tydiden attollant carmina vatum* (*VI Cons.* 470), but the passage itself does not detail Stilicho's exploits as an action narrative but as a visual scene, a painting based on the work of earlier masters,[59] the phrase *carmina vatum* drawing attention to the multiple source. Homer is the literary model (*Il.*10.338-579) but Vergil had turned the adventure into a single image on the doors of Dido's temple:[60]

> nec procul hinc **Rhesi** niveis tentoria velis
> agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita **somno**
> **Tydides** multa vastabat caede **cruentus** (*Aen.* 1.469-71).

Compare Claudian's version:

> 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.
> ecce virum taciti nulla qui fraude soporis
> ense palam sibi pandit iter remeatque **cruentus** (*VI Cons.* 470-8).

There are few exact parallels but two are striking: the parallels of *somno* and *cruentus*, identically positioned in their lines. Claudian takes the details of the horses' snowy brightness and speed from Homer (*Il.* 10.437)[61] but draws attention to the Vergilian ecphrastic quality of the scene with the phrase *ecce virum*, just as Vergil had pointed out Priam in the mural, *en Priamus* (*Aen.* 1.461).[62] Stilicho the action hero is frozen as an artistic image, the central figure in a tableau of war.

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[57] Gruzelier (1990) 311.

[58] E.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.488-90, Ver. *Geo.* 2.43-4.

[59] So exact is the detail here, and in many of Claudian's scenes, that this could correspond to Laird's definition of an "obedient" ecphrasis: one which is readily visualized as an actual work of art: see Laird (1993) 19.

[60] Dewar (1996) 324.

[61] For Vergil's use of colour in this scene, Putnam (1998a) 247-9.

[62] The ecphrastic nature of Claudian's poetic style is evident in his frequent use of *ecce* and *en*, exclamations which specifically draw attention to the visual quality of the scene and suggest the intimacy of

If the episode is the fundamental unit of Claudian's poetry, the structure is taken from panegyric. Claudian's reliance on the rhetorical structure of panegyric has been well documented[63] but this does not necessarily deny the epic quality of his poetry. Rather, he uses the prescribed guidelines of encomium as a framework for his own epic set pieces, and uses the natural progression of the rhetorical structure to give a certain narrative flow to his epic episodes. The first book of *In Rufinum* illustrates how skilfully Claudian combines rhetoric and epic features.

Invective, like panegyric, required a proemium to introduce the subject and honour the poet, followed by the subject's native land (*patris*), his family (*genos*), birth (*genesis*), nature (*phusis*), nurture (*anatrophe*) and accomplishments (*epiteduemata*). Thereafter, the orator turns to the subject's actions (*praxeis*), divided according to virtue (here vice) in war and peace, before a conclusion.[64] Claudian's structure is very close but the rhetorical underpinnings are hidden by epic allusion. His preface, drawn from Ovid and Statius, honours the poet and his audience, and casts Rufinus as the monster Python. The book proper begins with a proem, a philosophical musing on the nature of the gods,[65] but given an final epic twist in the invocation to the Muses: *vos pandite vati,/Pierides* (*Ruf.* 1.23-4). The sections on *patris* and *genos* are combined (*Ruf.* 1. 25-85) as fantasy replaces reality. Rufinus' own origins were no doubt respectably Roman[66] but in Claudian's epic, he becomes an inhabitant of Hades, a foster-child of Megaera. Claudian's Hades is vividly pictorial, from the blighted inhabitants sitting on the *ferrata sedilia* (*Ruf.* 1.39) to the Furies themselves, fully bedecked with poisonous snakes, smoking torches and murderous intent. Megaera tells of his birth (*genesis*; *Ruf.* 1. 89-93) into her lap, how he was licked into shape by her snakes and taught all the evil arts, and his prowess in surpassing his teacher (*Ruf.* 1.93-115). The speeches of Allecto and Megaera, the gathering of the denizens of Hades allude closely to Vergil, combining the council of the gods in *Aeneid* 10 with the depiction of the Underworld in *Aeneid* 6,[67] while also providing the rhetorical categories of nature, nurture and education.

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the narrator speaking directly to the reader. In Vergil, these words are used most often in speech (32 times of a total of 50 occurrances); in Claudian's work, the poet is always at the listener's side, pointing out the encomiastic message and ready to guide his attention with frequent *en* and *ecce*.

[63] Struthers (1919).

[64] Struthers (1919) 49-52, Fargues (1933) 191-218.

[65] Moralizing, often in philosophical terms, was a *topos* of panegyric: see Nixon and Rogers (1994) 23.

[66] Cameron (1970a) 83 does not accept the Furies as family and argues that the section on *genos* is omitted.

[67] Levy (1971) 18-23 traces allusions to *Aeneid* 6.

Claudian reverses the recommended order for *praxeis*, beginning with Rufinus' peacetime qualities of *ambitio* (176-8), *avaritia* (179-95), *luxuries* (196-256) and *saevitia* (220-56). In war, he shows *inertia* (267-72), *proditio* and *coniuratio* (297-331). Throughout, Rufinus possesses these vices on an epic scale, whether he is a monster of myth (278-96) or of history (252-6). Since the conflict between hero and villain, Stilicho and Rufinus, is being kept for the second book, the first book ends with a confrontation between Megaera and *Iustitia* in which *Iustitia* predicts the defeat of Rufinus and the return of the idyllic golden age. This is an epic variation on the rhetorical epilogue, which, when used to praise the emperor, called for prosperity and good fortune, piety and peace.[68] This *topos* is now reversed, and the absence of Rufinus is all that is required for universal harmony.

The different generic elements complement each other well as Claudian combines the natural starting point of panegyric, a man's birth and education, with the explosive energy provided by the Furies.[69] The main narrative deals with the vices of Rufinus but they are phrased as the vices of an epic monster or tyrant, while the subtext can be read either as invective or didactic: Rufinus' vices are condemned as a lesson for all mankind. The generalisation of Claudian's message is made in the proem to the book: *abstulit hunc tandem Rufini poena tumultum/absolvitque deos* (*Ruf.* 1.20-1).

Within the rhetorical structure, however, there may be noted some influences from epic. Although *In Rufinum* is considerably shorter than the *Aeneid*, Claudian follows the Vergilian structure of devoting the second half of the work to war, the first to peace.[70] This might be a coincidence but for the *furor* with which each book commences. The first book is inspired by Allecto's wrath: as is the second half of the *Aeneid*. The second book begins with Rufinus' own anger (itself a product of Megaera's education):

> haec fatus, ventis veluti si frena resolvat
> Aeolus, abrupto gentes sic obice fudit
> laxavitque viam bellis (*Ruf.* 2.22-4),

evoking the storm which drives the action of *Aeneid* 1. *si frena resolvat* cites Vergil's *vinclis et carcere frenat* (*Aen.* 1.54), and Claudian reverses the Vergilian simile describing the storm as a battle column, *venti velut agmine facto* (*Aen.* 1.82) with his own

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[68] Russell and Wilson (1981) 93-4.
[69] Hardie (1993) 60-3.
[70] As does Statius in the *Thebaid*: see Pollmann (2000) 11-13.

simile of battle as a storm: *ventis veluti si frena resolvat/Aeolus.* The dramatic and allusive strength of these epic openings establish the poem as epic in spirit and completely overshadow the rhetorical and prosaic structure.

Claudian's sensitivity to the importance of epic openings is replayed on a smaller scale within his work as he introduces epic moments with traditional invocations or formulae. Stilicho's rescue of Milan is preceded by *nunc mihi Tydiden attollant carmina vatum* (*VI Cons.* 470), Stilicho's defeat of Alaric begins *quis Musis ipsoque licet Paeane recepto/enarrare queat* (*Get.* 598-9). Such phrases can serve to mark the transition from encomiastic or philosophical passages to epic: *vos pandite vati,/Pierides, quo tanta lues eruperit ortu* (*Ruf.* 1.23-4) ends the poet's musings on the nature of the gods and introduces Allecto in the Underworld. *interea*, used by Vergil to introduce books 5, 10 and 11 of the *Aeneid*,[71] is used in the same way by Claudian in the third book of *De raptu Proserpinae*, and, on a small scale, to mark the beginning of an epic passage as though it were a new book or chapter in a short work. *interea turbata fides* (*III Cons.* 63) changes the subject from the encomiastic theme of Honorius' education to the epic rebellion of Eugenius and the battle of Frigidus.[72]

The Building Blocks of Epic

It could be argued that Claudian's claim to write epic poetry is founded on his use of recognisably epic *topoi*. As shown, his reliance on these features frequently compensates for his lack of epic narrative. Often scaled down to match the shortness of his epics, Claudian's poems overflow with epic conventions. Epic similes in particular abound,[73] familiar from earlier writers if not necessarily specific allusions: Stilicho is like a lion (*Ruf.* 2.252-6,[74] *Stil.* 2.20-3,[75] *Get.* 324-9[76]), Rufinus is like a winter torrent (*Ruf.* 1.269-72),[77] like a beast at bay in the arena (*Ruf.* 2.394-9).[78] Although battle action is missing,

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[71] For Vergil's use of *interea*, Reinmuth (1932) li-liii, Grandsen (1984) 159. For links between books of the *Aeneid*, Harrison (1980).

[72] For the epic nature of this opening, cf. the opening of the third book of Silius' *Punica*: *postquam rupta fides Tyriis* (*Pun.* 3.1). See page 200 below.

[73] Cameron (1970a) 297-9 discusses the epic (and non-epic) similes in Claudian, remarking at 297 that "there are more similes in Claudian than in any of his Latin predecessors".

[74] For various similar images from Homer to Statius, Levy (1971) 182.

[75] Cf. *Il.* 5.161-2: see Keudel (1970) 74.

[76] Cf. *Aen.* 2.355-7.

[77] Cf. *Aen.* 7.586-90, *Theb.* 3.671-6: see Levy (1971) 77-8.

all the surrounding conventions of war are present: generals hold councils of war,[79] heroes lecture their troops,[80] armies are catalogued although the lists are in proportion to the size of his poems.[81] Even here, Claudian adapts the *topos* for encomiastic and didactic ends: the combined armies of Stilicho which march against Rufinus display unlikely unity under this great leader: *in ducis eximium conspiravere favorem* (*Ruf.* 2.119).

Ironically, less epic is Claudian's insistence on the epic nature of his cast and setting: scenes and characters are specifically modelled on the works of earlier epic poets. Stilicho's defeat of Rufinus is compared to Apollo's destruction of Python (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.*), an epic scene narrated by Ovid (*Met.* 1.438-47). In his attack on Alaric, Stilicho surpasses Diomedes' theft of Rhesus' horses (*VI Cons.* 470-80), recalling, as discussed above, the account in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 10.426-514). Likewise, the young Honorius undergoes the training of the young Achilles (*III Cons.* 39-62) which is elaborated in Statius (*Ach.* 2.96-167), while on the day of Honorius' inauguration as Augustus (*IV Cons.* 182-96) a light shines around his head as it had done for Ascanius (*Aen.* 2.682-6). Nor does Claudian confine himself to comparisons with the heroes of mythological epic: the great heroes of the Roman Republic, the Decii, Curii, Fabius and Camillus, are equally good models for his heroes. These characters cross the boundary between myth and history, as they would have featured in the early Roman historical epics as well as starring in the Parade of Heroes in the *Aeneid.* Claudian makes no difference between Diomedes and Horatius as parallels for Stilicho's behaviour (*VI Cons.* 470-90). The *mores* and deeds of the early Republicans had made them the epitome of the ideal Roman character and so Theodosius urges his son to learn liberty from Brutus, patriotism from Horatius, and *paupertas sobria* from Curius and Fabricius (*IV Cons.* 401-14), while Stilicho is hailed as a second Camillus (*Stil* 2.390) and a new Scipio (*Stil* 3 *pr.* 21).

While such comparisons are in keeping with the theme of *reges et proelia* and might seem to argue Claudian's status as epic poet, they are in fact far more characteristic of panegyric, being a useful tool for flattery. Menander advises that an emperor's achievements be highlighted by comparisons with "examples of Roman emperors or

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[78] Cf. Luc. *BC* 1.327-9, 4.708-9: see Bruère (1964) 236, Levy (1971) 201.
[79] *Eut.* 2.325-53, *Get.* 480-549, cf. the infernal council at *Ruf.* 1.25-40.
[80] Stilicho addresses the troops at *Get.*. 380-99, Honorius at *Gild.* 427-66.
[81] E.g. *Ruf.* 2.106-114, *Stil.* 1.148-60, *Gild.* 418-23, *Get.*. 414-22. Cf. Homer's ship catalogue at *Iliad* 2.493-877.

generals or the most famous of the Greeks"[82] and that his education must be said to have made him superior "like Achilles, like Heracles, like the Dioscuri"[83] while the speeches of the *Panegyrici Latini* are dotted with references to Republican statesmen and warriors.[84] By themselves, such similes do not suggest epic: a hero proves himself by his deeds. Claudian's Stilicho is far more impressive in action against the Goths (*Get.* 314-63), crossing the sea in a small boat, climbing mountains, urging on his exhausted horse, than when praised as a hero, a second Camillus, a second Hercules (*Get.* 430-9). Claudian's frequent use of this encomiastic *topos* was perhaps a result of the fact that he was dealing not with established historical or mythological heroes, recognisable as epic simply by name, but with real people, who needed the validation of epic comparison.

Reges et Proelia

As previously mentioned, Claudian's theme of contemporary *reges et proelia*, even if encomiastic, is definably epic. His treatment of this theme, however, differs quite noticeably from that of other epic writers, particularly in his depiction of battle scenes. Claudian does not deny the centrality of war and battle to epic, glorifying the defeat of Gildo and Alaric respectively in *De bello Gildonico* and *De bello Getico*. Nevertheless, his episodic style militates against any continuous battle narrative and it becomes apparent that continuous narrative is not Claudian's intention. From a poetic point of view, his concern is to present his audience with a series of very visual episodes, tableaux of war. Wars are created from epic *topoi* rather than historical fact. The second book of *In Rufinum*, described by Cameron as the most epic of all Claudian's court poetry,[85] shows the defeat of the evil Rufinus at the hands of the hero Stilicho, even though the two never meet. Claudian builds up epic suspense by invocations of Vergilian *furor* (*Ruf.* 2.22-4), a catalogue of troops (*Ruf.* 2.101-14),[86] Rufinus' epic terror (*Ruf.* 2.130-2),[87] epic similes (252-6,[88] 2.373-80, 2.394-9), a general's speech to his troops (*Ruf.* 2.297-316),[89] a

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[82] Russell and Wilson (1981) 85.
[83] Russell and Wilson (1981) 83.
[84] Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 24-5.
[85] Cameron (1970a) 83.
[86] See also, for example, *Aen.* 7.647-817.
[87] For similar symptoms of fear, Turnus in *Aen.* 12.868.
[88] Levy (1971) 182 traces this imagery through Statius, Silius, Valerius Flaccus and Vergil back to Homer.
[89] Levy (1971) 187.

prophetic dream (*Ruf.* 2.324-35)[90] and a fitting death. As an epic construct, the destruction of Rufinus is an illusion only. Claudian interlinks so many characteristic features of epic - dreams, speeches, similes – and consigns Rufinus to such a spectacularly gruesome death that the illusion is sustained. Sentence is passed on Rufinus as though by Stilicho:

> hac Stilicho, quem iactas pellere, dextra
> te ferit; hoc absens invadit viscera ferro (*Ruf.* 2.402-3).

The poet's skill has invoked the right hand of the hero and destroyed his opponent. The audience does not notice that there is no real epic, that the hero retreats halfway through and the villain dies as a result of quite different, and unexplained, circumstances.[91] Claudian has created an epic from stylistic features only: the equivalent of a magician's sleight of hand, distracting the eye with the dazzle of epic *topoi*.[92]

In virtually every case, the portrayal of battles is the same, and relates more closely to panegyric than to epic. Victories are expected of a hero and serve to illustrate his superiority: there is therefore no suspense, and even in the "official" epics, victory is announced first as a means of honouring Stilicho (*Get.* 11-14) or Honorius (*Gild.* 1-6). There is no real account of the fighting and what there is, is narrated in mythological terms whether Aeolus fought at Frigidus (*III Cons.* 96-9), or Mars against the barbarians (*Ruf.* 2.340-53). The battle itself is phrased in terms of epic decoration without epic content, often introduced with a short invocation to the Muses or to the power of the poet (*Get.* 598-600, *VI Cons.* 470), and featuring rivers choked with corpses (*III Cons.* 99-101), the appearance of Mars and Bellona (*Ruf.* 1.340-53) and praise without description of the hero's prowess (*IV Cons.* 49-69). There is no lengthy *aristeia*, no imaginative *variationes* on the many ways men can die in battle, nor even an attempt at realistic description.

It can be argued that Claudian was reacting to political pressures in omitting specific details. Certainly, he had to avoid offending his audience: the sensitivity of the aristocracy to the rebellion of Eugenius would preclude too much description of Frigidus for example.[93] However, as a panegyrist, Claudian was not constrained by facts, and

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[90] Cf. Luc. *BC* 7.7-24.
[91] For circumstances of Rufinus' death, Cameron (1970a) 90-2.
[92] Cameron (1970a) 263-4 arrives at the same conclusion for *De bello Gildonico*.
[93] For Claudian's audience, Cameron (1970a) 228-52, Levy (1958) 338-9.

there is no reason to believe that he could not have written a lengthy battle scene had he so wished. One can only conclude that battles of themselves were not his theme, but illustrations of his theme, bearing the double function of decoration and didacticism.

A didactic message has no force unless the poetry is persuasive. Taking the episodic style to its ultimate conclusion, Claudian reduces battles to a single scene, replacing the grand epic set piece with one memorable image designed to impress the audience with the poet's virtuosity and to imprint the moral lesson of the battle.[94] In *De bello Getico*, the essence of the battle of Pollentia is the Roman soldiers' rejection of the enemy's wealth:

> invisum miles sitiens haurire cruorem
> per varias vestes onerataque plaustra metallo
> transit et argenti cumulos et caedis avarus
> contemptas proculcat opes; pretiosior auro
> sanguis erat (*Goth.* 604-8).

varias alerts the reader to the poetic skill in the lines, the alternating colours of blood and gold ending the first two lines and juxtaposed in *auro/sanguis*, the alliteration of *varias vestes*, the chiastic alliteration in *argenti cumulos et caedis avarus*.[95] As though painting a verbal picture, Claudian details the treasures of the Goths, the purple vestments, the mixing bowls from Argos and statues from Corinth (*Get.* 610-12). The battle has become a living ecphrasis,[96] a pictorial scene with a didactic purpose. In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, the Roman victory at Pollentia is transformed into the image of Alaric as a pirate ship, once the terror of the seas, now crippled with torn sails and broken yard-arms (*VI Cons.* 132-43),[97] a visible warning to all who would attempt to attack Rome. None of the above images is intended to convey a realistic picture of battle, but rather to impress on the mind of the audience a single message, whether it is the Roman disdain for gold at Pollentia, the folly of Alaric in trying to take Italy, or Stilicho, saviour of his emperor, greater than Diomedes.

Examination of Claudian's *reges* shows that they too serve a didactic purpose. In epic terms, his *reges*, or epic heroes, cannot be faulted. Claudian is not concerned with

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[94] This is similar to Claudian's use of imagery for individual characters: as Christiansen (1969) 131 notes, he assigns "certain motifs to certain individuals and..[creates] a public image for each of the main characters".

[95] For Claudian's word patterning in the "jeweled style", Roberts (1989a) 9-24-8.

[96] The static, ecphrastic nature of the episode is reinforced by the fact that this passage, as will be discussed, is also an allusion to another ecphrasis, the embroidered coverlet in Catullus 64.

[97] Dewar (1996) 150-5.

individual personalities (Stilicho's white hair (*Get.* 459-60) being the only personal detail given) but with intrinsic epic qualities. In his description of Theodosius and, more importantly, Stilicho, he draws on the literary tradition of the epic hero and especially the Roman qualities which Vergil gives to Aeneas. In Claudian's epic, there is room for one ruler only and leadership is shown to pass from Theodosius to Stilicho, as guardian of the ineffectual Honorius.[98] In turn, they take on the role of Atlas, sustaining a tottering world (*Stil.* 1.140-7). The hero is the first and best, *unicus, solus.*[99] He is larger than life: Theodosius straddles the Ocean, *Tethyos alternae refluas calcavit harenas* (*III Cons.* 58), Stilicho's journey is faster than a river's course (*Stil.* 1.200-1). Obedient to Jupiter's prophecy of *imperium sine fine*, Theodosius sets no limits to his empire, *margine caeli/clausit opes* (*IV Cons.* 42-3). All opponents fall before them, their attempts at empire as misguided as those of the Giants or Phaëthon.[100]

Above all, the hero is a Roman leader whose actions are motivated by the Roman qualities preached by Theodosius to his son: *pietas, virtus, fides, clementia* (*IV Cons.* 214-418). Political necessity dictated Claudian's theme; he and Stilicho wanted the Roman aristocracy to know that they were safe in the hands of an emperor who understood the true principles of Roman government and had passed them on to his young son.[101] Didactic and encomiastic elements are blended and given an epic structure. In Theodosius' speech to Honorius, the proper qualities of an emperor are expressed in full but in the rest of his poetry, Claudian shows these qualities in action and in an epic context.

The battle of Frigidus was Theodosius' last victory, fought very shortly before he died, and although it was important enough to be mentioned in several panegyrics, Claudian gives few battle details. In every case, the focus is on the emperor. In *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*, Frigidus is given two lines which introduce Theodosius for the first time and encapsulate his heroic qualities:

> postquam fulmineis inpellens viribus hostem
> belliger Augustus trepidas laxaverat Alpes (*P&O* 73-4).

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[98] Olechowska (1978) 2. For Stilicho's inheritance of Theodosius' epic role, see pages 131-7 below.
[99] Hardie (1993a) 3-10.
[100] The barbarians resemble Phaëthon (*IV Cons.* 62-9), Alaric is compared to Phaëthon and the Giants (*VI Cons.* 184-92).
[101] Levy (1958) 338-9.

Although the actual details of Frigidus could have provided material for a gripping epic account,[102] Claudian does not give them. In *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, he tells us that Aeolus fought on the side of Rome, in *Panegyricus de quarto vonsulatu Honorii Augusti*, the emphasis is on the behaviour of Theodosius, his justification in moving against the usurpers, his righteous anger in punishing them and his piety in dealing with the vanquished. The themes are Vergilian: Theodosius acts as though he were taking the speech of Anchises to Aeneas as a handbook:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos (*Aen.* 6.851-3).[103]

Theodosius' behaviour is impeccably Roman:

> mitis precibus, pietatis abundans,
> poenae parcus erat; paci non intulit iram (*IV Cons.* 113-14).

Theme and vocabulary are close, and Claudian emphasises his *pietas* for good measure. This is a living illustration of Theodosius' admonition later in the poem, *sis pius in primis* (*IV Cons.* 276), a working out of didactic in epic terms. The reader is directed to admire certain qualities in the protagonists, the poet acting as teacher and interpreter. The different genres of *carmen heroum*, didactic epic, and panegyric are completely fused. Heroes fight valiantly, victories are won but these are mere details, unimportant in themselves. What matters is that they reinforce the continued victory of Rome and the continuing *Romanitas* of Roman leaders. By introducing his battles with the successful outcome (*III Cons.* 87, *Gild.* 1-2), Claudian emphasises the underlying truth: Rome will always win, and she will win because of virtues of her commanders. This, rather than the individual triumphs of *De bello Gildonico* or *De bello Getico*, is the *carmen perpetuum* which Claudian is writing, the ongoing victory of the Roman empire, the eternity of Roman *imperium*.

The Divine Machinery

To Claudian, the gods of epic are an indispensible part of the Roman empire. It was of course possible to write epic without the traditional gods - Claudian was writing for a

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[102] Williams and Friell (1994) 134-8, Randers-Pehrson (1983) 80.
[103] Ware (2004a).

Christian court and could have written Christian epic or omitted the gods altogether[104] - but for a poet who saw himself as the heir to Homer and Vergil, the Olympian gods were an intrinsic part of his poetry.[105] This was not a matter of religious belief but due to the particularly Roman significance which the gods acquired as epic developed. In the world of Homer, the gods do not distance themselves from mortals. They play a full role in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, mingling with the heroes, behaving like humans endowed with superhuman powers.[106] For their own reasons, they inaugurate actions: Odysseus' journeying is caused by the anger of one god and brought to an end by the intervention of others.[107] As Coleman notes, divine intervention confers status upon humans,[108] but this depends on some degree of belief or at least, suspension of disbelief. By the time of Vergil, few accepted without question the characters and actions of the gods in early Greek epic.[109] The gods of the *Aeneid* are given a different role. While Juno's hatred for Troy motivates the narrative and she and Venus involve themselves in the fortunes of Aeneas, they are only part of a divine plan, foreordained by the Fates, which cannot be changed by their actions.[110] The active presence of the gods and Fate in the *Aeneid* meant that the foundation of Rome and *imperium* of the Julian line were divinely ordained. The function of the gods within the *Aeneid* was not simply to elevate the Julian family but to reaffirm Rome's ancient status as the home of the gods, and the emperor's status as the protector of religious rites and cults.[111] Vergil's Jupiter is not Homer's Zeus but a Roman ruler, an autocrat modelled on the emperor.[112]

The concept of a divine plan as expressed by the workings of fate was essential to the Vergilian world view and was rejected by Lucan, who eliminated the divine machinery from *De bello civili*.[113] Thereafter, epic writers returned to the Vergilian model and restored the gods to epic. As Wilson argues of Silius, this was not literary conservatism

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[104] Hardie (1993a) 57 notes that "through the transposition of the theme of universal power from the terrestrial to the celestial plane the Vergilian epic easily became the Christian epic". See also in general Curtius (1953) 458-62, and Roberts (2004b) on Juvencus.

[105] On the role of gods in epic generally, Feeney (1991); for Vergil, Hardie (1986), Coleman (1982), Braund (1997), Harrison (1970).

[106] On anthropomorphism of gods, Finley (1954) 132-6, Feeney (1991) 6-7.

[107] On divine intervention in Homer, Lesky (2001).

[108] Coleman (1982) 143-4.

[109] For the various theories of interpretation of myth, Feeney (1991) 4-56.

[110] Williams (1983b) 3-39.

[111] This was in keeping with the policies of Augustus: see Galinsky (1996) 288-331). For this theme in the writings of Vergil's contemporaries, Edwards (1996) 44-68. Cf. Feeney (1988).

[112] For Ovid's parody of Jupiter as Augustus, *Met.* 1.168-76, Anderson (1996) 169-70.

[113] Ahl (1993) 134-7, Ahl (1976) 280-2, Fantham (1992) 9-11. Bartsch (1997) 108-14 discusses the complexities of Lucan's attitude to the gods, showing that Lucan decides that the gods cannot exist, that mankind has created its own gods in the form of the Caesars.

but an understanding of the nature of epic as the search for immortality: without the gods, humans cannot be elevated to the divine.[114] The role of the gods, however, began to change subtly. As figures of myth, they became increasingly allegorised while personifications became more prominent.[115] Personifications were not new, either in literature or in religion[116], but they occupied an ambiguous ground between metaphor and actuality.[117] By the time of Flavian writers, the gods and personifications seem to have changed places: as Lewis notes of the *Thebaid*, Mars has become simply the spirit of war and Bacchus of drunkenness, while Pietas and Virtus play active roles.[118] The debate between Virtus and Voluptas in Silius' *Punica* (15.18-128) is derived from Cicero[119], but there is no real sense that Cicero's characters are any more than abstract qualities while in the *Punica*, they have become actors within the epic.[120]

These changing characteristics of divine machinery continued to develop in Late Antiquity and are pronounced in Claudian's work. As the professed heir to Vergil, it would have been unthinkable for him to jettison the gods: but his gods are not the active divinities of Homer or Vergil and have less character than the personifications who share the divine stage with them.[121] Claudian's gods do not intervene in human affairs nor, as they do in Homer and Vergil, do they guide mortal emotions.[122] Their value is largely encomiastic and they are invoked to confer status on Claudian's themes. In *De bello Gildonico*, for example, the action is two-tiered. On the divine level, Roma appeals to Jupiter for help and he breathes new life into her. This is metaphorical only and a foreshadowing of the earthly raising of the siege by Stilicho. Although Jupiter does send messengers to tell Honorius and Arcadius of Gildo's evil nature, he does not otherwise involve himself.[123] As the divine counterpart of the emperor, Jupiter is the most prominent of Claudian's gods. He and Honorius perform the same function, hearing appeals, granting favours, explaining the plot. Several other Olympians make an appearance but they are little more than allegories, Apollo standing for beauty, poetry,

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[114] Wilson (1993) 229.
[115] Feeney (1991) 376.
[116] Augustus' Ara Pacis, for example, or Livia's shrine to Concordia; in literature Fama (*Aen.* 4.173-88), although portrayed with wings and eyes, remains a creature of metaphor.
[117] For ambiguity of personifications, Feeney (1988) 87-92.
[118] Lewis (1936) 50-4.
[119] *Off.* 1.118.
[120] Wilson (1993) 227-9; Spaltenstein (1986b) 340 notes that Voluptas is based on Venus of *Aen.* 1.403.
[121] Döpp (1980) 36-7.
[122] Coleman (1982) 144.
[123] Olechowska (1978) 16 notes that the gods in *De bello Gildonico* closely resemble the Senate, reverencing Jupiter and waiting for his pronouncements.

and prophecy (*VI Cons.* 25), Diana for hunting and the countryside (*Theod.* 291-310), and their attributes ornamenting the scene. Claudian does show Mars accompanying Stilicho into battle (*Ruf.* 1.340-353) but Mars acts less as an independent character than as a glorifying shadow of Stilicho, literally doubling the might and brilliance of the general. His encomiastic role is preferred to such an extent that he exchanges armour for the toga in order to honour Honorius (*IV Cons.* 14-7), a deity subordinated to the demands of panegyric.

Also invoked for encomiastic purposes are various groups of mythological figures, whose attributes decorate the scene and whose presence elevates it. The Muses plan games in honour of Theodorus' consulship (*Theod.* 274-310), Diana's nymphs do the same for Stilicho (*Stil* 3.237-317), while the personifications of Spain, Gaul, Britain and Italy plead for his return (*Stil* 2.228-68). Their presence adds colour to the scene and honour to the emperor or general being lauded and provide a rhetorical *variatio* in the panegyric, as different sources of praise. These groups are the divine equivalent of the crowds who gather to sing the praises of the hero (*IV Cons.* 565-83, *VI Cons.* 611-17).[124]

Of more importance, from a narratological and political point of view, are the personifications of virtue and vice.[125] What had always been a literary *topos* had become in the Late Antique world a feature of religious belief: the upsurge of neoPlatonism in the third century, the growth of Christianity, the influence of such religions as Manichaeism, meant that pagan and Christian alike had turned their attention inward. Right and wrong were absolutes, the equivalent of light opposed to darkness, and all had to take their stand on one side or another. The enlightened conceived of their virtues as under attack from the forces of evil.[126] This belief, which found literary fruition in the Christian Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, can also be found to a lesser extent in Claudian: the battle between Rufinus and Stilicho goes far beyond the conflict of hero and villain but is portrayed as the eternal struggle between the powers of darkness and light.[127] Stilicho becomes a repository for the virtues; the second book of the panegyric in his honour opens with the portraits of Clementia and Fides, whose temple is established in Stilicho's heart (*Stil* 2.6-

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[124] For chorus of praise within the poem, Goldhill (1991) 276.
[125] Cameron (1970a) 255.
[126] Brown (1971) 49-57. Edwards (2004b) discusses Christianity and philosophy in the third and fourth centuries.
[127] For Rufinus as embodiment of *Discordia*, James (1998) 170.

49).[128] As with the gods, however, these personifications are rather bland figures: Claudian is not writing full-scale allegory, and for the most part invokes these deities for poetic decoration.[129]

The classification of the Furies, whether as gods or personifications, is difficult. In Greek literature as the Erinyes their role was to punish wrongdoers.[130] Gradually their role as agents of rightful vengeance was eroded and they became forces of evil.[131] In the *Aeneid*, Juno summons Allecto as the agent of her *furor*, the rage of Allecto in book 7 balances the anger of Juno in book 1: the energy of *furor* and the Furies drives the action.[132] In Claudian's work, although vividly depicted with their traditional attributes of snaky hair and torches of pitch, the Furies have become allegories, symbolising mindless rage and the unjustified threat to good government. In Claudian's panegyric world where the emperor is the earthly equivalent of Jupiter, the gods are on the side of empire. Since there can be no suggestion that any deity would object to Honorius' rule, there can be no wrathful Juno. Claudian's Furies, therefore, act alone as independent figures of evil, the mythological counterpart of Christian devils.[133] Unlike the other immortals in Claudian, they play a central role in the creation of epic, their fury at the peaceful reign of Theodosius causes Megaera to release her foster-child Rufinus for the purpose of destroying the empire.[134] The Furies interact with mortals, disguising themselves to influence human behaviour. Following the lead of Vergil's Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, Megaera becomes an old man to influence Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.134-63).[135] Bellona, whose lust for war and Fury-like attributes make her indistinguishable from the Furies, infects Tarbigilus, leader of the Goths, with *furiale virus* (*Eut.* 2. 188), having transformed herself into the likeness of his wife (*Eut.* 2. 181-94).[136]

By supplying his poetry with divine machinery, Claudian could draw on related epic *topoi*, giving divine sanction to the actions of his heroes. Heavenly messengers bring

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[128] Keudel (1970) 61-70.
[129] Cameron (1970a) 276-8. For pictorial qualities, Fargues (1933) 296.
[130] On this theme, Burnett (1998).
[131] Nelis (2001) 289, 346-7 discusses the Empedoclean and Ennean models for Vergil's Allecto.
[132] Hardie (1993a) 60-3.
[133] James (1998) 162.
[134] Feeney (1991) 376 notes of the Furies in the works of Valerius Flaccus and Statius that, unlike the gods, the Furies continue to act, usurping the role of the celestials.
[135] James (1998) 166-7. As Levy (1971) 50 notes, Megaera, unlike Vergil's Allecto in her confrontation of Turnus, gives proof of her words to Rufinus.
[136] Long (1996) 102.

advice.[137] Success or failure is foreshadowed by omens: the army sent against Gildo is heartened by the appearance of an eagle which tears apart a snake (*Gild.* 467-71)[138] while the destruction of Phrygia is heralded by the fall of Cybele's crown (*Eut.* 2.279-303).[139] Gods play their part in Claudian's propaganda too: the evils of Gildo and his family are given (false) credibility because they are spoken by *divus* Theodosius (*Gild.* 241-64).[140] In a similar role to that of the Muses or Nymphs who act as a divine parallel to the chorus of praise, the gods provide encomiastic *variatio* as they take on the role of the poet,[141] speaking praises of mortals. Stilicho's attack on Alaric is described in a conversation between Roma and Honorius, an interchange which clearly occurs on a divine level, with Roma the suppliant goddess to the superior Honorius (*VI Cons.* 470-90).

Above all, even though the gods themselves do not play a full epic role in Claudian's work, their presence is enough to assert that his poetry is Roman epic in the tradition of Vergil. Although the empire had been divided and Honorius, ruler of the West, spent most of his time in the court at Milan or Ravenna, Claudian and the senatorial aristocracy continued to act as though Rome was the hub of empire, as central to government as in the days of Augustus.[142] The city of Rome stood for the principles of *imperium sine fine* established by Augustus and given expression in the *Aeneid.* The Senate must be honoured (*IV Cons.* 504), the model of Republican heroes followed (*IV Cons.* 400-18) and *pietas* must characterise the emperor (*IV Cons.* 276, *VI Cons.* 53-5). The ideological importance of the city permeates Claudian's poetry; when Honorius finally visits Rome for the first time as an adult, Claudian's panegyric honours the city as much as the emperor. Rome is the *legum mater* (*VI Cons.* 428), the seat of *potestas* and *imperium* (*VI Cons.* 407-8). And inseparable from this *imperium* are the gods of Rome. Power and cult are indivisible:

> non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
> esse larem...
> tot circum delubra videt tantisque deorum
> cingitur excubiis (*VI Cons.* 39-40, 43-4).

Without gods, Vergil could not have elevated the Julian line to the stars (*Aen.* 1.277) or spoken of Augustus as *divi genus* (*Aen.* 6.792). Claudian invokes the same Roman gods

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[137] E.g. Roma in *Stil* 2.270-77, the two Theodosii in *Gild.* 215-18.
[138] Cf. *Aen.* 11.751-2, Olechowska (1978) 196.
[139] For various allusions within this passage, Schweckendiek (1992) 138-9.
[140] For Claudian's distortion of the truth, Cameron (1970a) 108-11.
[141] Steiner (1986) 40.
[142] Paschoud (1966) 133-67.

to elevate his emperor: Honorius' father and grandfather are hailed as *duo divorum proceres* (*Gild.* 215).

Claudian's *Carmen Perpetuum*

Taken point by point, Claudian's work would appear to qualify as epic on technicalities only. He is not interested in narrative or personality; his work consists of a series of scenes, made epic only by his reliance on such traditional features as dreams, omens and similes as well as the cast of gods and heroes drawn from history and myth. From a stylistic point of view, therefore, a poem by Claudian cannot be described as a *carmen perpetuum.* If Claudian's work as a whole, however, is viewed thematically and considered as a depiction of the Roman empire seen in terms of the literary and historical past, then it indeed qualifies as epic. Above all, Claudian's work conforms to the "epic code" which Conte discusses with relation to Vergil's work, yet traceable in Ennius and Naevius. Conte defines this code as "the medium through which society takes possession of its own past and gives that past the matrix value of a model",[143] identifying the contents "with the supremacy of the state as an embodiment of the public good, with the acceptance of divine will as providential guidance, and with the historical ratification of heroic action"[144]. This is the spirit which motivates Claudian's poetry. His epic is greater than the sum of its parts. Behind the small-scale battles and rebellions of the fourth century, the feeble emperors and the political machinations of their advisers, can be glimpsed Claudian's belief in *Roma aeterna*, home of the gods, mother of laws.

This vision of Rome was first given expression in the age of Augustus and enjoyed a renaissance in the final years of the empire; the more barbarians threatened the frontiers and the more Christianity threatened the cults of the pagan gods, the louder was the insistence that everything remained the same.[145] Nor was this just the voice of the native Romans. As shown by the high positions achieved by barbarians such as Stilicho, Gildo and Alaric, Roman society of this period could be very fluid. The traditional education

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[143] Conte (1986) 142.
[144] Conte (1986) 144. For the concept of mutability as central to the epic code, Hardie (1995) 212.
[145] For Symmachus and the senatorial aristocracy, Paschoud (1967) 71-109, Matthews (1975) 1-31. See also Smith (2003).

was often the path to success;[146] new magistrates and aristocrats established their Roman credentials by commissioning works of art of classical style.[147] The newcomers wished to enjoy the traditional privileges of empire, while the old nobility feared that any change would bring about diminution of their position. Both insisted that the status quo be preserved. As Brown notes, *reparatio saeculi* was the favoured motto of the late fourth-century aristocracy.[148]

This was Claudian's audience and he gave them what they required, a reinterpretation of contemporary *reges et proelia.* He uses the language and conventions of epic to create an ideal version of the empire based on the principles of Roman greatness expressed by the Augustans. His poetry concerns the nature of *imperium* in the fourth century, the delicate balance between harmony and instability, the rulers of this world, their allies and their enemies. These had been the themes of Ennius and Vergil and Vergil's successors: epic was the obvious, even the only, medium in which these themes could be discussed. Epic, in particular post-Vergilian epic, provided the vocabulary for explaining the tensions of government. After Vergil, a threat to *imperium* was a product of *furor*, while *concordia* represented the stability of state. For Claudian to describe Alaric as an agent of *furor* is to pinpoint instantly the danger which Alaric represents and to define him as an enemy in the catalogue of those who, from Turnus onwards, challenged the rightness of Roman authority. To cast his panegyrics as epic is in fact to contribute to the ongoing *carmen perpetuum* of Roman epic.

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[146] Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 44.
[147] Weitzmann (1979) xxiv.
[148] For the contradictions of this claim, Brown (1971) 34-45.

CHAPTER 3

ALLUSION

Allusion: an Introduction

Claudian's poems may concern contemporary events but by treating these events as epic, he shows his commitment to the literary Roman past. As Goldhill wrote of Apollonius, observing that epic involves the deeds of long ago: "to write a Hellenistic epic, then, is to be inscribed in an especially intricate, overdetermined relationship with the literary past".[1] The same comment could be made of a Roman epic poet, writing more than four hundred years after Vergil. To write *carmina heroum* was to add a new layer to the palimpsest of Roman epic, and to engage with a subtext which dated back to Ennius.[2] For the most part, Claudian's epic Roman subtext is created through allusion to earlier poets: it is his engagement with their work, his reliance on their creation of the epic code,[3] which suggests that his œuvre may be considered part of the *carmen perpetuum* which was Roman epic.

The implications of the Roman state as the theme of an unending Roman epic, a *carmen perpetuum* of *Roma aeterna*, extend beyond the concept of limitless temporal power. To the Romans, Rome was timeless, a living palimpsest, containing simultaneously the hut of Romulus, the Circus Maximus and the Christian churches.[4] The same analogy can be made of Roman literature: one can argue that Claudian saw the writings of Ennius, Vergil and Lucan as part of his contemporary literary landscape. Those writers had their literary roots and they in their turn had become his. As Conte notes:

> seen from below, from the perspective of culture, the text is no longer the neat, checkered chess board of *horizontal* coherence on which words are locked in meter but is now instead a profoundly contextualized network of association,

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[1] Goldhill (1991) 286.
[2] Boyle (1993b) 1. Hardie (1995) for example, analyses Ovid's allusions to Empedocles, Ennius, Lucretius and Vergil in the speech of Pythagoras in Ovid, concluding at 212 that the speech outlines "a genealogy of the *Metamorphoses* as hexameter epos".
[3] Conte (1986) 142-3.
[4] Edwards (1996) 26-7, citing Freud "Civilisation and its Discontents".

> echoes, imitations, allusions – a rich root system reaching down and entwining with the fibers of the culture in its historical dimension.[5]

The discussion of allusion in any writer's work is a complex one and raises as many questions as it attempts to answer.[6] The most basic is the problem of proving an allusion in the first place, of deciding whether it is a genuine and intentional reference or, as Thomas describes "an accidental confluence, inevitable between poets dealing with a shared or related language".[7] To Hinds, this rigid distinction represents "philological fundamentalism"[8] and he argues instead for a consideration of "accidental confluence" in connection with the intentional reference.[9] While this more sympathetic approach is better suited to the study of an author who frequently employs a combination of allusions, it creates difficulties of its own, in particular, the problem of determining the author's intent. Allowing that allusion cannot be effective without the reader's recognition,[10] for the purposes of this discussion, I will try to distinguish between what appears to be no more than a verbal echo (defined below) and what seems to be a deliberate reference to another work for the purposes of creating an intertext. The phrase, *montibus Idae* (*Stil.* 1.264), for example, may be an intentional allusion to *Aen.* 3.6[11] but there is no real reason to suppose so since the words do not contribute to Claudian's theme.

At the same time, to make rigid and exclusive distinctions between intentional and unintentional allusion is a method which fails to do justice to Claudian. In his discussion of Claudian's borrowings in *De raptu Proserpinae*, Clarke identifies three distinct types of reference: "(1) short direct quotations, with little or no change, from famous originals, introduced deliberately in order to be recognised, like a tune; (2) sustained passages on some familiar *lieu commun*...employing and varying the traditional vocabulary" and (3) less deliberate and formal allusions".[12] Such categorisation is too compartmentalised for Claudian's poetry. Allusion in Claudian's ouevre is a flexible literary and rhetorical instrument. His work is often composed of layers of references, some created through

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[5] Conte (1986) 49.
[6] While the scholarship on this topic is vast, the following general works in particular have been very helpful in preparing this section: Edmunds (2001), Harrison (2001a), Fowler (2000), Hinds (1998), Pucci (1998), Wills (1998), Wills (1996), Farrell (1991), Horsfall (1990a), Thomas (1986), Conte (1986), Giangrande (1967).
[7] Thomas (1986) 174. Cf. Wills (1998) 277.
[8] Hinds (1998) 20.
[9] Hinds (1998) 25.
[10] Laird (1999) 36-7.
[11] Keudel (1970) 53.
[12] Clarke (1950) 5.

verbal parallels, others by theme and circumstance. One reference may frame another, inviting the reader to examine the internal allusion in terms of the external; both allusions may be decorated with references to other works. A reference may be built up over a whole poem, creating a continuous subtext: in short, the vocabulary of classification is extremely difficult. For the purposes of simplicity, I will use Thomas' system of categorisation: single reference, self-reference, correction, apparent reference, multiple reference or conflation.[13] I would, however, substitute "verbal echo" for "casual reference" since a verbal parallel may be present in order to reinforce the subtext or may be a coincidence of language: to describe it as "casual" seems to avoid categorisation.

The category "verbal echo" may need some clarification. By this I mean a direct quotation from another text. The difficulty in analysing such echoes is that they may correspond to Thomas' "accidental confluence"; however, so close is Claudian's engagement with his literary predecessors that all such apparent verbal echoes should be examined closely before being discarded as such. Even slight allusions may have relevance. When Claudian describes Africa's appearance *rescissae vestes et* ***spicea*** *passim/****serta*** *iacent* (*Gild.* 136-7), we note that *spicea serta* occurs four times in Ovid's work alone.[14] This may be an echo without relevance or it may refer to one particular passage: the description of Summer in the palace of the Sun, where Phaëthon comes to meet his father: *stabat nuda Aestas et* ***spicea serta*** *gerebat* (*Met.* 2.28). The myth of Phaëthon is woven through the speeches of Roma and Africa in this poem, subtextually only for the most part but surfacing visibly in one very specific allusion to Ovid's retelling of the myth. As the world burns, Atlas is in trouble: *Atlas en ipse laborat/****vix****que suis* ***umeris*** *candentem* ***sustinet*** *axem!* (*Met.* 2.297-8).[15] When Claudian's Roma is introduced in similar terms: ***umeris vix sustinet*** *aegris/squalentem clipeum* (*Gild.* 23-4) the knowledgeable listener recognises the source as proof of the subtextual Phaëthon. In this context, Africa's *spicea serta* is no longer a verbal echo but becomes a reinforcement of the sustained allusion to Phaëthon.

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[13] Thomas (1986) 175.

[14] *Met.* 2.28, 10.433, *Fast.* 4.616, *Am.* 3.10.36. Eaton (1944) 30 notes the parallels but argues that there is no correspondence between Claudian and any of the these Ovidian references.

[15] Ovid's line is itself a reference to Vergil's Atlas: *aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis* (*Aen.* 8.137). For the further discussion of these lines in connection with the shield of Aeneas as cosmic icon, see pages 191-2 below.

The term "fusion" is distinct from a multiple or conflated allusion, being the combination in one phrase of more than one allusion, a double reinforcement. Cameron, for example, notes that *exterret cunabula discolor infans* (*Gild.* 193) is a fusion of Juvenal's *decolor heres* (*Sat.* 6.600) and Lucan's *matremque suus conterruit infans* (*BC* 1.563).[16] To this can be added Lucan's *discolor sanguis* (*BC* 10.128).[17] The context is the palace of Cleopatra and the beginning of her liaison with Caesar: earlier in the book, Lucan had expressed his disgust at the illegitimate children who would be born from this union: *non ex coniuge partus* (*BC* 10.76).

The categories of allusion may be distinct, yet allusions can overlap and Claudian frequently uses many different types of allusion in the same passage. The Underworld scene in *In Rufinum I* is drawn from several different sources, most notably *Aeneid* 6 and the denizens of Hades therein:[18]

> **Luctus** et ultrices posuere cubilia **Curae**,
> pallentesque habitant **Morbi** tristisque **Senectus**,
> et Metus et malesuada **Fames** ac turpis **Egestas**,
> terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
> tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
> Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine bellum,
> ferreique Eumenidum thalami et **Discordia** demens (*Aen.* 6.274-80).

Claudian's version is very similar:

> nutrix **Discordia** belli,
> imperiosa **Fames**, leto vicina **Senectus**
> impatiensque sui **Morbus** Livorque secundis
> anxius et scisso maerens velamine **Luctus**
> et Timor et caeco praeceps Audacia vultu
> et Luxus populator opum, quem semper adhaerens
> infelix humili gressu comitatur **Egestas**,
> foedaque Avaritiae conplexae pectora matris
> insomnes longo veniunt examine **Curae** (*Ruf.* 1.30-38).

This may be described as a single reference but it is also a corrected reference. Claudian rearranges the Underworld inhabitants, giving priority to *Discordia* as *nutrix belli*,[19] since Rufinus will attempt to bring war to the empire. In addition, he introduces *Livor*, *Luxus* and *Avaritia* into the catalogue, all being qualities of Rufinus which Claudian will develop in the coming poem.

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[16] Cameron (1970a) 281, Long (1996) 110.
[17] Bruère (1964) 248.
[18] Cameron (1970a) 281-2, Levy (1971) 20.
[19] For *Discordia*, James (1998) 170, Levy (1971) 21.

In addition to *Aeneid* 6, however, we find suggestions of the *concilium deorum* of *Aeneid* 10 which Jupiter summoned, *conciliumque vocat* (*Aen.* 10.1-3), not simply in Claudian's parallel *concilium deforme vocat* (*Ruf.* 1.28) which is too general to confirm an intended allusion, but rather in the concluding simile.[20] The Olympian gods murmur:

> caelicolae **adsensu** vario, **ceu flamina** prima
> **cum** deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant
> **murmura** venturos nautis prodentia **ventos** (*Aen.* 10.97-9)

as does Allecto's audience:

> **dissensu**que alitur rumor: **ceu murmurat** alti
> inpacata quies pelagi, **cum flamine** fracto
> durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque per aestum
> lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia **venti** (*Ruf.* 1.70-3).

This allusion then, works structurally, framing the internal – also Vergilian – references. Claudian later picks up the framing motif by recalling the *concilium deforme* of *Ruf.* 1.28 transforming it into the council between Rufinus and the barbarians: *infame concilium* (*Ruf.* 2.317-18). The frame is now widened by the self-reference: Rufinus' life begins with the gathering of Hades and ends with the gathering of robbers and plunderers: *qui perpetuis crevere rapinis* (*Ruf.* 2.318).

Within the frame of the council there may be noted another, rather more complex, system of references which establish the truly evil Fury-inspired nature of Rufinus. Once again, the allusions are to Vergil and focus on Megaera, Rufinus' foster-mother. Megaera's credentials are fully described:

> quam penes insani fremitus animique profanus
> error et undantes spumis furialibus irae:
> non nisi quaesitum cognata caede cruorem
> inlicitumve bibit, patrius quem fuderit ensis,
> quem dederint fratres (*Ruf.* 1.75-9)

and correspond in spirit to those of Vergil's Allecto:

> tu potes **unanimos** armare in proelia fratres
> atque **odiis** versare domos, tu verbera tectis
> funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,
> mille **nocendi artes** (*Aen.* 7.335-8).

Verbal parallels applied to Rufinus, however, show that he, rather than Megaera, is closer to the Vergilian Fury:

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[20] It may also be noted that Juno's angry speech (*Aen.* 10.62-95), arguing for war and insisting on her own loss of face, may be a model for Allecto here, in combination with her earlier soliloquy on her humiliation: *quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybis?* (*Aen.* 7.302-3) being in the same spirit as Allecto's *quid inania prosunt/verbera?* (*Ruf.* 1.48-90).

meque etiam tradente dolos **artesque nocendi**
edidicit...
quam fallere mentes
doctus et **unanimos odiis** turbare sodales (*Ruf.* 1.97-8, 104-5).[21]

In looking at the above passage, I have given minimal discussion of the effect of the allusion in the poem, but to note these references – or to accept *spicea serta* as an intentional allusion - is to make certain assumptions about the poet's aims. Allusion is an intricate system of relationships between texts, between poet and poet, between poet and reader. Fowler notes that intertextual relations imply a public literary system:[22] that an author's use of certain words implies allusion, whether it was his intention or not. Although this argument can be taken as far as the assertion that intertext depends on the reader's reaction to a text,[23] such an approach will illuminate the reader's thoughts rather than those of the poet. While accepting that not every verbal reference is intentional, it does not seem unreasonable to claim that if an allusion can be proved to exist – insofar as this is possible – then the poet intended to put it there and that the resulting intertext can be analysed as a real and intentional part of the work as a whole.[24] Existence and intention must often be considered together: at times the apparent inappropriateness of an allusive passage may be redeemed only by the intertext created.[25] Claudian's fondness for multiple allusions often leads to what Hinds describes as a "paradoxical goal" of the interpreter, where the clarity of distinction between clear allusion and accidental echo cannot be maintained, but where textual analysis may be most interesting and suggestive.[26]

Perhaps the simplest way to examine Claudian's use of allusion is to take a passage and subject it to close examination, looking for single or multiple allusion, signalling vocabulary and finally, analysing the subtext created. The depiction of the battle of Pollentia in *Get.* 598-624 seems a suitable choice for several reasons: as previously noted, the battle is presented as an ecphrasis-like tableau,[27] impressing on the eye and ear of the

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[21] The words *cognata caede* (*Ruf.* 1. 77) may reinforce Megaera's words by suggesting a specific incident through an allusion to Seneca's Medea: *non ut in socerum manus/armes nec ut te* ***caede cognata*** *inquines/Medea cogit*, Sen. *Med.* 522-4.
[22] Fowler (1997b) 117-18.
[23] For a discussion of different approaches, Edmunds (2001) 9.
[24] Hinds (1998) 25.
[25] Cf. Sklenár (2003) 484 on Claudian's use of Lucan in *c.m.* xi.
[26] Hinds (1998) 25.
[27] For the importance of the ecphrasis as a metaliterary moment of poetic self-consciousness, see page 71 above, n. 51.

listener an image of the uncorrupt Romans trampling on the treasures of the enemy in their thirst for blood. Claudian had used a Vergilian ecphrasis as his model for the siege of Milan (*VI Cons.* 470-84): does he do the same here? Structurally, the passage is the climax and end of the poem as Alaric is defeated and the Romans victorious; there may therefore be concerns of closure. Finally, although this may be misleading, the passage appears to catch the eye with signalling vocabulary:[28] the opening *quis..licet..enarrare queat* (*Get.* 598-9) may be drawing us to think of earlier poets, just as *nunc mihi Tydiden attollant carmina vatum* (*VI Cons.* 470) led us to Homer and Vergil. Does *signa* (*Get.* 612) contain a metaliterary clue? What about *revisunt, renarrant, referunt* (618-20)? Do *varias* (605) and *diversae* (617) suggest poetic variation on an earlier work?

Claudian's Allusive Techniques

> Quis Musis ipsoque licet Paeane recepto
> enarrare queat....
> invisum miles sitiens haurire cruorem
> per **varias vestes** onerataque plaustra metallo
> transit et **argenti** cumulos, et caedis avarus
> contemptas proculcat opes; pretiosior **auro**
> sanguis erat; **passim** neclecti prodiga lucri
> ira **furens** strictis odium mucronibus explet.
> **purpureos** cultus absumptique igne Valentis
> exuvias **miserisque** graves crateras ab Argis
> raptaque flagranti spirantia signa Corintho
> callidus **ante pedes** venientibus obicit hostis
> incassum; neque enim feralis **praeda** moratur,
> sed iustos praebent stimulos monumenta doloris.
> Adseritur ferro captivum vulgus, et omnes
> diversae vocis populi, quos traxerat hostis
> servitio, tandem dominorum strage redempti
> blanda cruentatis affigunt oscula dextris,
> **desertosque** lares et pignora **laeta** revisunt.
> **miratur** sua quemque **domus** cladesque renarrant
> ordine, tum grati referunt **mira**cula belli.
> quis tibi tunc, Alarice, dolor, cum Marte perirent
> divitiae spoliisque diu quaesita supellex (*Get.* 598-9, 604-24).

The introductory invocation to Apollo and the Muses suggests an epic introduction yet the first strong allusive signal, *varias vestes*,[29] introducing the vocabulary of rich fabrics

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[28] Cf. Laird (1999), Horsfall (1990a), Stinton (1976).

[29] For *vario* and *ποικίλλω* as indicators of ecphraseis, Faber (1998) 210. Laird (1993) 24-5 discusses the rhetorical and literary connotations of *variata* here and *decorata* at 64.265.

and metals, guides us to Catullus 64 and the coverlet embroidered with the story of Ariadne, another ecphrasis used as model for his poetic tableaux. A comparison of the two passages suggest that Claudian indeed had Catullus in mind when composing his work:

> ipsius at sedes, quacumque opulenta recessit
> regia, fulgenti splendent **auro atque argento**. 45
> candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensae,
> tota **domus** gaudet regali splendida gaza.
> puluinar uero diuae geniale locatur
> sedibus in mediis, Indo quod dente politum
> tincta tegit roseo conchyli **purpura** fuco. 50
> haec **uestis** priscis hominum **uariata** figuris
> heroum **mira** uirtutes indicat arte.
> namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae,
> Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
> indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna **furores**, 55
> necdum etiam sese quae uisit uisere credit,
> utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno
> **desertam** in sola **miseram** se cernat harena.
>
> omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore **passim** 67
> ipsius **ante pedes** fluctus salis alludebant.
>
> sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
> commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia vultum,
> ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,
> quae **misera** in gnata deperdita **laeta**batur, 120
>
> pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque 153
> **praeda**, neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra.[30]

This comparison raises the question: are the echoes sufficient to prove an allusion or are they merely the "the inevitable reuse of common language"?[31] Both poets are describing rich garments and so the similarity of colour and metals may be coincidental. The parallel *vestis variata* and *varias vestes* is stronger but still inconclusive, even allowing for Laird's suggestion that *variata* may act as a signal.[32] The Romans' rejection of the rich clothes, however, cast before their feet, *ante pedes*, suggest Ariadne's rich attire lying in the waves, *ante pedes*, while the life-like statues, *spirantia signa*, play on Catullus' description of Ariadne as a woman transformed to a statue, *effigies* (64.61). Further *variatio* may be seen in the scene of the prisoners returning to their homes (*Get.* 616-20) which may correspond to Cat. 64.117-20. Ariadne is a daughter embracing her

[30] Parallels are in bold print, words of similar meaning are underlined.
[31] Wills (1998) 277.
[32] Laird (1993) 24.

parents, the prisoners return to their children and their deserted houses, Ariadne will abandon home and herself be deserted; all will tell their story.

If the *praeda* rejected by the Romans is identified with Ariadne who, as *praeda* (64.154) became the model for every abandoned girl[33] including Claudian's Proserpina (*Rapt.* 1.288), then the Claudian-Catullus link may be corroborated by another source. Ariadne is afraid that she has been abandoned to birds of prey, ***feris dabor*** *alitibusque/**praeda***; in his narration of the Argonautica, Ovid depicts Medea plotting to help Jason, realising that unless she assists him, he will be abandoned to the dragon, *avido **dabitur fera praeda** draconi* (*Met.* 7.31).[34] Medea is of course one of Catullus' sources for his poem, not merely as a model for Ariadne but as the protagonist of Ennius' *Medea Exsul*, Euripides' *Medea*[35] as well as Medea in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.[36] As Gaisser observes, the coverlet of Peleus and Thetis tells not only the tale of Ariadne, but also as the counterpart of Ariadne, the story of Medea.[37] The earlier phrase, *sitiens haurire cruorem* (*Get.* 604), may also come from Ovid's Medea, who urges the daughters of Pelias to attack the king: *gladios veteremque haurite cruorem* (*Met.* 7.333).[38] It does not make an obvious link to the story of Ariadne, but suggests that the presence of Ovid's Medea and therefore Catullus' Ariadne have a valid intertextual existence in the passage.

Allowing the verbal links to be strong enough to prove the allusion, the next question must be the poet's intention.[39] Why would Claudian deliberately invoke Ariadne's desertion in the middle of a battle scene and at the climax of his poem? It may be argued that he wished to draw attention to the ecphrastic nature of the scene as he had done in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* when he modelled Stilicho's *aristeia* on Vergil's ecphrasis of the theft of Rhesus' horses.[40] While this may be partially Claudian's motive – particularly if we accept *variata* as an allusive signal – it cannot account for the whole. If we accept the allusion, we can make some general observations: that as the allusion begins closely after the opening *quis [poeta]?* and can be read

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[33] Davis (1999) 49, 54.
[34] Claudian's *feralis praeda* echoes the sound, if not the sense, of this phrase.
[35] Gaisser (1995) 581.
[36] Clare (1996) 60 notes that although through the intertextual connections to Apollonius' *Argonautica* Medea is clearly present in Catullus 64, she is present only in the subtext.
[37] Gaisser (1995) 607.
[38] Eaton (1944) 100 classifies this phrase as "certainly Ovidian".
[39] Cf. Farrell (1991) 3-25.
[40] See pages 72-3 above, also Dewar (1996) 324.

throughout the whole passage, it may be considered as both the first answer to the question and as a frame for any further allusions which may be found. Catullus is our first poet, and we must consider the context which his version of Ariadne's desertion supplies. Without examining the details, almost as though playing at word-association, we can say that the allusion creates a hazy, unspecified subtext of sorrow and abandonment against a background of rich foreign opulence, but they are riches which bring no joy to the possessor.[41]

Before considering the Catullan allusion further, let us look first for other allusions. Some phrases are simply too commonplace to be valid: *strictis mucronibus*,[42] for example, or *pretiosior auro*.[43] Unprovable also is the possible suggestion of Lucretius in the lines:

> blanda cruentatis adfigunt **oscula** dextris
> desertosque lares et pignora **laeta** revisunt.
> miratur sua quemque **domus** cladesque renarrant
> ordine (*Get.* 619-20).

Lucretius' lines describe man's fear of death:

> iam iam non **domus** accipiet te **laeta**, neque uxor
> optima nec dulces occurrent **oscula** nati
> praeripere (*DRN* 3.894-6)

Claudian's prisoners kiss the hands of their captors and return home to their families having avoided death: Lucretius' husbands and fathers will no longer see their homes once they have died. While the parallels are tempting, the passages do not create a clear intertext. The lines may or may not have been in Claudian's mind as he wrote. *revisunt* and *renarrant* remain tantalizing possibilities rather than obvious signals.

The signalling phrase, *spirantia signa*, however, while brief is more suggestive. In part, as I have argued, it plays with Catullus' description of Ariadne as *effigies* (64.61). More significantly, the words may be intended to direct us to the *Georgics*, *stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa* (*Geo.* 3.4). Here we find another ecphrasis, the temple in honour of Caesar, which is decorated with purple and gold (*Geo.* 3.25-6), the colours which Claudian describes. The doors of the temple show trophies and triumphs over India, Asia

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[41] For the coverlet as a symbol of sorrow, Konstan (1993) 67-9.

[42] The phrase is found in Verg. *Aen.* 2.449, Ovid *F.* 3.231, Amm. 15.4.9, Claudian *c.m.* xxix. 46.

[43] Eaton (1944) 100 argues that *pretiosior auro* is "certainly Ovidian". While one reference (*AA* 2.299), which describes the costly fabric of the girl's dress, may have been in the poet's mind, the other two (*Met.* 8.79, *Am.* 3.8.3) do not seem likely.

and the Parthians, Roman victories over barbarians, possibly foreshadowing Pollentia. That Claudian intended this allusion is suggested by a line from the proem to the poem: *teneras vincturo carmine mentes* (*Get.* 21) which is strongly reminiscent of Vergil's *vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes* (*Geo.* 3.3). Both poets are speaking of mythological purple passages, intended to impress the ignorant. Vergil draws his examples from the clichéd themes of epic, Eurystheus, Busiris, Hylas and Pelops, while Claudian lists the adventures of the Argonauts, the Harpies, the dragon, the earth-born soldiers. The Vergilian passage demonstrates a deep level of literary self-consciousness, setting forth the poet's epic ambitions;[44] by the early allusion to Vergil, Claudian lays claim to Vergilian *auctoritas*: his stated aim of revealing and praising the true heroism of the Argonautica will be fulfilled, just as Vergil's poetic temple was accomplished in the writing of the *Aeneid.* The *signa* of Vergil represent the founders of the Roman state, a reminder to Claudian's Romans of their glorious ancestry[45] and, by extension, of the *mos maiorum* which they have risked abandoning. By dividing the allusion and setting the second half in a passage of Argonautic reference, Claudian's *spirantia signa* recall his opening declaration and suggests that his depiction of the Romans in victory, restored to their true warlike qualities by Stilicho (the Tiphys of the proem), is the fulfilment of his promise. For Vergil, *spirantia signa* suggest the importation of Hellenistic literary qualities required to write his epic,[46] yet such artistic abilities remain alien to Rome and are rejected on behalf of Roman *imperium* by Anchises: *excudent alii* ***spirantia*** *mollius* ***aera*** (*Aen.* 6.847). Following this command, Claudian's Romans reject the *spirantia signa* and reclaim their military ability.[47]

Claudian's lines contain a further Vergilian allusion, a parallel between the defeat of Alaric and the death of Turnus in the *Aeneid.*[48] This is suggested specifically by *sed iustos praebent stimulos* ***monumenta doloris*** (*Get.* 615), which recalls Aeneas' reaction on seeing the baldric of Pallas:

> ille, oculis postquam saevi **monimenta doloris**
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira

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[44] Conte (1992) 150-3, Barchiesi (1997a) 272-3 and most recently Nelis (2004) 80-90.
[45] Nelis (2004) 87.
[46] Barchiesi (1997a) 272-3.
[47] The poet, however, does not reject the artistry implied in the words. Note, for example, the positioning of the allusion: Vergil's lines, set in the middle of the *Georgics*, describe statues placed in the middle of the temple; metapoetically, they refer to the middle of the *Aeneid.* Claudian divides the allusion, placing the lines at the beginning and end of his epic, as though forming a poetic arch over Vergil's poetic temple.
[48] As Dewar (1994a) observes, the most obvious parallel for Alaric in this poem is Hannibal; this does not prevent Claudian from associating the Gothic chieftain with other enemies of Rome.

> terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi?" (*Aen.* 12.945-8)

Thematically and verbally, this allusion is easier to "prove" than the other. Verbal support is given by Claudian's Romans who are driven by raging anger, *ira furens* (*Get.* 609), just as Aeneas is *furiis accensus* (*Aen.* 12.946). More importantly, the valuables thrown down by the Goths are the *Valentis exuvias* (*Get.* 610-11), the booty captured at Adrianople, and these *exuviae* become the righteous goads of Roman anger, in the same way that the *exuviae* of Pallas inflame Aeneas against Turnus.

The defeat of Alaric in this manner has been foreshadowed by other Vergilian allusions in the poem, joining the Gothic chieftain with the Rutulian leader not only in their fatal desire for spoils but by their fiery impatience.[49] Turnus burns with passion throughout the *Aeneid*: he seethes like a cauldron (*Aen.* 7.462-6), his armour shows the fire-breathing Chimaera (*Aen.* 7.785-8).[50] Alaric too is portrayed as burning with youthful impetuosity: he speaks *flammata fronte* (*Get.* 518), he is moved by the flame of youth, *calidae flamma iuventae* (*Get.* 498). *Romanitas*, whether existing only in the person of Aeneas, or in the full majesty of the empire under Honorius, is hateful to both. The parallels throughout the work are circumstantial rather than verbal; both have broken treaties (*Aen.* 7.467-9; *Get.* 496-7)[51] and both insist on wrongful war against the wishes of their people (*Aen.* 11.100-446; *Get.* 469-78). Turnus, in battle, rages like a wolf (*Aen.* 9.59-64), Alaric will meet his end – as indeed will Turnus – like a wolf trapped by the shepherd in the sheepfold (*Get.* 502-4). In council before the final irrevocable battle, both react the same way to the advice they are given. Turnus, provoked by the spiteful Drances, has some excuse for his violent reaction:

> **talibus** exarsit dictis violentia Turni.
> dat gemitum **rumpit**que has imo pectore **voces** (*Aen.* 11.376-7).

Alaric, counselled by a tribal elder has no such excuse beyond his natural, Turnus-like, inclination for violence:

> **talia** grandaevum flammata fronte loquentem
> obliquisque tuens oculis non pertulit ultra,

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[49] Dewar (1994a) 360.
[50] Gale (1997) discusses the significance of Turnus' shield.
[51] For Alaric's *foedus*, Cameron (1970a) 177-80.

> sed **rupit** rabidas accensa superbia **voces** (*Get.* 518-20).[52]

He will attack Italy because he believes that the gods are on his side; he has heard voices from a sacred grove encouraging him:

> **rumpe omnes**, Alarice, **moras**; hoc impiger anno
> Alpibus Italiae ruptis penetrabis ad Urbem (*Get.* 546-7).[53]

In the same way, Turnus had heard the voice of Iris, ordering him against the Trojan camp:[54]

> quis dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.
> **rumpe moras omnis** et turbata arripe castra (*Aen.* 9.12-13).

De bello Getico is a poem about greed, the weakening effect of gold on the Roman people and their subsequent regeneration under Stilicho. The people whom luxury had made degenerate (*Get.* 160-2) are shown the error of their ways and learn to despise riches (*Get.* 223-6), a lesson which leads to this final scene and their victory at Pollentia, where they ignore the treasures poured out by the Goths in their righteous thirst for barbarian blood. Greed for gain has brought the Goths to this point: Alaric is warned of the dangers of seeking booty, *ne nova praedari cupiens* (*Get.* 502), and the moral is driven home after the battle by Claudian's rebuke to Alaric:

> quis tibi tunc, Alarice, dolor, cum Marte perirent
> divitiae **spoliis**que diu quaesita supellex (*Get.* 623-4).

The words are more gentle than those of Aeneas to Turnus: *tune hinc **spoliis** indute meorum/eripiare mihi?* (*Aen.* 12.947-8) but it is evident that the same desire for spoils has undone them both. The *dolor* of Alaric can be traced through *monimenta doloris* to the original *dolor* of Pallas' death (*Aen.* 10.507), a lament which is prefigured by a warning to Turnus of the danger of seeking trophies:

> Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
> intactum Pallanta, et cum **spolia** ista diemque
> oderit (*Aen.* 10.503-5).

The reference to Turnus' death and the end of the *Aeneid* gives closure both to Alaric's career and *De bello Getico*.[55]

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[52] The spirit rather than the words suggest Turnus; Courcelle (1976) 30 suggests that the verbal link is a fusion of Juno's anger, ***talia flammato** secum dea corde volutans* (*Aen.* 1.50), and Dido's sidelong looks, ***talia** dicentem iamdudum aversa **tuetur**/huc illuc volvens **oculos*** (*Aen.* 4.362-3).

[53] For the play on the word ROMA in these lines, Barr (1981) 16, Levy (1958) 342, Paschoud (1967) 152.

[54] Courcelle (1976) 30.

[55] Note, however, that the Romans behave with more mercy than did Aeneas: Claudian prepares for the actual fact of Alaric's survival by stressing Stilicho's *clementia* (*Get.* 90-103). (For the victory of *pietas* over *clementia* at the end of the *Aeneid*, Quint (1999) 78-9.

But where does this leave the allusion to Ariadne? If we turn to the beginning of Claudian's poem, we may find our answer. Claudian begins his epic with the journey of the Argo, just as Catullus had done. In Catullus, the Argo signifies the beginning of the iron age, and the poem ends with a vivid depiction of its evils, brother against brother, father against son (64.397-408).[56] The dangers of the iron age, as expressed by the love of gold, is also a theme in Claudian's poem. For Catullus, the Argo signified the beginning of the iron age, for Claudian it signifies a rebirth, as Stilicho, steersman of the Argo, guides his people away from the search for gold, brings back the *priscus ordo* (*Get.* 40) and allows the qualities of old to be reborn, *virtute renati* (*Get.* 43).[57] Claudian's version of the myth of the Argonautica is an almost mischievous reinterpretation of an epic quest: the true hero is Tiphys who saved the Argo from destruction, just as Stilicho saved the Roman empire. The goal of the expedition is swept aside, the golden fleece becoming no more than a dragon's hoard (*Get.* 22-3) and Jason is extolled as the hero who drove off the Harpies, those symbols of rapacity:

> prohibere rapaces
> scilicet Harpyias unaque excludere mensa
> nobilior titulus, quam tot potuisse paratas
> in Latii praedam Geticas avertere fauces? (*Get.* 27-30).

The *praeda* which the Harpy-like Goths seek here recurs in the greed of Alaric which brought about the war, *nova praedari cupiens* (*Get.* 502), and at Pollentia (*Get.* 614), a test for the Romans who triumph by rejecting their enemy's wealth. Simultaneously, *praeda* takes us intertextually to Ariadne (Cat. 64.153-4) and Medea (*Met.* 7.31). Alaric, who has been the focus of *praeda* throughout the poem, now slips into Ariadne's place: he has become the *praeda*, like her he is abandoned by all:[58]

> ultro victoribus ipse
> **praeda** fuit; nostri quondam qui militis auro
> adgressus temptare fidem, **desertus ab omni**
> **gente** sua (*Get.* 86-9).

To suggest in closing one work the beginning of another is a feature of Hellenistic poetry;[59] here, in his final scene, Claudian combines and inverts earlier sources. The primary narrative of Catullus 64 – itself a complex interrelation of the Argonautica with

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[56] Bramble (1970) discusses the antithesis in the poem between ideal past and evil present.

[57] For Claudian's view of Roman history as a series of cycles, see pages 148-64; the recurrence of the golden age is discussed fully in Chapter 6.

[58] For isolation of Turnus, Thomas (1998).

[59] Fowler (1997a) 20. If, as Zetzel (1983) 260-1 argues, Cat. 64.22-5 refers to the end of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, then Claudian in closing refers both to the beginning of the *Argo* and also to a work which refers to its end.

the marriage of Peleus and Thetis[60] - could be said to frame the Ariadne episode: Claudian in turn uses the Catullan association of the Argonautica with Ariadne to act as a frame for the Vergilian allusion and the association of Alaric with Turnus. This passage is a microcosm of the allusive structure of the poem as a whole. In the final episode, the Catullan vocabulary surrounds the image of Turnus/Alaric undone by spoils (*Get.* 615), while, in the context of the entire poem, the episode can be seen as counterbalance to the opening Argonautic reference, bookending the presentation of Alaric as a latter-day Turnus. Claudian's epic opening to Pollentia must also be noted. Verbal similarities guide us to Catullus' interpretation of the myth, yet the strongly marked invocation to the gods may suggest other versions. Valerius Flaccus calls upon Phoebus for inspiration (*Argo.* 1.5-7), while Apollonius, invokes Phoebus at the outset (*Argo.* 1.1-2) and the Muses for his catalogue of heroes (*Argo.* 1.22).

If we accept the allusions discussed above on the grounds of verbal parallels, then we can – cautiously – begin to make assumptions about Claudian's technique. Firstly, the multitude of signalling words draws attention to the presence of allusion, although they may not necessarily help to identify the source. When Claudian prefaces the battle of Pollentia with the question *quis [poeta]?*, a great many poets, from Apollonius to Valerius Flaccus, could raise a hand and answer *ego*. The two main allusions in the passage are treated in different ways. In both cases, the allusions are suggested by a short verbal parallel, the similar *varias vestes* and the identical *monumenta doloris*, and supported by individual words. In other respects, they are dissimilar. The Vergilian reference is drawn from a short passage at the end of the *Aeneid*, even though the parallels between Alaric and Turnus are taken from different parts of the *Aeneid* and set in different sections of *De bello Getico*. The reference to Catullus 64 is taken from a lengthier passage, of more than a hundred lines. This is not unusual in Claudian's work and he frequently reverses the process, breaking up a short allusion and dividing it over long sections.[61] The allusion to Turnus is the culmination of a subtext which portrays Alaric as potentially doomed by his desire for gain. The allusion to Catullus 64 gives Claudian's poem structural closure and spins a fine verbal thread between Turnus, Alaric and Ariadne, uniting them all finally in the single word *praeda*. Above all, it becomes

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[60] Zetzel (1983).

[61] For the technique of the divided allusion, Wills (1998).

obvious that Claudian's allusions cannot be categorised as neatly in as straightforward a manner as Clarke suggested in his study of *De raptu Proserpinae*.[62]

The Vocabulary of Allusion

Claudian's frequent use of signal words[63] represents a means of engaging the reader in the interpretation of the text, an invitation by the poet for the reader to look for the reference contained in the passage. Such language can be described as "illusory footnotes"[64] or "Alexandrian footnotes"[65]. In its simplest form, it draws attention to the text as possessing a narratological history: words of retelling such as *fertur*, *dicitur*, *ut perhibent*, *fama est*, or compounds of *memini* can function in this way. In *De bello Getico*, *fertur* draws attention to a particular incident in the voyage of the Argo and its source (*Get.* 6).[66] Mention of an unspecified poet can act as a guide to earlier allusions, the various retellings of the Argonautica present in *licet omnia vates/in maius celebrata ferant* (*Get.* 14-15). More often, however, Claudian's allusions are flagged by a word suggesting return or redoing something.[67] When in *De bello Gildonico*, Africa begs Jupiter for assistance, she asks:

> exiliis dispersa feror. numquamne reverti
> fas erit errantesque solo iam reddere cives? (*Gild.* 199-200)

the doubled signals of *reverti* and *reddere* returning the reader to Venus' supplication to Jupiter in Silius' *Punica*:[68]

> parumne est,
> exilia errantes totum quaesisse per orbem?
> anne iterum capta repetentur Pergama Roma? (*Pun.* 3.567-9).

This can be described as a window or double allusion since through the reference to Venus, we are taken back through her reference to the capture of Troy and so to Homer and Vergil.

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[62] Clarke (1950) 5.
[63] For "external markers", Wills (1996) 30-1.
[64] Horsfall (1990a).
[65] Ross (1975) 78, Hinds (1998) 1. Cf. also "indexicals", words which Laird (1999) 25 argues "point to the position or identity of their speakers and addressees".
[66] Claudian had reference to several sources for this passage (Cameron (1970a) 312-13) Tiphys' role in saving the Argo is mentioned at least in Apollonius *Argo*. 2.571-606.
[67] Such reiteration is central to Claudian's depiction of time and history as circular, as discussed in pages 148-64.
[68] Olechowska (1978) 166.

Any word which suggests return or restoration can be of allusive significance in Claudian's work. Megaera's words to Rufinus:

> ire vagas quercus et fulmen stare coegi
> versaque non prono curvavi flumina lapsu
> **in fontes reditura suos** (*Ruf.* 1.158-60)

literally turn back to their own source and Ovid's description of Medea:[69]

> ripis mirantibus amnes
> **in fontes rediere suos**...
> vivaque saxa sua convulsaque robora terra
> et silvas moveo (*Met.* 7.199-200, 204-5).

Claudian's *fontes* should be taken literally as plural since he refers also to Ovid's own source, Apollonius Rhodius. Apollonius' Medea could govern fire and water:

> τοῖσι καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο μυρὸς μειλίσσετ' ἀυτμήν
> καὶ ποταμοὺς ἴστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεινὰ ῥεόντας,
> ἄστρα τε καὶ μήνης ἱερὰς ἐπέδησε κελεύθους (*Argo.* 3.531-3)

and the brief description corresponds more closely to Claudian's lines than the elaboration of Ovid's narration.[70]

Compounds and variations of *vertere* often signify the turning from Claudian's own poetry to that of another. As noted earlier, the line *in proprium vertit Punica bella caput* (*Stil* 3 *pr.* 2) turns Punic wars into the war with Gildo, and transforms the allusion from Ennius to that of Vergil, Lucretius, Ovid, Silius and Claudian. Likewise, *volvo* and *revolvo* can signify the turning back to past ages as though rolling back a literary or historical scroll.[71] Theodosius' command to Honorius, *antiquos evolve duces* (*IV Cons.* 399) introduces Claudian's reworking of the Parade of Heroes from the *Aeneid.*

Words which suggest change often have a metaliterary function: when Roma begs *poenae mutate genus* (*Gild.* 123), *mutate* instructs the listener to change *poenae* to *Poeni* in his mind, reinforcing the association which Claudian has made between Gildo and Hannibal.[72] The use of *mutare* need not suggest an allusion to Ovid – and particularly the *Metamorphoses* – but there are several instances of such an occurrence.[73] *mutatos* in the story of Midas would seem to suggest Ovid's version of the myth in the *Metamorphoses* (11.100-45):

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[69] Levy (1971) 50, Eaton (1944) 14.
[70] On metapoetic *fontes*, Mynors (1990) 125, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 305.
[71] See page 151 above.
[72] Ware (2004b) 99.
[73] Anderson (1963) discusses the vocabulary of metamorphosis in Ovid, much of this vocabulary is used by Claudian to signal allusion.

neu vana locutum
me fortasse putes, **mutatos** cerne penates."
dixerat, et niveae (mirum!) coepere columnae
ditari subitoque trabes lucere metallo (*Ruf.* 1.160-3).[74]

The line *mutatumque senem plumis et fronde sorores* (*VI Cons.* 170) suggests Ovid's metamorphosis of Cycnus and the Heliades.[75] Here *mutatum* effects a double transformation by "correction" as not only is Cycnus changed into a swan but he ages in the alteration, going from Ovid's *fit* ***nova*** *Cycnus avis* (*Met.* 2.377) to Claudian's *mutatumque* ***senem*** *plumis*. A story which was new to Ovid has become old to Claudian.

The importance of "old" words – *vetus*, *senex*, *antiquus* – has been noted by scholars of allusion: Hinds, for example, notes the importance of the *silva antiqua* in Vergil's allusion to Ennius.[76] *quondam* and *olim* can also act as indicators of past time. As with other Alexandrian footnotes, however, Claudian can use such signals to mislead, transferring a relatively contemporary event into the remote mythological past. Catullus' deliberate confusion of the temporal settings of his epyllion have been well documented;[77] the reader's attempt to untangle the time frame is challenged by the opening *quondam* (64.1). Claudian takes advantage of the mythical "once upon a time" quality of *quondam* also. The introduction of Rufinus as an agent of chaos, for example, which cannot be dated before his birth, is set *quondam* (*Ruf.* 1. 25). However, *quondam* can also suggest an allusion. In a passage of *In Eutropium*, *olim* and *quondam* are signposts to the literary past:[78]

hic cecidit Libycis iactata paludibus **olim**
tibia, foedatam cum **reddidit** unda Minervam,
hic et **Apollinea** victus testudine pastor
suspensa memores **inlustrat** pelle **Celaenas** (*Eut.* 2.255-8).

The signals *reddidit* and *memores* direct the reader to two allusions. The first, in content only and without any verbal parallel, is to the *Fasti*, where Ovid combines the invention of the flute by Minerva and the flaying of Marsyas (*Fast.* 6.699-708). The verbal echo comes instead from Statius, who describes the fate of Thamyris:

qui non certamina **Phoebi**
nosset et **inlustres** Satyro pendente **Celaenas** (*Theb.* 4.185-6).

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[74] Levy (1971) 50.
[75] For Ovidian construction also, Dewar (1996) 173-4.
[76] Hinds (1998) 13. For an example of *vetus* in Claudian, see page 172 below.
[77] For bibliography, Weber (1983) 263.
[78] An alternative reading gives *umbra* instead of *unda* (2.256), in which case *umbra* could be taken as a literary shadow.

This is also a typical case of minor misdirection by Claudian, to take the story from one author and the verbal echoes from another.

The Sustained Subtext: Vergil and *Romanitas*

The examination of Claudian's allusion in individual passages or over the course of entire poems is of course essential for an understanding of his poetic technique. However, unless his poetry is also seen as a single body of work, his participation in the epic code and, in particular, his reliance on that code as shaped by Vergil, may be overlooked. Even in single passages his debt is apparent. We know that Rufinus' evil is imbued with *furor* because Claudian describes it in Vergilian terms; we understand that Alaric is a threat to Roman stability and *imperium* because he shares the qualities of Turnus in *De bello Getico*. Vergil is by far the most important allusive thread in Claudian's poetic tapestry, as the fourth century poet relies on the Augustan to give *auctoritas* to characters and events of his own time. While his interaction with his literary predecessors in general is largely responsible for the epic flavour of his work, it is his debt to Vergil above all which allows his work as a whole to be seen as an epic in its own right, as well as the ongoing *carmen perpetuum* of Roman epic.

The importance of Vergil as the poet of *Romanitas* has already been discussed and cannot be overrated. Since the *Aeneid* covered all of Roman time from its pre-foundation history to the foretelling of the kings, civil wars, principate and the boundless future, *sine fine*, then all epics which dealt with Rome were, by definition, set somewhere within the compass of the *Aeneid*.[79] All poets recognised this and, knowing that every line of Vergil was familiar to an educated Roman, drew on Vergil's work, with full awareness of the resonances. When poets described a storm, they did so in the knowledge that the storm would be read against the storm in the *Aeneid*; so too descriptions of the Underworld or of a *concilium deorum* would necessarily be seen as imitations of or deviations from the Vergilian original.[80] Writers of Late Antiquity relied on Vergil to mark their work as Roman: his generic diversity inspired epic, didactic and bucolic.[81] Vergilian *auctoritas*

[79] Hardie (1993a) 12.
[80] Cf. Fowler (1997b) 123 who suggests that *arma* is always read in a metaliterary context.
[81] Shanzer (2004).

allowed Prudentius to guarantee that a Christian Rome would continue to rule the world,[82] and the invasions of barbarians were seen as an episode within the epic of Roman history.[83] For Claudian, a Vergilian intertext grounded the people and events of his own time in the semi-mythological historical background of the *Aeneid* as well in the moral qualities which Vergil attributed to Roman *imperium* and Roman *principes*. In writing the *Aeneid*, Vergil had given a new epic model to all future poets; in creating Aeneas, Vergil had given a model to Augustus and all future rulers of Rome. To rely on Vergil was therefore both a literary and a political act, giving legitimacy to the fourth-century emperors and their officials as the heirs of Aeneas, and to Claudian's work as a continuation of Roman *carmen perpetuum*. As Vergil had been the poet of Aeneas and Augustus, so Claudian becomes the poet of their successors. The establishment of Theodosius and Honorius as truly Roman is the main thrust of the Vergilian subtext; once this is established then the standard of Roman *imperium* is in place. Those who oppose the legitimate rulers are by Vergilian definition the enemies of *Romanitas*, those who fight for the emperor are the agents of *pietas*. It must be remembered that to persuade his audience of the intrinsic *Romanitas* of their emperor was essential for Claudian as a court poet;[84] since the family of Theodosius could boast no royal antecedents and Theodosius himself, as a Christian, needed the support of the largely pagan senatorial aristocracy of Rome.[85] The difficulty was made greater by the fact that Theodosius died in 395, when Honorius was only twelve, too young to rule without a regent.

In this final section, I want to examine briefly the relationship between Theodosius and Honorius as displayed in the first two of the three imperial panegyrics written in honour of Honorius in the years 396 and 398, and to show how Claudian associates father and son by means of Vergilian reference, repeatedly using the *Aeneid* to create an image of Theodosius, the inheritor of Aeneas' *pietas*, and of Honorius, the heir to Ascanius, worthy in all respects to inherit *imperium* from his father. In these three poems, Claudian does not allude to one single passage but rather engages with the *Aeneid* as a whole, showing that Theodosius and Honorius have succeeded not merely to Aeneas' authority but to the virtues which he embodied.

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[82] *Contra Sym.* 542-4.
[83] Courcelle (1976) 25.
[84] Ware (2004a).
[85] Williams and Friell (1994) 66 on Theodosius' confrontation with paganism, 57-60.

Although Theodosius had died in A.D. 395, a year before the recitation of *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, he figures in all panegyrics as the great father of a great son. Nevertheless, Claudian's first concern is to establish dynastic credentials. Father and son first appear in a scene from Honorius' infancy, a reworking of *Il.* 6.466-81, in which Honorius improves on Astyanax' childish terror by reaching out eagerly to his father's helmet. Homer's scene is reworked by Vergil as Aeneas speaks to his son before going into battle, *summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur* (*Aen.* 12.434).[86] In the *Aeneid*, the association between Astyanax and Ascanius is made explicit in Aeneas' words:

> sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
> et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector (*Aen.* 12.439-40).

As Hector passed on the government of Troy to Aeneas (*Aen.* 2.289-79), so Ascanius succeeded to the role of Astyanax. Through the double allusion, Claudian claims this line of descent for Honorius as son of the descendant of Hector/Aeneas (as well as the simultaneous identification of himself with Homer and Vergil).

In *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian layers the Vergilian subtext, explicitly likening Honorius to Ascanius and Theodosius to Aeneas again, but implicitly drawing a new parallel between Theodosius and Anchises, Honorius and Aeneas. The panegyric may be said to be a *speculum principis* in theory and practice as Vergilian *mores* are both discussed and exemplified. Theodosius is shown in action as the embodiment of *pietas*,

> non insultare iacenti
> malebat. mitis precibus, pietatis abundans,
> poenae parcus erat (*IV Cons.* 112-14).

He is a living example of Anchises' closing words to Aeneas:

> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos (*Aen.* 6.853).

Theodosius' opponents could certainly be ranked among the *superbi*, being *tyranni* (*IV Cons.* 72),[87] responsible for the deaths of two emperors,[88] and Theodosius was therefore entirely justified in making war on them.

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[86] Petrini (1997) 106 n. 50 notes that Sophocles and Accius also provide models for Vergil, but Claudian clearly has Homer above all in mind.

[87] For *tyranni* in this period, see Wardman (1984).

[88] Williams and Friell (1994) 127-36.

In the death of the *tyranni* Theodosius may be seen to take on – and surpass - the role of Aeneas against Turnus. Aeneas had killed Turnus in revenge for the slaying of Pallas:

> 'Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
> hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
> fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras (*Aen.* 12.948-52).

Avenging the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II, Theodosius is *ultor...qui vindicet* (*IV Cons.* 94, 109), his actions far removed from the emotions which drove Aeneas. That Theodosius' enemies deserve death has been established and Theodosius acts as dispassionately as a judge: *non hostes victore cadunt, sed iudice sontes* (*IV Cons.* 89). The execution is seen as fair repayment for their crimes: *Augustas par victima mitigat umbras* (*IV Cons.* 95). The shadows which end the line and poem in Vergil, line and section in Claudian, make an obvious link between Aeneas and Theodosius,[89] while Claudian's *victima* echoes the sacrificial note of *immolat* (*Aen.* 12.949).[90] Aeneas' actions may be open to censure[91] but nowhere does Claudian suggest that Theodosius has acted other than righteously. Instead, *illi iustitiam confirmavere triumphi* (*IV Cons.* 98). If a comparison with Aeneas is to be made, then Theodosius is the more disciplined character, one who can live up to the Vergilian ideal.

The omen which attended Honorius' elevation to Augustus confirms the association of Honorius with Ascanius. On a dark day, a star shone brightly. Naturally this star must be prophetic but Claudian does not commit himself to the bestower of the omen: it could be Honorius' mother or grandfather, or all the stars coming to celebrate the new Augustus. This is the material of panegyric[92] but Claudian finds an epic and Roman significance by associating it particularly with the omen of flames which encircled the head of Ascanius in the *Aeneid*:

> ecce levis summo de **vertice** visus Iuli
> fundere lumen **apex**, tactuque **innoxia** mollis

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[89] Theodorakopoulos (1997) 162-4 discusses the closing significance of *umbrae* in Vergil's work as a whole.

[90] Warren (2001).

[91] For Aeneas' anger, Galinsky (1988), cf. Gill (2003) 217 for various viewpoints.

[92] See Wiedemann (1989) 54 for portents of greatness in childhood. For the association of the emperor with brightness or the sun in panegyric, Rees (2002) 6; Christiansen (1969) 28-30 discusses the imagery of light used to portray Honorius here and in general.

lambere flamma **comas** et circum **tempora** pasci (*Aen.* 2.683-5).[93]

While Claudian does not imitate Vergil's description of the flame as a living creature, his vocabulary is very similar, and the two boys are explicitly associated by name.

apparet quid signa ferant. ventura potestas
claruit Ascanio, subita cum luce **comarum**
innocuus flagraret **apex** Phrygioque volutus
vertice fatalis redimiret **tempora** candor (*IV Cons.* 192-5).

As a simile, there are no real points of comparison: the star which illuminates Honorius' inauguration as a real phenomenon is a gift to the panegyrist, brightness symbolising power, easy to explain. The fire which enfolds Ascanius, however, is the result of divine intervention, a portent which is incomprehensible to the onlookers: only when Jupiter sends a second omen is Anchises able to interpret the omens.[94] Although Claudian claims that the fire signifies *ventura potestas*, he is speaking as scholiast: the text does not make this meaning clear. It is, however, the reason for the simile.[95] What concerns Claudian is to make the comparison between the young Ascanius, son of the great Aeneas, future ruler of Rome and, as founder of the Julian line, ancestor of Honorius, and the young Honorius, son of the great Theodosius, and descendant of Ascanius. The *ventura potestas* of Ascanius is the link between them: neither has yet proved himself, but the gods guarantee greatness. Ascanius is a symbol of Roman legitimacy, joining Honorius with the very foundations of the State[96], the mythological past brought to the present day by the use of *ventura*, a future tense which had become real and therefore past for Ascanius and will, we may assume, become equally valid for Honorius.

Before the image can be examined too closely, Claudian moves quickly, taking his audience even further back in time and evoking the divine counterpart of Honorius and Ascanius: the young Jupiter, destined to be ruler of Olympus as Ascanius and Honorius will rule Rome. While the comparison begins *talis ab Idaeis primaevus Iuppiter antris* (*IV Cons.* 197), there are really no grounds for comparison, since Jupiter was not wreathed in flame or highlighted by an ancestral star. The link now draws the audience back to the scene of the inauguration: Jupiter accepts the reverence of the other gods, *famulosque recepit/Natura tradente deos* (*IV Cons.* 198-9), as Honorius no doubt

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[93] Silius (*Pun.* 118-31) had also used this image to promise greatness for Masinissa, a prophecy which was fulfilled, Barr (1981) 76.
[94] Coleman (1982) 159.
[95] According to Hardie (1992b) 64, the flame inverts the sacrifice of the sons of Laocoon, and marks Ascanius as priest and future ruler of Rome. For ambiguity of fire imagery, Poe (1965) 328-9.
[96] Petrini (1997) 87.

received the homage of the Roman court. Honorius too received the approval of the gods: *non certius umquam/hortati superi* (*IV Cons.* 170-1). In moving quickly from one image to another, Claudian gives new heroic and epic dimensions to Honorius, even if they do not bear close inspection. The youth and beauty of the young Jupiter are here emphasised:

> lanugine nondum
> vernabant vultus nec adhuc per colla fluebant
> moturae convexa comae (*IV Cons.* 199-201),

reminding the audience of the beauty of Ascanius (*Aen.* 5.570) and anticipating the description of Honorius (*IV Cons.* 518-19, 523-4, 551-2). The *ventura potestas* of Ascanius and Honorius becomes far more of a reality in the association with Jupiter who is already receiving the reverence of the other gods (*IV Cons.* 198-9). Since gods and heroes were expected to perform great deeds in infancy[97] the comparison with Jupiter tacitly dismisses objections to Honorius on the grounds of youth. The double parallel between Honorius Augustus and Jupiter, ruler of Olympus, Honorius, ruler of Rome, with Ascanius, founder of Rome, tell the audience that Honorius is qualified and suited to rule.

Given this particular subtext, it is not surprising that the allusion to Ascanius is situated amid other Vergilian suggestions: it is perhaps too strong to call them allusions and yet they reinforce the theme and may even rely on verbal associations. The most specific link is Claudian's phrase *ventura potestas* which, given contextual support, may have been suggested to Claudian by the Vergilian:

> hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
> **progenies** magnum caeli **ventura** sub axem (*Aen.* 6.789-90).

The context is appropriate: the star which shines for Honorius is a dynastic one, and reminds the listener that his ancestors were deified.[98] The Vergilian passage focuses on the line of descent from Aeneas to the Julian line and eventually to *Augustus Caesar, divi genus* (*Aen.* 6.792). The similar theme of the passages is strengthened by the image of Cybele:

> qualis Berecyntia mater
> invehitur **curru** Phyrgias turrita per urbes
> **laeta** deum partu, centum **complexa nepotes** (*Aen.* 6.784-6)

whose proud progression is echoed by Theodosius' journey:

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[97] E.g. Theocritus xxiv on the infant Heracles, the Homeric Hymn to Hermes

[98] Suetonius (*Iul.* 88) notes that a comet, considered to be Caesar's soul, appeared at the games held in his honour by Octavian, cf. the comet at *Aen.* 5.25-8: see Williams (1960b) 141-3.

> **laetior** augurio genitor natisque superbus
> iam paribus duplici fultus consorte redibat
> splendebatque pio **conplexus pignora curru** (*IV Cons.* 203-5).

The allusion to Vergil cannot be said to be obvious; identification rests on a few words and some similar themes, and the fact that it frames another related Vergilian allusion and prefigures Theodosius' reworking of Anchises' advice to Aeneas. However, if one were to object to the existence of the allusion, it would be possible to argue that Claudian's dependence on Vergil is so strong that hints of Vergilian themes and vocabulary pervade his work when describing the connection between the imperial family and the *Aeneidae*.[99]

The link between first and latest ruler of Rome is an important element of Theodosius' speech. Emphasising that the emperor of Rome is different from all other rulers, Theodosius warns Honorius that he must rely on *virtus* rather than *sanguis* (*IV Cons.* 220), an ironic point, given Claudian's insistence on Honorius' dynastic right of succession. Honorius is warned of the vices which exist in all men and which must be held in check, *rabies* (243), *cupido* (248), *luxus* (263). Of the virtues which he must cultivate, the most important is the *pietas* which characterised Aeneas: Honorius is therefore warned *sis pius in primis* (276).[100]

Advising his son to turn to literature for models of morality, Theodosius suggests:

> nec desinat umquam
> tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas (397-8).

From his paraphrase of Vergil's parade of heroes, it is clear that Theodosius has a specific literary model in mind:

> [quis tacitum relinquat]...parvoque potentem
> Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem? (*Aen.* 6.844).

Casting himself as a latter-day Anchises, Theodosius offers up again the familiar examples:

> pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis,
> pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
> sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra (*IV Cons.* 413-5).

Vergil points out the poverty of these great men by juxtaposing the alliterative *parvoque potentem* and rhyming the contrasting *potentem* with *serentem*. Claudian makes the same

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[99] Cf. the "irrational" correspondences described by Lyne (1989) 88-90.

[100] Praise of these qualities was the intrinsic subject matter of encomia: see Born (1934), Wallace-Hadrill (1981), Seagar (1984), Rees (1998).

point by the simpler method of repeating *pauper* at the prominent beginning of two lines.[101] Claudian also varies his model by playing with time and the epic characters involved. To Theodosius, these *exempla* are models from history, while to Anchises, they are visions of the future. As he recalls the names for his son, the living Theodosius echoes the dead Anchises, but since the panegyric is in real time being recited three years after the death of the emperor, both speeches come from the Underworld. Honorius, as listener and son of the speaker, plays Aeneas, although previously cast as Ascanius, but as current emperor, he is also the successor of Augustus, the restorer of the golden age and a living extension of the Parade of Heroes. Both Anchises and Theodosius look to the same past from their different temporal perspectives but Theodosius looks no further forward into the future than his brief prophecy regarding Honorius: *fas sit promittere patri/tantus eris* (*IV Cons.* 378-9). The audience is left to make the connection that Honorius, representing Aeneas/Ascanius/Augustus is part of *omnis Iuli/progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem* (*Aen.* 6.789-90).

When Claudian came to write *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* in 404, Honorius had been emperor for nine years and his right to rule was unquestioned. Since there was now no need for expanded scenes of dynastic succession, Claudian confined himself to reiterating the Vergilian themes of the earlier panegyrics; Honorius is asked if he recognises the *penates* which his father showed him, *patre pio monstrante puer* (*VI Cons.* 53-55). This is, in a sense, a multiple allusion, combining the specific reference, *matre dea monstrante viam* (*Aen.* 1.382)[102] with significant Vergilian words - *penates*, *pius* – as well as a suggestion of the importance of the father-son bond between Aeneas and Anchises, Ascanius and Aeneas. Vergilian reference had played its part in confirming the rule of Theodosius and Honorius. The epic framework which Vergil had created needed no explanation: the Vergilian subtext which provided the foundations for Claudian's poems allowed the events and characters of the fourth century to be assimilated to parallels in the *Aeneid.* Multiple reference meant that one character could play many parts: Aeneas could stand for Theodosius, father of Honorius/Ascanius, or for Honorius himself, ruler of Rome, or even for Stilicho, the epic hero whose right hand protected *imperium*; Claudian's manipulation of time and allusion aiding the illusion that all Roman time is here and now: a cyclical *carmen perpetuum.*

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[101] In the terminology of Wills (1996) 124-73, this is an example of expanded gemination.
[102] Dewar (1996) 102.

CHAPTER 4

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: EPIC TIME AND EPIC SPACE

Introduction

Within the continuum of Roman history as encompassed in the writings of the Roman epic poets, each poet provided a distinct and individual interpretation of his contemporary world. Each in turn dealt with the concerns of epic and empire – the upheaval of chaos, the effort to reintroduce stability – as they arose or as he chose to depict them, whether as civil war, invasions from the past, or mythological conflicts.[1] Claudian's debt to his predecessors demonstrates his commitment to the epic past and his intention of continuing the narrative for his own time. The continuity of epic, however, could not hide the fact that the empire he celebrated in his poetry was very different from that of earlier writers. Vergil's writings hail the end of the civil war and the coming of peace under a single ruler, Augustus.[2] All post-Vergilian epic writers wrote in the time of a united empire. Silius, the latest of those whose epics survive complete, had died in A.D. 101 during the reign of Trajan, almost three hundred years before Claudian began his career. During those three hundred years, the empire changed significantly and two of these changes in particular must be considered for their profound effect on Claudian's themes: the role of the city of Rome and the role of the emperor.

There is no indication in the work of late classical writers that Rome had diminished in any way from the centre of empire made magnificent by Augustus and celebrated by Augustan writers. To Ovid, the city was *imperii Roma deumque locus* (*Trist.* 1.5.70), Livy describes the impossibility of separating the gods from the locality of the city (5.52)[3] and Augustus rebuilt the city in keeping with tradition, the first temples emphasising the

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[1] Hardie (1993a).

[2] A permanent golden age is prophesied in *Ecl.* 4; *Geo.* 1.489-514 depicts the evils of civil war and the – doubtful – hopes for lasting peace; peace under Augustus is praised in *Aen.* 1.289-96 and 6.791-5.

[3] Edwards (1996) 45-52. For a discussion of the relevance of this passage to Augustan Rome, Feldherr (1998) 79-81. Symmachus *Rel.* 3 shows that this belief was still held by pagans in the fourth century.

links with ancient Rome.[4] However, as emperors were increasingly chosen by the army in the field rather than by the Senate at Rome,[5] the political importance of the city declined and by the third century, Rome had become increasingly peripheral. Different centres of administration and government were created based on the emperor's residence: Serdica, Nicomedia, Trier and Antioch became capital cities under the tetrarchy.[6] Long before the foundation of Constantinople as the second Rome, the centre of empire had shifted from the Mediterranean to the East.[7] Rome's ideological significance had never lessened, however, and fourth-century writers hailed Rome with extravagant hyperbole.[8] To Rutilius Namatianus, Rome was all encompassing: *urbem fecisti quo prius orbis erat* (*de Reditu Suo* 66) while Ausonius, placing Rome at the beginning of his catalogue of great cities, found that one line only was needed: *prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma* (*Ordo Nob. Urb.* 1). To Claudian, Rome was *legum genetrix...maxima rerum* (*P&O* 127, 130) and, without irony, he could juxtapose the glories of the Palatine:

> acies stupet igne metalli
> et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro (*VI Cons.* 51-2)

with Honorius' ignorance of the city: *agnoscisne tuos, princeps venerande, penates?* (*VI Cons.* 53).[9] As emperor of the West, Honorius spent far more time at the imperial courts of Milan or Ravenna.[10]

The fact that Honorius was only one of the two Augusti also marked the change in empire from the time of Vergil. In the third century, Diocletian, realising that external and internal pressures on the empire made it practically impossible for one man alone to rule, appointed Maximianus as fellow Augustus with Galerius and Constantius as junior Caesars.[11] Although there were brief periods when a single emperor reigned (Julian, A.D. 361-3, and Jovian, A.D. 363-4), for the most part government was in the hands of two Augusti or one Augustus, supported by one or two Caesars. Despite these political

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[4] *Res Gestae* IV.19-21; Zanker (1988) 101-10 discusses Augustus' policy of restoration.

[5] Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.4) noted that an emperor could be chosen outside Rome; see Potter (2004) 135-7 for Caracalla as an example of the increasing importance of the army's role in imperial succession.

[6] A. Cameron (1993) 7-8.

[7] Brown (1971) 18 describes this "shift of the centre of gravity" as visible in the time of the Antonines.

[8] Brown (1971) 121 notes that the myth of *Roma aeterna* was a legacy of the patriotism of the fourth century. See also Roberts (2001).

[9] Dewar (1996) 101 suggests an allusion to Silius *agnoscisne diem? an teneris non haesit in annis?* (*Pun.* 6.406), referring to Serranus' recollections of the embassy of his father Regulus to Carthage. For Claudian's involvement with the city of Rome, Long (2004).

[10] Dewar (1996) xlv.

[11] For the tetrarchy, Corcoran (2000), for iconography Rees (1993).

divisions, unity of empire was emphasised in imperial titles[12] and imperial iconography. The imagery on the missorium of Theodosius,[13] showing the emperor with his two young sons, stresses their unity and suggests family harmony and dynastic government,[14] but Theodosius' death in 395 led to the permanent division of empire between Honorius in the West and Arcadius in the East. Stilicho's claim to regency over Arcadius as well as Honorius led to friction in the East:[15] although Arcadius' first adviser, Rufinus, lost favour quickly, his successor, Eutropius, proved more tenacious. We do not know at what time Stilicho abandoned his hopes of governing the East;[16] certainly, after the combination of the rebellion of Gildo, the consular appointment of Eutropius and the declaration of Stilicho as *hostis publicus*, relations between the two halves of empire had deteriorated past repair. In short, while his epic predecessors had described a Roman empire centred on the city of Rome and ruled by a single emperor, Claudian was faced with an empire split in two, governed by two rulers and a Rome which was rarely visited by the emperor.[17]

Claudian's epic vision, based on the ideal of Roman *imperium* created by Vergil, was in conflict with the reality before him. Rather than accept the changes in empire, he took epic poetry as his model and recreated contemporary Rome in epic terms, tracing the line of descent from Aeneas to Theodosius, Ascanius to Honorius, casting Stilicho as the epic hero and protector of Rome and gradually, by showing that oriental values would always corrupt Roman *mores*, separating the Eastern half of the empire from the West on the grounds that it did not truly belong. As he redrafted the map of empire, so too he rewrote time. In Claudian's work, history is seen as a series of cycles, from harmony to disharmony, stability and instability. These two are expressed in epic terms: good government is challenged by the many shapes of *furor*, *furor* is challenged by the Roman epic hero and defeated, and as a result, harmony is restored once again.[18]

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[12] For the identical description of Valentinian I and Valens, *CIL* vi. 1175; Cameron (1970a) 52 notes that the defeat of Gildo is celebrated in an inscription in the names of Arcadius and Honorius, even though Arcadius had been responsible for Gildo's rebellion.

[13] For iconography, McCormack (1981) 214-21.

[14] Cf. the column base of Arcadius, depicting the (false) unity of the imperial brothers: see McCormack (1981) 57-61.

[15] Grant (1976) 116-18, Cameron (1970a) 85-7.

[16] Cameron (1970a) 154-5.

[17] For the emperor on the move, Millar (1977) 6-39, Rees (2002) 1-2. Fargues (1933) 137 notes the envy of Constantinople felt by the Roman senatorial aristocracy.

[18] For this theme as an underlying dynamic of the *Aeneid*, Cairns (1989) 85-108, Nelis (2001) 346-9.

PART I: REDEFINING THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Divided Brothers

Although Theodosius the Great was sole emperor when he died in 395,[19] he had not enjoyed the golden age of peace which Claudian claimed had been inaugurated by his reign (*Ruf.* 1.51-4). The barbarians, victorious at Adrianople, remained a pressing threat, and had to be accommodated.[20] There were threats to his own rule. Magnus Maximus invaded Italy in 387 and was killed at Aquileia, Eugenius and Arbogast were defeated at Frigidus in 394, only shortly before Theodosius' death.[21] In theory, Theodosius left a peaceful empire to his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, but in reality this was far from the case. The empire was divided between the brothers, Honorius, under the regency of Stilicho, taking the West, and Arcadius, advised initially by Rufinus and later by Eutropius, in the East. The East rejected utterly Stilicho's claim to be regent over Arcadius.[22] The political division widened to the point where Stilicho was declared *hostis publicus* by Arcadius and the situation was exploited by Eutropius who encouraged Gildo to change allegiance from West to East and supported Alaric in his threat to the West.[23] As court poet, Claudian could not openly disparage the brother of the emperor, but as Stilicho's propagandist[24] he needed to promote his patron's policies. As epic poet he found the answer in the theme of the divided brothers.

The concept of enmity between brothers was central to the very foundation of Rome since the state and empire had been founded on the death of one brother at the hands of the other. In its very origins, Rome was innately predisposed to civil war.[25] When Vergil placed Remus at the side of Romulus as law giver, he was describing an imaginary, idealised and impossible future:[26]

> aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:

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[19] He was *de facto* ruler of the empire after the defeat of Maximus in 387 and sole emperor from the death of Valentinian II in 392, Jones (1964) vol. 2, 372.

[20] Grant (1976) 124-41; for the Goths, see Heather (1991) 193-213.

[21] For Frigidus, see Perrelli (1995), Williams and Friell (1994) 134-5.

[22] For Stilicho's ambitions, Fargues (1933) 58-94, and most particularly Cameron (1970a).
Claudian gives Stilicho's case at *III Cons.* 151-8; Zosimus (4.59) does not even consider Stilicho's regency over Arcadius, pointing out (5.1) that Arcadius was completely governed by Rufinus as Honorius was by Stilicho.

[23] Cameron (1970a) devotes chapters both to Gildo and Alaric.

[24] Cameron (1970a) 42.

[25] Cf. Horace *Epod.* 7.17-20, Livy I.vi.3-vii.3.

[26] SeeWiseman (1995) 144-6 for interpretation of Remus as Agrippa.

> cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
> iura dabunt (*Aen.* 1.291-3),

a future which Lucan contradicted, asserting that *fides* was not possible in joint rulership:

> nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
> impatiens consortis erit...
> fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri (*BC* 1.92-3, 95).

Lucan's lines suggest that the death of Remus was inevitable: two brothers cannot share one throne.[27] Discord between brothers was an epic theme,[28] and the motivation for the *Thebaid*. Statius' opening theme is *fraternas acies* (*Theb.* 1.1), referring to the inability of Polynices and Eteocles to share a kingdom[29] and the resulting discord, *sociisque comes discordia regnis* (*Theb.* 1.130).

The theme of divided brothers underlies Claudian's mythological epic, *De raptu Proserpinae*. If Pluto is not given a wife, he will make war on Jupiter and bring about civil war: *neu foedera fratrum/civili converte tuba* (*Rapt.* 1.64-5).[30] He threatens cosmic dissolution:

> **si** dictis parere negas, patefacta ci**ebo**
> **Tartara**, Saturni veteres laxa**bo** catenas,
> obducam tenebris solem (*Rapt.* 1.113-15).[31]

The phrase *patefacta ciebo/Tartara* recalls Juno's vow to bring chaos to earth:

> flectere **si** nequeo superos, **Acheronta movebo** (*Aen.* 7.312).[32]

By suggesting Juno's actions, Pluto reminds the Olympians not only of the consequences of that earlier vow, but that *furor*, a power found in Hades, is his natural weapon. If this first book was written no later than 395, as Gruzelier suggests,[33] then the tension – whether actual or anticipated – between West and East was apparent at the time of the

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[27] Hardie (1993a) 6 remarks that "for the Romans a shared throne was proverbially unstable"; in addition to Polynices and Eteocles of the *Thebaid*, there were the brothers Atreus and Thyestes, whose enmity inspired numerous tragedies and which was developed by Claudian as a warning for Arcadius and Honorius in *De bello Gildonico*: see Ware (2004b) 100-2. The death of Turnus has been seen as a recurrence of the killing of Remus, a foundation sacrifice for empire: see Nicoll (2001), Warren (2001). One might also argue that Silius saw Dido's flight from *fraterno crimine* (*Pun.* 1.22) as being the start of the wars between Rome and Carthage.

[28] Hardie (1993a) 10.

[29] *fraternas acies* suggests Propertius' reference to the Theban legend: *dum Cadmeae dicuntur, Pontice, Thebae/**armaque fraternae*** (1.7.1-2): see Fedeli (1980) 189.

[30] Gruzelier (1993) 99.

[31] In addition to Vergilian war, Claudian also alludes to the civil war of the *Thebaid* by modelling his Pluto on Statius *Theb.* 8.1-83, a scene in which Pluto also threatens war on Jupiter (Wheeler (1995a) 117-18), and where as Feeney (1991) 351 notes, Pluto becomes an anti-Jupiter. In the detail of *obducam tenebris solem*, he further suggests the hatred of Atreus for his brother: the cannibalistic feast was marked by a darkening of the sun (cf. Sen. *Thy.* 776-8), a detail noted by Claudian in *Gild.* 399-400.

[32] Gruzelier (1993) 108.This may be a fused allusion, referring also to Juno's words to Juturna: *tu bella **cie*** (*Aen.* 12.158).

[33] Gruzelier (1993) xvii-xix, cf. Hall (1969) 103.

death of Theodosius if not before. One may extend the argument to note that if Jupiter is the divine correspondent of the Western emperor (a parallel which Claudian makes frequently[34]), then Arcadius, to some extent, must correspond to Pluto and share in the *furor* which the god threatens.

The breakdown in harmony between Honorius and Arcadius can be traced in the chronological progression of Claudian's poetry. They are first associated in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, recited in January 396. Theodosius had died the previous year and Stilicho claimed regency over both his sons. It was therefore in the interests of Stilicho and Claudian that the empire be portrayed as a unit ruled by two loving brothers.[35] There is no suggestion of division: Claudian addresses the pair as *unanimi fratres* (*III Cons.* 189), imagining them as honoured equally by the gods: ***vobis*** *iam Mulciber arma/praeparat...**vobis** Ionia virides Neptunus in alga/nutrit equos* (*III Cons.* 191-2, 197-8), and concluding the brief poem with the pious hope that they will rule the entire world.

Two years later, in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian begins to suggest the division between East and West. In this poem, Honorius and Arcadius appear together with Theodosius to celebrate Honorius' inauguration as Augustus. The ceremony has made Honorius identical with his brother – *protinus aequaris fratri* (*IV Cons.* 170) – and the fact is underlined by their similarity of dress and appearance:

> haud aliter summo gemini cum patre Lacones,
> progenies Ledaea, sedent (*IV Cons.* 206-7).

Although they look the same, their destinies will lie apart. The speech of Theodosius on the education and character of a Roman ruler is addressed exclusively to Honorius and so implies a marked distinction between the brothers. Honorius will rule the upright Romans by *virtus* (*IV Cons.* 220), a quality apparently unnecessary for an Eastern ruler. Any criticism here is applied to the East rather than to Arcadius, but the division between the brothers has been introduced. Even so, their unity – no doubt hopeful, rather than actual – is acknowledged again at the end of the poem: *ultima **fraternas** horrebunt Bactra **secures*** (*IV Cons.* 656), a line which suggests that Stilicho still continued to hope to govern the East as well as the West.

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[34] E.g. *IV Cons.* 134, 197-202, *VI Cons. pr.* 13-26.

[35] Cameron (1970a) 51 notes this emphasis and remarks on its inaccuracy since the administration of the two halves of the empire was entirely separate.

Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti was recited in January of 398 yet only a few months later in April, Claudian's epic on the defeat of Gildo revealed the existing deep division between the brothers. Influenced by the East, Gildo, *comes* of Africa, had cut off the corn supply to Rome, threating the West with famine.[36] The situation was eventually resolved and the death of Gildo organised, yet the existence of the rift between East and West is indicated by Claudian's insistence on the restoration of peace:[37]

> redditus imperiis Auster subiectaque rursus
> alterius convexa poli. rectore sub uno
> conspirat geminus frenis communibus orbis.
> iunximus Europen Libyae. concordia fratrum
> plena redit (*Gild.* 1-5).

The repetition of return in *redditus*, *rursus* and *redit*[38] taken with the "combination" words *conspirat*, *geminus*, *communibus*, *iunximus* and *concordia*, are an exaggerated paean to fraternal harmony, such over-protestation provoking the suspicion that all is not as peaceful as it should be and that *concordia fratrum* does not hold sway.[39] The whole poem is a warning to the brothers of the dangers of *discordia* which Gildo has created between them (*Gild.* 236-7) and throughout the poem Claudian balances pairs of brothers, harmonious and hostile, to act as *exempla* for Arcadius and Honorius.

The first *exemplum* is a pairing of father and son rather than of brothers, the elder and younger Theodosius, united in their desire for harmony. They are identified here with the Dioscuri,[40] as though giving aid to sailors in a storm. The symbolism is so commonplace that it needs no explanation. These political Dioscuri have come to rescue a political ship, the ship of state, from a political storm.[41] Their role, bringing commands from Jupiter and confirming the treaty between Honorius and Arcadius perhaps suggests an unspecified Vergilian subtext: *sancirent foedera* (*Gild.* 218) being reminiscent of the pact

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[36] Cameron (1970a) 93-5 gives the historical background.

[37] Baynes (1955) 355 argues that the poem is an attempt to make peace between the brothers.

[38] Olechowska (1978) 131 notes the emphasis given by the sonorous quality given by the repetition of r and s in the lines.

[39] The phrase itself is ambiguous: while Nolan (1973) 52 sees Stilicho as the *unus rector*, the political situation makes this definition unlikely: *concordia fratrum* is the more likely and less provocative ruler of the universe.

[40] The Dioscuri brought help to Rome in times of crisis, most notably at Lake Regillus (Florus I.v.4, Livy 2.21). Olechowska (1978) 168 notes epic examples: Val. Fl. *Argo* 1.570-3, Statius *Silv.* 3.2.8-12, Silius *Pun.* 15.82-3.

[41] For the political interpretation of a ship in trouble, Horace *Carm.* 1.14, Alcaeus 6 and 326: see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 179-80. For Rome as the ship of state in Claudian, *IV Cons.* 417-29. Stilicho takes on the role of the Dioscuri in *Ruf.* 1. 276-8, Probinus and Olybrius in *P& O* 245-6 and, like Gildo here shown as a *praedo* capturing ships, Alaric inverts the image of the ship of state, appearing as a pirate ship at *VI Cons.* 132-4: see Dewar (1996) 150-2.

between Trojans and Latins sanctioned by Jupiter *qui **foedera** fulmine **sancit*** (*Aen.* 12.200).[42] A Vergilian subtext is not needed to interpret the *procellae* in this case (*Gild.* 219) in terms of the *Aeneid* (1.85, 102, 7.594): the audience knows that like the storm raised by Juno and Aeolus or that which describes the attack on Latinus, the tempest which besets Honorius and Arcadius is also brought about by *furor*, and its contemporary agent Gildo (*Gild.* 238). The *topos* of the ship of state works on more than one level. Previously the Roman people had anxiously watched the coast for the ships bearing the corn supply:

> pavido metimur caerula voto,
> puppis si qua venit, si quid fortasse potenti
> vel pudor extorsit domino vel praedo reliquit (*Gild.* 67-9)

which Gildo as *praedo* might have let slip. Now the ship has a double meaning. Gildo, as *praedo* and *dominus*, has captured both the corn ships and the command of Africa but he is an unstable captain, *fluitante fide* (*Gild.* 247), and his rule is without direction, *refluum...imperium* (*Gild.* 282-3). The Theodosii/Dioscuri have come to restore order. Theodosius the Great attempts to make Arcadius see the error of his ways: if the young emperor is represented by a ship beset *caeca sub nocte* (*Gild.* 221) there can be no blame attached to him.

Attributing blame to Arcadius would not improve harmony between West and East. While Claudian allows Theodosius to rebuke his son for trusting the Moor, all censure falls to Gildo:

> in fratres medio discordia Mauro
> nascitur et mundus germanaque dissidet aula? (*Gild.* 236-7).[43]

He emphasises the danger of discord between the brothers, sprinkling his speech with fraternal synonyms bearing harmonious and disharmonious connotations: *in fratres... discordia* (236), *germanaque dissidet aula* (237), *pietas in fratre* (240),[44] *tali te credere monstro/post patrem fratremque paras* (257-8), *transfuga fratris* (261), *quod respuit alter in hostem,/suspicis in fratrem?* (277-8) and culminates with the warning *ne consanguineis certetur comminus armis* (286).[45]

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[42] Olechowska (1978) suggests an allusion to Silius' *qui foedera sancit* (*Pun.* 7.454) but the context does not really support this. Cf. Spaltenstein (1986a) 476 for the role of Jupiter.

[43] As Olechowska (1978) 170 notes, the speech is divided into an invective against Gildo (236-83) and a panegyric to Stilicho (288-320).

[44] Hall (1985) 116 reads this as *pietas infracta.*

[45] Long (1996) 137.

In opposition to the Dioscuri are the pairings of Gildo himself and his brother Firmus, united in treachery (*Gild.* 333-6),[46] Gildo and his brother Mascazel, who hate each other (as the audience knew, Mascazel was responsible for his brother's death) and whose enmity is paralleled by the hatred between Atreus and Thyestes (*Gild.* 392-402). However, even from that family could come *concordia* of a kind: the fleet which sailed against Gildo is compared to the Greek expedition to Troy under Agamemnon (*Gild.* 484-5), a brother acting in defence of a brother. Arcadius too is warned by the Theodosii that he must shun the example of Thebes and Mycenae (*Gild.* 287) and join with Honorius, for none can stand against the brothers united (*Gild.* 312-13).

It is evident from Claudian's treatment of the relationship between Arcadius and Honorius in *De bello Gildonico* that the poet was fully aware of the epic connotations of the circumstances, and interpreted the situation in terms of the epic tradition: two brothers sharing a throne signalled *discordia.* What then were Claudian's intentions in this particular poem? On the surface it appears that Claudian, no doubt guided by Stilicho's wishes, was doing his utmost to preach harmony, and yet the war with Gildo must have made harmony seem an impossible goal. Furthermore, piling on examples of fraternal concord and discord could only have emphasised the actual split between the brothers, since the breach already existed and was unlikely to be healed. Arcadius, although admonished by his father, does not act against Gildo, promising to heed the warning, *iussis, genitor, parebitur ultro* (*Gild.* 321). Having promised, he disappears from the poem with no further part to play.[47] Claudian portrays Gildo as being defeated by Stilicho and Arcadius' unfulfilled promise is left hanging in the air.

Under the circumstances, it seems likely that Claudian was coming as close as he dared to pointing out the lack of fraternal harmony. The undercurrent of fraternal discord runs through his entire oeuvre but since there was never an open break, the theme could not be developed to its full epic extent. Instead, Claudian presents Arcadius as a weak figure, the appropriate ruler, by implication, for the effeminate East as described in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* (214-20). Theodosius excuses his son's behaviour regarding Gildo by emphasising his youth, *puero rectore* (*Gild.* 297), and by reminding

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[46] Claudian alters the facts to suit his argument: Gildo had actually fought against Firmus: see Cameron (1970a) 108.

[47] Olechowska (1978) 181.

him of Stilicho's tender care, *tenerumque rudemque/fovit* (*Gild.* 302-3), and his earlier fear of Rufinus (*Gild.* 304), implies that he, like his brother, needs Stilicho as a regent.

Arcadius' fear of Rufinus may have been founded in fact,[48] and Claudian uses this weakness to excuse his having ordered Stilicho back to Rome in 395:

> haec ubi, dictatur facinus missusque repente
> qui ferat extortas invito principe voces (*Ruf.* 2.169-70).[49]

Given Claudian's portrait of Rufinus as the foster-child of Megaera and agent of *furor*, Arcadius could certainly be excused for fearing him. However, Stilicho's hope that the death of Rufinus would clear the way for his own assumption of power was unfounded. Whatever his feelings towards Rufinus, Arcadius was deeply attached to Eutropius,[50] Rufinus' successor. Hostility towards the West could not be excused by fear any longer. The two books of *In Eutropium* were recited in 399, a year after *De bello Gildonico*. Once again the audience is reminded of Arcadius' youth, but this is not enough to protect him from censure. Arcadius' earlier fear is now revealed as a symptom of a weak and gullible nature, and the emperor is shown to be the pawn of his adviser, Eutropius. That Eutropius was a eunuch no doubt suggested the parallel to Claudian when he described Eutropius as Pothinus – *laedor graviore Pothino* (*Eut.* 1.481). The comparison is taken from Lucan; Pothinus was the evil counsellor of the young Ptolemy, responsible for the death of Pompey and characterised by Lucan in the phrase *melior suadere malis et nosse tyrannos* (*BC* 8.482). To have such an adviser marks Arcadius on the most basic level as Eastern and non-Roman. The association of Arcadius with the weakness of the young Pharaoh and the corruption of the Egyptian court had been suggested in an earlier reference to Lucan. The description of Eutropius' power *tantumque sibi permittere fata* (*Eut.* 1. 174) is taken from Ptolemy's delight in being allowed to order the death of Pompey:

> adsensere omnes sceleri. laetatur honore
> rex puer insueto, quod iam **sibi tanta** iubere
> **permittant fa**muli (*BC* 8.536-8).[51]

The brief allusion to Lucan occurs in the narration of Eutropius' climb to power; in the short phrase he prefigures the eunuch's evil grasp of power, the feebleness of the young emperor, and the readiness of all the court to commit crimes against Rome.

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[48] Cameron (1970a) 64.
[49] Cameron (1970a) 88.
[50] Fargues (1993) 88, Long (1996) 2, 19. Zosimus (5.12) describes Eutropius ruling Arcadius "like a fatted animal".
[51] Bruère (1964) 240.

Allusion to the Egyptian court in this context signified more than an insult to Eutropius and a condemnation of the emperor. In convincing Ptolemy that Pompey must be killed,[52] Pothinus advises that there is no advantage in governing according to the laws of righteousness, that there is no place for *virtus* or *pietas*:

> exeat aula
> qui vult esse pius. virtus et summa potestas
> non coeunt; semper metuet, quem saeva pudebunt (*BC* 8.493-5).

The use of the quintessentially Roman *pius* notifies the listeners that Pothinus is rejecting more than simple goodness: he is specifically turning aside from all Roman virtues and qualities.[53] By suggesting that Eutropius is a latter-day Pothinus, Claudian implied that the East, ruled by Pothinus/Eutropius, had turned away from the Roman *mos maiorum*. Claudian could suggest the underlying *discordia* between Honorius and Arcadius yet he could not openly criticise the emperor's brother, especially one who was co-Augustus. Instead, he detached Arcadius from the West, identifying him with the East and, in his criticism of Eastern ways, tacitly allowed the Eastern emperor to share the blame.[54]

The Amputation of the East

The progression of the division between West and East, Honorius and Arcadius, can be traced chronologically in Claudian's poetry: by 400, Stilicho had abandoned all hopes of regency over a united empire. In *De consulatu Stilichonis II*, Claudian gives a brief summary of Stilicho's care over Arcadius and his efforts to protect his interests and the harmony of the brothers, claiming that *discordia* was caused not by the *iuvenis* Arcadius, but by the *iners atque impia turba* who used the imperial name as a cover for their evil deeds (*Stil* 2.78-87). In the appearance of that *turba*, we can see Claudian creating a moral divide between West and East, giving his own allegiance to the West and, as it were, spiritually amputating the East from the Roman empire. If Stilicho could not rule East as well as West, Claudian would show that the East merited no claim to be Roman and was not worth ruling.

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[52] For the significance of Pompey as an image of Roman history and *imperium*, Johnson (1987) 67-8.

[53] While Romans had always viewed the East as decadent and effeminate, Lucan – and later Claudian – here relied on specifically anti-Egyptian prejudice encouraged in the propaganda of Augustus: on Cleopatra, for example, *Aen.* 8.685-8, Hor. *C.* 1.37.

[54] Cf. the shield of Aeneas which depicts *Discordia* between East and West (*Aen.* 8.702).

The East/West division was not created by Claudian.[55] The Romans had always feared the ennervating luxury which they saw as emanating from the Orient, a threat to the upright rigour of Rome.[56] To Polybius, it was the importation of Macedonian riches which led to Roman decadence; Sallust saw the destruction of Carthage as corrupting Roman *mores* as wealth led to greed, *avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit* (*Cat.* x.4).[57] By contrast, Romans were naturally hardy and upright. In the *Aeneid*, Numanus sums up the differences which he perceives between the natives and the eastern foreigners:

> durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
> deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis...
> vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
> desidiae cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis (*Aen.* 9.603-4, 614-15).[58]

By Juno's wish the Trojans had abandoned their own dress and language (*Aen.* 12.825) and by intermarrying with the Italians they had acquired the hardy characteristics of that race. Westerners therefore saw themselves as a *durum genus*, while Easterners continued to occupy themselves with bright clothes and music. By playing on these beliefs, Claudian had little difficulty in showing that East and West were inherently different and the West was inherently superior.

Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti highlights the distinction. Although the imperial brothers are portrayed as identical when they appear in procession with their father, their future destinies cannot be less alike. When made Augustus, a golden light shines over Honorius signifying *ventura potestas* (*IV Cons.* 192). As we have seen, Claudian likens this to the flame which appeared over Ascanius' head, an omen which finally motivates Aeneas to leave Troy (*Aen.* 2.679-704). Honorius is like the young Jupiter, learning his power (*IV Cons.* 197-202). By contrast, Arcadius is described only in terms of his splendid garments: *simili chlamys effluit auro* (*IV Cons.* 208). They are identical to the clothes worn by Honorius but Claudian is at pains to show that the future ruler of Rome is more than a golden robe. The inauguration of the new Augustus culminates in Theodosius' speech on kingship which is addressed specifically to

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[55] See Thomas (1982b) 1-7 for the ethnographical background of this division. See also Paschoud (1966) 16 for divergence in ideal of *Roma aeterna* between East and West.

[56] Woodman (1998) 168-89, Wardman (1976), Gruen (1985) 52-3.

[57] Cf. Velleius Paterculus II.1.1.

[58] For Numanus' speech, see Horsfall (1971). As Hardie (1994) 192 notes, Numanus' description of the early Italians suggests a more civilised race in some respects than those of Evander's speech (*Aen.* 8.314-18).

Honorius alone: *ibi talia* ***tecum****/pro rerum stabili fertur dicione locutus* (*IV Cons.* 212-13). The opening lines make an emphatic distinction between the rulers of East and West:

> si **tibi** Parthorum solium Fortuna dedisset,
> care puer, terrisque procul venerandus Eois
> barbarus Arsacio consurgeret ore tiaras,
> sufficeret sublime genus luxuque fluentem
> deside nobilitas posset **te** sola tueri (*IV Cons.* 214-18).[59]

It is Arcadius' fate, one may understand, to wallow in luxury and rely on birth to justify his rulership. Although this is the custom of the Orient, Claudian, as discussed, goes out of his way to show that Arcadius' character, being weak and subservient, fits him for his future empire. Two years later, as we have already seen, Claudian would be inspired by Lucan to describe Arcadius' minister Eutropius as worse than Pothinus. It is not unlikely that the theme and epigrammatic style of Pothinus' speech to Ptolemy[60] provided an inverted model for Claudian's *speculum principis* here, a speech which extols the ideals of *Romanitas*. Theodosius stresses the necessity of *virtus* while Pothinus argues that it has no place in the palace: *virtus et summa potestas/non coeunt* (*BC* 8.494-5). Theodosius advises *sis pius in primis* (*IV Cons.* 276) as Pothinus expels *pietas*: *exeat aula/qui vult esse pius*. Honorius must be first to obey the law (*IV Cons.* 297-8), yet Pothinus cynically warns that this can be harmful: *ius et fas multos faciunt nocentes* (*BC* 8.484), and Pothinus' aphorism *semper metuet, quem saeva pudebunt* is reversed in the more noble *qui terret, plus ipse timet* (*IV Cons.* 290). If the virtuous sentiments of Theodosius' speech could only apply to Rome, then what was left for the East but the anti-Roman convictions of Pothinus?

The appointment of this contemporary Pothinus, the eunuch Eutropius, gave Claudian considerable material for the rejection of the East.[61] In 399 Eutropius was appointed consul in the East, his western colleague being Mallius Theodorus. Writing an invective to shame the former and a panegyric to honour the latter, Claudian draws a sharp line between the moral qualities expected in the two halves of empire. In the opinion of the

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[59] Such speeches are characteristic of panegyric, but for specific sources see Cameron (1970a) 321-3, Barr (1981) 77. Cairns (1989) 1-28 discusses characteristics as well as Greek and Latin sources of "good king" material.

[60] Mayer (1981) 141.

[61] Cameron (1970a) 367-8. For the political importance and literary portrayal of eunuchs, Tougher (1999).

West, the appointment of Eutropius was a disgrace which could not be endured in Rome:[62]

> non hic violata curulis,
> turpia non Latios incestant nomina fastos;
> fortibus haec concessa viris solisque gerenda
> patribus et Romae numquam latura pudorem (*Theod.* 266-9).[63]

This judgment is repeated in the invective, as Mars rails at the deed and asks Bellona: *necdum mollitiae, necdum, germana, mederi/possumus Eoae* (*Eut.* 2.112-13), and takes comfort from true Roman adherence to *vetustas*:

> actum de trabeis esset, si partibus una
> mens foret Hesperiis; rueret derisa vetustas
> nullaque calcati starent vestigia iuris (*Eut.* 2.123-4).

The East is morally weak, *numquam corrupta rigescent/saecula* (*Eut.* 2.113-14), and, most unRoman, has learned nothing from war, a fact which Mars, as the ancestor of Rome, points out to Bellona:

> dum pereunt, meminere mali; si corda parumper
> respirare sinas, nullo tot funera sensu
> praetereunt (*Eut.* 2.116-18).[64]

The Eastern half of the empire has lost all pretensions to *Romanitas* and Constantinople must participate in the disgrace of Eutropius since its inhabitants have failed to condemn his appointment.[65] Juvenal's xenophobia: *non possum ferre, Quirites/Graecam urbem* (*Sat.* 3.60-1) is suggested in the lines:

> plaudentem cerne senatum
> et Byzantinos proceres Graeosque Quirites (*Eut.* 2.135-6),

the very Romans themselves, *Quirites*, transformed to Greeks.[66] In effect, Claudian claims that the East cannot really be Roman or it would cave in under its own vices. This is a reiteration of Roma's rejection of Eutropius and the East in the first book:

> sed quid agam? discors Oriens felicibus actis
> invidet atque alio Phoebi de cardine surgunt
> crimina, ne toto conspiret corpore regnum (*Eut.* 1.396-8).

quid agam? is not a rhetorical question. Claudian has a solution. Eutropius, he asserts, is an ulcer which is destroying the body.[67] No medicine can be efficacious as the ulcer has

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[62] This was actually the case: in some later histories, Eutropius' name was dropped from the records and Theodorus gave his name to the "two" consuls, Mallius and Theodorus: see Cameron (1970a) 126, Schweckendiek (1992) 126.
[63] Werner (1975) 242.
[64] Long (1996) 40.
[65] Paschoud (1967) 147-9.
[66] Long (1996) 248-9.

gone too deep; it must be destroyed with fire, *ad vivum penetrant flammae* (*Eut.* 2.16). Even this may not be enough and the poet warns *truncantur et artus,/ut liceat reliquis securum degere membris* (*Eut.* 2.18-9).[68] That Claudian intends more than Eutropius to be amputated is evident from his description of Stilicho's actions in protecting Rome:

> ille dedit portum, quo se pulsata referret
> maiestas Latii deformataeque secures;
> ille dedit fastos, ad quos Oriente relicto
> confugeret sparsum maculis servilibus aevum (*Eut.* 2.129-32).

Oriente relicto: the East, along with Eutropius, has been cut off and the action is applauded by Bellona who condemns all who have approved Eutropius, *quam similes haec aula viros* (*Eut.* 2.133). From now on, the East has in effect been severed from the West: in Claudian's poetry the East has no share in Roman virtue or character and can therefore be ignored as part of the Roman empire. It no longer exists.[69]

It may seem unlikely that an Alexandrian Greek, defending the policies of a Vandal, would attack the Eastern empire for its "Greekness" and for being unRoman, but this is to miss the point. Rome had always had a dual existence, the real and the ideal. As Wallace-Hadrill expressed it, the "ramshackle, material Rome...and the Rome of men's imagination that stands out bright with vitality" coexisted in the mind.[70] That Claudian was not dazzled by the ideal[71] is apparent from his criticisms of the inhabitants of Rome in *De bello Getico*. Nevertheless, he also portrayed the Rome of history as an ideal which might be attained once again. He held the *exempla* of great Romans firmly in the minds of his audience, whether they were to guide the young Honorius in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* or to castigate Easterners for accepting Eutropius (*Eut.* 2.133-40). The image of the aged, decayed Roma in *De bello Gildonico* summarises Claudian's attitude: Roma had been brought low but, as happens in the poem, she can be rejuvenated. The essence of *Romanitas* lay in the spirit and character of men and therefore it was

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[67] In the same way, Rufinus is described as a *morbus* (*Ruf.* 1. 301) and *magna lues* (*Ruf.* 2. 93).

[68] Cameron (1970a) 138 discusses the imagery of disease here and in the preface to the poem. This injury to the consulship appears again in *Stil* 2.380, implicitly healed by the appointment of Stilicho to that office. Stilicho again deals with national crisis as a doctor treats an ulcer in *De bello Gothico* (120-3), and his very return offers vigour to the sick body of Italy (*Goth.* 436-7).

[69] It may seem extreme to suggest that Claudian did away with half the Roman empire in pursuing the claims of the West but this is a well-established technique of imperial propaganda. Rather than disparage an enemy's claims, simply assume that they (and the claimant) do not exist. For the various omissions of Maxentius, Galerius and Severus from the coinage of the early fourth century and, in particular, the lack of reference in *PL*VII(6) to Diocletian, Galerius and Maximinus Daia, see Rees (2002) 163-80, and for the omission of the claimants to the Eastern empire see Rees (2002) 163, 173.

[70] Wallace-Hadrill (1952) 11.

[71] Cameron (1970a) 369-70.

possible for an Alexandrian poet and a Vandal general to become more truly Roman than a Roman born.[72] In a short poem to his friend Probinus, Claudian appears to have turned away completely from his Greek origins: *Latiae accessit Graia Thalia togae* (*c.m.* xli.14). The opposite transformation could also be made and it was just as possible for a Roman (such as those inhabiting the Eastern half of the empire) to turn away from Roman ideals and to lose their rights, spiritually and morally speaking, to citizenship. By this reckoning, Arcadius had abandoned Rome of his own volition: the brothers might appear *unanimi* yet this could not be truly the case. Claudian has shown that the weak ruler Arcadius, together with his people, is cut off from the true Rome and Rome is left in the hands of the one proper Roman leader.

The Single Ruler

With the separation of East and West established in his poetry, Claudian could create a truly Roman epic world. As had been the case in so many epics, the empire once united (under Theodosius in this case) had been divided between two brothers. Since the empire remained under the government of the two brothers, Claudian could do no more than dismiss the Eastern part of the empire and treat the remainder as if it were the whole, a Roman empire ruled by just one man, and that man a hero of epic mould. For the model of this man, he relied on the tradition of both epic and history. Not only had it been seen as impossible for a throne to be shared by brothers but it is also clear that any division of power was dubious. Although the triumvirate described by Lucan may have seemed harmonious, it brought evil and Lucan addresses the triumvirs as *male concordes* (*BC* 1.87). After long years of civil war, Vergil was glad to foretell the arrival of a single *princeps*, Augustus, who would restore the golden age and, a true epic leader, would surpass the deeds of Hercules (*Aen.* 6.791-805).[73] The *princeps* represents his people as Aeneas represented the Trojans in his single combat against Turnus (*Aen.* 12.697-952). The portrayal of the epic leader as a unique figure, the representative of his people, was developed by Vergil's successors and its implications explored, so that Lucan's *De bello*

[72] Brown (1971) 41-2.
[73] For Hercules as the epitome of the epic hero, Hardie (1993a) 66.

civili can be read as a war between two men both of whom wish to be the single ruler, the *unus*.[74]

This concept continued to be valid regardless of historical events which saw the role of *princeps* played by evil or incompetent men and the necessity for the division of empire into a tetrarchy. It was not simply the fact that Theodosius had reigned alone which caused Claudian to write so confidently of the ruler as the One: even more valid was the epic tradition which presumed that the *princeps* was, by definition, the *unus vir* in command of the empire.[75] Nevertheless, Claudian was not blind to the characteristics of an individual emperor. During the period in which he wrote, the *unus vir* was ostensibly Honorius, emperor in 395 when Claudian recited his first Latin panegyric and in 405 when it is presumed Claudian died. However, it is most obvious that Claudian did not consider Honorius to be the true ruler of Rome in the epic sense. This could be excused in the earlier works by Honorius' youth but even in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, recited in 404, although Claudian esteems Honorius' rank, it is clear that he is not the *de facto* ruler of Rome. In Claudian's work, the *unus homo* in charge of empire was initially Theodosius and later Stilicho, and the transition of power from the dying Theodosius to his successor Stilicho is made explicit.

Theodosius first appears in Claudian's first court panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius. Associated with Jupiter in the phrase *fulmineis viribus* (*P&O* 73), the epithet *belliger* (*P&O* 74) suggests his affinity with Mars, a likeness which is made explicit when we see him resting after battle, like the god (*P&O* 113-23). Reclining in an idealised spring-like landscape, he is a figure of mythological qualities, presented as *victor* of Frigidus (*P&O* 113), having saved Rome from the usurpation of Eugenius. Although Roma refers to his armies (*P&O* 137-9) they do not appear in the poem: it is as though he has defeated the rebels single-handed.

In *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Theodosius achieves unique epic status:

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[74] For this example, and for a discussion in general of the concept of the epic *unus*, see Hardie (1993a) 3-10. Johnson (1987) 36 begins his analysis of Cato, Caesar and Pompey by noting the impossibility of chosing a hero in Lucan's epic. For epic hero, Feeney (1986a).

[75] Augustus, for example, begins the *Res Gestae* by contrasting his own actions as a private individual – *privato consilio et privata impensa* – with the faction which oppressed the state (*RG* 1.1).

ultro se purpura supplex
obtulit et **solus** meruit regnare rogatus (*IV Cons.* 47-8).

This is the "lonely pre-eminence" which Hardie describes as the goal of the epic hero.[76] As we have seen, Claudian's depiction of the defeat of Gratian and Valentinian II is meant to be read in a Vergilian context,[77] showing Theodosius as a more controlled Aeneas, *pietatis abundans* (*IV Cons.* 113), who acts as a judge, executing the wrongdoers (*IV Cons.* 89). Within the framework of the extended allusion to Vergil must be noted a short reference to Ovid. As the avenger of the two emperors, Theodosius is *caesis fratribus ultor* (*IV Cons.* 93-4) and so the political and literary descendant of Ovid's heroic Octavian:

qui nominis heres
inpositum feret **unus** onus **caesique parentis**
nos in bella suos fortissumus **ultor** habebit (*Met.* 15.819-21).

The double allusion reinforces the Julian line of descent, from Vergil's Aeneas to Ovid's Augustus to Claudian's Theodosius.

Related to the notion of the epic *unicus/solus/unus* is the concept of duality which is evident in the *Aeneid* and later epics, the juxtaposition of *unus homo* against two men.[78] Conforming to this epic tradition, Claudian introduces Theodosius in these terms in *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus.* As he approaches the Alps:

non alia reseranda manu, sed pervia tantum
Augusto **geminis**que fidem mentita **tyrannis** (*P&O* 107-8).

This is a deliberate doubling of two separate events. The *gemini tyranni* are Maximus, who was defeated by Theodosius at Aquileia in A.D. 387, and Eugenius,[79] who died in A.D. 394 at the battle of the river Frigidus.[80] In examining Vergil's preoccupation with twins and pairing, whether Nisus and Euryalus or Pandarus and Bitias, Hardie describes the distinction which Pallas gives to the *gemini* Larides and Thymber by their deaths

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[76] Hardie (1993a) 3.
[77] See pages 109-10 above.
[78] Hardie (1993a) 61. Cf. Stilicho's victory over Marcomeres and Sunno (*Stil.* 1. 241-5).
[79] Claudian's refusal to name the twin tyrants combines the *topos* of imperial panegyric, designed to humiliate the enemies of the emperor (Rees (2002) 116, Wardman (1984) 222) and the epic *topos* here discussed. Perrelli (1995) 259 suggests that the phrase *gemini tyranni* suggests Polynices and Eteocles of the *Thebaid.*
[80] Platnauer (1922) 10, Perrelli (1995) 259. One could argue that Claudian is referring only to Frigidus here and that the *tyranni* are Eugenius and Arbogast, but the use of *tyranni* implies pretender to the purple (Wardman (1984), something which was not possible for Arbogast as a Frank, who is later described as *Germanus exul* (*IV Cons.* 74).

(*Aen.* 10.390-6).[81] Here Claudian inverts the theme, taking two unrelated *tyranni* and uniting them in their folly as *gemini*, joined in death at the hands of Theodosius.

The theme is developed in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti.* Theodosius, having inherited his father's military virtues, was offered the empire because of his merits (*IV Cons.* 47-8), instantly proving his worth as the empire was besieged by barbarian hordes. The multitude of the enemy is staggering: all barbarian tribes seem to have assembled together, *barbaries penitus commota* (*IV Cons.* 49). They attack like a storm, *mixto turbine* (*IV Cons.* 50), covering all the banks of the Danube, Mysia and Thrace, so that all is threatened. The phrase echoes the earlier defeat of the *tyranni*: ***turb****antur per****mixto*** *funere Manes* (*P&O* 112) and introduces the same hero.[82] Against these unnamed hordes, one man, *unus*, stands alone:

> omnibus adflictis et vel labentibus ictu
> vel prope casuris, **unus** tot funera contra
> restitit (*IV Cons.* 55-7).

In spite of the many *re-* verbs of restoration – *restitit* (57), *reddidit* (58), *relicta* (59), *rediit* (67), *recipit* (68) – chaos breaks forth again and from the many opponents, two now arise.[83] The lines describing their revolt and defeat are an exercise in pairing and duality:[84]

> sic traditus illi
> servatusque Oriens. at non **pars altera** rerum
> tradita: **bis** possessa manu, **bis** parta periclis.
> 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 (*IV Cons.* 69-76).

East is set against West; West itself has to be captured twice (*bis...bis*), Maximus and Eugenius are again *gemini*, briefly divided by their origins – a pairing of Britain and Germany – before being reunited by *uterque...uterque.* Their manner of attack was different, the one being rash and the other cautious, yet their similarity is emphasised in the series *hic...hic...hic...ille...hic...hic* (78-80) before Claudian unites them in death: *dissimiles, sed morte pares* (81) and stresses the fact with *neutri* (81), *ambo* (83) and

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[81] Hardie (1993a) 62.

[82] On the grounds that a battle expressed in terms of a storm will always suggest the battle imagery of Aeolus' *turbo* in the first book of the *Aeneid* (cf. Fowler (1997b) 123 on *arma*), *turbo* here will lead the reader back to Aeneas, the loneliest hero of all.

[83] The inevitable recurrence of war is an example of the constant striving of epic to attain closure: see Hardie (1993a) 1.

[84] Wills (1996) 174-86.

amborum (91).[85] The death of the *gemini tyranni* is counterbalance to and appeasement for the murdered imperial brothers, *caesis fratribus* (93-4), Gratian and Valentinian II.

This passage, less than thirty lines, is different from Claudian's more usual portrayal of battle scenes. Unlike his depiction of Pollentia in *De bello Getico* or the siege of Milan in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian does not here distil the battle into a single ecphrastic tableau. The epic quality of the scene is derived partly from the allusive association of Theodosius with Aeneas and Augustus, and partly from general epic *topoi*: the hero as the victorious avenging One, the downfall of the Two. Claudian's emphasis on duality – the two tyrants atoning for the death of two Augusti, united in evil but divided in the manner of their death – is a variation of the epic motif whereby poets delighted to create novel methods of extermination for their characters, playing with the unity and division of friends or brothers, and even the unity and division of bodies. It is a gruesome *topos*, popular in particular with post-Vergilian writers as a source of *variatio*. Vergil himself plays on the unity of Nisus and Euryalus, *fortunati ambo* (*Aen.* 9.446),[86] while the twins, Larides and Thymber, are divided by the manner of their death (*Aen.* 10.390-6), a notion picked up by Lucan: *stant gemini fratres...discrevit mores saeva viros* (*BC* 3.603-5).[87] *geminus* did not only apply to brothers: individuals could double themselves in death: Pandarus, paired with Bitias, is divided by Turnus: *et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem/dividit* (*Aen.* 9.750-1).[88] One weapon could destroy two men or, as befell Catus, one man could die with two weapons: *terga simul pariter missis et pectora telis/transigitur* (*BC* 3.587-8). The significance of Silius' Hostus, pierced *per geminum tempus* (*Pun.* 12.414), has already been discussed. In *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian varies the theme in giving Arbogast, the supporter of Eugenius, a double death.

In *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Arbogast's death is mentioned briefly as that of general dying with his leader: *amborum periere duces* (*IV Cons.* 91), while in earlier panegyric the death is given an interesting twist. Although Arbogast had been paired with Eugenius as the motivator of his rebellion, in death Eugenius is linked

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[85] For *ambo*, see Hardie (1992a) 61.
[86] Oliensis (1997) 310 sees this as the equivalent of a consummation of marriage.
[87] On this *topos*, cf. Ovid's description of two brothers killed with a different wound (*Met.* 5.140-1), in the *Thebaid* (8.448-10) twins killed twins, *gemini geminos*, while Silius takes the theme a step farther and describes the death of Crista and his six sons at the hands of Hannibal.
[88] Hardie (1992a) 61.

with the earlier *tyrannus* Maximus while Arbogast dies by two swords: *non uno mucrone latus, duplexque tepebat/ensis* (*III Cons.* 103-4). In reality and in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, he commits suicide with a single sword, *suus abstulit ensis* (*IV Cons.* 92). The double death is the culmination of Claudian's reversal of the more familiar epic theme of one against two or against many. Arbogast, the *barbarus exul* (*III Cons.* 66), is a single enemy opposing the pairing of Theodosius and Honorius: *pugnastis uterque:/tu fatis genitorque manu* (*III Cons.* 88-9). Since the sources do not mention the existence of two swords, they were presumably an invention of Claudian's, signifying the pairing of father and son against *unus hostis*.

That Theodosius occupies a central role in Claudian's panegyrics is perhaps surprising since he had died before Claudian's career had begun, yet his portrayal is in line both with Stilicho's policies and Claudian's epic themes. Until his death he is the *unus homo* who rules Rome; after his death, that role is passed not to his young son but to Stilicho. This is made very clear in the early panegyrics written ostensibly to honour Honorius and actually to set forth Stilicho's claim to regency.[89] The transition of rule from Theodosius to Stilicho is the centre of *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, written in 395, several months after Theodosius' death. It is a short poem, less than 250 lines, and, after a brief preface, follows the standard rhetorical structure of encomia, praising Honorius' birth in the purple (*III Cons.* 15), his infant character (29-32) and his education (39-62). This is followed by the battle of Frigidus, when Theodosius and Honorius fight together, one with his right hand and the other with his influence (87-9). Theodosius, knowing that he is dying, summons Honorius to join him so that he may hand over *pacatum orbem* (110). It is not until Theodosius speaks his last wishes that the name of Stilicho is mentioned.

It is no coincidence that any reference to Stilicho has been omitted, whether from Claudian's first court panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius, or from this first imperial panegyric until now. Cameron discusses Claudian's skill in making a virtue of necessity, incorporating the fact that no-one heard Theodosius appoint Stilicho as regent to his sons[90] by drawing attention to his dismissal of the entire court, *cunctos discedere*

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[89] Cameron (1970a) 42-5.
[90] Cameron (1970a) 41-3, cf. Baynes (1955) 332-3.

tectis/dux iubet (142-3). From a political point of view, Theodosius' insistence that only Stilicho will be in command is a brazen assertion of Stilicho's ambition:

> **tu** curis succede meis, **tu** pignora **solus**
> nostra fove: geminos dextra **tu** protege fratres (152-3).

Cameron finds the use of *solus* interesting, arguing rightly that this is "a careful and deliberate defence of Stilicho's position".[91] However, *solus* has more profound epic connotations. In his speech, Theodosius identifies his prowess with Stilicho, for the first and last time abandoning the loneliness of the epic hero. When first mentioned by Claudian, he was *belliger* (*P&O* 74); now, picking up the reference, Theodosius addresses Stilicho as *bellipotens* (*III Cons.* 144), asking:

> quid enim per proelia gessi
> te sine? quem merui te non sudante triumphum? (*III Cons.* 145-6).

This is in direct contrast to the portrayal of the emperor at the height of his powers as *unus tot funera contra* (*IV Cons.* 56). In joining the two men in epic daring, listing the many victories they have won, Claudian is shifting the role of epic ruler from Theodosius to Stilicho.[92] Stilicho, previously unmentioned in the poem, has suddenly been introduced to take up the epic reins. From now on, throughout Claudian's work, he is the epic hero. He is superior to Diomedes (*VI Cons.* 479-80), Camillus (*Stil* 2. 390) and Scipio (*Stil* 3. *pr.* 21-4). The role of epic *unus* has been passed from Theodosius to Stilicho and to mark the fact, in the very speech of transition, Claudian emphasises his individuality as *solus*, set against the plurality of *curis meis*, *pignora nostra*, and *geminos fratres*. Political interest and Claudian's reading of the epic tradition here combine to serve the same ends.

Just as Stilicho could not encroach on Theodosius' role of hero, once power has passed from emperor to regent, he must be left to rule alone. As soon as the succession occurs, Theodosius is taken into heaven and Stilicho left in his place, the new single ruler of Rome. The panegyric in honour of Stilicho's consulship in 400 and the *De bello Getico* of 404 are celebrations of one man's triumph against many. The transition of power is reiterated: Claudian initially associates Stilicho with Theodosius, referring to the joint armies of East and West as ***geminas*** *acies* (*Stil.* 1.151), who are ***tantis*** *dissona linguis*

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[91] Cameron (1970a) 44.

[92] In a later poem, Claudian goes so far as to state that in seeking a husband for his niece, Serena, Theodosius was seeking his own successor: *quem simul imperioque ducem nataeque maritum/prospiceret* (*Stil.* 1. 71-2).

(*Stil.* 1.152).[93] The armies had been brought together by Theodosius but are now ruled by his successor: *ductor Stilicho* ***tot*** *gentibus* ***unus*** (*Stil.* 1.160). Thereafter Stilicho stands alone, a solitary epic figure at whose approach the whole world trembles: ***omne...unius*** *incursu tremuit* (*Stil.* 1.215-16). The contrast between singularity and plurality, once applied to Theodosius, now describes his successor. Theodosius saved Rome from the *gemini tyranni*, while Roma congratulates Stilicho on saving her from the double danger of shame to the consulship (a reference to Eutropius) and the threat from Gildo:

> **geminis** tandem quod libera damnis
> **unius** auxilio fasces Libyamque recepi (*Stil.* 2.384-5).

Stilicho is alone in his government of the empire: *dividis ingentes curas teque omnibus* ***unum****/obicis* (*Stil.* 1.300-1); the gods unite to protect him alone: *cingunt superi concordibus* ***unum****/praesidiis* (*Stil.* 2.209-10); he alone causes no jealousy: *omnis in hoc* ***uno*** *variis discordia cessit/ordinibus* (*Stil.* 3.48-9), and he alone has restored the former glory of the Roman empire: *per te...****unum*** (*Get.* 36). Reversing the image of one against many, Stilicho combines all the virtues ***uno*** *pectore* (*Stil.* 2.101-2) and in his single person, displays the skill of three conquerors of Hannibal: Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio (*Get.* 138-44), as well as the might of the Roman empire: *inque* ***uno*** *princeps Latiumque et tota refulsit/Roma viro* (*Get.* 374-5).

The image which, for Claudian, sums up the epic glory of Stilicho is that of the phoenix:

> sic ubi fecunda reparavit morte iuventam
> et patrios idem cineres collectaque portat
> unguibus ossa piis Nilique ad litora tendens
> **unicus** extremo Phoenix procedit ab Euro,
> conveniunt aquilae cunctaeque ex orbe volucres,
> ut Solis mirentur avem; procul ignea lucet
> ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti (*Stil.* 2.414-20).[94]

A unique, *unicus*, and beautiful creature, he represents both the loneliness and the continuity of the ruler. As Stilicho piously succeeded to Theodosius – and Claudian frequently refers to the *socer/gener* relationship between the two[95] - so the phoenix piously gathered the ashes of his predecessor. In a shorter poem on the phoenix, Claudian describes the bird as an Eastern monarch, splendid in gold and jewels (*c.m.* xxvii.83-8) but no such comparison is made here: in the panegyric, the bird is identified as a marvel

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[93] The lines suggest Luc. *BC* 287-90, referring to the peoples of the world gathered against the *unus*, Caesar: see Keudel (1970) 46, Dewar (2003).

[94] For the background to this simile, Keudel (1970) 99-101.

[95] E.g. *III Cons.* 158, *Stil.* 1. 78-9, Cameron (1970a) 56-7. Claudian offers *variatio* on the theme when Honorius married Maria, Stilicho's daughter (*Fesc.* 3.8-12): see Fargues (1933) 79.

even to eagles, the imperial birds, who gather to watch him. As only one phoenix can exist at any time, so only one man can be pre-eminent: it is clear that the role of epic leader, if not the title emperor, has passed from Theodosius to Stilicho. While Theodosius retains his powers, Stilicho is not mentioned in Claudian's work, but as soon as the emperor dies, like the old phoenix, the new phoenix and new epic *unus* appears to take his place.[96]

Filius Degener, Filius Dignus

Establishing the right of Theodosius and Honorius to empire was of primary importance to the political poet and, as shown, Claudian relied largely on creating a Vergilian subtext to underline Theodosius' possession of Roman values and his determination to pass on these values to his son.[97] From the beginning of empire, there was a tension between the emperor's desire to name his successor and the conflicting notion that each emperor was chosen because of his own ability.[98] One theme which was developed in response was the Hellenistic belief of divine election and which was a feature of eulogistic writing.[99] The belief that the emperor was divinely appointed to rule became central to epic:[100] that Aeneas is appointed by fate to found Rome is an underlying premise of the *Aeneid*,[101] while Ovid (*Met.* 15.807-31) narrates Jupiter's promise to Venus of the reign of Augustus. The corollary also holds true so that the gods bring down evil kings: Statius' Jupiter will punish Argos and Thebes even though their kings are descended from him (*Theb.* 1.224-6). Divine appointment continued to be a staple of panegyric,[102] and Claudian, working within the tradition of rhetorical panegyric and encomiastic epic describes the infant Honorius as *spes votumque poli* (*III Cons.* 10), honoured by Mars and

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[96] One may note that in the same poem there is a strong suggestion that Stilicho's epic successor will be his grandson Eucherius, to whom he teaches *praecepta Martia* (*Stil* 2. 349).

[97] The father's care extends even after death and we are shown Theodosius in the heavens watching over his sons (*III Cons.* 178-84): see McCormack (1981) 139-40.

[98] For Augustus' own efforts to appoint a successor, Syme (1939) 419-39. In the fourth century, emperors were eager to show the empire that soldiering would be the most important part of their young sons' education: see Whitby (2004) 181.

[99] Béranger (1970); for development of this *topos*, Charlesworth (1935). Cf. Nauta (2002) 339, 382, Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 24.

[100] For a full exploration of this theme, Fears (1977).

[101] *Aen.* 1.2.

[102] Pliny begins his panegyric on Trajan with the assertion *ab Iove ipso coram ac palam repertus electus est* (*Pan.* 1.5); for full discussion, Fears (1977).

Bellona (*IV Cons.* 11-17), by Diana and Minerva (*IV Cons.* 160-4), his inauguration as Augustus favoured by all the gods (*IV Cons.* 170-2).

Divine election was all very well, but family could not be set aside. While Claudian may have asserted that the ruler of Rome relied on *virtus* rather than *sanguis* (*IV Cons.* 220), he is assiduous in claiming connections with Trajan (*IV Cons.* 17-20), a connection which did not exist in fact, being based only on Theodosius' Spanish origins. Theodosius himself needed little justification: although his father had been disgraced,[103] he had been a general. Now that the son was emperor, the disgrace could be ignored and his deeds praised (*III Cons.* 51-60, *IV Cons.* 24-40). Theodosius himself had merited the purple by his own, even superior, deeds (*IV Cons.* 41-48)[104] and was accepted into heaven on his death (*III Cons.* 106-9, 162-84), leaving the world, as we have seen, in the capable hands of Stilicho as regent. In his portrayal of Honorius, however, Claudian faced a very real challenge. By suggesting that Stilicho was Theodosius' true epic successor he had shown that the empire was in safe hands; yet this could cause other problems in the epic world Claudian creates. Theodosius' son and successor to the Western empire was only a child. Whatever his private ambition, it was certainly no part of Stilicho's plans to show that he had aspirations to the purple[105] yet neither did he intend to relinquish power. Until Honorius was of age, Stilicho could be the unchallenged regent and *unus rector*, but what of the poetic image of Honorius? How could he be portrayed without either usurping the role which Claudian had assigned to Stilicho or appearing unworthy of rulership?

As I have discussed, the first panegyric in honour of Honorius addresses these questions and suggests how Claudian intends to answer them.[106] The preface, in fact, openly raises the question of fitness and wittily bypasses the answer by suggesting a comparison between Honorius and a young eagle who must prove that he is not *degener* (*III Cons. pr.* 9). As it turns out, the eagle is Claudian, tested by the Muses, and Honorius is swiftly elevated to the judge of the Muses, a divinity on the level of Jupiter (*III Cons. pr.* 15-18). The question of his fitness to succeed has been sidestepped for the time being.

Claudian begins to suggest Honorius' innate fitness by comparisons with other young epic heroes, taking the reader back to Homer and the origins of epic (and eventually

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[103] Cameron (1970a) 107 n.1.
[104] Barr (1981) 71.
[105] Cameron (1970a) 46-9.
[106] See pages 33-6 above.

Roman) history. The dynastic line on which Claudian insisted from Honorius through Theodosius to Ascanius and Aeneas gives Honorius an epic ancestry which reaches back, by implication, to the greatest of the Trojan warriors, Hector. In *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian creates and decorates this first link in the dynastic chain as the baby Honorius is shown smiling and demanding spoils from his father who is bloodstained and dusty from battle. The passage is taken from Homer (*Il.* 6.466-81), and is an encomiastic reworking of the scene between Hector and his infant son Astyanax. Honorius proves himself a superior child, greeting his father without fear, but the prayer of Hector and Theodosius is almost identical:

> rex o stellantis Olympi,
> talis perdomito redeat mihi filius hoste,
> Hyrcanas populatus opes aut caede superbus
> Assyria, sic ense rubens, sic flamine crebro
> turbidus et grato respersus pulvere belli,
> armaque gaviso referat captiva parenti (*III Cons.* 33-8)

being very close to:

> Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ, δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι
> παῖδ' ἐμόν, ὡς καὶ ἐγώ περ, ἀριπρεπέα Τρώσσιν,
> ὧδε βίην τ' ἀγαθὸν, καὶ Ἰλίου ἶφι ἀνάσσειν
> καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι 'πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων
> ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα φέροι δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα
> κτείνας δῄϊον ἄνδρα, χαρείη δὲ φρένα μήτηρ (*Il.* 6.476-81).

While it is unthinkable that Astyanax would have grown up inferior to his father, he is not given the chance. Honorius' bravery surpasses that of Hector's son: Claudian's audience may be assured that Honorius would be worthy of his father. The allusion can bear a cynical interpretation also as Claudian's audience knew that neither prayer was to be fulfilled. Astyanax did not live to grow up and Theodosius had died before the recitation of the panegyric. Neither father would see his son succeed him as hero. In this sense, it picks up the implication of the eagle imagery of the preface: actual rulership is not an issue.

In this panegyric, Claudian develops further the theme of the young Homeric hero by turning from Astyanax to Achilles, drawing on Statius' *Achilleid* for Honorius' training,[107] condensing the eighty lines devoted to Achilles' education with Chiron into a brief paragraph. Honorius has learned *semina laudum* (*III Cons.* 59) from his grandfather while Achilles was given *laudum semina* (*Ach.* 2.89) by Chiron. Their training in endurance and weaponry was almost identical. Achilles claimed:

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[107] Moroni (1982) 223.

> et ferri properatus amor durataque multo
> sole geluque cutis; tenero nec fluxa cubili
> membra, sed ingenti saxum commune magistro...
> [didici]...
> quo turbine contum
> Sauromates falcemque Getes arcumque Gelonus
> tenderet et flexae Balearicus actor habenae (*Ach.* 2.107-9, 131-4)

while Honorius was taught by his father:[108]

> sed nova per **duros** instruxit membra labores
> et cruda teneras exercuit indole vires
> **frigora saeva** pati, gravibus non cedere nimbis...
> in galea potare nives, nunc **spicula cornu**
> **tendere**, nunc glandes Baleari spargere funda (*III Cons.* 42-4, 49-50).[109]

That Honorius could gain stature by the comparison to Achilles is self-evident; the reference to Statius, however, directs the reader to an inner allusion, which was a source for both Statius and Claudian. This training in endurance is not Homeric but Vergilian, being the typical education of the native Italian children and the essence of hardiness as defined by Numanus:

> **durum** a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
> deferimus **saevo**que gelu **duramus** et undis;
> venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant
> flectere ludus equos et **spicula tendere cornu** (*Aen.* 9.603-6).

By the two-tiered allusion to the *Achilleid* and the *Aeneid*, Claudian attributes to Honorius the future brilliance of Achilles and the native toughness of the Italians.[110] The lines imply a correction to Homer and an improvement of the Homeric hero: Claudian wants to endow his young prince with all the future glory of Achilles, yet he wants these qualities to be redefined in Roman terms, refined by *Romanitas* and the Roman *mores* of the *Aeneid*. In the following panegyric on Honorius, Claudian suggests further correction of the Homeric model as Honorius begs to join his father in battle. His wish is expressed in terms of epic succession: he wants to succeed his father as Pyrrhus succeeded Achilles, he wants to be the epic *solus*:[111]

> aequalis mihi Pyrrhus erat, cum Pergama solus
> verteret et patri non degeneraret Achilli (*IV Cons.* 365-6).[112]

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[108] Words underlined are from Statius, those in bold print from Vergil.

[109] Such endurance was expected of an emperor and was a *topos* of panegyric: see Ammianus on Julian (xxv.4.10), Pacatus on Theodosius (*PL* 8.3).

[110] As will be discussed, Honorius and Ascanius are never allowed to come to full power; we may note a parallel with Statius' Achilles who, as Heslin (2005) 159 notes, is described as the "child who was forbidden to inherit the kingdom of heaven" through Jupiter's rejection of a union with Thetis.

[111] Barr (1981) 81 notes that *solus* is applied specifically to Pyrrhus because according to legend, Troy could not be taken without him.

[112] In *da protinus arma* (*IV Cons* 364), can we see Honorius demanding to be given his Vergil to check the reference?

The lines on which this question is based suggest that this is no suitable destiny for a Roman emperor. In the *Aeneid* Pyrrhus had indeed proved himself worthy of his father, however he had done so by murdering the aged king Priam. When Priam pleads with him, Pyrrhus gives him a message for Achilles:

> illi mea tristia facta
> degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento (*Aen.* 2.548-9).

Pyrrhus is speaking ironically[113] but so is Vergil:[114] such a killing is the mark of a degenerate. Pyrrhus has been described as a snake (*Aen.* 2.471-5),[115] and he acts from *furor* (*Aen.* 2.498), the wrath of Achilles transformed into the anti-Roman passion which drives Juno, Allecto and Turnus. Like his father, Pyrrhus may be a great warrior yet his heroic qualities, Claudian implies, are not those of a Roman ruler.

Pairing Honorius with Astyanax endorses his dynastic credentials, pairing him with Achilles gives him military promise. Both comparisons, however, serve only to guide the reader to Claudian's true model for youthful Roman promise: Vergil's Ascanius. While *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* does not specifically allude to the earlier panegyric, it is evident that in both, Claudian plays with the contrast between Homeric and Vergilian hero, picking up and rounding off the imagery from *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti* to promote Honorius as a future Roman leader. In the earlier poem, for example, the comparison with Statius' *Achilleid* acts as a framing reference to the *Aeneid*: while Numanus' speech suggests a hardy model for young Italians, the scene guides the reader to Ascanius who, unable to endure Numanus' jeering, shoots an arrow and kills him, showing that he at least is as competent in warfare as any native son. The ambitions of both Honorius and Ascanius, however, are thwarted. Ascanius, although honoured by Apollo for his bravery, is ordered to leave battle to others (*Aen.* 9.654-6) while Honorius is forbidden by Theodosius.

In the later panegyric, the dialogue between father and son, Honorius' request to become aa second Pyrrhus and Theodosius' refusal, picks up the reference to Homer in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti.* In this poem the reader is guided directly to the comparison between Honorius and Ascanius through the intermediary of

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[113] Lee (1979) 39.
[114] On Pyrrhus, see Bowie (1999) 92-3, Austin (1964) 210-11.
[115] Barchiesi (1997) 193 describes him as "the cruellest figure in the entire epic...a serpent who brings new war and death.

Vergil and his reworking of the scene between Hector and Astyanax. The allusion reinforces Honorius' dynastic claim to *imperium* and also reminds the reader that Honorius may claim to have inherited the best qualities of the Trojans as well as the Romans. In the *Iliad*, Hector and Aeneas are described as the best in war and council (*Il.* 6.77-9) and this role devolves on Aeneas alone after the death of Hector.[116] At the same time, Ascanius succeeds Astyanax as the one on whom succession depends. In *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian turns to Vergil's interpretation of the Homeric scene of father and son.[117] Honorius begs to accompany his father to war but is excused because of his youth:

> **delibat** dulcia nati
> **oscula** miratusque refert: "laudanda petisti;
> sed festinus amor. veniet **robustior aetas;**
> ne propera (*IV Cons.* 369-72).

In Claudian's *laudanda petisti*, we see Ascanius' victory over Numanus and Apollo's praise, *Apollo concedit laudem* (*Aen.* 654-5), framed within Aeneas' words to Ascanius:

> summaque per galeam **delibans oscula** fatur:
> disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem...
> tu facito, mox cum **matura** adoleverit **aetas,**
> sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
> et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector (*Aen.* 12.434-5, 438-50).[118]

Even before he was of *matura aetas* Ascanius' right to succeed could not be challenged: by making the parallel, Claudian asserts Honorius' equal right to govern after his father when his own *robustior aetas* has arrived.

Ascanius serves as a model for Honorius in various ways. On a fundamental level, he is the only son of his father, the epic *unus* designed to rule.[119] From Claudian's epic perspective, Honorius is also the only son, since Arcadius is destined to rule the East and, as we have seen, can be ignored from the point of view of Roman *imperium*. Claudian's dynastic preoccupations found an earlier echo in the *Aeneid*. In discussing epic's preoccupation with continuity, Hardie notes the centrality of the dynastic principle to epic, the many variations on and interruptions to this continuity in the form of civil war as well as the danger that a son might be *degener*, unworthy of his family and father.[120] Ideally, the honour of the family should be seen to increase, and the progenitor, raised

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[116] Hardie (1993a) 16, 88.
[117] Lee (1979) 99.
[118] Petrini (1997) 106-8.
[119] Hardie (1992b) 62.
[120] Hardie (1993a) 88-98.

into heaven, should be able to look down on the new and glorious honours brought to the family name by his descendants. Vergil prophesied just such a happy destiny for Aeneas (*Aen.* 1.257-96, 6.756-97), as did Ovid for Julius Caesar (*Met.* 15.843-54) and, much later, Claudian for Theodosius (*III Cons.* 178-86). Such encomiastic episodes, however, do not tell the whole story and epic poets were fully alive to the realities of weak dynastic links. Anchises' speech in *Aeneid* 6 explores the various ramifications of the theme for the great *gentes* of Rome as well as the Julian family. The first section of the parade of heroes (*Aen.* 6.75697) describes the line of descent from Aeneas to Augustus, and, in the apostrophe *Dardaniam prolem* reminds Aeneas of his own ancestry. The family is marked as glorious by Anchises' opening words:

> nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
> gloria , qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes...
> expediam (*Aen.* 6.756-9)

although neither the Julians nor any of the great families are unambiguously blessed by fortune.[121] Although the descendants of Aeneas will culminate in Augustus, the bringer of the golden age, we may note that Augustus' expansion of *imperium* suggests a comparison with the travels of Hercules, whose actions in the *Aeneid* seem as much inspired by *furor* as *virtus*.[122] In listing the kings and the Republican *gentes,* Vergil continues to cause doubts in the listener's mind as worthy and unworthy members of the one family are listed beside virtuous pairs: the Decii (*Aen.* 6.824), for example, are suitable models of Roman virtue while the Drusi, by contrast consist of a praiseworthy father and a degenerate son.[123] Individuals are singled out for their least laudable qualities: Torquatus and Brutus being remembered for the execution of their sons (*Aen.* 6.818, 824-5).[124] For the Julian family, worse is to follow. Marcellus, the last in line, who promised to be greatest of all, is doomed to die prematurely, bringing the great hope of the *gens Iulia* to a close.[125]

The death of Marcellus, depicted in terms of dynastic hopelessness and sterility, expressed the specific anxieties of Augustus but the theme of succession from Aeneas to Ascanius and into the distant future runs through the *Aeneid.* Vergil makes it clear that

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[121] Feeney (1986a) analyses each ambivalent component of the parade of heroes; see also West (1993) and Zetzel (1989) 282-3 for a less negative view of the passage.

[122] In Evander's narration of the fight between Hercules and Cacus (*Aen.* 8.190-275), both opponents seem driven by *furor*: see Hardie (1993a) 66.

[123] Feeney (1986a) 12, West (1993) 290 sees the inclusion of the Drusi as a compliment to Livia.

[124] Feeney (1986a) 10-11, Lee (1979) 66; for Torquatus as "example of the austere sense of public duty", West (1993) 290-1

[125] Hardie (1997a) 317-18.

Aeneas is bringing a dynasty rather than the rule of one man to Italy. It is his acceptance of Ascanius' destiny which drives Aeneas to leave Troy (*Aen.* 2.701-4) and later Carthage (*Aen.* 4.271-6), a destiny which is confirmed by the repeated prophecies in the poem (*Aen.* 1.267-4, *Aen.* 6.756-790). The dynastic concerns of the *Aeneid* are echoed, with variations, in Claudian's work. While Vergil did not need to show that Ascanius would be worthy since his future as ruler of Rome is assured (as Apollo addresses him: *dis genite et geniture deos* (*Aen.* 9.642)), he was careful to show that Ascanius received the proper training for a future ruler and in this, Claudian follows him. Point by point, Honorius follows Ascanius in proving that he is no *degener*. Ascanius learns soldiery through games with the other boys (*Aen.* 5.545-603)[126] as does Honorius (*IV Cons.* 518-64)[127] Both boys are told the theory of rulership: Honorius in the *speculum principis* of *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Ascanius in the briefer words of Aeneas: *disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,/fortunam ex allis* (*Aen.* 12.436-7). As Ascanius matures he proves his ability first in hunting, with the death of Silvia's stag (*Aen.* 7.475-502) and, more significantly, in battle by killing Numanus (*Aen.* 9.621-58), a deed which marks him as an adult, although he is forbidden from further warfare.[128] Honorius is too young for battle even though he shows the proper spirit and pleads to go with his father (*III Cons.* 73-82). Nevertheless, his influence with the gods is so great that he is as successful as his father at Frigidus:

> victoria velox
> auspiciis effecta tuis. pugnastis uterque:
> tu fatis genitorque manu (*III Cons.* 87-9).[129]

The link between these two "rite of passage" episodes is made explicit in the prayers of the two boys and the response to their prayers. When Theodosius advises his son of the proper behaviour of a prince, Honorius interrupts with the impatient ***faveant*** *modo numina* ***coeptis*** (*IV Cons.* 353), as Ascanius, annoyed at Numanus, had prayed to Jupiter *audacibus* ***adnue coeptis*** (*Aen.* 9.625). Apollo sees the death of Numanus and prophesies Ascanius' future glory: *sic itur ad astra,/dis genite et geniture deos* (*Aen.* 9.641-2) while Theodosius responds with the brief *fas sit promittere patri:/tantus eris* (*IV Cons.* 378-9).

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[126] For the associations in this passage with Troy, Petrini (1997) 93-6.

[127] This section is a poetic elaboration of the panegyrical category of *praxeis* which covers physical qualities, here beauty, strength and speed: see Barr (1981) 87.

[128] The juxtaposition of *virtus* and *puer* in Apollo's speech to Ascanius mark him as an adult with the innocence of childhood: see Petrini (1997) 103 (although note the same combination in *Aen.* 12.435 in a speech which emphasises Ascanius' lack of maturity). Hardie (1994) 17 notes that Ascanius is the model for the transition from hunter to warrior.

[129] Ware (2004a) 166-7; for ruling the storm see Hardie (1986) 202.

Ascanius is thereafter forbidden to take part in battle by Apollo as Honorius is by his father.

The curtailment of Ascanius' rite of passage and the insubstantiality of Honorius' is the greatest similarity between the two. Although the death of Numanus should represent Ascanius' transition to maturity, Vergil never fully brings Ascanius to manhood. As Hardie comments:

> Ascanius' coming of age is curiously qualified: Apollo forbids him from further intervention in battle, and when we last see Ascanius...he seems to have reverted to being a boy, whose complete learning of the role of manhood (*vir-tus*) still lies in the future.[130]

The words could apply equally well to Honorius. The battle of Frigidus, when he shared victory with his father, might be described as a symbolic rite of passage in which the young prince is shown as capable of victory without actually being involved in the battle. By associating Honorius with Ascanius' divine encouragement (and prohibition), phrased in terms which associate him with the glory of Aeneas and Hector, Claudian gives Honorius heroic lineage and epic prowess, while keeping him apart from actual government or warfare.

When in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* the association of Ascanius and Honorius is made explicit, the similarity which links them, *ventura potestas*, expresses potential alone:

> ventura potestas
> claruit Ascanio, subita cum luce comarum
> innocuus flagraret apex Phrygioque volutus
> vertice fatalis redimiret tempora candor (*IV Cons.* 192-5).

The word *tempora* also occurs in Vergil's original, when Ascanius' head is surrounded by flames in book 2 – *lambere flamma comas et circum* ***tempora*** *pasci* (*Aen.* 2.684) – but it is tempting to see a double meaning here. By taking *tempora* as a signpost to the interplay of time, *ventura potestas* takes the reader to the remote past when Ascanius' power was still potential, to the more recent past when his power became real, to the present when Honorius' power has yet to be realised and to the future, when he will be emperor. The succession is unbroken.[131]

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[130] Hardie (1993a) 92. Elsewhere he notes that Apollo's instructions to Ascanius, *sinite arma viris et cedite ferro* (9.620) can be read on a metaliterary level, as an order to leave the world of martial epic: see Hardie (1994) 197.

[131] For words of "time-travel", cf. *talis...**primaevus** Iuppiter* in the same passage (*IV Cons.* 197).

Honorius is therefore no *degener*. He is worthy of his father and his Roman heritage, yet we do not see him succeed to his epic inheritance. Theodosius specifically hands over his power to Stilicho; after the death of Theodosius, Stilicho is the *unus* who governs and saves, even when Honorius has reached adulthood. Nevertheless, there is no conflict. Having shown that the son is worthy of his father, Claudian continues to magnify and elevate Honorius, past the level of epic hero, until he is given the status of a god. In procession he is borne aloft like a statue:

> sic numina Memphis
> in vulgus proferre solet; penetralibus exit
> effigies, brevis illa quidem (*IV Cons.* 570-2).

Even at birth he was described as *hoc numen* and *deus* (*IV Cons.* 136-7). In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, the most overtly epic of the panegyrics in his honour, all the action takes place between the epic hero, Stilicho, and the epic villain, Alaric, while Honorius is placed among the gods. He is the *deus habitans* (*VI Cons.* 36) and *imperii praesens genius* (*VI Cons.* 612) of Rome,[132] while the people rejoice at his presence, *urbis et Augusti geminato numine felix* (*VI Cons.* 17). Like Jupiter in the *Aeneid*, he does not involve himself directly in human affairs, present as a distant yet benevolent and powerful divinity.[133]

Claudian's technique is skilful. In his recreation of an epic world, he appears to offer a plausible model of dynastic continuity while in fact he usurps the son's role. Although he shows that Honorius is the worthy son of his heroic father, that he has received an education that combines the best of Greek and Roman heroic training and that he has been instructed in the Roman tradition by his father as Aeneas was by Anchises, nevertheless Claudian removes Honorius from the epic succession, giving him instead divine status as overseer. Honorius inherits Theodosius' title, no more. Theodosius' true successor is another warrior of epic dimensions, Stilicho, whose role is to preserve the continuity of Roman government, defeating the enemies who inevitably arise.

By showing that Rome remained safe under the protection of the single ruler, Claudian implied a continuity in government in which one man was chosen by merit. This

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[132] An epic variation on the encomiastic theme of *praesentia*: see Rees (2002) 8-17.

[133] On Jupiter in the *Aeneid*, Feeney (1991) 138-42; Cairns (1989) 25-6 discusses Jupiter as cosmic ruler and reconciler.

continuity did not exist in reality but came instead from Claudian's complete involvement in the epic tradition. In turning aside from the decadent East and focussing on the Western half of the empire, Claudian had redrawn geographical and political boundaries to recreate for himself an idealized Roman world. At the same time, he explores and exploits temporal boundaries, showing that within the *carmen perpetuum* of Roman history (more specifically, a Vergilian *carmen perpetuum*), time repeats itself endlessly in a series of cycles, so that the glorious days of Republican or Augustan heroism could be and are repeated under Stilicho, and the golden age renewed by Theodosius.

PART II: THE CYCLES OF TIME

Introduction

The theory that time occurred in cycles and that these cycles could and would recur was not new to Claudian and he drew upon various earlier traditions for his recreation of time. History could be seen in terms of the life of a man. Florus describes the early days of Rome under the kings as its infancy, the period spent subjugating Italy as its youth, and the gradual domination over the world until the time of Augustus as maturity.[134] Alternatively, history could be defined by developments in humankind and described as a series of different races of mankind, a progression from gold through silver and bronze, deteriorating to the blood-soaked iron age, a myth which reached back to Hesiod.[135] To write in terms of age implied gradual deterioration, but when Vergil in his fourth *Eclogue* asserted that, given the right government, the golden age could be restored, he opened the way for the promised golden age of the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 6.791-4) and the eventual *imperium sine fine* (*Aen.* 1.279) promised to Venus and Rome.[136] Rome could rule forever if she could be constantly renewed.[137] Florus, therefore, was able to allow Rome to grow young again under Trajan[138] and Claudian could rejuvenate the goddess Roma at Jupiter's command:

> dixit et adflavit Romam meliore iuventa.
> continuo redit ille vigor seniique colorem
> mutavere comae. solidatam crista resurgens
> erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis
> et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus (*Gild.* 208-12).[139]

The actual time of youth to which Roma is brought back is never made specific: if we take Florus' guide, her prime would seem to encompass the Punic wars, when the city became a world power, and the days of Augustus, when the city was in fact rejuvenated by the emperor's building programme and commitment to the *mos maiorum* was affirmed

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[134] Florus, I. *pr.* 4, cf. Cicero, *De re pub.* 2.3.

[135] *W&D*, 109-201. Most (1997) discusses the myth and the complexities of interpretation.

[136] The difficulties in reconciling the various golden ages in Vergil's work will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

[137] The theme became a *topos* of imperial ideology: see Martin (1991) 84-6.

[138] *quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute reviruit* (I. *pr.* 8).

[139] Not surprisingly, Claudian rejuvenates Roma in Vergilian terms. The phrase *adflavit...meliore iuventa* (*Gild.* 208) suggests Venus' beautification of Aeneas, *lumenque* ***iuventae****/purpureum et laetos oculis* ***adflarat*** *honores* (*Aen.* 1.590-1): see Olechowska (1978) 166. For the theme of the rejuvenation of Rome, Roberts (2001) 535-41.

by the laws and ideology of the emperor.[140] It could, perhaps, be described as a Vergilian past, being based on the ideals of *Romanitas* found in the *Aeneid*, and deriving its temporal ambiguity from Vergil's treatment of time. As Nelis notes, Vergil relies on manipulating temporal strategies in order simultaneously to look back to Homer and forward to Augustus.[141] In Claudian's work, the past is kept before our eyes as great generals and leaders chosen from the entire history of Rome are invoked as models for the present. The *speculum principis* given by Theodosius catalogues *exempla* of good and evil men and defines their qualities; the speech ranges from the pride of Tarquin to the laws imposed by Caesar (*IV Cons.* 310-11), from Brutus' pursuit of *libertas* to the poverty of Fabricius (*IV Cons.* 401-14). Such *exempla* are not only for the prince but also for the reader who is to marvel at Stilicho's superiority over Scipio, Metellus and Fabius (*Get.* 138-44) and to shudder at Gildo, worse than Pyrrhus and Brennus (*Gild.* 125-7). These figures are of course part of the panegyrist's stock in trade and while they may be little more than rhetorical flourishes designed to flatter,[142] they emphasise the continuity of the Roman empire, and the continuity of epic which tells of the deeds of old and new. Claudian's work is as populated with historical and mythological characters as it is with contemporary figures to the extent that the boundaries between past and present, between the real world and the epic creation of the poet are dissolved.[143] In his poetry, Claudian portrays the events of his day in what he perceived to be their true setting, the unending, ever-repeated cycle of years which made up past, present and future of Roman history. While Rome was destined to rule forever, her rule was periodically challenged. These challenges are essential to epic, being its motivation as it were, the contemporary obstacles to closure.[144] Vergil and his successors defined them as eruptions of *furor* which attack the innate *concordia* of Rome; for Claudian, the tension between *furor* and *concordia* is an intrinsic part of the cycle of time.

Reinforcing the poet's description of the recurring ages – the literal rejuvenation of Roma, the constant presence of heroes of the past and their identification with heroes of the present – is a literary manipulation of time.[145] By restoring the cycles of history and

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[140] Galinsky (1996) 6-7.
[141] Nelis (2005b).
[142] Cf. Pacatus' praise of Theodosius for living the simple life of the Curii, Coruncani and Fabricii (*PL* II.95), Mamertinus' description of Maximian as superior to Scipio Africanus (*PL* x.8.6) and his suggestion that Julian has surpassed Brutus in bringing freedom to Rome (*PL* III.30.3).
[143] For a discussion of epic and tragic time, Ahl (1985) 280-5.
[144] Cf. Hardie (1993a) 1.
[145] Cf. Mack (1978) 49 54 on time in Vergil, see also Nelis (2005b) for time in Callimachus and Vergil.

presenting great men of the past as reborn in the present, Claudian distances the real, contemporary figures of the poems from their own time. All time, in fact, is Roman, of one age or another. If Claudian's ideal past is derived from Vergil's recreation of the epic code, his treatment of time is essentially Ovidian. In the *Metamorphoses* in particular, time becomes a metaliterary device, so that the history of the world and the epic narrative can be interrupted and restarted as the poet requires.[146] In Claudian's work, taken as a whole, Roman history becomes an epic *carmen perpetuum* which, like the scroll of a book, can be turned backwards and forwards. By reworking the language of writing, of beginnings and conclusions, Claudian scrolls forwards and backwards through history, writing his characters into the epic of history and juggling with time to set his scenes.

Beginnings and Endings: the Circularity of Time

Two texts in particular are central to Claudian's manipulation of time: his first Latin encomium, the *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus*, and the second book of *De consulatu Stilichonis*. The first poem concerns the cyclical nature of Roman time as evidenced by the repetition of the same names in the *fasti*, and introduces the concept of the year as a poem in itself, a short episode from continuous poetic time. In the second work, Claudian develops the theme of regeneration and renewal, making associations between old and new and playing with the concepts of literary beginnings and endings, so that his discussion of time becomes a commentary on writing poetry and the power of words to create order from chaos and substance from formless matter.

Claudian's preoccupation with the circularity of history is evident in his earliest panegyric, *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus*. Because the careers of the young consuls contained nothing of note Claudian devoted the panegyric to praise of their ancient family, confirming that Roman blood, antiquity and merit are virtually synonymous. As centuries pass and the same names appear on the *fasti* so, in some unspecified manner, Rome will continue to rule the world:

> Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis
> volvis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu...
> scis genus Auchenium, nec te latuere potentes
> Anniadae; nam saepe soles ductoribus illis

[146] On Ovid's manipulation of time, see Wheeler (1999) 8-33, Wheeler (2002), Hardie (1995).

> instaurare vias et cursibus addere nomen...
> per fasces numerantur avi semperque renata
> nobilitate virent, et prolem fata secuntur
> continuum simili servantia lege tenorem (*P&O* 1-2, 8-9, 15-17).

This promises to be the material of epic, the glorification of a great family, the Anniadae, and the recurring cycles of their power represent epic time, defined by Claudian as *continuus* (*P&O* 17). To invoke Sol at the opening of the poem, where Claudian would more usually address a Muse,[147] is to draw attention to the ordering of time. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Sol is one of the regulators of time,[148] his palace doors engraved with the symbols of the zodiac, his courtiers being personifications of time:

> a dextra laevaque Dies et Mensis et Annus
> Saeculaque et positae spatiis aequalibus Horae
> Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona,
> stabat nuda Aestas et spicea serta gerebat,
> stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis
> et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos (*Met.* 2.25-30).

His presence at the opening of Claudian's poem echoes his position in the *Metamorphoses* at the beginning of the second book and the allusion to Ovid is divided, Sol and the *saecula* only appearing here, while the seasons and hours close the panegyric. Beginning the final prayer for a fortunate year, Claudian takes his listeners to the beginning of the poem with the word *incipe* and by the reference to the turning wheel of the sun: *incipe quadrifidum Phoebi torquere laborem* (*P&O* 268).

As a figure from the *Metamorphoses*, Sol's presence in the poem has a particular significance. In Ovid's poem, his actions echo to some extent the work of the poet who, in the first book, brought the world from chaos to order. Now, because of his rash promise to Phaëthon, the world is returned to chaos before a fresh beginning can be made.[149] In Claudian's panegyric, as presiding deity of the year, Sol becomes Claudian's colleague in writing the poem. The importance of *volvis* as a literary signal has been discussed as an allusive action of the poet:[150] here it serves to turn the passage back to its Ovidian source, and also begins the turning of the poem from the first half of the divided allusion to its completion at the end of the book. Further, *volvis* signals the opening of

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[147] Claudian addresses the Muses as a body in the prefaces to both books of *In Rufinum*, Thalia in the preface to the panegyric on Theodorus and *De bello Getico*, while a gentler Muse (*mitior Musa*) is invoked to praise Stilicho's virtues in time of peace (*Stil* 2. 5).

[148] Bömer (1969) 245-9, Anderson (1996) 233, Brown (1987).

[149] Brown (1987) 214-16.

[150] The phrase *in ductoribus illis* (*P&O* 9) may suggest Ovid's *nos quoque sub* ***ducibus*** *caelum metabimur* ***illis*** (*Fast.* 1.309) which Newlands (1995) 37 sees as a very allusive line, arguing that *duces* represent Ovid's literary predecessors. This may be a hint that Ovid is the true *ductor* in Claudian's work.

Claudian's calendar as he begins to scroll through time and poetry.[151] The task of Sol in turning the recurring ages will parallel the action of the reader, scrolling through the written calendar, of the official writing the name of the consul into the annals of the year and of the poet, writing the names into his panegyric. *volvis* begins the theme of continuity, reinforcing the description of returning ages, *redeuntia saecula*, while *motus* describes the action of the poet, setting his poem in motion, unscrolling history and poetry together.[152]

Continuity of time is the underlying theme of the poem: *inexhausto*, *redeuntia*, *renata sequuntur*, *continuum simili servantia*, coupled with the continuity of family, *avi*, *prolem*. Probinus and Olybrius have merited this consulship by the efforts of their father Probus who had restored Italy:

> ut pigeat meminisse Probi, quo vindice totam
> vidimus Hesperiam fessasque **resurgere** gentes (*P&O* 167-8),

and Roma herself finds them superior to the Decii or Metelli or Scipiadae (*P&O* 147-9). Claudian returns to the theme of continuity to close the poem as all seasons are called upon to rejoice:

> te variis scribent in floribus Horae,
> longaque perpetui ducent in saecula fasti (*P&0* 278-9).

The fact that the consuls gave their name to the year, that their names were written into the *fasti*, is a *topos* of panegyric. Statius writes that Rutilius Gallicus would have had repeated governorships of Asia but *revocant fasti* (*Silv.* 1.4.82); he begins the panegyric on Domitian in terms which Claudian would later echo: *laeta bis octonis accedit purpura fastis/Caesaris* (*Silv.* 1.4.1).[153] The word *fasti* can signify no more than the calendar: Claudian writes of Honorius *te fastos ineunte quater* (*IV Cons.* 612) and of Eutropius, *et insanum gemino proclamat ab ore/eunuchumque vetat fastis accedere Ianus* (*Eut.* 1.318-9). In this case, Claudian intends far more to be understood. Here, the presence of the Hours picks up the allusion to Ovid's Sol and the second book of the *Metamorphoses* but *perpetui ducent* takes the reader to the opening lines of the first book of the *Metamorphoses*: *ad mea* ***perpetuum deducite*** *tempora carmen* (*Met.* 1.4). The double allusion to the *Metamorphoses*, however, acts as a frame through which the final word,

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[151] Cf. Volk (1997) 292 on the *Fasti* as a simultaneous writing of poem and unrolling of year.
[152] Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.12 *quod vertant orationem, unde et* ***motus*** *dicuntur*; also Horace *Carm.* 2.1.1 and 4.1.1, Vergil *Aen.*1.262.
[153] Cf. *III Cons.* 1-4.

fasti, and work, *Fasti*, must be interpreted. The allusive directions are reinforced by Ovid himself, as in the phrase *ad mea tempora* (*Met.* 1.4) he points the reader to the opening word of the *Fasti*, *tempora*.[154] The consuls are being placed not only in the actual calendar but are being written into a poetic work on time. Claudian's juxtaposition of the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* defines the depiction of time in his work so that continuous time – epic Roman time – is presented as *perpetuum*, the adjective applied by Varro to the work of Ennius and Homer,[155] and here associated with the *fasti*.[156] Each year or consular poem is an episode from continuous epic time but the calendar is itself also continuous, repeating itself annually. Claudian's consular panegyrics can therefore be interpreted as epic episodes within all-encompassing epic time, both *deductum* and *perpetuum*, Claudian's own time mediated through Ovid.

The circularity of time and the association of the consular year with the consular panegyric is the subtext of the second book of *De consulatu Stilichonis*.[157] The five line proem to this book gives clear signals to the audience to pay close attention to the type of work they are about to hear:

> hactenus armatae laudes: nunc qualibus orbem
> moribus et quanto frenet metuendus amore,
> quo tandem flexus trabeas auctore rogantes
> induerit fastisque suum concesserit annum,
> mitior incipiat fidibus iam Musa remissis (*Stil.* 2.1-5).

In the person of *mitior Musa* we may perhaps recognise Thalia, this time negotiating the transition from epic – *armatae laudes* - to another style of poetry. But what style? The opening words, ***hactenus ar****matae laudes*, suggest the opening line of an earlier second book: *Georgics* 2 begins ***hactenus ar****vorum cultus et sidera caeli* (*Geo.* 2.1)[158] and so our gentler Muse may be guiding us away from *reges et proelia* to didactic epic, a direction indicated by the questions posed by the poet in *qualibus moribus, quanto amore, quo auctore*.[159] The opening of the poem proper guides us even more firmly in the direction of a philosophical didactic theme: *principio magni custos Clementia mundi* (*Stil.* 2.6) and, even more specifically, to one particular work, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[160] Claudian's

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[154] See Barchiesi (1989) 91, for a discussion of *ad **tua** tempora* (*Trist.* 2.560) as Augustan time.

[155] *poesis est **perpetuum** argumentum a rhythmis, ut Ilias Homeri et annalis Enni*, *Men.* fr. 384.3-4: see Wheeler (1999) 24.

[156] Cf. Statius *Silv.* 4.6.7.

[157] The first two books of this poem were recited early in January 399 but Cameron (1970a) 53 suggests that they were recited on separate occasions.

[158] Keudel (1970) 61.

[159] The series of questions suggests the opening of the first book of the *Georgics*.

[160] Keudel (1970) 66.

principio takes us to the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* and the time when Chaos ruled the world.[161] Both poets disentangle the elements and attribute a prime mover. For Claudian it is *Clementia*:

> nam prima **chaos** Clementia solvit
> **congeriem** miserata **rudem vultu**que sereno
> discussis tenebris in lucem saecula fudit (*Stil.* 2.9-11),[162]

for Ovid, *deus* and *melior natura* (*Met.* 1.21) brought order:[163]

> ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum
> unus erat toto naturae **vultus** in orbe,
> quem dixere **chaos**: **rudis** indigestaque moles
> nec quicquam nisi pondus iners **congestaque** eodem
> non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum (*Met.* 1.5-9).

Claudian's claim in the opening lines to be done with martial epic refers to more than the first book of his panegyric. The glorification of *Clementia* (*Stil.* 2.6-29)[164] which directs us to the *Metamorphoses* simultaneously takes us back to heroic epic by referring to the last book of the *Thebaid* and the altar of *Clementia*: *mitis* ***posuit*** *Clementia* ***sedem*** (*Theb.* 12.482). Statius asserts that she chooses to live in the minds and hearts of men: *mentes habitare et pectora gaudet* (*Theb.* 12.494)[165] and so Claudian places her image in Stilicho's heart: ***posuit****que suas hoc pectore* ***sedes*** (*Stil.* 2.13), Statius' *mitis* picked up by Claudian's *mitior Musa*. *Clementia* had brought Statius' epic to its conclusion; in his introductory *hactenus armatae laudes* Claudian incorporates that earlier conflict and its ending, ready to continue where Statius had finished.

The progression from chaos to order need not be taken as an inflexible signpost to didactic epic. Ovid may have been influenced by Hesiod's *Theogony* which narrates the formation of the world from Chaos (*Theog.* 116),[166] but he was also inspired by heroic

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[161] Ovid uses *principio* to introduce the organisation of the world (*Met.* 1.34), for Lucretian influence, Bömer (1969) 30.

[162] In *discussis tenebris in lucem saecula fudit* (*Stil* 2.11) there may also be a suggestion of Lucretius' opening line to his third book: *o tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen* (*DRN* 3.1). Keudel (1970) 71-2 discusses images of light and dark in *DRN*. In structural terms, a reference to the opening of *DRN* 3 would draw a parallel between the start of the middle section of both works, Claudian's second book corresponding to Lucretius' third.

[163] Bömer (1969) 16-18. See Wheeler (1995b) 95-6 for Ovid's models, and Wheeler (1999) 8-33 for discussion of the opening.

[164] *Clementia*, as a prime mover, has a certain imperial quality, being one of the cardinal virtues on the *clupeus Augusti* (*Res Gest.* 35). As Galinsky (1996) 85 notes, it was an attribute of the Roman character and the duty of a Roman leader (*Aen.* 6.853). See also Keudel (1970) 64-72, Cameron (1970a) 213.

[165] Vessey (1973) 310-12.

[166] Wheeler (1999) 22.

epic.[167] His Chaos manifests itself as universal discord, *discordia rerum* (*Met.* 1.9), strife which is reconciled by god or nature;[168] it is this balance and tension between *concordia* and *discordia* which is at the centre of creation: *discors concordia fetibus apta est* (*Met.* 1.433).[169] Ovid was not alone in this belief and the shifting balance in the cosmos became a model for the Roman state.[170] Lucan uses Ovid's phrase to describe the barely-maintained balance of the first triumvirate before civil war: *temporis angusti mansit* ***concordia discors*** (*BC* 1.98). The *concordia* of good government was eternally threatened by the *discordia* of internal revolt or external wars and this tension is the underlying theme of Roman epic.[171] In epic terms, an eruption of *discordia* is expressed as *furor* and often serves to propel the narrative,[172] whether it is the storm of Aeolus in *Aeneid* 1, Oedipus' intervention in *Thebaid* 1, or the crossing of the Rubicon in *De bello civili* 1. Ovid, familiar with the *furor* of the *Aeneid*, reclaims the dark power of chaos to propel his epic, a work which, despite its opening, will not confine itself to strictly didactic material, but will range over as many themes and genres as suits the poet.[173] In following Ovid, Claudian implies his readiness to do the same.

One more Ovidian signal directs the reader to Claudian's generic intentions. In the opening lines, between the opening signpost to the didactic *Georgics* and the lengthier signalling of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the seemingly insignificant line, *fastisque suum concesserit annum* (*Stil.* 2.3), now may be seen to glow like a beacon, directing the reader not to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but to the *Fasti*, just as Ovid had signalled the *Fasti* in *ad mea tempora.* The role of the unnamed *mitior Musa* now can be seen to supervise the allusive transition from Ovidian epic to Ovidian elegy. With the new text, a further allusion is revealed: *Clementia* does not only correspond to Ovid's prime mover but as *magni custos...mundi* (*Stil.* 2.6), is also identified with Janus of the *Fasti*: who at the beginning of time was Chaos (*Fast.* 1.103) and is now *vasti custodia mundi* (*Fast.*

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[167] Ovid's aim, to tell of all history from the beginning of time to his own day, suggests Ennius; for the various sources in the opening of the *Metamorphoses*: see Wheeler (1999) 20-30, Keith (2002) 236-9, Feeney (1999).

[168] For the Empedoclean origin of this concept, Hardie (1995).

[169] Ahl (1985) 273.

[170] Hardie (1986) 5-32.

[171] Hardie (1993a) 1, Nelis (2001) 345-59, Cairns (1989) 85-108.

[172] Hardie (1993a) 58-65.

[173] Feldherr (2002) 164 discusses the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses* as introduction to "shifts in tone, subject matter, and even generic affiliation". For an exhaustive examination of the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses*, Wheeler (1999) 8-33, cf. Harrison (2002b) 87-9, Anderson (1993) 108-110, Myers (1994) 5.

1.119)[174] and the guardian of ordered time.[175] As *Clementia* introduces Claudian's narration of Stilicho's year, so Janus ushers in Ovid's calendar. In his discussion of Stilicho's time as consul, Claudian informs us that Ovid, as author of *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, will be his guide.

To take Ovid as a guide for a poem which discusses time is in itself suggestive. Ovid claims that his work is a *carmen perpetuum*, beginning at the dawn of time, *primaque ab origine mundi*, and ending *ad mea tempora* (*Met.* 1.3-4). The words are misleading. As Feeney argues, following Barchiesi, Ovid's definition of time in the *Metamorphoses* is "vitally singular" and he ignores all conventional chronological systems in order to stop and start the clock as necessary.[176] Time can be seen as one of the *mutatae formae* which Ovid describes. Mankind has to pass through several recreations before his existence is assured.[177] The iron age is brought to an end by the flood and, as the waters go down, Ovid optimistically asserts *redditus orbis erat* (*Met.* 1.348). The human race is recreated, this time from stones. Original chaos had no divisions of time:

> nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,
> nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe (*Met.* 1.10-11)

but gradually these divisions are established and appear as courtiers in the palace of Sol:

> a dextra laevaque Dies et Mensis et Annus
> Saeculaque et positae spatiis aequalibus Horae (*Met.* 2.25-6).

Phaëthon's doomed chariot ride, however, throws all into confusion again. Spatial landmarks are destroyed as the constellations, which travellers use for guidance, are scattered before him and the world is set ablaze and threatened with the return of chaos: *in chaos antiquum confundimur* (*Met.*2.299).[178] The threat brings the reader back to the beginning of the poem when Chaos reigned.[179]

The *Metamorphoses* claims to be a *carmen perpetuum* (*Met.* 1.4), while the *Fasti* equates *carmen* and *annus*, the poem growing with and mimicking the year,[180] *perpetuum* in the

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[174] Keudel (1970) 70.
[175] Hardie (1991) 49.
[176] Feeney (1999) 25, Barchiesi (1989) 91. Rosati (2002) 278 discusses the tension between the chronological and analogical ordering of time in the *Metamorphoses*.
[177] In addition to the Hesiodic races of man which culminate in iron, Ovid offers the race of blood (*Met.* 1.162) and of stone (*Met.* 1.400-15).
[178] Zissos and Gildenhard (1999) 35.
[179] To this list of recreations, we may add the literary/artistic creation of the universe on the doors of the palace of the Sun: see Wheeler (1995b) 113, Brown (1987).
[180] Hardie (1991) 54-5, Volk (1997) 292-3.

sense that the renewal of the *fasti* recurs annually. Although claiming to confine himself to the single year of Stilicho's consulship (*Stil.* 2.4), Claudian draws on both works to create the structural and thematic framework of his book, rather ironically implying that the second book of a tripartite opus is in itself a *carmen perpetuum*, but reminding the reader, through allusion to Ovid, that a beginning may occur more than once.[181] In the beginning to this single poem, Claudian has intertwined the cosmological opening of the *Metamorphoses* and the presiding deity of ordered and disordered time, Janus.[182] The allusive Janus, as pivot between chaos and order, as presiding deity of the new year and as symbol of temporal renewal, is present throughout the poem, invoked almost exclusively through allusion, to lead the reader through the maze of changing time.

This two-faced god, not surprisingly, is a complex figure in the *Fasti*. As the god of the new year, he introduces the poem, portraying himself both as Chaos and the guardian of the world, a god (*Fast.* 1.112) and also a king of Italy during the golden age of Saturn (*Fast.* 1.235-50). He is a god associated with peace (*Fast.* 1.253-4), the closing of his temple doors famously signify an end to Roman warfare (*Fast.* 1.277-284) and in this context Claudian alludes to him: *Ianum pax alta ligat* (*Stil.* 2.287). This is the only time Claudian mentions Janus by name in the poem and the reference is taken from Statius' panegyric on Domitian:

> ipse etiam immensi reparator maximus aevi
> attollit vultus et utroque a limine grates
> **Ianus** agit, quem tu vicina **Pace ligatum**
> omnia iussisti componere bella (*Silv.* 4.1.11-14).[183]

The two faces of Janus endowed him with a temporal significance, looking to past and present simultaneously, and this ability ensured his presence in consular panegyrics, recited at the beginning of the year.[184] Statius' definition, ***immensi*** *reparator maximus* ***aevi***, encapsulates the two-fold importance of Janus to Claudian in this poem, from the closing of the temple doors here to the description of the cave of time, ***inmensi*** *spelunca* ***aevi*** (*Stil.* 2.426), where all time, old and new, is stored. Ovid's Janus may be suggested in the presence of Natura who is the doorkeeper and guardian of the cave,

> vestibuli custos vultu longaeva decoro
> ante fores Natura sedet (*Stil.* 2.431-2),

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[181] To insert poetic programmatic material in the middle of a work is part of a long established tradition: see Conte (1992).
[182] For the programmatic function of Janus in the *Fasti*, Myers (1994) 127-8.
[183] Coleman (1988) 69.
[184] E.g. *VI Cons.* 640-1, *Eut.* 1.318-19.

as Janus sits at the doors of heaven: *praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis* (*Fast.* 1.125), *mitibus Horis* being echoed in *mitior Musa*, Claudian's inspiration for the book. Finally, Janus, who controls the turning of the year, *ius vertendi cardinis* (*Fast.* 1.120), returns at the end of the poem as the year turns on its hinge, *revoluto cardine* (*Stil.* 2.475).

Having created the expectation of the circularity of time, Claudian establishes Stilicho as the focus of return and restoration in the poem. From the outset, his cultivation of the virtues and his rejection of greed, ambition and pride (*Stil.* 2.6-172) mark him as different from men of the present age. The image of Stilicho standing firm against the flood of contemporary vice, *nec te gurges corruptior aevi/traxit ad exemplum* (*Stil.* 2.116-17), read in the Ovidian context which Claudian has created, signals the flood by which Jupiter destroyed mankind as punishment for the wickedness of Lycaeon, yet another beginning within the *Metamorphoses*. After the flood, only the virtuous Deucalion and Pyrrha survive (*Met.* 1.322-3). Like these, and like Mallius Theodorus of whom *Iustitia* claimed *in quo veteris vestigia recti/et ductos video mores meliore metallo* (*Theod.* 136-7), Stilicho is portrayed as a contrast to his age.

Claudian next praises Stilicho for restoring their rightful possessions to various races, the Carthaginians regaining their territories, *rura libera* (*Stil.* 2.190-1), and the Pannonian no longer under siege. As lands are returned to their lawful owners, tools are once more whetted and polished for work:

> rursus cote novat nigras **rubigine** falces
> **exesosque** situ cogit splendere ligones (*Stil.* 2.194-5).

Removing the rust from tools or weapons is an image to which Claudian returns, rubbing years away with decay.[185] In the restoration of lands to rightful owners, however, Claudian is reworking Vergil's *Georgics*,[186] reversing Vergil's portrayal of war-torn Italy:

> scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
> agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
> **exesa** inveniet scabra **robigine** pila (*Geo.* 1.493-5).

Vergil's Italy has suffered civil war,[187] when farmers were taken from their land and *curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem* (*Geo.* 1.508) and the country is governed by a

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[185] For examples of the *topos*, Keudel (1970) 83. For the image in Claudian, see *De bello Gildonico* where Roma's rejuvenation was symbolized by her newly polished spear – *et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus* (*Gild.* 212) – while Theodorus refers to his recall from retirement as *reverti/cogis et infectum longi rubigine ruris* (*Theod.* 174-5).

[186] Gale (2000) 255 notes the application of military metaphors to farming in *Georgics* I. Cf. Thomas (1988) 150-1.

charioteer who has lost control: *fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas* (*Geo.* 1.514). It is not clear exactly when this recovery will take place as Vergil is no more specific than *tempus veniet* (*Geo.* 1.493)[188] but Claudian suggests that Stilicho has brought Rome beyond that point, to a time when war is over and tools cleansed for their proper purpose *rursus* (*Stil.* 2.194). Making the same point but with a different – though familiar - metaphor, Claudian depicts Stilicho as a doctor:

> solo poterit Stilichone medente
> crescere Romanum vulnus tectura cicatrix (*Stil.* 2.204-5).[189]

The reason for Claudian's emphasis on cleansing and restoration is made apparent by Roma herself who flies to beg Stilicho's acceptance of the consulship and who brings up the topic for which Claudian's audience must have been waiting with bated breath: the matter of the previous consul in the East, the eunuch Eutropius. Claudian does not spend time abusing Eutropius here (having written two books of abuse in the previous year) but relies on his audience's familiarity with the "disgrace". Since the shame occurred in the East, Roma argues, no damage has been done to the Roman fasces, but if it had, only Stilicho could repair it and wipe off the stain. He is to act for all consuls, past and future:

> consul succurre gravatis
> consulibus, quicumque **fuit**, quicumque **futurus**;
> annum **redde** tuum (*Stil.* 2.318-20).

He is to act as a second Brutus who, although the first consul, is described as a restorer, giving back freedom to the people:

> libertas populi primo tunc consule Bruto
> **reddita** per fasces (Stil. 2.323-4).

Stilicho is to repeat his actions, *hic fascibus expulit ipsis/servitium* (*Stil.* 2.324-5). When her pleas are met with success, Roma hails Stilicho as a second Camillus and rejoices, *ultorem videant servatoremque Quirites* (*Stil.* 2.391). In her speech, Roma compresses all of Roman history, past and future, making time appear to pivot on Stilicho's consulship. Past and present seem the same: Brutus and Camillus can reappear in the person of Stilicho, and he can restore – *redde, reddita* – what has been lost.

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[187] Mynors (1990) 95-6.
[188] Lyne (1974).
[189] Cf. *Gild.* 120-3, *Get.* 436-7. The theme occurs in Livy, *pr.* 9; Ogilvie (1965) 28 notes a similar connection between "moral, especially sexual, laxity and political disaster" in Horace 3.24 and 3.6. See Moles (1993); on medical language, see Langslow (1991). Roberts (2001) 540 notes the psychological development of this metaphor in Rutilius' *De reditu suo* 119.

By now it is clear that some type of *reparatio saeculi* or new *aurea aetas* is imminent and Claudian expresses this restoration by the rejuvenation of the phoenix:

> sic ubi fecunda reparavit morte iuventam
> et patrios idem cineres collectaque portat
> unguibus ossa piis (*Stil.* 2.414-16).

As we have seen, this simile expresses the single nature of the Roman ruler; it also has particular relevance for the consulship. While the annual rebirth of the year and the selection of a new consul could always be made parallel to the death and rebirth of the phoenix,[190] Claudian is here exalting the new consulship, golden and shining, at the expense of the old which lies in ashes. The old year/consulship is properly reverenced by the young phoenix: although the ashes tacitly represent the dishonour done to the office by the election of Eutropius, nevertheless the actual consul of 399 in the West was Mallius Theodorus, of whom Claudian approved. This is the rebirth of the consulship and of the year, and even of a new age. More significantly, it is the beginning of a new reading of the literary past.

Our guide to the cave of time is Sol,[191] reprising his role in *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*. As the divinity whose palace officials in the *Metamorphoses* are the divisions of time, from *saecula* to *horae* (*Met.* 2.25-30), he is therefore connected to Janus of the *Fasti*, companion of the Hours (*Fast.* 1.125), and associated with him in the ordering of time. Ovid's Janus provided an auspicious year for the consul Germanicus, *faustus annus* (*Fast.* 1.63), and Sol is now preparing a worthy year, *dignus annus* (*Stil.* 2.423) for the new consul.

> vix adeunda deis, annorum squalida mater,
> inmensi spelunca aevi, quae tempora vasto
> suppeditat revocatque sinu. complectitur antrum,
> omnia qui placido consumit numine, serpens
> perpetuumque viret squamis caudamque reductam
> ore vorat tacito relegens exordia lapsu.
> vestibuli custos vultu longaeva decoro
> ante fores Natura sedet, cunctisque volantes
> dependent membris animae. mansura verendus
> scribit iura senex, numeros qui dividit astris
> et cursus stabilesque moras, quibus omnia vivunt
> ac pereunt fixis cum legibus (*Stil.* 2.425-36).[192]

Within the cave is all time and no time: the references to renewal and rebirth are now explained in the context of the snake devouring its own tail, symbolising Claudian's

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[190] For the phoenix as a symbol of *felicium temporum reparatio*, Keudel (1970) 100.
[191] Keudel (1970) 102.
[192] For background to the cave of time, Keudel (1970) 102-8, Cameron (1970a) 205-7.

perception of history,[193] emphasised by the repetition of the prefix *re-*: *revocat*, *reductam*, *relegens*. Time is seamless, constantly repeating, forever turning back on itself and Stilicho's career is proof of this. As the living temple of *Clementia* he banished Chaos and began the history of mankind. He is a new Brutus, re-restoring the liberty which Brutus had won for the State so long ago. He is the phoenix, the reborn consul who causes the birth of the golden age. Since all Roman history is simultaneous, Roma can announce the election of Stilicho to the heroes of old:

> nunc libet, ut tanti Curiis miracula voti
> Fabriciisque feram, famae qui vulnere nuper
> calcatam flevere togam: iam prata choreis
> pulsent nec rigidos pudeat lusisse Catones...
> splendida suscipiant alium te rostra Camillum (*Stil.* 2.379-82, 390).

To list these great figures of history as though contemporaries is such a familiar *topos* among epic writers that it disguises Claudian's manipulation of time.[194] He here unites Brutus of the sixth century B.C., Camillus of the fourth century B.C. and Stilicho of A.D. 400, equating heroes of the past with those of the present. A similar gathering, with additional cast, appears in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* as Theodosius advises Honorius to study the past in order to prepare for the future, learning *libertas* from Brutus, generalship from Fabius and Camillus, *paupertas sobria* from Curius and Fabricius (*IV Cons.* 396-418). This parade of heroes is, of course, influenced by Anchises' prophecy in the *Aeneid* where the same figures appear:

> vis et Tarquinios reges animamque superbam,
> ultoris Bruti, fascisque videre receptos?...
> aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum (*Aen.* 6.817-8, 825).

The relevance of Theodosius' advice, *Latium retro te confer in aevum* (*IV Cons.* 400), depends on Anchises' earlier description of the souls in Elysium (*Aen.* 6.743-51). After death the souls are cleansed of sin, and wait in Elysium until a thousand years have rolled around. Then they are summoned to the river Lethe to be made forgetful and finally restored to new bodies.[195] Elysium is therefore Roma's destination when she goes to announce the consulship to the Curii and Fabricii:

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[193] Because of its ability to shed its skin and therefore "renew" itself, the snake is a symbol of renewal and rebirth, as in *Met.* 9.266-70 where the apotheosis of Hercules is compared to a snake sloughing off its skin. In his depiction of the *senex* ***verendus,*** Claudian may have had Hercules' metamorphosis in mind: *augusta fieri gravitate* ***verendus*** (*Met.* 9.270).

[194] Cf. Wilson (1993) 230 who notes that in Silius' *Punica*, time is depicted "in terms of repetition and cyclicity rather than linear progression".

[195] The theory of metempsychosis is set forth in Plato, *Rep.* 11 and comes from earlier Orphic/Pythagorean beliefs: see Braund (1997) 216-18.

> 'nunc' ait 'Elysii lucos inrumpere campi
> nunc libet, ut tanti Curiis miracula voti
> Fabriciisque feram (*Stil.* 2.378-80).

In Vergil's Elysium, these great heroes are still waiting to be recalled whether for physical, or literary, rebirth and Claudian's line *iam **p**rata **choreis**/**p**ulsent nec rigidos **p**udeat **lusisse** Catones* (*Stil.* 2.381-2) refers to their joyous pastimes as they wait:

> pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
> contendunt **ludo** et fulva luctantur harena;
> **p**ars **p**edibus **p**laudunt **choreas** (*Aen.* 6.642-4).[196]

The reference to Elysium with its suggestion of Anchises' theory of metempsychosis adds depth to Claudian's rhetorical assertion that Stilicho is a second Brutus. If Anchises' words are correct and souls are born into new bodies, then what heroic soul may Stilicho not possess?[197] Or what of the poet himself? It is unlikely that Claudian believed literally in the transmigration of souls,[198] yet the concept is central to the literary tradition.[199] The Vergilian passage above derives from Ennius' dream of Homer,[200] and both provide models for Ovid's speech of Pythagoras:[201] given this allusive ancestry, Claudian can claim a complex literary heritage.

Claudian's suggestion of Vergil and the Pythagorean transmigration of souls is in keeping with his didactic opening and his its meditation on cosmology and the nature of virtues.[202] Nevertheless, his choice of Sol as guide to the cave of time takes the reader back to Ovid's repeated recreations of time, and to Ovid's stated literary intentions, *ad mea **perpetuum deducite tempora** carmen* (*Met.* 1.4). Ovid's juxtaposition of *perpetuum* and *deducite* have been recognised as his generic manifesto; he will write epic, *carmen perpetuum*, but it will be *deductum*, fine-spun,[203] a distinction made initially by Vergil in the fourth *Eclogue*. The verbal similarities between Claudian and Ovid are striking:

> quae **tempora** vasto
> suppeditat revocatque sinu....
> serpens
> **perpetuumque** viret squamis caudamque **reductam**
> ore vorat tacito relegens exordia lapsu (*Stil.* 2.426-7, 428-30).

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[196] Keudel (1970) 97.
[197] See Wilson (1993) 228-9 for Silius' depiction of Scipio as a second Hercules.
[198] Cameron (1970a) 209-10.
[199] On the importance of *alius*, for example, see Hardie (1993a) 17-18.
[200] Williams (1964) 192-3, Hardie (1986) 76-83.
[201] Hardie (1995) 210-12.
[202] For eclecticism in Vergil, Braund (1997) 206-7.
[203] Keith (2002) 246, Wheeler (1999) 26.

Claudian's snake is literally retracing its own beginnings and metaphorically rereading the repeated beginnings of time – *relegens exordia.* On a metaliterary level, he is rereading Ovidian beginnings,[204] the *carmen perpetuum* of the *Metamorphoses*, and also the *Fasti*: *tempora* and *lapsu* suggesting the first two lines:

> tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum
> lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam (*Fast.* 1.1-2)

the voice of the poet, *canam*, becoming the silence of the snake, *ore tacito.* The snake becomes a metaphor for Claudian's book, beginning and ending with the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti.*

As already discussed, Ovid's *carmen* is *perpetuum* in the sense that the universe he describes is constant in its change. For Claudian, the cycles of Roman history can perhaps best be described as *mutatae formae*, metamorphoses, the constant renewal of *Roma aeterna* and the recreation of heroes of the past in heroes of the present. Like the world of the *Metamorphoses*, Claudian's Rome is eternally renewing itself; the different ages of the world which Ovid describes as subsequent to Chaos are guarded inside the cave by the snake. Gold, silver, bronze and iron are all ready for selection to be set in motion by the ruler of Rome.

Claudian's snake, constantly biting its tail is as much a comment on the task of the poet as on the nature of time and the poet draws attention to the act of writing time in the figure of Aion[205] *mansura verendus/scribit iura senex* (*Stil.* 2.433-4). His presence suggests Ovid's metamorphosis of time into art on the doors of Sol's palace,[206] Vulcan re-enacting the role of the poet. Aion's task is to create what is permanent and enduring from immeasurable and uncategorised time: like Claudian he is writing down the cycles of time for posterity. Claudian repeatedly draws attention to his literary sources, like the snake retracing his beginnings, *relegens exordia* (*Stil.* 2.430), both going over the beginning of the world in Ovidian terms, repeating the recurrent destruction and recreation of the world from Chaos through flood and fire in the first two books of the *Metamorphoses.* We can equate the circularity of time, described by Claudian as *perpetuum* (*Stil.* 2.429) with the eternity of Roman epic history, the *carmen perpetuum*, but Claudian implies more than this. Time without beginning or end is time without order and so close to primeval chaos:

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[204] Barchiesi (1991) 6-7.
[205] Cameron (1970a) 205.
[206] Brown (1987).

it is the task of the poet, like Aion, to bring order. The very act of writing down the laws of the universe makes them come into being, whether for Aion, or Ovid, or Claudian.

Reading the poem through an Ovidian lens, the selection of a golden year for Stilicho's consulship, with its promise of burgeoning crops and flourishing virtues (*Stil.* 2.454-7), brings us back to the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* and the first golden age (*Met.*1.89-112). The whole book may be seen as a multi-layered divided allusion, the poet bringing the reader in a circle from his opening to closing allusions to the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, but also, like the whole of the *Metamorphoses*, progressing from Chaos to his own time and the year of the consul Stilicho. Because the book so emphasises the creation of the golden year for Stilicho, we are reminded constantly that Claudian, like Aion, is writing time and like Ovid, writing his own *Fasti*. The ever-recurring cycles of Roman history are present intertextually through allusions to Janus, the great restorer of time.[207] The last lines of the book summarise Claudian's literary and temporal revolutions:

> inque novos iterum revoluto cardine cursus
> scribunt aetheriis Stilichonem sidera fastis (*Stil.* 2.475-6).

inque novos iterum suggests the repeated beginnings of time to which Claudian has alluded; *iterum revoluto cardine* recalls the cyclical theme of the book as well as Janus, who is in charge of the turning of the year. The stars take over the role of Aion, writing Stilicho's name into the calendar. Interpreting the literary signals in the lines, *iterum revoluto* takes us back to Claudian's sources: the *Fasti* is prominent as the final word, but surely in this context *inque novos....cursus* is meant to remind the reader of Ovid's opening *in nova...corpora*?[208]

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[207] Hardie (1991) 52 notes that the Janus episode echoes the structure of the *Metamorphoses*, from Chaos to the poet's own time.

[208] Occurring at the end of the book, *in novos* as a "false end" may parallel Ovid's "false start", *in nova*: see Wheeler (1999) 9. The phrase may also suggest *Fast.* 5.12 (Keudel (1970) 117): *post chaos, ut primum data sunt tria corpora mundo,/**inque novas** species omne recessit opus*, which is itself an allusion to the opening of the *Metamorphoses*, and the separation of the elements after chaos.

CHAPTER 5

ENEMIES OF ROMAN ORDER

The annual renewal of the *fasti* represented the eternal renewal and circularity of Roman time on a small scale; when viewing Roman history as defined by Vergil and Ovid as a time (or epic) without limit, Claudian interprets the past as a series of cycles, alternating between harmony and disharmony which he expresses in epic terms as the tension between *concordia* and *discordia* or *furor*.[1] Hardie has discussed epic's ever-frustrated search for closure in terms of this tension:[2] Claudian bypasses the question by asserting that epic time repeats itself constantly. For Claudian, as writer of encomiastic epic, the natural state of the empire under good government is expressed by *concordia*, while any interruption to that state, whether an internal or external threat, is a product of *furor*. With epic *furor* as the inspiration for all *discordia*, Claudian's villains are described in epic terms, whether as the heirs to the Giants storming Olympus or the descendants of Phaëthon, attempting what was beyond his control. This chapter will examine firstly Claudian's understanding of the balance between good and evil in his contemporary world, how the balance is maintained in the tension between promoters and enemies of Roman stability and how lack of balance manifests itself as a cosmic threat to universal order. I will examine the specific challenges to order, Rufinus, Alaric and Gildo, who challenged the empire as a whole, and discuss how Claudian portrays them in the context of the cycles of the Roman past within the wider context of cosmic history.[3]

Continuity and Interruption: *Concordia* and *Furor*

When in his first panegyric Claudian addresses Sol as the deity who turns the revolving ages, *volvis...redeuntia saecula* (*P&O* 2), he asserts that Roman time, as expressed in the

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[1] For Roman writers, an attack on *concordia* could be described as *discordia*, *furor* or *nefas*. For simplicity, and because Claudian favours *furor*, I use this term in discussing the concept.

[2] Hardie (1993a) 1, for dualism of *pietas* and *furor* (or Heaven and Hell), 58-60.

[3] From Claudian's point of view, Rufinus – as the opponent of Claudian's patron, Stilicho - may be described as an enemy from within, as distinct from the enemies without, Alaric and Gildo. Eutropius, although a greater enemy to Stilicho, is not described in terms of *furor* but is dismissed as subhuman, a matter for satire rather than epic. See Long (1996) 17-50.

consular annals, is cyclic rather than linear, and that the past glories of the Anniadae will be repeated in the persons of the young Probinus and Olybrius. The definition of time as *redeuntia saecula* can be expanded to imply returning time; as previously argued, if time is a scroll (as *volvis* suggests), it can be turned backwards as well as forwards. The restoration of peace and harmony is a recurrent theme in Claudian's work and the word *redditus* and its cognates reappear frequently. Liberty, for example, restored to the fasces by Brutus, *libertas...reddita* (*Stil* 2.323-4), is re-restored by Honorius' victory over Alaric and expressed in the same words: *isdem tropaeis/**reddita libertas** orbi* (*VI Cons.* 120-1).[4] A slight variation occurs in the description of Theodosius' defeat of Arbogast as *libertate reducta* (*III Cons.* 105) and the death of Rufinus is hailed by an unknown voice claiming *libertatemque reduxi* (*Ruf.* 2.388). It is evident that the threat to and restoration of liberty is part of the cycle of history: Theodosius and Stilicho are united in their role of protector of Rome by the restoration of liberty, and the use of the identical *reddita libertas* which unites Brutus and Honorius bridges the thousand years which separate them so that they appear as the identical restorers of liberty in their different eras.[5]

The restoration of *concordia* and the banishment of *furor* are seen in similar terms of the repetition of historical patterns. Brennus had once threatened Rome with fire, now Gildo threatens the city with starvation (*Gild.* 126-7). As Rome had survived the early attack, it would survive the later. Hannibal had once menaced the city, now Alaric follows in his footsteps (*Get.* 138-44). Both are doomed. The presentation of time as an unending and ever-repeating series of cycles tacitly offers comfort to Romans, fearful of the barbarians on the frontiers.[6] Claudian's calm insistence that there were no new dangers, merely old ones in modern guise, assured his audience of the eternity of Roman *imperium.* Whether Claudian turned to the semi-mythologized enemies of the Roman Republic, Hannibal or the Gauls, or to actual figures of myth, the Giants or Phaëthon, the familiarity of the past gave reassurance to the future. In all retellings of myth and history, the Giants and the Gauls, Phaëthon and Hannibal lost. It was unthinkable that they should ever win. But it

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[4] Alluding to this passage in ***eadem*** *sed causa* ***tropaei,****/civilis dissensus, erat* (*VI Cons.* 394-5), Claudian takes the reader back to the evils of an earlier age for which Honorius has made reparation: see Dewar (1996) 143.

[5] The introduction of Brutus also turns back the literary scroll to the *exempla* of *Aeneid* 6, Claudian perhaps correcting Vergil by omitting the critical reference to Brutus as the possessor of a proud spirit, and highlighting instead the Vergilian *vis...fascisque videre receptos*? (*Aen.* 6.817-18).

[6] For barbarians waiting in the wings, cf. *Ruf.* 1.308-14, and Rufinus' alliance with the Getae, Scythians, Sarmatians, Dacians, Massagetes, Alans and Geloni; Cameron (1970a) 71-2 discusses the actuality of the situation, cf. Dilke (1969) 7. Dewar (1994a) 366-7 notes the actual precautions against invasion in Claudian's work.

was also in the nature of epic *furor* to strive constantly against *concordia* and as a consequence history constantly manufactured new Giants and Hannibals who would be defeated in their turn.

The theme of restoration and continuity of *concordia* runs through all of Claudian's work. The first book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* begins with the resonant *continuant*, the ceaseless blessings of the gods on Rome (*Stil.* 1.1). *De bello Gildonico* opens with the reassurance that order has been restored:

> redditus imperiis Auster subiectaque rursus
> alterius convexa poli..
> concordia fratrum
> plena redit (*Gild.* 1-2, 4-5)[7]

and the panegyric on Honorius' sixth consulship celebrates the return of peace after the danger posed by Alaric. Restoration is reiterated in *reduci*, *reditum* and *reparatur*, and the ear is bombarded with the hidden syllable *–re-*:

> auREa Fortunae Reduci si templa prioREs
> ob REditum voveRE ducum, non dignius umquam
> haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceREt aedes,
> quam sua cum pariter trabeis REparatuR Et urbi
> maiestas (*VI Cons.* 1-5).[8]

Every reference to peace and harmony implies imperial *concordia*.[9] From the time of Julius Caesar, *concordia* had become ideologically linked with emperor and epic.[10] *concordia* depended on the emperor and therefore became an important slogan affirming order and victory.[11] *concordia Augusta* became a *topos* of panegyric.[12] In addition, *concordia* had familial and political associations which made it particularly relevant to

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[7] Olechowska (1978) 124 lists nine cognates of *reddere* in this poem alone.

[8] On *redux*, Dewar (1996) 64.

[9] Cairns (1989) 107 notes that the word is rarely used in poetry in the Augustan period at least and that in official propaganda between 40 and 10 B.C., *pax* was substituted. While Claudian specifically alludes to *concordia*, passages which in the context of the good government of Honorius or Theodosius extol the supremacy of such virtues as *Clementia*, *Pietas*, *Pax* and *Fides* and which hail the defeat of *Perfidia* and the Furies (e.g. *Theod.* 166-71, cf. *Ruf.* 1.52-4, where *Concordia* specifically appears with *Virtus, Fides* and *Pietas*) must be seen as referring to *concordia*.

[10] Cairns (1989) 85-108 discusses the historical background of *concordia* and its specific importance in the *Aeneid*, cf. Jal (1961) 218-31.

[11] The coinage struck for Rome's millenium in 248AD was notable for the emphasis on victory, concord and renewal: see McMullen (1967) 157-8. For the emperor as *Conservator* of *concordia*, Martin (1991) 84.

[12] Cf. *pax Augusta, salus Augusta*: see Ferguson (1970) 91. For the association of Augustus and *concordia*, Feeney (1998) 87. For the *topos* in panegyrics, see for example, Rees (2002) 61 on *PL* X(II)9.3, 11.1, 11.3, 11.4, Rees (2002) 74-6 on *PL* XI(3), and, in general, Seagar (1984).

Claudian's writing.[13] As Cairns notes, Vergil's description of Caesar and Pompey, *gener* and *socer*, as *concordes animae* (*Aen.* 6.826) evoked the "familial and marital links of *concordia*":[14] when these broke down, civil war would be the result. Temples to *Concordia* therefore were built after periods of civil dissent.[15]

Claudian, writing for an empire ruled uneasily by two brothers, saw in *concordia* the ideal state of harmony between East and West[16] but also saw this *concordia* in epic terms as constantly threatened by its opposite and counter-balance, *furor*. That Rome was divinely appointed to rule without barriers of time or space was guaranteed by Vergil (*Aen.* 1.279). By extension, therefore, Roman government must be inherently good and right. In post-Vergilian epic, any force in opposition to *imperium* must be derived from *furor*. Juno's hostility to the establishment of Aeneas' rule in Italy is the outcome of her *furor* and her will is accomplished by the Fury Allecto.[17] Lucan, introducing his civil war as *scelus* and *commune nefas* (*BC* 1.2, 6) echoes Vergil, asking what madness brought this about: *quis furor?* (*BC* 1.8),[18] and depicts Caesar's march on Rome as accompanied by a Fury (*BC* 1.572-7).[19] A brief truce inspires an invocation to *Concordia* (*BC* 4.189-91) when the two armies share meals, *duro concordes caespite mensas* (*BC* 4.198), then *furor* breaks out again: *redeunt rabiesque furorque* (*BC* 4.240).[20] *redeunt* here suggests a certain inevitability; the outbreak of civil war (1.692) is foretold as happening *iterum*, Lucan's view of history as being a "cyclic pattern of experience culminating every generation in a burst of civil bloodshed".[21] *furor* is the motivating force of the *Thebaid*, the madness of the two tyrants continuing after death (*Theb.* 1.35).[22] Silius describes the driving obsession of Hannibal as *patrius furor* (*Pun.* 1.71). In Claudian's work, *furor* manifests itself in different forms, as the impulse which makes the Goths attack (*Get.* 72), the evil inspiration of Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.25-175) and Gildo's vicious pleasures (*Gild.* 180).

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[13] Cairns (1989) 91 notes the connection between *concordia* and blood relations, in particular brothers, also in marriage and in *amor* and *amicitia*. Flory (1984) 314-15 discusses the careful ideological association between Livia's shrine to *Concordia* and marriage.

[14] Cairns (1989) 96.

[15] For temples and shrines to Concord, Platner and Ashby (1929) 137-40.

[16] Long (1996) 137.

[17] Feeney (1991) 130-6, 146-51, 162-72.

[18] Cf. *quis furor iste novus* (*Aen.* 5.670), Fantham (1992) 8.

[19] Hershkowitz (1998a) 197-46.

[20] For cosmic dimension of *concordia* here, Masters (1992) 71-3.

[21] Leigh (1996) 299, who notes also Vergil's *iterum* on Philippi, at *Geo.* 1.489-92. Cf. also Ovid, *Emathiique* ***iterum*** *madefient caede Philippi* (*Met.* 15.824): see Bruère (1950) 220.

[22] Hershkowitz (1998a) 248 describes the *Thebaid* as "an epic about madness, pervaded by madness, dependent on madness" and discusses the work in general, 247-301.

Like *concordia*, *furor* had particular application to the political circumstances of the late antique empire. Representing the continuous danger of the various barbarian tribes on the edges of the empire, and especially the Goths, *furor* stood for external threat. Of more significance, however, was its interpretation as any disharmony between western and eastern halves of the empire. Vergil's Juno had spoken of the power of Allecto:

> tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres,
> atque odiis versare domos (*Aen.* 7.335-6)

and these words were very relevant for an empire uneasily ruled by two brothers.[23] In *De bello Gildonico*, Claudian accuses Gildo of sowing discord, asking *Gildonisne salus tanti sit palma* ***furoris****?* (*Gild.* 238). As harmony between the brothers waned and Claudian focussed his attention on the West, treating the East as non-Roman, those who opposed Stilicho's policies, even if they held high office, were also agents of *furor*.

It is difficult to summarise such a complex element as *furor*.[24] It could connote a momentary madness, related to illness[25] or, as in Cicero's definition, a blindness of the mind, *mentis caecitas* (*Tusc.* 3.11). This is the *furor* which possessed those who followed Eutropius and whose eyes were later cleared as they saw their mistake: *paulatim proprii mirantur monstra* ***furoris****/avertuntque oculos* (*Eut.* 2.519-20).[26] A man could be personally disposed to *furor* in his taste for cruelty and torture, as the *furialis mensa* of Gildo (*Gild.* 180) and the anger of Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.225) illustrate.[27] On a larger scale, Claudian, following the epic tradition, saw *furor* as a power which, while it could possess a person,[28] existed outside the individual, a force of chaos manifest as the abstraction *furor* or personified as one of the Furies.[29] *furor* did not only threaten government and empire but had a cosmic dimension, as a power which could spiral out of control and

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[23] For this particular role of a Fury, cf. Laius in *Thebaid* 2, modelled on Seneca's *Thyestes* 83-6: see Hershkowitz (1998a) 59-60.

[24] Hershkowitz (1998a) 1-67 gives a comprehensive overview of the sources and manifestations of epic madness.

[25] Hershkowitz (1998a) 2-8; cf. Claudian's many instances of *furor* manifesting itself as a disease within the empire: *Get.* 120-3, *Stil* 2. 204-5, *Eut.* 2.11-19.

[26] In the person of Oedipus, Statius associates *furor* and physical blindness (*Theb.* 1.46-87, 11.619-21).

[27] While the question of the free acceptance of *furor* is central to the *Aeneid* (for example, Cairns (1989) 82-4), Claudian's depiction of possession is far less ambiguous. Although Megaera's approach to Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.134-63) is modelled on that of Allecto to Turnus, there is no real justification for the scene since Rufinus, having been raised and vouched for by Megaera, must be *furialis* in nature. It must be noted, however, that divine intervention – whether of Megaera or Bellona – acts on pre-existing human vices: Tarbigilus is persuaded because of his greed: see Burrell (2003) 119-21.

[28] For possession, see Hardie (1993a) 40-8.

[29] Feeney (1991) 163-4 discusses the origins and nature of Vergil's Allecto who is the main model for Claudian's Allecto and Megaera.

bring destruction to the universe.[30] As will be demonstrated, the image of the Giants who almost succeeded in destroying Olympus was the quintessential symbol of this potential cataclysm: Phaëthon, threatening to consume the earth with fire, or the flood sent by Jupiter to destroy mankind are related images.

The literary role of *furor* as a catalyst for epic action has been discussed[31] and this significance can be extended beyond epic to explain Claudian's portrayal of Roman history. Of the recurrent cycles of time, a golden age, whether the golden year selected for Stilicho (*Stil* 2.446-52) or the full-scale golden age which flowered under Theodosius (*Ruf.* 1.50-7), was the ideal but an ideal with a flaw: the Romans defined themselves by conquest. Warfare was part of the national character and peace abroad depended on a strongly armed force at home.[32] Anchises may have advised Aeneas that the imposition of peace was part of the duty of Romans: so too was the obligation to wage righteous war, *debellare superbos* (*Aen.* 6.851-3), and the two went together. Rome personified was fully armed (*P&O* 92-5). By nature, the Romans saw themselves as the descendants of the hardy Italians described in the *Aeneid*: *gens...duro robore nata* (*Aen.* 8.315). Civilisation, however, brought comfort and idleness.[33] Therefore, while peace might be desirable, it could lead to degeneracy, as Romans became too attached to possessions and the soft life. The only cure for such weakness was warfare and the Furies, paradoxically, often acted to the benefit of fourth-century Rome by stirring up war. The presence of *Discordia* at the victory of Actium on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.702) suggests this inevitable paradox: war is literally at the centre of Roman *imperium*[34] The dangers of peace and the necessity of regeneration through war is a central theme of two of Claudian's epics, the theme highlighting the divisions between East and West. War is required to cleanse the East of the terrible stain of a eunuch consul in *In Eutropium*, while *De bello Getico* shows the national character corrupted by peace and restored by war. In both cases, the agency of the Furies is required to set these wars in motion.

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[30] Hardie (1993a) 58-65.

[31] See above page 75, see also Hardie (1993a) 60-5.

[32] The dependence of peace on conquest is evident in the imagery of Augustan art and the juxtaposition of cornucopia and Victory: see Galinsky (1996) 106-17, Zanker (1988) 183-92.

[33] Johnston (1980) 12, Woolf (1994). Florus (II.xiii.1, II.xiii.8) argues that good fortune and *nimia felicitas* brought about the war between Caesar and Pompey.

[34] Thomas (1983) 29-30.

As previously noted, Eutropius himself is not described as an agent of *furor*. Instead, he a monstrous creature whose election shames heaven and earth (*Eut.* 1.9)[35] and is a sign of *furor* – here, blind folly – on the part of others (*Eut.* 1.154, 2.519-20). His acceptance as consul proves that the East has been tainted by *mollitia* (*Eut.* 2.112) and war is required as punishment and correction. Mars and Bellona are invoked to remind Rome of its military origins and the danger of peace:

> en quales sese diffudit in actus
> parva quies, quantum nocuerunt otia ferri!
> qui caruit bellis, eunucho traditur annus (*Eut.* 2.120-2).

Mars' words to Bellona, ordering her to prepare for war, give her Fury-like attributes:

> quid dudum inflare moraris
> Tartaream, Bellona, tubam....
> damna minus consueta movent. trans aequora saevas
> verte faces (*Eut.* 2.144-5, 149-50).

Her war trumpet is from Hell,[36] she bears the torches of the Furies, and is dressed in similar manner: *quae sanguine sordida vestem/Illyricis pingues pectebat stragibus hydros* (*Eut.* 2.110-11).[37] Following in the epic footsteps of Allecto in approaching Turnus (*Aen.* 7.415-20) and Megaera with Rufinus (*Ruf.* 1.134-7), Bellona disguises herself before approaching Tarbigilus. Her persuasive poison, *furiale virus* (*Eut.* 2.188) suggests Allecto's attack on Amata, *fallitque furentem/vipeream inspirans animam* (*Aen.* 7.350-1).[38]

The result of this *furor* is the salvation of the East by Stilicho. He shines as their only hope, *sola salus* (*Eut.* 2.501-2), like a star to shipwrecked sailors (*Eut.* 2.507-8), his clarity dispelling the dark *furor* of people's minds (*Eut.* 2.519). The chaos and confusions which Bellona had seemed to stir up resulted in order and clarity. The part she has played, that of a Fury-like being whose work is sanctioned by Olympus, is that of the Dira in *Aeneid* 12, sent by Jupiter to end the war.[39] The connection between Bellona and the Dirae appears on the shield of Aeneas:

> saevit medio in certamine Mavors
> caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere dirae,

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[35] Long (1996) 107-21, Christiansen (1969) 97; in the words of Cameron (1970a) 133, Eutropius is "merely disgusting, a joke – and a bad joke".

[36] Allecto is also equipped with a trumpet, calling the countryside to war (*Aen.* 7.519-20).

[37] Cf. Megaera, *Ruf.* 1.118-22. For association of Bellona and Furies, Schweckendiek (1992) 125.

[38] Long (1996) 101-2 notes the epic models for this passage, but also points out the satiric inversion of this *topos* as Bellona here disguises herself as a nagging wife, the scene foreshadowing the epic parody of Eutropius' war council.

[39] For role of Dirae, Hershkowitz (1998a) 112-123.

et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello (*Aen.* 8.700-3).[40]

In order to accomplish her task, Vergil's Dira becomes a bird:

alitis in parvae subitam collecta figuram
quae quondam **in bustis** aut culminibus desertis
nocte **sedens** serum canit importuna per **umbras** (*Aen.* 12.862-4)

as does Bellona, the phrase *in diram se vertit [avem]* signalling her literary as well as physical metamorphosis:

sic fata repente
in diram se vertit avem rostroque recurvo
turpis et infernis **tenebris** obscurior alas
auspicium veteri **sedit** ferale **sepulcro** (Eut. 2.229-32).[41]

Both the Dira and Bellona exemplify a paradox, righteous *furor*, mad rage which will bring peace and order. The Dira is sent to draw Juturna away from Turnus and bring an end to combat while Bellona, in provoking war, acts for the good of empire. She recalls a nation from their *mollitia* and removes their *furor*, which is their support for Eutropius. In this instance, *furor* is required to fight *furor*: in *De bello Getico* warfare is needed to ensure *pax Romana.*

The western half of the empire had suffered no such moral attack as a eunuch consul but for too long had enjoyed peace and, as a consequence, had become soft, requiring the regenerating influence of war.[42] Claudian has praised Stilicho for surpassing the deeds of Curius, Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio (*Get.* 124-34) yet the wars which these heroes won are not his model in this case. While the threat of Alaric may be comparable to that of Hannibal (*Get.* 142-4), the Roman people do not deserve to be compared to that earlier army. They are closer in spirit to the degenerates, *inertes* (*Get.* 157), whom Spartacus threatened.[43] Rome has enjoyed peace for too long:

nos, terrorum expers et luxu mollior aetas,
deficimus queruli, si bos abductus aratro,
si libata seges (*Get.* 160-2).

The only way to strengthen – or punish – Rome is by war, and divine intervention is needed:

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[40] Fordyce (1977) 283.
[41] Note the signalling *vertit* and the description of tomb as *vetus*, since any tomb described by Vergil would indeed be old by Claudian's time.
[42] Christiansen (1966).
[43] Claudian may have had Lucan's speech of Pompey in mind here: Caesar is compared to Spartacus, and Pompey asserts that peace has not weakened him, *disces non esse ad bella fugaces,/qui pacem potuere pati* (*BC* 2.558-9).

> seu fata vocabant,
> seu gravis ira deum, seriem meditata ruinis,
> ex illo, quocumque vagos impegit Erinys (*Get.* 171-3).

It did not matter whether the fates or a god had brought this about: to all intents and purposes they worked with the Furies to save Rome. The people were weak and complaining, *muliebribus querellis* (*Get.* 270), and thinking of flight (*Get.* 296). Implying that the weakness came from within, Claudian described the danger to Rome as an ulcer (*Get.* 120-3). Successful battle restored the Romans to themselves and the body of the state was healed (*Get.* 436-7). In fighting the Goths, the Roman soldiers show their true nature as inspired by righteous anger they reject the riches of the barbarians, trampling on gold and silver in their thirst for blood (*Get.* 604-15).

In the context of circular time, therefore, and as a balance to comfortable and harmonious prosperity, *furor* may be interpreted as a necessary and inevitable force for regeneration: Claudian balances the rebellion of Gildo and the invasions of Alaric with the suggestion that Rome needed the bracing effects of war to restore her imperial character. As applied to the individual challenge to harmony, however, *furor* is depicted in epic terms, as madness, doomed to failure, and Claudian's villains illustrate the different aspects of *furor*, from possession of the individual to the cosmic threat of the Gigantomachy.

Madness, however, has its lighter, even humorous, side. To exalt his hero Stilicho, Claudian portrays Rufinus as an opponent in the "high" style of mythological epic: a monster, Fury-inspired, the epitome of all evil who seeks world domination. In his final moments, we may feel pity for him as a hunted animal in the arena, but he is never comic. Eutropius is never anything else. A eunuch can never challenge an epic hero. In condemning Alaric and Gildo, however, both threats from outside the empire, Claudian employs terms of both heroic epic and satire. Face to face with Stilicho in battle or planning his campaigns, Alaric is a worthy opponent: a Hannibal figure, or a Turnus. By contrast, in defeat after Pollentia he is an epic parody, a subversion of Lucan's Cato, whining and cajoling as his men desert. Gildo, who never faced Stilicho and who was dead by the time *De bello Gildonico* was recited, had limited epic appeal. While Claudian ostensibly portrays him as *tyrannus*, in aspirations and character, the satiric subtext mocks this presentation, stripping Gildo of menace and revealing him finally as a Silenus-like figure, staggering with age, overcome by drink and desire.

Possessed by *Furor*: *In Rufinum*

The epic character of *In Rufinum* is established by the introductory defeat of Python at the hands of Apollo, the heroic preface prefiguring the presentation of a monstrous villain, Rufinus, and a godlike hero, Stilicho. The action of both books is triggered by an outburst of *furor*, the second book recalling the storm of Aeolus in the first book of the *Aeneid* as Rufinus unleashes war on the world, while the first alludes to Allecto's actions in *Aeneid* 7. Allecto's driving rage at the golden age of Theodosius is transferred to Megaera and from her to Rufinus.[44] The momentum of their hellish energy spurs on the narrative as Rufinus commits every crime to achieve his ends and *furor* is set in motion on many levels. Most colourfully, the Furies themselves are present (*Ruf.* 1.25-39, 354-67), tossing back their snaky hair and brandishing pine torches. Their cosmological significance is suggested in their destructive disposition; following Ovid, Claudian would later begin the second book of *De consulatu Stilichonis* with the progression of the world from chaos to order under the guiding hand of *Clementia*. In this earlier poem, Allecto rages at the harmony, *sicine tranquillo produci saecula cursu* (*Ruf.* 1.45) and the corrupting influence of *clementia* (*Ruf.* 1.47); inverting the role of the demiurge, she intends to reverse cosmological progression and restore chaos to the world.[45]

The tension and balance between good and evil, *furor* and *concordia*, Heaven and Hell pervades the poem. The displacement of *Discordia* from its lowly Vergilian position (*Aen.* 6.280) and its contrasting prominence in Claudian's catalogue suggests Rufinus' function in the poem and the true nature of the threat he poses to empire, as embodiment of *Discordia* (and related *furor*), enemy of *Concordia*.[46] Apollo as the victor over Python, and *Iustitia*, as symbol of the golden age, are the divine upholders of the peace of Theodosius. Their opponents are the Tartarean Allecto and Megaera. The human agents in this cosmic struggle are Stilicho and Rufinus, the living embodiments of *virtus* and *scelus*:

> certamen sublime diu, sed moribus impar,
> virtutum scelerumque fuit. iugulare minatur,

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[44] The peaceful cities of Theodosius, *placidas urbes* (*Ruf.* 1.26) echo those ruled by Latinus in *Aeneid* 7 (*Aen.* 7.45-6).

[45] Levy (1971) 25 suggests that her wish may be an inversion of Ascanius' *quis furor iste novus* (*Aen.* 5.670).

[46] James (1998) 172-3.

> tu prohibes; ditem spoliat, tu reddis egenti.
> eruit, instauras; accendit proelia, vincis (*Ruf.* 1.297-300).

In discussing the structural analysis of the god-like hero, Hardie has argued that the epic hero must attempt to find his place within a three-tier structure of beast-man-god.[47] Claudian demonstrates how the moral qualities of Stilicho and Rufinus lead them to become the antithesis of the other, Stilicho portrayed as a gift of the gods (*Ruf.* 1.275-6), Rufinus increasingly bestial, transformed from a mythical monster, the opponent of the mythical hero in book 1, to a physical beast destined to die in the arena in book 2.[48]

The association between Rufinus' bestiality and his Tartarean nature corresponds to Stilicho's role as agent of the gods. Again, Hardie sums up the tension:

> Beast-man-god is a series that readily translates into the series Hell-earth-Heaven: through surrender to the passions and violence that he shares with the beasts man bestializes himself and may condemn himself to endless torments in a Hell peopled with nightmare versions of the wild animals of this world...; while through cultivation of the divine spark man may attain the self-control and happiness of the gods in this life, and in the next become an inhabitant of...the Elysian Fields.[49]

As the foster-son of Megaera, Rufinus is initially associated with the inhabitants of the Underworld. Their gathering is an assembly of monsters: *torvaque collectis stipatur curia monstris* (*Ruf.* 1.40) and Rufinus himself is a *monstrum* (*Ruf.* 1.291, 2.99). Megaera introduces him in bestial terms: *prodigium cunctis inmanius hydris,/tigride mobilius feta* (*Ruf.* 1.89.90).[50] His rage is that of a lion or tiger:[51]

> quae sic Gaetuli iaculo percussa leaena
> aut Hyrcana premens raptorem belua partus (*Ruf.* 1.226-7),

his anger, *pro saevior ense/**parcendi rabies*** (*Ruf.* 1.236-7) suggesting the wolf-like portrayal of Turnus:

> collecta fatigat **edendi**
> ex longo **rabies** et siccae sanguine fauces (*Aen.* 9.63-4).[52]

Inspired by *furor* Turnus has taken on the attributes of a wolf;[53] Rufinus, raised by a Fury, mutates from one beast to another. In opposition to Stilicho he shape-shifts through various mythological monsters: the sea-serpent of Perseus, the Hydra, Scylla, the

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[47] Hardie (1993a) 65-6.
[48] Christiansen (1969) 85-6.
[49] Hardie (1993a) 66, see also Gale (1991).
[50] Cf. Hardie (1992a) 64 who argues that Allecto in the *Aeneid* is the agent of metamorphosis.
[51] Christiansen (1969) 85-6.
[52] Levy (1971) 69.
[53] Hardie (1993a) 68-71, Pöschl (1962) 97-9.

Chimaera (*Ruf.* 1. 278-96). His affinity with snakes, whether in the comparison to Python in the preface or in the anger of the *serpens calcata* (*Ruf.* 1.228), connects him with the Furies and with the monsters slain by the heroes of old.[54]

In the second book, Rufinus' transformation from man to animal is complete. Allying himself with the barbarians, he dresses in skins, *revocat fulvas in pectora pelles* (*Ruf.* 2.79). The correspondence between bestiality and the Underworld is reinforced by Rufinus' association with barbarians: their evil band, *infame nocentum concilium* (*Ruf.* 2.317-18) an echo of Allecto's *concilium deforme* (*Ruf.* 1.28) in the first book. In the dress of an animal, Rufinus' appearance matches his character: as an animal he faces death. While he addresses the soldiers, they surround him in a decreasing circle, like hunters or fisherman (*Ruf.* 2.376-8). Realising that there is no escape, Rufinus is likened to a beast in the arena:

> ut fera, quae nuper montes amisit avitos
> altorumque exul nemorum damnatur harenae
> muneribus, commota ruit (*Ruf.* 2.394-6).

Hacked apart in death, he resembles Pentheus, whose mother saw him as a wild beast, or Actaeon, changed to a stag and destroyed by his own dogs (*Ruf.* 2.418-20). The metaphor follows him into the afterlife. Returning to the Underworld, he is banished to the lowest region where men are changed into the animals their natures resembled in life (*Ruf.* 2.480-93). Rufinus does not suffer this punishment being banished to a place even further below. He is too evil to associate even with the most wicked. There was no need to transform him into a beast: he had become one in life.

If Rufinus exemplifies the bestial nature of man, Stilicho stands for all that is godlike in man. The duality of their natures is highlighted when they first oppose each other:

> deiecerat omnes
> occultis odiis terror...
> at non magnanimi virtus Stilichonis eodem
> fracta metu; solus medio sed turbine rerum
> contra letiferos rictus contraque rapacem
> movit tela feram, volucris non praepete cursu
> vectus equi, non Pegaseis adiutus habenis.
> hic cunctis optata quies, hic sola pericli
> turris erat clipeusque trucem porrectus in hostem,
> hic profugis sedes adversaque signa furori,
> servandis hic castra bonis (*Ruf.* 1.256-7, 259-67).

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[54] While there is no specific link here with the Giants, we may note that they also had serpentine qualities, Claudian *c.m.* liii.81, cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.184.

Rufinus is the animal, with death-dealing jaws, *letiferos rictus*,[55] dehumanised as the *fera* he will be at his death.[56] Stilicho is the hero, *magnanimus*, who stands against his enemy. Rufinus' identification with the snakes of the Furies is developed here as he becomes a challenge for Perseus, Bellerophon and, above all, Hercules.

> taceat superata vetustas,
> Herculeos conferre tuis iam desinat actus.
> una Cleonaeum pascebat silva leonem;
> Arcadiae saltum vastabat dentibus unum
> saevus aper, tuque, o conpressa matre rebellis,
> non ultra Libyae fines, Antaee, nocebas
> solaque fulmineo resonabat Creta iuvenco
> Lernaeamque virens obsederat hydra paludem.
> hoc monstrum non una palus, non una tremebat
> insula...
> hoc neque Geryones triplex nec turbidus Orci
> ianitor aequabit nec si concurrat in unum
> vis hydrae Scyllaeque fames et flamma Chimaerae (*Ruf.* 1.283-92, 294-6).

As the quintessential hero, Hercules more than any other typifies the epic tension of beast-man-god,[57] his heroic career taking him from Hades to Olympus, his nature displaying the mad rage of *furor* as well as the greatness of the hero.[58] Lucretius had exalted Epicurus by setting his achievements above those of Hercules and Claudian may have had the Lucretian passage in mind since his Stilicho represents *quies* for his people, a loaded word in Lucretius' work[59] and significant, as we will see, for Claudian's theme of cosmic dissolution/stability.

Superior to Hercules, Stilicho attracts the epic vocabulary of uniqueness, the only man free from terror (*Ruf.* 1.256-7), he stands alone, *solus* (*Ruf.* 1. 260) against the chaos brought about by Rufinus, and is the only protection, *sola turris* (*Ruf.* 1.264-5) of his people.[60] Such "oneness" is expected of an epic hero but to a certain extent Rufinus becomes equally unique in his villainy and matches the epic scale of Stilicho. In a later panegyric, Claudian would describe Stilicho as having gathered all the virtues in one man

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[55] Christiansen (1969) 86 notes that in the second book, these jaws will bring disease as *pollutae fauces* (*Ruf.* 2.8).

[56] Levy (1971) 76 here notes the tradition of depicting a tyrant as a wild beast.

[57] Hardie (1993a) 66-7. Feeney (1991) 95 discusses the contradictions in his nature.

[58] For this paradox in Apollonius, Feeney (1991) 97-8; in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.190-267), Feeney (1991) 158; on the selection of particular elements from a myth, Conte (2001) 51-2. For the associations of Hercules with Aeneas, Galinsky (1972).

[59] Note that Lucretius here presents Epicurus to some extent as an epic hero, the language used being similar to Claudian's depiction of the first sailor/poet in the prefaces to *De raptu Proserpinae*. Epicurus is the discoverer of the true way, *invenit* (*DRN* 5.9), as *inventa* opens Claudian's epic; both succeed through their art, *per artem* (*DRN* 5.10) and *arte* (*Rapt.* 1 *pr.* 4). For Epicurus as culture-hero, Gale (1995) 196-7; for application of language of military victory to Epicurus (*DRN* 1.72-9), Hardie (1993a) 101.

[60] Cf. Hardie (1993) 3-10.

(*Stil.* 2.101-2); in this poem, Rufinus is shown to have gathered all of evil: ***solus*** *habet scelerum quidquid possedimus omnes* (*Ruf.* 1.111), the contrast between *solus* and *omnes* transferred from epic hero to epic villain. In representing the labours of Hercules, he is greater than all monsters so that no single marsh or island, *non* ***una*** *palus, non* ***una****...insula* (*Ruf.* 1.291-2) can hold him, not even if the powers of the hydra, Scylla and the Chimaera were gathered together, *concurrat* ***in unum*** (*Ruf.* 1. 295-6).[61] The emphasis on the singularity of both Stilicho and Rufinus, the virtue of one and the bestiality of the other, suggests that Claudian is dividing the attributes of Hercules between the two: his beast-nature split from his godlike self and the two halves personified in the figures of Stilicho and Rufinus.

That Rufinus is the epic equal of Stilicho, black against white, *turbo rerum* (*Ruf.* 1.259) against *optata quies* (*Ruf.* 1. 264) is central to Claudian's interpretation of *furor* in this work. Rufinus was the first obstacle to Stilicho's hopes for control in the East and Claudian redefines their personal hostility as a world-wide battle between good and evil. The aggrandisement of Rufinus is more than the panegyrist's flourish: this is no small squabble fought in a marsh or island but it is a worldwide conflict. Claudian's presentation of the conflict in terms of Herculean victories is modelled on Anchises' prophecy in *Aeneid* 6[62] which tells of Augustus' extension of empire:

> nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
> fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
> pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecterit arcu (*Aen.* 6.801-3).

As James[63] points out, Perseus, Bellerophon and Hercules are seen as no more than local heroes while Rufinus' *furor* is intended to bring *discordia* to the whole empire.

In short, the *furor* which possessed Rufinus appears as a general emanation of evil in all its manifestations, in the body of one man. Rufinus did not simply perform evil deeds, he was evil, incapable of acting without *furor*, and so he is defined in terms of Allecto (*Ruf.* 1.45-65), the enemy of *concordia*, and Megaera, the destroyer of familial harmony (*Ruf.* 1.77-84). As the opponent of Stilicho within the empire, his rise to power could only have been achieved through the agency of the infernal powers.[64] The embodiment of

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[61] For the association of Scylla and the labours of Hercules, the Chimaera with Scylla, Levy (1971) 85-6.
[62] Levy (1971) 82, James (1998) 170.
[63] James (1998) 169.
[64] As Cameron (1970a) 70 notes, this approach absolved Theodosius from blame: he could not withstand the machinations of the Underworld.

furor, he represented the inevitable reaction to the harmony which Theodosius had established (*Ruf.* 1.51-3). He is portrayed as a being without humanity, motivated only by hatred. That he is part of a cyclical history is clear from the outset. Allecto complains that the golden age has been restored by Theodosius (*Ruf.* 1.51-2); it is the task of the Furies to react against this stability and recreate chaos, giving Rufinus' political role a cosmic dimension.

The attack on Rufinus is kept impersonal[65] as Claudian could not afford to insult Theodosius, whose minister Rufinus had been. Instead, Rufinus becomes an *exemplum* of evil, his downfall living proof that the gods exist and that they care about mankind. In his proem, Claudian muses on the nature of the gods and considers the evidence:

> nam cum dispositi quaesissem **foedera mundi**
> praescriptosque mari fines annique meatus
> et lucis noctisque vices (*Ruf.* 1.4-6).

The phrase *foedera mundi* echoes Lucan's description of cosmic breakdown: *totaque discors/machina divisi turbabit* ***foedera mundi*** (*BC* 1.79-80).[66] Allecto's hatred of Theodosius' reign is expressed in similar terms:

> iam cupio Stygiis invadere nubibus astra,
> iam flatu violare diem, laxare profundo
> frena mari, fluvios ruptis inmittere ripis,
> et rerum vexare fidem (*Ruf.* 1.62-5)

rerum fides corresponding to *foedera mundi.* As *discordia* personified, Rufinus is a cosmic threat, one which will tear apart the very ties of the universe. The actions of Stilicho in the poem, however, his role as *optata quies* (*Ruf.* 1.264), suggest that Claudian's philosophical musings were based on Lucretius, who had also looked to the workings of the world:

> nam cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi
> templa super stellisque micantibus aethera fixum (*DRN* 5.1204-5)

and observed how men attribute such phenomena to a – non-existent – divine plan. Because of Stilicho and the punishment of Rufinus, Claudian can invert Lucretius' conclusions, arguing for the existence of a concerned providence, and presents Stilicho as an Epicurus in reverse, a man who brings salvation through religious belief to his people.

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[65] Cf. the very different approach of *In Eutropium.*

[66] Lapidge (1980) 821. Bruère (1964) 225 also finds echoes of *BC* 2.4-5, 2.13 and 7.487 in this passage.

The Cosmological Background

The depiction of an enemy of empire as a cosmic threat, one who would destroy the very fabric of the universe in his lust for power was an intrinsic *topos* of epic. The association between good government on earth and the stability of the universe was a tradition which could be traced back to the origins of Greek epic. Hardie's *Cosmos and Imperium* must be the key text in an examination of this topic: he traces the connection between epic and cosmology, from the *Theogony* of Hesiod and the epics of Homer, the "universal poet", to the epics of Vergil (who, as Homer's successor, could lay claim to his universality) and cosmology in his work.[67] Such passages as the song of Iopas or Anchises' speech in the Underworld, which introduce didactic elements into heroic epic, are in part Claudian's models for his philosophical digressions.[68] Of more significance in the context of Claudian's portrayal of the enemies of Rome as cosmic disturbances is the myth of the Gigantomachy: Hardie's discussion of this imagery, particularly in Vergil, must be the foundation for any discussion of this and related images in Claudian.

The battle of the Giants may have become a cliché to post-Vergilian epicists[69] but it had become so because of the innate strength of the myth. The source was Hesiod[70] and the myth was quickly seen as the quintessentially epic theme.[71] The elements and characters of the story were picturesque and easily recognisable: the Giants equipped with one hundred hands and snaky tails, their attempts to pile Pelion on Ossa,[72] their punishment to be buried beneath Etna. As a conflict between right and wrong it was easily allegorised, most usually for political reasons[73] and served poets and visual artists well for centuries. The battle between the Olympians and the Giants could signify the victory of the Deinomenids over the Carthaginians and Etruscans,[74] Thebes over Athens[75], Rome over

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[67] Hardie (1986) 5-84. See also Boyancé (1954), Braund (1997).
[68] E.g. *Ruf.* 1.1-24, *Theod.* 70-112; for the association of philosophy and encomium, see *First Discourse* 10 of Dio Chrysostom: see Moles (1990) 309-11, 316-17.
[69] Hardie (1986) 89.
[70] *Theog.* 617-735; by the fourth century BC the Titanomachy and Gigantomachy had become confused (*LIMC* 4.1) and the Titans and Giants had become interchangeable. For a summary of the confusion, see Dewar (1996) 57-8, Gruzelier (1993) 95-6.
[71] Hardie (1986) 85, Innes (1979) 166.
[72] This phrase became a shorthand for the Gigantomachy, e.g. Ovid, *Am.* 2.1.14, Seneca *Thy.* 812, Vergil *Geo.* 1.281, Statius *Theb.* 8.79.
[73] Hardie (1986) 85-6.
[74] Pindar, *P.* 1.13-17: see Hardie (1986) 86.
[75] Pindar, *P.* 8.12-18.

Carthage,[76] and, eventually for Claudian, Rome over the Goths.[77] For Romans of the early empire, the Gigantomachy stood for the triumph of Augustan *imperium*.[78] As Hardie observes, Vergil's use of the Gigantomachy in the *Aeneid* "make[s] it plain that an attack on Rome or its great men is tantamount to an attack on the universe or Olympus".[79] In analysing the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8 625-731), he argues that the portrayal of the Egyptian gods (*Aen.* 8.698) may be modelled on Hesiod's Titanomachy (*Theog.* 617-735) or Typhonomachy (*Theog.* 820-68) rather than Homer, since the conflict concerns two different types of gods both striving for universal supremacy.[80] Implicit in the political interpretion of the myth is the understanding that the Giants must fail: suggestions of the Giants in Vergil's depiction of the Gauls (*Aen.* 8.655-62) remind Romans of the guaranteed existence of their city and power.[81]

The myth of the Giants recurs in various manifestations throughout Claudian's work and it is worthwhile considering his interpretation of the Gigantomachy in his mythological epics before considering its relevance to the political work. The prominence Claudian gives to the theme, as well as the fact that he wrote two unfinished Gigantomachies, suggests that he saw the Roman world as being under threat. In *De raptu Proserpinae*,[82] Pluto reminds Jupiter that he can act as the Giants attempted to do (*Rapt.* 1.112-16).[83] His threat to confuse the bounds of nature, *conpage soluta/lucidus umbroso miscebitur axis Averno* (*Rapt.* 1.115-16) employs the technical vocabulary of cosmic dissolution[84] and the danger of universal collapse is made vivid by the depiction of Pluto as a sapper beneath the walls.[85] Claudian highlights the cosmic subtext of the poem in the ecphrasis of Proserpina's tapestry. She has created a design of the five zones of the world, the elements separated by weight, so that regions of fire, air and water lay between the realms of Jupiter and Pluto:

> hic elementorum seriem sedesque paternas
> insignibat acu, veterem qua lege tumultum

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[76] For the Gigantomachy in Silius' *Punica*, Wilson (1993) 228-9. For the Gigantomachic fragment of Naevius, Goldberg (1993) 28-9, Feeney (1991) 118-19.
[77] Dewar (1996) 56-60, 92-3.
[78] Hardie (1986) 87-8, Innes (1979) 166.
[79] Hardie (1986) 190.
[80] Hardie (1986) 98.
[81] Hardie (1986) 124.
[82] For allegorical interpretation, Charlet (2000b) 190-1.
[83] For the Statian intertext here, see Wheeler (1995a) 118; the words also suggest Juno's promise in *Aen.* 7.312: see Gruzelier (1993) 108.
[84] Lapidge (1980) 280-1.
[85] Wheeler (1995a) 125-7, Connor (1993) 240-1.

discrevit Natura parens et semina iustis
discessere locis (*Rapt.* 1.248-51).[86]

This is an orderly universe, governed by law, one which is about to be thrown into confusion by the eruption of Pluto. As Gruzelier observes, the tapestry echoes Claudian's own world view of "a small pool of light at centre stage that is the civilized, organized world, surrounded by the monstrous, threatening shadows of destruction, whether they be Pluto ready to burst out of his proper sphere beneath the earth, the giants trying to scale heaven, or the Goths massing to invade Rome".[87] The claustrophobic atmosphere of Pluto's kingdom[88] suggests that the dark forces are always ready to break out: if these forces express fourth-century fears of barbarian invasions,[89] then Claudian and his audience saw the harmony of their world as under permanent threat:

iam quaecumque latent ferali monstra barathro
in turmas aciemque ruunt contraque Tonantem
coniurant Furiae, crinitaque sontibus hydris
Tisiphone quatiens infausto lumine pinum
armatos ad castra vocat pallentia Manes (*Rapt.* 1.37-41).

As they struggle to break free from their fetters, the Giants are reduced to elementary particles of chaos:

paene reluctatis iterum pugnantia rebus
rupissent elementa fidem penitusque revulso
carcere laxatis pubes Titania vinclis
vidisset caeleste iubar (*Rapt.* 1.42-5).[90]

In his other mythological work, the fragmentary *Gigantomachia*, Claudian's Giants have a similar role in wreaking wanton violence and destruction. As Terra encourages her children to use her limbs as weapons (*c.m.* liii.29) the Giants go beyond tearing up mountains to reach Olympus. The very boundaries of the universe are thrown into confusion:

discrimina rerum
miscet turba potens: nunc insula deserit aequor,
nunc scopuli latuere mari (*c.m.* liii.62-4).

The lines suggest the words of Statius' Pluto as civil war breaks out in the *Thebaid*: *pereant agedum* ***discrimina rerum*** (*Theb.* 8.37),[91] and the tearing apart of Proserpina's

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[86] For Ovidian influences, Wright (1999) 83. For the tapestry, Rosati (2004) 79-82, Charlet (2000b) 192.
[87] Gruzelier (1993) 143. Roberts (1989a) 26-7 discusses the image of the grove decked with the spoils of the Giants (*Rapt.* 3.339-56) as representing "in microcosm the fragile balance between order and chaos in the natural world".
[88] Cf. the Underworld council of *In Rufinum*, James (1998) 163.
[89] Gruzelier (1993) 96.
[90] The passage suggesting Lucan's assocation of civil war with chaos, *BC* 1.75, cf. also *BC* 1.42-3, 5.634-5, Wheeler (1995a) 120.
[91] For Claudian's use of this passage in *De raptu Proserpinae*, Wheeler (1995a) 117-19.

elementorum series (*Rapt.* 1.248). *discrimina* signifies the opposition of Giants and Olympians, the distinction between good and evil, the separation of the elements without which the world would revert to chaos.[92] Even defeated and buried under mountains, the Giants were restless and refused to accept their imprisonment.[93] The earthquakes and tremors of these mountains were attributed to the Giants' efforts to cast off their chains and renew their assault upon the heavens.[94]

The onslaught of the Giants is associated with fire as, in the epic tradition, this was the first time Jupiter used his thunderbolts.[95] According to Hesiod,[96] Typhoeus, whose attack on Olympus later was assumed into the Gigantomachy,[97] had originally been struck by the *fulmen* and crashed to earth in flames.[98] Phaëthon's similar fate, and his madness in trying to control the chariot of the Sun, gives the two myths similar ideological significance. While the Giants' attack on Olympus was represented by the tearing up of mountains, Phaëthon stood for the destruction of the earth by fire: more clearly than the Gigantomachy, Phaëthon represented the Stoic concept of *ecpyrosis*, the belief that the world was in a state of cosmic flux, brought to periodic ruin by fire or flood.[99] The *Metamorphoses* depicts the destruction of the world by both, the fire brought about by Phaëthon (*Met.* 2.201-318), the flood being survived only by Deucalion and Pyrrha (*Met.* 1.283-347). In his narration of Phaëthon's downfall, Ovid sums up the danger: *si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli,/in chaos antiquum confundimur!* (*Met.* 2.299-30), chaos in its material state being believed to be either fire or water.[100] In his analysis of the destruction of the world by civil war, Lucan relies on Ovid's mythological interpretations of the cycles of chaos to reinforce the cosmological signficance of political *discordia*, the opening of his discussion, *fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum* (*BC* 1.67), recalling Ovid's cosmological proem, *in nova fert animus* (*Met.* 1.1). Lucan's universal dissolution is phrased in philosophical terms:

> sic compage soluta
> saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora

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[92] Hardie (1993a) 25-6.
[93] Hardie (1986) 263-4.
[94] Cf. Verg., *Geo.* 1.471-3, Stat., *Theb.* 8.42-3, Sen., *Herc. Oet.* 1135-6.
[95] Ovid, *Fast.* 3.441-2.
[96] *Theog.* 853-68.
[97] Cf. Claudian *c.m.* lii.32.
[98] Clay (2003) 150-3.
[99] For this theme in Stoic literature, Blundell (1986) 124, Rosenmeyer (1989) 129, 151. Lapidge (1980) 821-37 describes the Christianisation of this belief.
[100] Mondi (1989) 2. Lucretius describes the opposition of water and fire in his version of the Phaëthon myth, *DRN* 5.380-405. See also Wheeler (2000) 7-47.

> **antiquum repetens iterum chaos**, omnia mixtis
> sidera sideribus concurrent ignea, pontum
> astra petent, tellus extendere litora nolet
> excutietque fretum (*BC* 1.72-7)[101]

yet the phrase *antiquum repetens iterum chaos* is reminiscent of Terra's plea to Jupiter as the earth burns at Phaëthon's approach: *in chaos antiquum confundimur!* (*Met.* 2.299). Even *concordia discors* (*BC* 1.98) which defines the uneasy balance of the First Triumvirate, has cosmic connotations, referring to the renewal of the earth from heat and water, *discors concordia* (*Met.* 1.433), after the great flood.[102]

The metaphor of the Gigantomachy or of Phaëthon need not be grounded in Stoic philosophy since cosmic destruction by fire or flood, Giants or Phaëthon, was a *topos* of epic poetry. In *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian combines philosophical, mythological and poetic images of destruction, drawing on the *auctoritas* of his epic predecessors to express the danger from the barbarians, and the salvation of empire by Theodosius:

> omnibus adflictis et vel labentibus ictu
> vel prope casuris, unus **tot** funera contra
> restitit extinxitque faces **agrisque colonos**
> **reddidit** et leti rapuit de faucibus **urbes**.
> nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra,
> ni pater ille tuus iamiam ruitura subisset
> pondera turbatamque ratem certaque levasset
> naufragium commune manu: velut ordine **rupto**
> cum procul insanae traherent Phaethonta **quadrigae**
> **saeviret**que dies (*IV Cons.* 55-64).

The epic tone of this passage has already been discussed:[103] Theodosius is presented as *unus* in the face of countless hordes of barbarians, the personification of order against the storm, *mixto turbine*.[104] As the single saviour, *unus...restitit*, he may suggest the heroic achievements of Fabius in the *Aeneid*: *unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem* (*Aen.* 6.846).[105] The two models for the passage, however, deal with the evils of civil war. At the end of the first book of the *Georgics*, Vergil uses the simile of a charioteer, out of control, to exemplify the empire – clearly a Phaëthon figure:[106]

> **tot** bella per orbem,

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[101] Masters (1992) 63-5 discusses Lucan's use of Ovid here. Civil war caused a similar dissolution in the *Thebaid*, Statius echoing Lucan's *conpage soluta* (*Theb.* 8.31).

[102] Masters (1992) 73. Cf. also Lucan's flood which is modelled on that of Ovid, Masters (1992) 61-3.

[103] See page 132 above.

[104] For *turbo* as symbol of *furor*, Hardie (1993a) 60.

[105] And therefore Fabius in Ennius, *Ann.* 12: see Skutsch (1925) 52, Hardie (1993) 5.

[106] Gale (2000) 35, Lyne (1974) 64-5 discusses the similarities with the storm of Aeolus.

> tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro
> dignus honos, squalent abductis **arva colonis**...
> vicinae **ruptis** inter se legibus **urbes**
> arma ferunt; **saevit** toto Mars impius orbe,
> ut cum carceribus sese effudere **quadrigae,**
> addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
> fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas (*Geo.* 1.505-7, 510-14).

Claudian's Theodosius, the confident *unus*, here "corrects" the pessimistic portrayal of Octavian/Phaëthon. He is the Sun who regains, *recepit*, control of the chariot and *imperium*:

> rediit meliore magistro
> machina concentusque poli, currusque recepit
> imperium flammaeque modum (*IV Cons.* 67-9).

At the centre of this allusion to the civil war of Vergil is the civil war of Lucan: *Romani nominis umbra* (*IV Cons.* 59) suggests Lucan's description of Pompey, *stat magni nominis umbra* (*BC* 1.135). Again, Claudian corrects the pessimism of the earlier version. Pompey's slowness and lack of decision, his "shadowiness" as it were,[107] are replaced by the energy of a rehabilitated *imperator*, Theodosius rather than Caesar, *restitit...reddidit...rapuit* (*IV Cons.* 57-8), cleansed of *furor* and working for the good of the state.[108]

Claudian may have been exaggerating the dangers of the barbarian tribes but it was not uncommon for a human enemy to be portrayed as having attained the same potential for destruction as Phaëthon or the Giants. Hannibal was not the only enemy to achieve cosmic status in Roman literature. Seneca likened the power of Philip or Alexander to *inundatio* or *conflagratio*[109] and Lucan portrayed Caesar in similar terms.[110] The fact that these myths had become central to epic meant that Claudian could and did draw on earlier interpretations to add resonance to his own. The following section will examine Alaric in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* and *De bello Getico* and Gildo in *De bello Gildonico* and *De consulatu Stilichonis*, focusing on the imagery which Claudian applied to any enemy of Rome, the mythical Phaëthon and the Giants, the historical Hannibal, Brennus and Caesar.

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[107] Johnson (1987) 73-4.

[108] Masters (1992) 1 notes that while Caesar is cast as Hannibal in *De bello civili* (cf. Henderson (1998) 197), Pompey takes on the delaying attributes of Fabius. For Caesar's *furor*, Henderson (1998) 183-4, Ahl (1976) 107-12 discusses the association of Caesar with Hannibal.

[109] Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3.5.

[110] For correspondence of Caesar with Giants, Masters (1992) 40, 114, 154-5, Leigh (1997) 25-6.

Alaric: Phaëthon and the Giants

The epic defeat of the Giants and the epic daring of Phaëthon[111] are used by Claudian to teach the same moral lesson: those who seek to possess the heavens or the Roman empire will be defeated. Hardie argues that the myth of the Gigantomachy became associated with Augustus – his imposition of order on chaos[112] - and during the Augustan period, the victory of Jupiter over the Giants signified the emperor's superiority over any enemy.[113] An assault on Roman *imperium* defines the Giants as innately impious: for Horace they are *impii* (*Carm.* 3.4.42) and their lack of wisdom brings about its own downfall, *vis consili expers mole ruit sua* (*Carm.* 3.4.65), being contrasted with the *consilium* and *vis temperata* acquired by Caesar (*Carm.* 3.4.41, 66).[114] The surviving fragment of Claudian's Latin *Gigantomachia* similarly shows the Giants as being without plan, bent only on causing destruction, rape and mayhem. This must have been an image to strike fear into the hearts of Claudian's listeners: the Giants of the late fourth century – Alaric and the Visigoths – must have seemed equally bent on plunder, murder and violation, and, like the Giants, ready to break out at any time. Their role in the epic tradition, as we have seen, can be traced through Vergil back to Hesiod. In the *Theogony*, after the defeat of the Titans, Earth bears Typhoeus who attacks Olympus in his turn (*Theog.* 820-68).[115] In the *Georgics*, Terra is specifically involved in the rebellion:

> tum partu Terra nefando
> Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoea
> et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres (*Geo.* 1.278-80).[116]

In Claudian's mythological epic, envy motivates Terra; indeed, the opening line of the poem, *terra parens* ***quondam*** *caelestibus* ***invida*** *regnis* (*c.m.* liii.1) is strongly suggestive of the opening of the Underworld council of *In Rufinum*: ***invidiae quondam*** *stimulis incanduit atrox/Allecto* (*Ruf.* 1.25-6),[117] establishing, as far as Claudian is concerned, a connection between the Giants and Rufinus.

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[111] Lucretius *DRN* 5.400 describes him as *magnanimus*.
[112] Hardie (1986) 89.
[113] Innes (1979) 166-8 gives examples.
[114] Hardie (1986) 87-8.
[115] West (1966) 379-83.
[116] Mynors (1969) notes that in these lines Vergil follows Homer (*Od.* 11.305ff) rather than Hesiod.
[117] *terra parens* is in strong contrast to *natura parens* who appears on Proserpina's tapestry and is the agent of order, separating the elements with just law (*Rapt.* 1.248-51), and suggests Ovid's demiurge, *hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit* (*Met.* 1.21): see Gruzelier (1993) 144.

Phaëthon was driven by heedlessness rather than by *invidia* or *furor* but even in his Gigantomachy, Claudian hints that the results might be the same. In her exhortation to the Giants, Terra commands them:

> ite precor, miscete polum, rescindite turres
> sidereas...
> Otus habenas
> Aurorae pro Sole regat (*c.m.* 53.31-2, 33-4),

tacitly suggesting that one of the Giants could assume the role of Phaëthon, causing the destruction she envisages. The parallel is already implicit in the *Theogony*, as Typhoeus dies Phaëthon's death, struck by the thunderbolt of Zeus and destroying part of the earth with fire:

> πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
> ἀτμῇ θεσπεσίῃ καὶ ἔτήκετο κασσίτερος ὥς...
> ὥς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομενοιο (*Theog.* 861-2, 867).[118]

The association of the Giants and Phaëthon also appeared in encomia, Dio Chrysostom utilising the myths as moral lessons in his *First Discourse on Kingship*. Phaëthon illustrates the character of the bad ruler who "will be remembered like Phaëthon, who disregarded his status and attempted to drive the divine chariot but failed".[119] In telling of Hermes' mission to educate Heracles in government, Chrysostom describes a twin-peaked mountain, one peak called after Zeus, representing the good ruler, the other, named for Typhon, standing for the tyrant ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν βασίλειος ἄκρα, ἱερὰ Διὸς βασιλέως, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τυραννική, Τυφῶνος ἐπώνυμος (67). Claudian, however, only follows Ovid's condemnation of the youth for trying what was beyond the lot of mortal man: *sors tua mortalis, non est mortale, quod optas* (*Met.* 2.56). The allegorisation hardly needs explanation as the identification of the emperor with a god (and, in particular, the sun god) means that the government of empire was a divine task, one which no mortal should even attempt.

In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, which celebrates the defeat of Alaric at Pollentia and Verona, the imagery of Phaëthon and the Giants is interwoven throughout. Through the dream simile of the preface, Claudian declares that the poem is a Gigantomachy:

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[118] Cf. the death of Capaneus in Statius' *Theb.*10.907-39 which is presented in Gigantomachic terms: see Harrison (1992) 247, 251.

[119] *First Discourse on Kingship* 46; on the Discourse in general, see Moles (1990) 305-37. See also the example of Phaëthon to honour Maximian (*PL* VII(6) 12.3); for the Giants, *PL* X(2) , XI(3).

> Enceladus mihi carmen erat victusque Typhoeus
> (hic subit Inarimen, hunc gravis Aetna domat) (*VI Cons.* pr. 17-18)

his waking vision matching his dream.[120] The emperor and court are identified with Jupiter and the Olympians while the Giants are as yet unnamed. His epic promise, however, will turn out to be unfulfilled: while the Giants are present throughout the poem, Claudian refuses to admit that they might ever have been a threat, presenting them always in defeat.

After the preface, the first reference to these cosmic myths is to Ovid's Phaëthon. The return of Honorius to Rome is compared to Apollo's return to Delphi. The city rejoices and the laurel blooms again: *atque suas ad signa* ***iubet revirescere laurus*** (*VI Cons.* 38). Unsignalled, the line refers to the *Metamorphoses*, and the recreation of the world after Phaëthon's fire: *laesasque* ***iubet revirescere silvas*** (*Met.* 2.408).[121] The god in the *Metamorphoses* is Jupiter, in Claudian's poem Honorius: a correspondence which picks up the simile of the preface, while the suggestion of Phaëthon anticipates the Giants in the coming lines.

The reference to the Giants occurs in Claudian's description of Rome, the passage being an invitation to Honorius to recognise his true home:[122]

> non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
> esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas
> aestimat et summi sentit fastigia iuris.
> attollens apicem subiectis regia rostris
> tot circum delubra videt tantisque deorum
> cingitur excubiis. iuvat infra tecta Tonantis
> cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantas
> caelatasque fores mediisque volantia signa
> nubibus et densum stipantibus aethera templis
> aeraque vestitis numerosa puppe columnis
> consita subnixasque iugis inmanibus aedes,
> naturam cumulante manu, spoliisque micantes
> innumeros arcus. acies stupet igne metalli
> et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.
> agnoscisne tuos, princeps venerande, penates? (*VI Cons.* 39-53).

The whole scene, rather than the brief sketch of the Giants, is ecphrastic, a frozen image of the beauty of Rome, expressed in terms of an artefact, blinding the eye with its metallic

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[120] On the *topos* and models, Felgentreu (1999) 146-51.

[121] Dewar (1996) 88. See also Eridanus in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*: *summissus adorat/Eridanus blandosque* ***iubet mitescere*** *fluctus* (*III Cons.* 122-3).

[122] For this sculptural depiction of the Giants, Dewar (1996) 92-6; cf. perhaps Naevius *fr.* 8: see Feeney (1991) 118-19.

gleam.[123] As so often, Claudian here has an ecphrastic model, one which more than any other encapsulates the glory and power of the Roman state. His source is the shield of Aeneas: the following table lists verbal correspondences:

***VI Cons.* 39-53**	***Aeneid* 8.652-731**
39 *orbis*	673 *orbem*
41 *iuris*	670 *iura*
42 *attollens*	731 *attollens*
apicem	652 (*in summo*), 664 *apices*
regia	654 *regia*
rostris	684 *rostrata*, 690 *rostris*
43 *circum*, 52 *circumfuso*	673 *circum*
delubra	716 *delubra*
videt	676 *videres*, 707 *videbatur*
tantis	693 *tanta*
deorum	679 *dis*, 682 *dis*, 698 *deum*, 715 *dis*
45 *cernere*	676 *cernere*, 704 *cernens*
Tarpeia	652 *Tarpeiae*
pendentes rupe	669 *pendentem scopulo*
46 *caelatas*	701 *caelatus*
mediis	675 *medio*, 700 *medio*
volantia	655 *volitans*, 694 *volatile*
47 *aethera*	701 *aethere*
templis	653 *templo*, 718 *templis*
48 *aera*	675 *aeratas*
vestitis	659 *vestis*, 712 *veste*, 723 *vestis*
puppe	680 *puppi*, 693 *puppibus*
50 *manu*	662 *manu*, 694 *manu*
51 *arcus*	704 *arcum*
igne	711 *ignipotens*

[123] For praise of cities is a theme of encomium, Russell and Wilson (1981) 33-43; for the theme in Claudian, Dewar (1996) 88-9, Cameron (1970a) 26-9, 391.

52 *auro*	655 *auratis*, 659 *aurea...aurea*, 661 *auro*, 672 *aurea*, 677 *auro*
53 *princeps*	678 *Augustus Caesar*
penates	679 *penatibus*

While the full description of the shield is slightly over one hundred lines long, Claudian does not use the whole passage. He omits the scenes of early Rome, Romulus and Remus and the kings which commemorate assaults on the city.[124] The main sources of his panegyric on Rome are the new palace (*Aen.* 8.652-4), the punishment of Catiline (*Aen.* 8.666-670) and the portrayal of Augustus at Actium (*Aen.* 8.678-81). Following Vergil's careful placement Claudian orders his scene, as it were mapping the Vergilian shield onto the physical Rome before him. On the top of the shield is the citadel:

> **in summo** custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
> stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat,
> Romuleoque recens horrebat **regia** culmo (*Aen.* 8.652-4)

which corresponds to Claudian's palace, *attollens* ***apicem*** *subiectis* ***regia*** *rostris* (*VI Cons.* 42). Claudian's concern for placement, *infra*, guides the listener to the next image, the sculptured Giants which are below the temple of Jupiter. The scene is modelled on Vergil's description of Catiline which has been separated on the shield from the earlier scene of the Gauls, *hinc procul*:

> hinc procul addit
> Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
> et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
> **pendentem scopulo** Furiarumque ora trementem (*Aen.* 8.666-9).

Catiline, associated with Tartarus and the Furies, is transformed into the Giants in Claudian's version:

> iuvat infra tecta Tonantis
> cernere Tarpeia **pendentes rupe** Gigantas (*VI Cons.* 44-5).

The final parallel is the presence of Honorius in the city:

> agnoscisne tuos, princeps venerande, penates?
> haec sunt quae primis olim miratus in annis
> patre pio monstrante puer (*VI Cons.* 53).

His rank and the presence of the household gods link him to Augustus:

> hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
> cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis (*Aen.* 8.678-9)

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[124] Harrison (1997) 70-1.

Claudian even mimics the alliteration and emphasises the Vergilian connection in the presence of Theodosius, the *pater pius*. His *civis*-like behaviour[125] in entering the houses of the lowly, *inclinat populo* ***regale*** *modestia* ***culmen*** (*VI Cons.* 64) may pick up Vergil's depiction of the new palace on the shield, *Romuleoque recens horrebat* ***regia culmo*** (*Aen.* 8.654).[126]

To draw on Aeneas' shield for a model of Rome is to reinforce Hardie's definition of the shield as a "cosmic icon".[127] Embossed with scenes of Roman victory,[128] surrounded with a design of the sea, it represents both the known world - the cosmos[129] - and Roman *imperium*. When Aeneas picks it up, he takes on the responsibility of the world and the future of Rome:

> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum (*Aen.* 8.730-1).

Claudian's cosmic icon is the idealised city before him, which, to him, is the essence of the entire Roman world.[130] The physical positioning of the gods and emperor above and the Giants below echoes the organisation of the cosmos.[131] He has condensed what, to him, are the most important aspects of Aeneas' shield, the presence of the emperor, the defeat of his enemies, and the protection of the gods.[132] Corresponding to Augustus' placement on the shield, *in medio* (*Aen.* 8.675),[133] Claudian emphasises the centrality of the palace,[134] surrounded by countless shrines and temples:

> [regia] tot **circum** delubra videt tantisque deorum
> **cingitur** excubiis! (*VI Cons.* 43-4).[135]

Intrinsic to the divine protection of the emperor is the defeat of the Giants.[136] Claudian's insistence on the inviolability of Rome and the sanctity of the emperor is the work of the panegyrist, but the presence of the Giants, even in defeat, suggests that the epic poet acknowledges the very real danger of the barbarians and the constant balance between *concordia* and *discordia* at the heart of Roman *imperium* and the poem itself.

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[125] For *civilitas* as characteristic of emperor in panegyric, Seagar (1984), Braund (1998), Rees (1998) 83.
[126] See Edwards (1996) 36-42 on the hut of Romulus as a symbol of humility.
[127] Hardie (1986) 336. For a full discussion of the shield, 336-76, see also West (1975-6).
[128] Harrison (1997) discusses the scenes as images of Roman salvation.
[129] Hardie (1986) 339.
[130] For Claudian's concept of *Roma aeterna*, Paschoud (1967) 151-5.
[131] Hardie (1986) 346-58, Zetzel (1997) 199.
[132] See Dewar (2003) 148-56 on Claudian's use of the shield in *Ruf.* 2.101-19.
[133] Thomas (1983) discusses the importance of position in Vergilian ecphraseis.
[134] The palace is simultaneously at the top, *attollens apicem*, and in the middle of the city/shield.
[135] Both the Capitol Hill and the temple of Jupiter thereon are seen as central point of Rome: "the focal point of the Roman state religion...the heart of their empire": see Edwards (1996) 69.
[136] Long (2004) 13.

After introducing the villains of the piece, Gildo and Alaric, who are inspired by Furies (*VI Cons.* 105), Claudian changes tempo. He is tired of relating wars, he claims, and would rather sing of Stilicho's homecoming:

> adventus nunc sacra tui libet edere Musis
> grataque patratis exordia sumere bellis (*VI Cons.* 125-6).

This is a generic statement and an epic invocation[137] introducing the defeat of Alaric and returning to the theme of cosmic defeat, the Giants and Phaëthon. At the same time, it is an explicit refusal to write the epic promised in the introduction. We will not be shown wars, only the enemy in defeat.

In *De Bello Getico*, the epic to which he referred (*VI Cons.*123-4), Claudian had presented Alaric and the Visigoths as Giants:

> ipsumque Iovem turbante Typhoeo,
> si fas est, tremuisse ferunt, cum bracchia centum
> montibus armaret totidem spiramque retorquens
> lamberet attonitas erectis anguibus Arctos (*Get.* 63-6).[138]

The fear occasioned by the Goths, evident in the *De bello Getico* of mid-402, was greatly lessened by the time Claudian delivered *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* in 404. The trembling of Jupiter was represented by the siege of emperor and court at Milan;[139] once the siege had been lifted the court retreated to the safety of Ravenna.[140] Alaric was defeated at Pollentia in April of 402.[141] There was no longer any need for Jupiter/Honorius to feel fear as Alaric and his troops had left Italy after Pollentia and would not return until 408.[142] To a certain extent, *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* is a companion piece to *De bello Getico*, reinforcing the earlier assurance that the Goths were truly defeated. Now, with safety to lecture the Visigoth on his presumption, Claudian utilises the rhetorical technique of *prosopopoeia*, and summons up the image of the river Eridanus to rebuke the defeated chieftain:

> tune Giganteis urbem temptare deorum
> adgressus furiis? (*VI Cons.* 185-6).

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[137] Dewar (1996) 143-4.
[138] Balzert (1974) 14.
[139] Cf. *VI Cons.* 440-90.
[140] Dewar (1996) xxxiii-xliv.
[141] Cameron (1970a) 180.
[142] Heather (1991) 209-13.

The allusion to *urbs deorum* takes us back to the opening vision of Rome, protected by its many shrines and temples, and the relief of the Giants below the temple of Jupiter; divine protection has now been shown in action.

The Giants on Jupiter's temple,

> iuvat infra tecta **Tonantis**
> **cernere Tarpeia** pendentes rupe Gigantas (*VI Cons.* 44-5).

fuse the verbal echo of Vergil, *pendentem scopulo* (*Aen.* 8.669), with an allusion to Silius, reinforcing the Gigantomachic image and introducing the subtextual presence of Hannibal which will be prominent in the poem. Marching on Rome, Hannibal promises to drive Jupiter from his temple:

> ut Palatia **cernas**
> et demigrantem **Tarpeia** sede **Tonantem** (*Pun.* 12.516-17).[143]

Jupiter leads the Olympians to Rome, himself taking up his position on the Tarpeian rock (*Pun.* 12.611), from where he hurls his thunderbolt at Hannibal (*Pun.* 12.622-6), attempting to re-enact the punishment of Typhoeus. Hannibal survives, a Giant whom only the *fulmen* can destroy (*Pun.* 12.643-5).

The reference to the Giants is not expanded here; it acts as an introduction to and expansion of the mad folly of Phaëthon. Eridanus was known to be the river into which Phaëthon fell: the fact was often mentioned as geographical colour without any moral being drawn[144] and it did not need the *ecphrasis* of the cloak or Eridanus' speech to inform the listener of the coming allusion. On Eridanus' cloak are embroidered the various themes of the Phaëthon story: in addition to Phaëthon himself are Cycnus and Heliades, *mutatumque senem plumis et fronde sorores* (*VI Cons.* 170), *mutatum*, perhaps, acting as an Alexandrian footnote and directing the reader to the author of the *Metamorphoses* and Ovid's version of their transformations (*Met.* 2.340-80). The constellation, Eridanus, is also embroidered on the cloak, its wandering motions, *sinuatis flexibus errans* (*VI Cons.* 175) suggesting the movements of the river and the erratic driving of Phaëthon. The combination of the Giants and Phaëthon in this scene with the suggestion of Ovid closes the earlier allusion to Phaëthon's cosmic destruction, *suas ad signa iubet revirescere laurus* (*VI Cons.* 38).

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[143] Wilson (1990) 228.
[144] E.g. *P&O* 258, Luc. *BC* 2.410, Silius *Pun.* 7.149.

The association of the Giants and Phaëthon is made explicit in Eridanus' conclusion:

> tune Giganteis urbem temptare deorum
> adgressus furiis? nec te meus, inprobe, saltem
> terruit exemplo Phaethon...
> crede mihi, simili bacchatur crimine, quisquis
> adspirat Romae spoliis aut Solis habenis (*VI Cons.* 185-7, 191-2).

Further verbal links take us back to the Gigantomachic imagery of *De bello Getico*. In the earlier epic, Alaric had boasted to his war council of his coming victory:

> per tot populos urbesque cucurri,
> fregi Alpes galeisque Padum victricibus hausi (*Get.* 531-2)

now the river Padus – or Eridanus – comments on his vain ambition, mocking the haste of *cucurri* with the question *sicine mutatis* ***properas****, Alarice, reverti/consiliis* (*VI Cons.* 180-1). The Goths who had originally terrified the imperial court as the Giants had intimidated the Olympians are here physically diminished, appearing in defeat with bowed heads, *deiecta cervice* (*VI Cons.* 179). In contrast, Eridanus, supporter of Roman order, stands taller, *erectior* (*VI Cons.* 193), as he summons his fellow river-gods to jeer.

Alaric: Epic Potential and Epic Parody

The confrontation between Eridanus and Alaric introduces to this poem another essential aspect of Alaric's character: his subtextual identification with Hannibal. As with the Gigantomachic imagery, this theme was introduced in *De bello Getico*, written at a time when Alaric was a very real threat.[145] Stilicho, presented as the epic *unus*, must combine the qualities of three great Roman heroes, Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio, to overcome such an enemy:[146]

> unus in hoc Stilicho diversis artibus hoste
> tres potuit conplere duces: fregitque furentem
> cunctando vicitque manu victumque relegat (*Get.* 142-4).

To enforce the similarities between the Carthaginian and Visigoth, Claudian invents details of Alaric's life and campaign. As Dewar notes, there were three "facts" known about Hannibal: his oath taken as a child that he would destroy Rome, his journey over the Alps with elephants, and the fact that he was prevented from taking Rome by divine

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[145] Cameron (1970a) 183.
[146] Balzert (1974) 15.

intervention.[147] While it was a matter of fact that Alaric crossed the Alps, Claudian, without any apparent factual basis, gives Alaric the motivation of a similar oath:

> qui cuncta sibi cessura ruenti
> pollicitus patrii numen iuraverat Histri
> non nisi calcatis loricam ponere rostris (*Get.* 80-2).[148]

He is turned aside from Rome by Stilicho rather than the gods but the audience is assured that if divine assistence had been required, it would have been forthcoming: *sed providus Aether/noluit humano titulos auferre labori* (*VI Cons.* 352-3). Even Claudian's insistence on the broken treaty between Stilicho and Alaric – *violato foedere* (*VI Cons.* 210)[149] - is suggestive of the infamous *fides* of the Carthaginians, the lack of which (in Roman eyes) was the cause of the second Punic war.[150]

In *De bello Getico*, Alaric's crossing of the Alps proved his downfall, and his defeat is heralded by the Alps and Eridanus:

> tandem supplicium cunctis pro montibus Alpes
> exegere Getis; tandem tot flumina victor
> vindicat Eridanus (*Get.* 194-6).

In the later *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, we see Eridanus' triumph as the career of Hannibal/Alaric in *De bello Getico*, and earlier sources, is brought to its conclusion. The meeting between the river-god and Alaric is modelled on Silius' narration of the battle of Cannae, strong verbal parallels indicating the allusion. In encouraging his troops before the battle, Hannibal describes their progress to date:

> concessere Alpes; pater ipse superbus aquarum
> Ausonidum **Eridanus** captivo defluit alveo (*Pun.* 9.187-8)

and promises:

> addam etiam, flava **Thybris** quas irrigat unda,
> captivis late gregibus **depascere** ripas (*Pun.* 9.207-8).

Claudian's Eridanus does not forget such rash boasting and asks in his turn:

> nec iam cornipedem **Thybrino** gramine **pascis**,
> ut rebare, tuum, Tuscis nec figis aratrum

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[147] Dewar (1994a) 354. This article examines in detail the various fabrications of Claudian and their relevance to the literary tradition on which he drew for his portrayal of Alaric/Hannibal.

[148] By this fiction, Claudian created "the flattering myth of Alaric as the heroic barbarian who saw the sack of the eternal city as his destiny": see Cameron (1970a) 184.

[149] For suggestions of what the treaty may have been, Dewar (1996) 193-4 and Cameron (1970a) 185-6.

[150] Cf. Silius, *sacri cum perfida pacti/gens Cadmea super regno certamina movit* (*Pun.* 1.5-6). Cf. the related *abrupto foedere* applied to the image of Hannibal on his shield: *Hannibal, abrupto transgressus foedere ripas,/Poenorum populos Romana in bella vocabat* (*Pun.* 2.451-2), which, as Vessey (1974) 28-9 notes, combines the opening of Lucan's epic, *rupto foedere regni* (*BC* 1.4) with the crossing of the Rubicon (*transgressus ripas*), associating Hannibal with Lucan's Caesar.

collibus? (*VI Cons.* 182-4).[151]

The phrase *ut rebare* is a signpost to the earlier text and Hannibal's plans, Eridanus' *nec pascis* pokes fun at Alaric's optimistic *depascere*. The lines also pivot between two references in Claudian, *cornipedem* and *gramine* suggesting the earlier reference to Hannibal in *De bello Getico*:

et prope ter senas Itali per **graminis** herbas
Massylus Poeno **sonipes** vastante cucurrit (*Get.* 147-8),

while *cornipedem*, *pascis*, and *figis* anticipate the starvation in Alaric's camp:

frondesque licet **depastus** amaras
arboreo **figat sonipes** in cortice morsus (*VI Cons.* 239-40).

As Dewar observes, the scene is an intertextual reversal of Hannibal's victory: Alaric, a second Hannibal, has failed to repeat the success of his predecssor and has allowed the Roman victory of Pollentia to supplant the earlier defeat of Cannae.[152] The association of Alaric and Hannibal would automatically predict his downfall but Alaric comes a poor second, unable to measure up even to the initial successes of his predecessor so that Pollentia, which could have been his Cannae, has been transformed into a Roman victory.

The scene in general, the intervention and rebuke of a river god, has a long tradition in epic poetry[153] and it is difficult to identify one particular model for this scene, if one exists. It is noticeable, however, that such scenes frequently are an exploration of epic *furor* literally taken to a cosmic level, as nature involves itself in human political affairs. Behind Claudian's artistic depiction of Eridanus are the memories of earlier epic scenes, from the Scamander in the *Iliad* (21.211-68), whose wrath met that of Achilles, to the Ismenos, rising in flood to punish Hippomedon (*Theb.* 9.404-490).[154] This was the tradition which produced Silius' version of Trebia (*Pun.* 4.638-65),[155] the most likely model for Claudian's Eridanus, since his passage centres on an allusion to Silius' Cannae.[156] There is also a physical connection as the Trebia, Silius notes, flows into the Po (*Pun.* 4.633-4). In Silius' version of the battle, the river Trebia, like the Scamander

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[151] Dewar (1994a) 357, Dewar (1996) 181.
[152] Dewar (1994a) 357.
[153] Dewar (1996) 164-5. It is also a feature of panegyric: Menander (II. 374.5-10) suggest that the praise of an emperor may be suitably placed in the mouth of a god: see Russell and Wilson (1981) 87.
[154] Dewar (1996) 164-5, Vessey (1973) 297-8.
[155] Spaltenstein (1986a) 319.
[156] For Trebia and Cannae as a summary of the second Punic war, cf. *Get.* 386-7.

and Ismenos – and the Adige here (*VI Cons.* 208-9) - is blocked with corpses[157] and the river god complains to Scipio. Claudian's and Silius' rivers are described in similar terms, the Trebia given a brief description:

> tum **madidos crines** et **glauca** fronde revinctum
> **attollit** cum voce **caput** (*Pun.* 4.659-60)

while Claudian elaborates on the dress and adornment of Eridanus:

> dixerat; ille **caput** placidis sublime fluentis
> **extulit**...
> non illi **madidum** vulgaris harundine **crinem**
> velat honos...
> palla tegit latos umeros, curruque paterno
> intextus Phaethon **glaucos** incendit amictus (*VI Cons.* 159-60, 162-3, 165-6).[158]

The association of Eridanus and Phaëthon, explicit in Claudian, is suggested by the punishment suffered by the river Trebia: Venus sends fire which destroys all vegetation nearby. The details of burning trees and drying earth (*Pun.* 4.677-689) suggest Terra, scorched by Phaëthon (*Met.* 2.201-71). Silius does not refer to Phaëthon by name but suggests the myth when, at the end of the description of the fire, he gives Eridanus' reaction:

> miratur pater aeternos cessare repente
> Eridanus cursus (*Pun.* 4.690-1),

and in a later reference to the battle of Trebia referring to Eridanus as *Phaëthontius amnis* (*Pun.* 7.149).

The duel between hero and river god was a powerful set-piece of epic; that Claudian's Eridanus gives Alaric a slap on the wrist rather than a duel to the death is a generic subversion, equivalent to the *recusatio* which opens the scene. Alaric and his Visigoths are waging a contemporary Gigantomachy yet Claudian would rather sing about cheerful subjects (*VI Cons.* 122-6). The grim shadow of Hannibal is present only in the subtext, and never developed or made explicit. What type of villain is Alaric? The chorus of river gods assembled to mock him, *insultant omnes profugo* (*VI Cons.* 198), gives the clue: Alaric is not the subject of epic, but of epic parody. Like Eutropius before him, he deserves satire.[159] As Stilicho pursues him, all trappings of generalship fall away. His soldiers despise him, *miles probra superbus/ingerat* (*VI Cons.* 242-3), and desert in great

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[157] For this epic *topos*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.100-1, Luc. *BC* 2.209-15, Stat. *Theb.* 1.38-40, *Ach.* 1.86-8, and in Claudian *Eut.* 2. 290-2, *Stil.* 1. 185-7, and *III Cons.* 99-101.
[158] These details are common to all river gods, cf. Dewar (1996) 166-7.
[159] Long (1996) 24-5.

numbers, *cunei totaeque palam discedere turmae* (*VI Cons.* 253). His own character is revealed as that of a sham hero as, in tears, he begs the men to return, *mox nomina supplex/cum precibus fletuque ciet* (*VI Cons.* 255-6). The "low" terminology, *probra* (242), *transfuga* (250), *discedere* (253), reinforce Alaric's fall from epic status.[160]

The heroic behaviour of Lucan's heroes set the epic standards which Alaric fails to meet: unlike Vulteius, *iugulo poscens* (*BC* 4.541), who orders his men to kill him rather than face defeat, Alaric cannot prevail on his men to act likewise, *frustra iugulum parcentibus offert* (*VI Cons.* 257)[161] and so he is denied a heroic death scene.[162] The extended simile of the Hyblaean bee-keeper compresses and reverses Lucan:[163]

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

Lucan's simile involves Cato whose lengthy speech (*BC* 9.256-83), ending with *ignavum scelus est tantum fuga* (*BC* 9.283), could have been a rebuke to Alaric and his men. His words succeed in rallying the soldiers:

> dixit et omnes
> haud aliter medio **revocavit** ab aequore puppes,
> quam, simul effetas **linquunt examina ceras**
> atque **oblita favi** non miscent nexibus alas,
> sed sibi quaeque volat nec iam degustat amarum
> desidiosa thymum, Phrygii **sonus** increpat **aeris**,
> attonitae posuere fugam studiumque laboris
> floriferi repetunt et sparsi **mellis** amorem,
> gaudet in **Hyblaeo** securus gramine pastor
> divitias servasse casae. (*BC* 9.283-92).

Claudian's bee-keeper is a far more pathetic figure, a *senex* rather than *pastor*, who cries over the loss of his swarm. The vocabulary of his vain efforts, *conatur, exhaustus, inani, deplorat*, marks him as a comic failure.

To failed Hannibal and failed Cato we may add failed Pompey. As Dewar notes, the scene of Alaric's defeat (*VI Cons.* 210-64) opens with Stilicho's eagerness to fight:[164]

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[160] Dewar (1996) 214, 217.
[161] Dewar (1996) 219.
[162] For the death of Vulteius as a spectacle, Leigh (1997) 259-64; on suicide in Flavian epic, McGuire (1990).
[163] Dewar (1996) 220-3.
[164] Dewar (1996) 198.

> **oblatum** Stilicho violato foedere Martem
> omnibus adripuit **votis** (*VI Cons.* 210-11)

suggesting Caesar before Pharsalia: ***oblatum****que videt* ***votis*** *sibi mille petitum/tempus* (*BC* 7.238-9). The evil of Caesar's war, *nefas* (*BC* 7.242), is not mentioned here nor is the allusion to Caesar made specific;[165] what matters is Stilicho's readiness – *adripuit* – and the underlying notion that this, like Pharsalia, will be the final defeat of Alaric.

Hannibal and the Carthaginians: The Implicit Threat

While the comparison between Alaric and Hannibal is a recurrent theme in *De bello Getico* and *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian does not hesitate to draw on the historical and mythological enmity between Rome and Carthage to intensify any rebellion or attempted usurpation. The reference may be intertextual only, as in the evocation of Hannibal in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, presented "through a number of allusions...in both the historical (or more usually, the rhetorical) and poetic traditions".[166] The short passage which describes the victory of Frigidus (*III Cons.* 63-101), for example, interconnects passages from Vergil and Silius to suggest that the usurpers, Arbogast and Eugenius, were Carthaginian in spirit and intention. Claudian does not suggest that they, like Hannibal, had vowed to take Rome (although, since Eugenius intended to become emperor, Rome was obviously the goal[167]) but they certainly crossed the Alps, en route from Gaul to Italy, while the fact that they were turned back by divine intervention is acknowledged by pagan and Christian alike.[168] Such circumstances all but stamped them as the descendants of Hannibal and though Claudian never makes the comparison explicit, allusion creates a clear Carthaginian subtext.

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[165] Dewar (1996) 198 suggests that Claudian is reworking the text *ex inverso*; I would also suggest that Claudian is extracting Caesar's energy and drive as a general from Lucan's text (as he did to praise Theodosius in (*IV Cons.* 55-64), see 156.

[166] Dewar (1996) 181-2.

[167] For the historical background, Jones (1964) 341-3, Williams and Friell (1994) 134-8, Randers-Pehrson (1983) 80. I am greatly indebted to Alan Cameron for a copy of his as yet unpublished work on the battle of Frigidus.

[168] This remains the accepted version: Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 5.26, Orosius 7.35, Rufinus 11.31-3, cf. Randers-Pehrson (1983) 80, Mathews (1993) 6, Paschoud (1967) 145; although Cameron (above) argues that Claudian's reworking of Silius is the source of this belief.

Having dealt with the prescribed themes of birth and education, Claudian introduces the battle of Frigidus in markedly epic terms:

> interea turbata fides: civilia rursus
> bella tonant dubiumque quatit discordia mundum (*III Cons.* 63-4).

interea is a formula frequently used as the first word of a new book of an epic or to introduce a new episode within the action.[169] In these lines, Claudian presents intertextual layers of Roman wars and the ultimate cause of all, *discordia*. *turbata fides* suggests the opening to the third book of Silius' *Punica*: *postquam rupta fides Tyriis* (*Pun.* 3.1). The fleeting impression of Rome's ancient enemy is quickly overshadowed by the specific *civilia bella* with its connotations of Lucan's opening *bella...plus quam civilia* (*BC* 1.1). *turbata fides* becomes more serious when applied to internal rebellion and the *discordia* produced strikes closer to the heart of the Roman empire.[170] *tonant* prefigures the actual and metaphorical storm of Frigidus. Finally, *rursus* emphasises the historical and literary continuity of this event, reminding us that the breaking of faith, the occurrence of civil wars and the outburst of *discordia* in the world occur repeatedly and that Maximus and Eugenius are only the latest manifestation of ancient *furor*.[171]

The battle itself consists of a series of epic topoi, from the outbreak of war, to the mustering of armies by Theodosius (*III Cons.* 69-72), the epic simile of a lion cub longing for his first kill (77-82) to a river choked with corpses (99-101).[172] A rare occurrence in Claudian's work, specific details of the battle are given:

> te propter et Alpes
> invadi faciles cauto nec profuit hosti
> munitis haesisse locis: spes inrita valli
> concidit et scopulis patuerunt claustra revulsis.
> te propter gelidis Aquilo de **monte procellis**
> **obruit** adversas acies revolutaque tela
> vertit in auctores et **turbine** reppulit hastas.
> o nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris
> Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat **aether**
> et coniurati veniunt ad classica **venti** (*III Cons.* 89-98).

The primary model is the storm of the *Aeneid*:

> haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide **montem**
> impulit in latus; ac **venti** velut agmine facto,
> qua data porta, **ruunt** et terras **turbine** perflant.

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[169] Schindler (2002) 27, see also Reinmuth (1932) li-liii, Gransden (1984) 159.
[170] Cf. *discordia*, as exemplified by Rufinus, which threatens the entire empire: see James (1998) 172-3.
[171] Hardie (1993a) 17. For the related use of *iterum* in Lucan, Leigh (1997) 299; for the background to Claudian's iteration of chaos in *De raptu Proserpinae*, Wheeler (1995a) 120.
[172] Schindler (2004) 20-1.

> incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis
> una Eurusque Notusque **ruunt** creberque **procellis**...
> intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus **aether** (*Aen.* 1.81-5, 90).

The divine anger of Juno[173] takes physical shape as a storm at sea: Vergil portrays her cosmic wrath as a battle between the elements, the winds chained in the cave of Aeolus suggesting the power of the Giants, always striving to escape.[174] Claudian claims the winds for a real battle, retaining the cosmic connotations and turning divine interference into assistance in the phrase *o nimium dilecte deo*. Here there is no opposition from Juno and Aeolus is free to act for the right side, sending his winds as *coniurati* (*III Cons.* 98). Frigidus is his chance to make amends for his actions in the *Aeneid*, and Aeolus takes it.

The metaliterary *vertit in auctores* (*III Cons.* 95) is deliberately plural. Vergil's storm must always be seen behind any epic tempest, but Silius had also reworked Vergil for his depiction of the battle of Cannae.[175] In the *Punica*, Juno again persuades Aeolus to release the winds with the result that the missiles of the Romans are blown back behind them while those of the Carthaginians are given extra strength (*Pun.* 9.491-510). The verbal links to Vergil's storm and his epic *auctoritas* become a referential frame through which we can see a replaying and reworking of Cannae, the spears redirected by divine intervention against the enemies of Rome so that Cannae is transformed from a Roman catastrophe to a Roman victory. The opening *turbata fides* (*III Cons.* 63), whether of the usurpers or their Carthaginian predecessors, has been punished. The well-read reader may also remember Jupiter's reaction to Hannibal's savagery at Cannae: *venit hora diesque,/qua nullas umquam transisse optaverit Alpes* (*Pun.* 9.549-50). Like Hannibal, Eugenius and Arbogast paid for their temerity in crossing the Alps.

Reinforcement for the Carthaginian subtext comes from the emphatic repetition of *te propter* (*III Cons.* 89, 93). While the Vergilian storm is the dominant and most obvious allusion in the passage, the most striking verbal reference comes from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* and Dido's speech of reproach to Aeneas:

> **te propter** Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
> odere, infensi Tyrii; **te propter** eundem
> exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
> fama prior (*Aen.* 4.320-3).

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[173] For the allegorisation of Juno as *aer*, Feeney (1991) 132.
[174] Feeney (1991) 132, Hardie (1986) 90-7.
[175] Spaltenstein (1986b) 44.

The echo creates a contrast between the sorrowing Dido, the originator of Carthaginian hatred for Rome,[176] and the victorious Honorius who defeats the heirs of Dido's hostility. Now in hindsight, *turbata fides* can be seen as reaching back through Silius' Carthaginians to Vergil's Dido; Vergil frequently used *fides* to describe her love before it mutated into the unworthiness of the Carthaginians, the *Punica fides*.[177] A further allusion to the same book of the *Aeneid* links Dido with Arbogast. In giving power to Eugenius, he is a foreigner with his dependent:

> barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes
> **sceptra**que deiecto **dederat** Romana clienti (*III Cons.* 66-7).

The words recall Dido's investiture of Aeneas:

> infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?
> tum decuit, cum **sceptra dabas**. en dextra fidesque...(*Aen.* 4.596-7)

her *impia facta* implicitly attributed to Arbogast. All is reversed. Claudian has rewritten literary history so that Dido's defeat has become Honorius' victory. Frigidus has become a second and successful Cannae and those who attempted to seize the role of emperor are revealed to be Carthaginian in spirit and action, inheritors of Dido's hostility, breakers of faith with Rome, essentially alien and hostile.[178]

Gildo, Enemy throughout the Ages

It is evident from an overview of Claudian's work that all enemies of Rome or of Stilicho are portrayed, to some extent, in identical terms. Their madness, derived from *furor*, puts them on a par with the Giants, the Furies or Hannibal. After all, for so great a hero as Stilicho, only the opposition of the fiercest of villains could fully demonstrate his ability.[179] The characterisation of Gildo also draws on Hannibal *tyrannus*, emphasising his cruelty rather than military ability. Condemnation of his character moves between epic, satire and tragedy, as Claudian layers allusions to Silius, Ovid, Seneca and Juvenal.

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[176] For the identification of Dido and Hannibal in Silius, Wilson (1993) 220.

[177] For Dido's genuine *fides*, *Aen.* 4.12, 373, 552, 597, 6.459; its transformation into *Punica perfidia* had become a byword by the time of Hasdrubal (Livy 21.4). However, Horsfall (1990a) 134 suggests that Dido herself had broken faith with Sychaeus (4.552), an appropriate action for the first Carthaginian ruler. On *perfidia* in Silius, Spaltenstein (1986a) 2.

[178] For "foreignness" of Carthaginian Dido, Hexter (1992). Dewar (2003) discusses Claudian's redefinition of "us" and "them" in describing Stilicho's army against Alaric.

[179] Cameron (1970a) 337. Note that Silius' Hannibal is portrayed as an *unus*, the epic equivalent of Scipio (*Pun.* 17.512-16): see Wilson (1993) 223.

The poem is unfinished, the action ending with the embarcation of the fleet.[180] The book is structured almost entirely as a series of speeches and each character is responsible for imparting specific information, so that Roma gives the historical background, Africa supplies the villainous nature of Gildo, Theodosius describes the background to the rebellion and other characters fill in any stray details.[181] The whole can be divided into two parts.[182] The first is set on Olympus and focuses on the supplication of Roma and Africa to Jupiter, the second is in Honorius' court and concerns human action against Gildo. The two halves are linked by the intervention of the elder and younger Theodosii who descend from heaven to exhort Honorius and Arcadius to unite against Gildo. While the scenes are quite distinct, the poem is not fragmented. Lengthy allusions and the various elements which go to create to Gildo's character are divided and expanded through the whole book, so that disparate scenes and characters are linked by an extended chain of reference.

Although Claudian devotes the whole of *De bello Gildonico* to the explication of Gildo's character, Gildo also plays a small but important role in the third book of *De consulatu Stilichonis*, written two years later in 400. Gildo had been defeated in March 398, a month before the recitation of *De bello Gildonico*. The two year interval allowed Claudian to confirm his portrayal of Gildo[183] and, in summarising Gildo's defeat, to epitomise the significant points of the earlier epic. In many ways, *De consulatu Stilichonis* can be read as a companion piece to *De bello Gildonico*, picking up and closing motifs, larger themes and intertextual references from *De bello Gildonico*.

As we have seen, an intrinsic concern of *De consulatu Stilichonis* is the recurring ages of mankind and the poet's role in history, the preface to the third book associating Claudian with Ennius, Stilicho with Scipio, Gildo with Hannibal. Silius' *Punica* (the model for the central theme of the preface[184]) had ended with the triumph of Scipio, destined for fame throughout the ages: *mansuri compos decoris per saecula rector* (*Pun.* 17.625).[185] Claudian picks up the end of this epic, inserting it into the preface of the third book of his panegyric. The book itself becomes an imaginative continuation of the *Punica* as the

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[180] For difficulties in plot continuation, Cameron (1970a) 115-16, Olechowska (1978) 6.
[181] Olechowska (1978) 8.
[182] Olechowska (1974) 47.
[183] Cameron (1970a) 118-23 notes the changes in description of events.
[184] See above pages 51-4.
[185] Hardie (1997b) 158-62 discusses the closural techniques of this epic.

triumph of Stilicho/Scipio is celebrated at length. Silius' description of the triumph – the captured people, the countries freed from fear and Scipio himself, *auro decoratus et ostro* (*Pun.* 17.645) – is summarised in Claudian's preface to serve as an introduction for Stilicho's glory:

> cum longi Libyam tandem post funera belli
> ante suas maestam cogeret ire rotas,
> advexit reduces secum Victoria Musas
> et sertum vati Martia laurus erat (*Stil.* 3. *pr.* 17-20).

The parallel between the two generals is made explicit:

> noster Scipiades Stilicho, quo concidit alter
> Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale (*Stil.* 3. *pr.* 21-2).

Given the prominence of cyclical time in this poem, the recreation of Scipio as Stilicho and Gildo as Hannibal cannot be dismissed as a *topos* of encomium. The previous book of the panegyric had dealt with the cave of time and Roma's journey to Elysium where souls wait for rebirth: when in this context Claudian promises that a new Camillus, *alius Camillus* (*Stil* 2.390),[186] has saved Rome, and later that Gildo is a second Hannibal, *alter Hannibal* (*Stil* 3 *pr.* 21-2), we must see his declarations in terms of literary, if not actual, metempsychosis. Silius' closing words hail Scipio as the equal of Romulus and Camillus:

> salve, invicte parens, non concessure Quirino
> laudibus ac meritis non concessure Camillo! (*Pun.* 17.651-2).

His significance has been augmented by a series of comparisons to mythical and historical figures.[187] By beginning with this ending, Claudian gives us the next incarnation of the generic hero figure in the person of Stilicho.

I have examined Claudian's use of epic allusion in this preface;[188] to the works of Ennius, Vergil, Lucretius, Ovid and Silius, we must add his own earlier epic, Gildo as Hannibal being a theme of that work. It must be noted, however, that while Hannibal was perhaps the greatest threat to Rome, his role in the preface to *De consulatu Stilichonis III* is as stand-in for all those who menaced Rome in the past. To Roma in *De bello Gildonico*, Gildo is the culmination of a series of threats, another Brennus or Porsenna or Jugurtha, their composite enmity summed up in the later figure of *alter Hannibal.*

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[186] For *alius*, see Hardie (1993a) 17-18.
[187] Hardie (1997b) 159.
[188] See above pages 49-56.

As in *De consulatu Stilichonis*, the war with Gildo is set in the context of cyclical history, the opening *redditus*, reinforced by *rursus*, predicting the returning ages (and return to literary sources) which will be a feature of the poem. As a truncated allusion to Ovid's *redditus orbis erat* (*Met.* 1.348) and the restoration of the world after the flood, *redditus* anticipates the theme of cosmic destruction and renewal.[189] The motif is introduced at once in the figure of the goddess Roma, crippled with age and wasting senility, her weapons decayed with rust:[190]

> 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 (*Gild.* 21-5).

Although Roma's physical appearance may be modelled on Ovid's *Fames* (*Met.* 7.801-7), Claudian's fundamental thematic model is Vergil's *Georgics*, and a warning of the destruction caused by civil war, these lines being the opening of a dialogue, a commentary on Vergil as it were, which is picked up in Africa's speech and developed in *De consulatu Stilichonis*. As we have seen, the allusion is created through imagery rather than verbal parallels and centres on the contrasting use of tools and weapons in war, from the *topos* of swords beaten into ploughshares and vice versa, to rusty weapons made ready for battle,[191] or weapons unearthed by the plough after war. For Claudian, the decay of Roma's weapons, the shield which she can hardly bear, *squalentem clipeum* (*Gild.* 24), parallels the decay of Vergil's fields after civil war, ***squalent*** *abductis* ***arva*** *colonis* (*Geo.* 1.506). The association of tools and armour symbolises the essence of *pax Romana*: the peaceful work of the farmers is guaranteed by Rome's ability to fight in their defence. In telling of the destruction of her fertile land, Africa rounds off the allusion to Vergil begun in Roma's speech, *squalent* ***abductis*** *arva* ***colonis*** (*Geo.* 1.506) completing the line with *veteres detrudit rure* ***colonos*** (*Gild.* 198). The allusion, however, does not bring about sympathy for her plight but only reminds the audience of the suffering of Roma and the evocation of the often idealised agricultural world of the *Georgics* which epitomises the perversity of Gildo's assault.

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[189] Olechowska (1978) 131.

[190] For contemporary examples of this *topoi* (and Claudian's influence on later writers), Whitby (1985) 509-512, Roberts (2001) discusses late antique personifications of Rome.

[191] For the *topos* of rusting weapons, cf. Luc. *BC* 1.242-3, Statius *Theb.* 3.582-3, Silius *Pun.* 4.12-14, Keudel (1970) 83.

The link with the *Georgics* here may seem slight but it recurs in the later *De consulatu Stilichonis*. In this poem, when the blockade has been removed and the Carthaginians freed from Gildo's tyranny:

> hinc Poeni cumulant laudes, quod rura tyranno
> libera possideant (*Stil.* 2.190-1)

tools are cleansed of rust:

> rursum cote novat nigras **rubigine** falces
> **exesosqu**e situ cogit splendere ligones (*Stil.* 2.194-5),

lines which return – *rursum-* to Claudian's earlier passage, to Vergil's *Georgics* and the end of the civil war:

> agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
> **exesa** inveniet scabra **robigine** pila (*Geo.* 1.494-5) [192]

to the rejuvenation of Roma and her armour in *De bello Gildonico*, *levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus* (*Gild.* 212).

As Roma herself admits, peace rather than starvation is the reason for her degeneration, and her innately warlike character has failed:

> lapsi mores desuetaque priscis
> artibus in gremium pacis servile recessi (*Gild.* 50-1).[193]

In the absence of a visible enemy, peace – *miserabile pacis supplicium* (*Gild.* 99-100) - must be endured. She bewails her present by looking back to an idealised past:

> armato quondam populo patrumque vigebam
> conciliis; domui terras hominesque revinxi
> legibus: ad solem victrix utrumque cucurri (46-8).

quondam is deliberately vague, encompassing the recent past, before Gildo's blockade, and ancient history, when the state was young and militant. The ambiguity removes temporal settings and establishes Gildo simultaneously as an ancient and modern enemy. For Roma, he is a composite of all her enemies, Syphax (91), Jugurtha (92), Bocchus (94), Porsenna (123), the Gauls (124-26), Pyrrhus (125), Brennus (126), and above all, Hannibal.[194] Beginning with the long years spent at war with Carthage, *ideone tot annos/flebile cum tumida bellum Carthagine gessi* (*Gild.* 76-7), Roma catalogues the various wars with Africa, from the death of Regulus to the battle of Cannae and Hannibal's proximity to Rome. Hannibal is introduced first as *Poenus*: *Poenus et*

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[192] See pages 158-9 above. For this passage, Lyne (1974).
[193] On the ambiguity of *pax Augusta* and Claudian's debt to Tacitus in these lines, Olechowska (1978) 12.
[194] For the lack of chronology, Woodman (1989), see also Cairns (2002) 27-33.

attonitae iam proximus Hannibal urbi? (*Gild.* 83), an epithet with almost invariably negative connotations.[195] Her final plea to Jupiter surely suggests a pun on this epithet: *poenae mutate genus* (*Gild.* 123), the verb *mutare* inviting the listener to substitute *Poeni* for *poenae*.

The goddess Roma, *supplex* to Jupiter, begging for the safety of her people, evokes the literary as well as historical past.[196] The original model is Vergil's Venus, pleading for Aeneas' future (*Aen.* 1.229-53). Reworking this scene, Silius wrote a dialogue between Venus, concerned for her Roman descendants, and Jupiter, who reassures her that Rome will survive and will produce great men to drive Hannibal back to Carthage:

> hinc tibi Paulus,
> **hinc Fabius** gratus**que mihi Marcellus** opimis (*Pun.* 3.586-7).[197]

Claudian's line is almost identical:

> **hoc Fabius** fortis**que mihi Marcellus** agebant (*Gild.* 89).

The allusion would at first appear to be a pessimistic one, since Jupiter promises Venus that great generals will arise and she can take comfort from this future. For Claudian's Roma, however, that future is past and it is much later when Jupiter laconically reassures her that Rome will not fall: *communem prosternet Honorius hostem* (*Gild.* 205). Nevertheless, the reference to Silius carries some comfort for the fourth-century Roma. Jupiter promises Venus that Rome will be great:

> hi tantum parient Latio per vulnera regnum,
> quod luxu et multum mutata mente nepotes
> non tamen evertisse queant (*Pun.* 3.588-90).

The inspiration of the speech is the Vergilian model and Jupiter's original guarantee of *imperium sine fine* (*Aen.* 1.279). Such an allusion, promising greatness despite decadence, was a tacit response to Roma's plea and her fear that luxury had destroyed Roman *virtus* (*Gild.* 49-51).

The guarantee of future victory implicit in victories of the past is reinforced by a further Vergilian allusion: the images of Roman salvation from the shield of Aeneas. The allusion is divided, the first half given to Roma, the second to Theodosius. In referring to the shield in *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian had focused only on the images which celebrated Roman victory as a combination of emperor and gods. In

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[195] Franko (1994), see also Starks (1999) 257.
[196] For epic elements of this *topos*, Olechowska (1978) 140-1.
[197] Olechowska (1978) 150.

this allusion, Claudian again selects particular scenes from the shield and omits others. The early kings of Rome, Romulus and Tatius (*Aen.* 8.638), are present in the reference to Ancus (*Gild.* 109), the Sabines (*Aen.* 8.635, *Gild.* 106) are mentioned, the juxtaposition of Tarquin and Porsenna in Vergil, *nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat/accipere* (*Aen.* 8.646-7), is copied by Claudian, *Porsenna reducat/Tarquinios* (*Gild.* 123-4), while Vergil's lengthy description of the Gauls (*Aen.* 8.655-62) is evoked in Claudian's reference to Allia (*Gild.* 124), the Senones and Brennus (*Gild.* 126). The allusion is picked up and continued in Theodosius' words to Arcadius. He tells of Gildo's treachery and declares that he deserves a traitor's death:

> exemplum sequerer Tulli laniandaque dumis
> inpia diversis aptarem membra quadrigis (*Gild.* 254-5).

The *exemplum* is Mettus Fufetius, to Romans, the type of lying traitor, best known from Vergil's lines:[198]

> haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae
> distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!)
> raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
> per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres (*Aen.* 8.642-5).[199]

On the shield, these scenes are presented as the highlights of Roman history, *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (*Aen.* 8.626). As Harrison notes,[200] the scenes represent Roman military success in the context of the preservation of the city. Presented in this series, Gildo becomes another triumph to be engraved on the shield. His own family has already provided triumphs for the house of Theodosius (*Gild.* 345) and Stilicho promises that he will be destroyed *iusto triumpho* (*Gild.* 429). It can be no coincidence that this divided allusion is centred around the rejuvenation of Roma and the refurbishment of her own weaponry.[201] As Jupiter breaths youth into her:

> continuo redit ille vigor seniique colorem
> mutavere comae. solidatam crista resurgens
> erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis
> et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus (*Gild.* 209-12).

The repetition of re emphasises her restoration: ***re**dit, **re**surgens, **ere**xit, **re**canduit.* Only the brightness of the weapons suggests the armour which Vulcan created for Aeneas:

> miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat
> terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem,

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[198] Cf. Livy 1.28.10-11.

[199] What better indication of a divided allusion than *in diversa*?

[200] Harrison (1997) 70-1, cf. Hardie (1986) 124-5.

[201] Claudian's presentation of time as cyclical is supported by the suggestion of Aeneas' shield, on which Roman history is portrayed as circular rather than linear: see Zetzel (1997) 200-1.

> fatiferamque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem...
> tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
> hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum (*Aen.* 8.619-21, 624-5),

but the renewed brilliance of Roma's shield, *clipeique recanduit orbis*, suggests that her shield, no less than that of Aeneas, represents the world, *orbis*, which corresponded to *urbs*, herself.[202] Her shield which, in the panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius, was decorated with scenes of Romulus and Remus (*P&O* 96-9) is now unadorned. In a poem which gives so much attention to victories of the past, perhaps the shield is deliberately left blank to suggest victories which are yet to come.

Gildo *Tyrannus*[203]

In presenting Gildo as the latest of those who tried to take Rome, Claudian refers to him repeatedly as *tyrannus*.[204] By the late fourth century, this had two meanings and both apply to Gildo. In political terms, the word *tyrannus* had come to mean a usurper, one who seeks to seize empire.[205] When Claudian refers to Gildo as *tertius tyrannus* (*Gild.* 6) he casts Gildo as the successor of Maximus and Eugenius who had risen against Theodosius the Great and been destroyed by him.[206] This is Roma's understanding of Gildo. Hannibal had never actually attacked Rome but the fear that he would had become proverbial. Hannibal, *ad portas*,[207] was the equal of Porsenna and Brennus who had attacked the city. By adding Gildo to the list of these invaders, Claudian's Roma suggests that the famine which Gildo had caused by withdrawing the corn supply was as destructive as a physical assault. The piles of corpses and multiplicity of deaths to which she refers (*Gild.* 39-42) have been caused by disease rather than warfare but the result is the same. Attacking with famine rather than the sword, Gildo has succeeded in invading Rome, thereby becoming the successor of Brennus and outstripping Hannibal.

If Roma exposes Gildo as a usurping *tyrannus*, Africa demonstrates that his character is equal in depravity to any tyrant of the past. The traditional definition of tyrant is one who

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[202] Hardie (1986) 336-86.
[203] This section is based on Ware (2004b).
[204] *Gild.* 6, 148, 466. Note that he is *tertius tyrannus* at the beginning and end of the epic, reminding the reader at important stages of the text of the circularity of history and Gildo's place within it.
[205] Wardman (1984) 220-37.
[206] Cf. also *Gild.* 465-6, for Gildo as last of series of usurpers.
[207] Cicero *Fin.* 4.9.22, Spaltenstein (1986a) 4-5; cf. Vergil's use of this *topos* for his presentation of Turnus, Horsfall (1974).

holds and abuses power; Plato had defined the tyrant as one who was governed by his base irrational appetites, a slave to drunkenness, greed, lust and madness.[208] Africa had suffered under Gildo's rule and she personifies the victimisation of her country. While Roma had appeared aged and starved, Africa appears with dress torn and hair dishevelled (*Gild.* 136-8), a variation on the theme of *urbs capta*[209] and a suggestion of what *Roma capta* could become, a visible reminder of the rape and plunder which Roma has escaped. Her speech dwells on Gildo's cruelty, avarice and lust:

> quodcumque profunda
> traxit avaritia, luxu peiore refundit.
> instat terribilis vivis, morientibus heres,
> virginibus raptor, thalamis obscaenus adulter.
> nulla quies: oritur praeda cessante libido;
> divitibusque dies et nox metuenda maritis (*Gild.* 163-8).

The crimes in this catalogue exemplify Gildo's tyrannical behaviour: *vis*, *superbia* and, above all, *libido* and *crudelitas*.[210] To support her accusations, Africa gives a vivid description of Gildo's banqueting hall where his depravity is given free rein. Guests are invited only to be murdered (*Gild.* 170-1). All sit in fear, forced to eat the executioner's food, *carnifices epulas*, and drink suspect wine, *incerta pocula* (*Gild.* 178). Lust and savagery are mingled as husbands are killed and wives seduced; the feast is a celebration of Gildo's *libido* and *crudelitas*. It is also an allusion to the most infamous banquet ever spread by a tyrant, Atreus' feast for his brother Thyestes.

As portrayed in Accius' tragedy, Atreus is responsible for the phrase which most closely defines the essence of tyranny: *oderint dum metuant*.[211] To compare a political leader to Atreus was to imply tyranny. Seneca referred to the tag *oderint dum metuant* (*De ira* 1.20.4) as being characteristic of Sulla's time. Caligula, with ironic self-awareness, was said to have quoted the line when the wrong man had been executed.[212] Antony had been the model for Varius Rufus' *Atreus*[213] and his appetite for blood and lechery was well-documented by Cicero in the *Philippics*.[214] Seneca's Atreus has no redeeming features of

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[208] *Rep.* 571a-576b.

[209] For this *topos*, Paul (1982). Gildo is *virginibus raptor* (*Gild.* 166) but *diripio* was also the verb used of the sacking of cities, suggesting sexual violence as well as plunder: see Ziolkowski (1993).

[210] Dunkle (1967) 151. Livy attributes these vices to Hannibal, *adeo omne* ***libidinis crudelitatisque*** *et inhumanae* ***superbiae*** *editum in miseros exemplum est* (21.57.13).

[211] Dangel (1995) 118.

[212] Suetonius *Cal.* 88. For the political connotations of Atreus, cf. Tacitus *Dial.* 2-3.

[213] Leigh (1996) 171-96.

[214] The quick defeat of Gildo, *congressum, profugum, captum* (*Gild.* 12) perhaps suggests Cicero's speech, *ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod* ***natum, conflatum, susceptum*** *opera tua est* (*Phil.* 2.70).

humanity but exists only for bloodshed, motivated by cruelty (*Thy.* 193) and claiming that kings, in the sense of absolute rulers or tyrants, are above common virtues (*Thy.* 217-18). Gildo's banquet shows that he shared the tyrant's taste for brutality but Claudian's reason for associating Atreus and Gildo goes far beyond the stock accusations against a tyrant.

The myth of the house of Pelops explores fraternal hatred and vengeance within a single family, generation by generation. Because Thyestes had seduced Atreus' wife, Atreus murdered the children of his brother, dismembered, cooked and served them up to Thyestes at a feast. While Gildo did not go quite so far, he too had killed the children of his brother Mascazel and, according to Claudian at least, had refused the bodies burial (*Gild.* 397-8).[215]

Claudian builds up the comparison very carefully. In the speech of the personified Africa, he opens the banqueting scene with a brief allusion to Ovid's version of the myth, but does not complete the allusion until Stilicho exposes Gildo's villainy and denounces him as a second, more vicious, Atreus. Like the feast which Atreus prepared for his brother, Gildo's banquet offers murder – although not cannibalism – under the guise of hospitality:

> splendet Tartareo furialis mensa paratu
> caede madens, atrox gladio, suspecta veneno.
> ut vino calefacta Venus, tum saevior ardet
> luxuries, mixtis redolent unguenta coronis:
> crinitos inter famulos pubemque canoram
> orbatas iubet ire nurus (*Gild.* 180-5).

There is no explicit reference here to Atreus or Thyestes, but the subtext is suggested by the clear verbal echo to Ovid, *furialis mensa* (*Gild.* 180) referring to *[quid referam] aversumque diem* ***mensis furialibus*** *Atrei* (*Am.* 3.12.39). Intertextually therefore, Gildo's feast is identified with that of Atreus. Rather than imitate the whole Ovidian line, however, Claudian continues with details of the banquet in terms which suggest another version of Atreus' feast, that of Seneca in his tragedy *Thyestes*:

> lancinat natos pater
> artusque mandit ore funesto suos:
> nitet fluente madidus ungento comam
> gravisque vino (*Thy.* 778-81).

Throughout Africa's continuing lament, the hatred between Atreus and Thyestes remains a subtext, foreshadowing the exposure of Gildo's crime against his brother. To reveal

[215] Cameron (1970a) 94, Olechowska (1978) 4-5.

that Gildo is indeed an Atreus-like *tyrannus*, Claudian offers further witnesses. When Theodosius comes to warn Arcadius of the dangers of fraternal hatred, he makes the subtext explicit:

> ne consanguineis certetur comminus armis,
> ne, precor. haec trucibus Thebis, haec digna Mycenis (*Gild.* 286-7).

The reference to Mycenae may be taken not only to refer to Arcadius and Honorius but also to the feud between Gildo and his brother Mascazel, which has led to the disturbance of imperial relations between East and West.

The allusion, which has served as a structural link between the divine and earthly settings of the book, originating with Africa and developed by Theodosius, is now confirmed and closed by Stilicho. He tells Honorius of Gildo's family history, the murder of his brother's sons, and finally draws the parallel:

> naturamque simul fratremque hominemque cruentus
> exuit et tenuem caesis invidit harenam.
> hoc facinus refugo damnavit sole Mycenas
> avertitque diem; sceleri sed reddidit Atreus
> crimen et infandas excusat coniuge mensas (*Gild.* 397-401).[216]

Here the allusion to Ovid, begun in Africa's speech, is picked up and closed, *infandas mensas* suggesting the earlier *furialis mensa* (*Gild.* 180), and confirming the Atrean subtext. More specifically, the passage completes the Ovidian line:

> aversumque diem mensis furialibus Atrei.

In his first reference to the line, Claudian extracted *mensis furialibus* from its Mycenean context, allowing his audience to make the connection themselves. Now he gives the rest of the line. Scrupulously exact in preserving vocabulary and syntax, Claudian substitutes *sceleri sed reddidit* for *furialibus mensis*, the words he had removed previously:

> avertitque diem; sceleri sed reddidit Atreus (*Gild.* 400).

Gildo, who refused burial to his brother's children, is even worse than Atreus. Such deeds, Stilicho concludes, cannot go unpunished and it is clearly Honorius' duty to move against such a *tyrannus*:

> te prodita iura,
> te pater ultorem, te nudi pulvere manes,
> te pietas polluta rogat (*Gild.* 402-4).

Several months earlier, writing in honour of Honorius' fourth consulship, Claudian had described Theodosius taking on the role of *ultor* against the *tyranni*, Maximus and

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[216] For the detail of the horrified sun turning back in the sky, cf. Sen. *Thy.* 1035-6, Luc. *BC* 1.543-4, Olechowska (1978) 190.

Eugenius (*IV Cons.* 94). Now his son must do the same against the *tertius tyrannus*, Gildo.

Gildo and the Shadow of Lucan

The themes which preoccupy Claudian in this poem – the dangers of civil discord, the decline of a nation, the character and actions of a tyrant, the suffering of Rome in time of war – are of course central to Lucan's *De bello civili*[217] and Claudian draws on the authority of the earlier epic to reinforce his own concerns. Claudian's use of Lucan generally has been noted[218] but in this poem his use of Lucan is subtle.[219] While individual allusions – the African snakes from Cato's journey, for example – may be recognised instantly,[220] for the most part they are joined with other, often sustained, allusions and are not easily isolated. Nor is it a simple matter to identify a specific subtext created by these allusions. I would argue, rather, that Claudian wants to create a Lucanian subtext, and by alluding to Roma's appeal to Caesar, to Caesar's behaviour at Cleopatra's banquet, to the opulence of the Eastern court in contrast to the poverty of ancient Rome,[221] he adds the moral weight of Lucan's epic to his own condemnation of Gildo and endows an external threat with the terror of civil war.

In creating an epic tyrant, one who combined hunger for power with insatiable appetites, no poet could ignore Lucan's portrayal of Julius Caesar. Caesar is fierce, *acer et indomitus* (*BC* 1.146), raging like a thunderbolt (*BC* 1.155) and delighting in ruin (*BC* 1.150). As narrator, Lucan never refers to Caesar as *tyrannus*, but Cato does so, calling him *invisus tyrannus* (*BC* 9.279). Caesar is the latest in a sequence of unmistakable tyrants:

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[217] On decadence, Johnson (1987) 123-34, see in general Edwards (1993).

[218] See Bruère (1964) for Lucanian sources in the invectives, see Dilke (1935) 10 for Claudian's "lazy technique" in borrowing from Lucan.

[219] For the importance of Lucan in this poem, Moroni (1982) 230.

[220] *Gild.* 150-1 cf. *BC* 9.716, 851, Olechowska (1978) 161.

[221] Bruère (1964) lists many allusions to Lucan in this work, see also Olechowska (1978). The subtextual Caesar is discussed here; for the theme of ancient poverty Bruère (1964) 248 compares *Gild.* 105-9 with *BC* 5.515-37; Republican poverty of *Gild.* 108-13 suggests *BC* 10.151-3, Olechowska (1978) 153-4. For Gildo's war as civil war, cf. *Gild.* 100 and *BC* 4.94-5: see Olechowska (1978) 152. Africa's description of her land (*Gild.* 145-51) is perhaps the passage most obviously indebted to Lucan, the scorching heat and the serpents suggesting the infamous account of death-by-snakes of *De bello civili* (*BC* 9.431-3, 9.850-3): see Olechowska (1978) 160. This is partly local colour (cf. Maritz (2000) 88) but also supplies a gruesome subtext: civil war leads to horrible deaths.

> ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ensis
> Sulla **potens** Mariusque **ferox** et Cinna **cruentus**
> Caesareaeque domus series (*BC* 4.821-3).[222]

The adjectives which Lucan applied to his tyrants are echoed by Claudian. His Caesar is *ferox* (*Gild.* 49), Gildo is *potens* (*Gild.* 68) and *cruentus* (*Gild.* 397). Behind Roma's appeal to Jupiter, we can see the shadow of Lucan's Roma, white-haired and trembling, begging Caesar for mercy after he has crossed the Alps and approached the Rubicon (*BC* 1.183-90).[223]

Lucan's Caesar is more than a tyrant, however, he is a tyrant explicitly in the mould of Hannibal. It is no coincidence that his first action in *de Bello Civili* is to cross the Alps (*BC* 1.183). Once past the Rubicon, he rages like a Libyan lion (*BC* 1.205-12).[224] Like Hannibal, Caesar marches on Rome – as Henderson remarks, he plays a Hannibal who takes Rome.[225] The comparison is overt as Caesar associates himself with the Carthaginian:

> non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu
> concutitur, quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes
> Hannibal (*BC* 1.303-5).

Lucan's association of Caesar and Hannibal gives strength and epic resonance to Claudian's Gildo/Hannibal. When Roma recalls Hannibal at the gates of the city:

> Poenus et **attonitae** iam proximus Hannibal **urbi** (*Gild.* 83)

she does so in the words used by Lucan to describe the terror aroused by Caesar:

> **attonitam** rapitur matrona per **urbem** (*BC* 1.676).[226]

Even more telling is the opening of Roma's speech. When she complains that *ferox Caesar* brought about the conditions which led to her present weakness:[227]

> postquam iura ferox in se communia Caesar

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[222] By the fourth century, this series had become a cliché, cf. *PL* II (XII) 46.1.

[223] Olechowska (1978) 138, while Bruère (1964) 247 notes that most of the verbal sources come from the behaviour of the inhabitants in Rome at the outbreak of civil war (*BC* 2.16-37).

[224] The image of the Libyan lion was used by Vergil of Turnus (*Aen.* 12.4-8): see Galinsky (1968) 199; to apply the image to Caesar is to associate him with the enemies of Rome. Claudian, alluding both to Vergil and Lucan, later develops the simile, describing Gildo as a lion chained by Rome (*Gild.* 356-66).

[225] Henderson (1998) 197.

[226] Olechowska (1978) 150.

[227] Both Cameron (1970a) 336 and Olechowska (1978) 146 take these lines as a reference to Tacitus *Ann.* 1.2 and therefore as an allusion to Augustus rather than Julius Caesar but the Tacitean passage is itself ambiguous. Augustus is not named by Tacitus but is the only surviving Caesar. Brutus, Cassius, Pompey and Lepidus are dead or cast off and Tacitus continues: *interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus* (*Ann.* 1.2). One can therefore argue that Tacitus is deliberately blurring the distinction between Julius Caesar and Augustus (cf. Vergil *Aen.* 1.296-8, on which Zetzel (1997) 197; on Ovid *Met.* 15.746-51 see Feeney (1991) 210-1) and that in *De bello Gildonico*, *ferox* would apply far more to Julius Caesar than to Augustus.

> **transtulit** et lapsi **mores** desuetaque priscis
> artibus in gremium pacis servile **recessi** (*Gild.* 49-51)

the use of *ferox* reminds us of Lucan's series of tyrants (*BC* 4.821-3) and her words, in verbal echoes and meaning, suggest the causes which Lucan gives for the civil war:

> namque, ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
> **intulit** et rebus **mores cessere** secundis (*BC* 1.160-1).[228]

To associate Gildo with Caesar is to emphasise his role as the source of *discordia*. The loss of *concordia* pervades Lucan's work, from the tenuous *concordia discors* (*BC* 1.98) of the first triumvirate to Caesar's insincere lament on the death of Pompey: *concordia mundo nostra perit* (*BC* 10.1097-8),[229] *concordia* which he himself had driven from the world. The familial connotations of *concordia* are relevant here, as in declaring war on each other, Pompey and Caesar had perverted the *concordia* of a father/son-in-law relationship, while Gildo threatens the harmony of the brothers, Honorius and Arcadius. When Theodosius warns Arcadius of the civil war in which Gildo betrayed him:[230]

> dubio **stabant Romana sub ictu** (*Gild.* 242)

he does so in Lucan's words:

> **stare sub ictu**
> Fortunae, quo mundus **Romana**que fata (*BC* 5.729-30).[231]

To speak of brother against brother is shorthand for civil war and Lucan describes the unstable foundations of the Roman state, *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri* (*BC* 1.95)[232] and Pharsalia is the evil culmination of inter-familial hatred:

> ille locus fratres habuit, locus ille parentis,
> hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar (*BC* 7.550-1).

That this danger has been averted is the theme of Claudian's epic, summarised in his opening lines:

> rectore sub uno
> conspirat geminus frenis communibus orbis.
> iunximus Europen Libyae. concordia fratrum
> plena redit. patriis solum quod defuit armis,
> tertius occubuit nati virtute tyrannus (*Gild.* 2-5).

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[228] Olechowska (1978) 146.
[229] Bruère (1964) 247 suggests that this may be the source for the highlighting of *concordia* in Claudian's opening (*Gild.* 4).
[230] A false assertion since Gildo had fought on his side.
[231] Olechowska (1978) 171.
[232] Hershkowitz (1998a) 206-18 discusses Lucan's civil war as a product of *furor Romanus*.

The single *rector* of these lines is not, as one might expect, the emperor Honorius, or even Stilicho,[233] but is *concordia fratrum* and the lines would appear to be an optimistic reworking of the opening of the *Thebaid* with its theme of fraternal hatred:

> fraternas acies alternaque regna profanis
> decertata odiis sontesque evolvere Thebas
> Pierius menti calor incidit (*Theb.* 1.1-3).

Claudian turns *fraternas acies* to *concordia fratrum* and balances *alternaque regna profanis/decertata odiis* with *rectore sub uno...frenis communibus.* Statius' work described the terrible destruction wrought by the hatred of brothers: by invoking his lines, Claudian implies what Honorius and Arcadius have avoided. *patriis solum quod defuit armis* (*Gild.* 5) unites family hostility and civil war in a clear reference to Lucan, *Emathiis quod solum defuit armis* (*BC* 9.1017),[234] the subject of *quod* being the death of Pompey, and Claudian's substitution of *patriis* for *Emathiis* a defiant rejection of such hostility. However, while Claudian's insistence on the restoration of *concordia* in these terms appears to be a rejection of the fraternal hatred of Statius and the civil wars of Lucan, the sustained allusion to the house of Thebes and the ongoing Lucanian subtext suggest that the reality may be different.

Claudian's debt to Lucan is also evident in the presentation of Gildo, as the Atreus-like tyrant. These allusions focus not on Caesar as the commander, *furor*-inspired, but on his bloodthirstiness, his delight in slaughter and, above all, in the moral disintegration brought about by his affair with Cleopatra.[235] His savagery and lust mark him also as tyrant in the mould of Atreus.[236] The connection had been made in the first book where his march on Rome had caused the sun to turn back in the sky, *qualem fugiente per ortus/sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae* (*BC* 1.543-4). Caesar's liaison with Cleopatra, however, gave Lucan the opportunity to highlight Caesar's moral degeneration. In the tenth book of his epic, Lucan describes Cleopatra's seduction of Caesar, making it clear that he lusts as much at least after her riches as her person. At the banquet, his true nature is revealed: *discubuere toris reges maiorque potestas,/Caesar*

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[233] Nolan (1973) 52 claims that *concordia fratrum* exists beneath one ruler, Stilicho, but I do not think that the text justifies this assumption.

[234] Olechowska (1978) 133.

[235] Ahl (1976) 229 remarks that only by his connection with Cleopatra and his taste for luxury did Caesar assume "the dimensions of the rhetorical tyrant figure".

[236] Fantham (1992) 208-9 notes that both Atreus and Caesar are obsessed with an adversary related by blood/marriage, both their opponents suffer exile, and both act as tyrants, and suggests that Caesar's dislike of inactivity: ***numquam patiens*** *segnis longaeque* ***quietis*** (*BC* 2.650) is modelled on Seneca's description of Atreus: ***numquid*** *secundis* ***patitur*** *in rebus modum,/fessis* ***quietem****?* (*Thy.* 198-9).

(*BC* 10.136-7). He is above the *reges*, a word loaded with tyrannical import to Roman ears, and that he has utterly separated himself from the Romans of old Lucan indicates by his invocation of the exemplary Fabricius and the Curii, *duces priscos et nomina pauperis aevi* (*BC* 10.151).

Claudian refers to this feast in his condemnation of Gildo as *obscaenus adulter* (*Gild.* 166). The phrase expresses Lucan's disgust at the relationship between the Roman general and the Egyptian queen:

> in media rabie medioque furore
> ...sanguine Thessalicae cladis perfusus **adulter**
> admisit Venerem curis...
> pro pudor! oblitus Magni tibi, Iulia, fratres
> **obscaena** de matre dedit (*BC* 10.72, 74-5, 77-8).[237]

As Caesar here is *sanguine...perfusus* (*BC* 10.74) and later *madidumque mero Venerique* (*BC* 10.396), so Gildo is *caede madens* (*Gild.* 181)[238] and at his feast, *vino calefacta Venus* (*Gild.* 182). The swords which threaten Gildo's guests, *intentos capiti* ***circumspicit enses*** (*Gild.* 179) are a direct echo of the swords which Caesar almost uses against Metellus, *saevos* ***circumspicit enses****/oblitus simulare togam* (*BC* 3.142-3),[239] lines which reveal his tyrannous character, forgetful that he must pretend to be a private citizen. The attendants at Gildo's banquet – *crinitos inter famulos pubemque canoram* (*Gild.* 184) – suggest the picturesque courtiers of Cleopatra's hall:

> discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat aetas;
> haec Libycos, pars tam flavos gerit altera crines... (*BC* 10.128-9).[240]

When Claudian picks up and embellishes *discolor sanguis* with his reference to the unnatural marriages which Gildo forces on his people:

> Aethiopum nobis generum, Nasamona maritum
> ingerit; exterret cunabula discolor infans (*Gild.* 192-3)[241]

his audience is reminded of Lucan's *obscaena mater* and the half-breed offspring of Caesar and Cleopatra.

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[237] Bruère (1964) 448, Olechowska (1978) 163.
[238] Cf. Ovid *Met.* 15.824, *Emathiique iterum* ***madefient caede*** *Philippi.*
[239] Bruère (1964) 248.
[240] Bruère (1964) 248.
[241] Note that this is also a fused allusion to Lucan, *matremque suus conterruit infans* (*BC* 1.563) and Juvenal *decolor heres* (*Sat.* 6.600): see Cameron (1970a) 281, Long (1996) 110, Olechowska (1978) 165.

Caesar had his own unspeakable banquet at which, like Gildo, he showed the cruelty of Atreus as well as the foul appetite of Thyestes. After Pharsalia, he ordered a feast prepared for himself near the battlefield, relishing the sight of the slaughtered soldiers:

> epulisque paratur
> **ille locus**, vultus ex quo faciesque iacentum
> agnoscat. iuvat Emathiam non cernere terram
> et lustrare oculis campos sub clade latentes (*BC* 7.792-5).

The savagery of this scene recalls the death of M. Antonius described earlier by Lucan (*BC* 2.222-4), which Leigh[242] cites as an *exemplum* of the almost cannibalistic bloodthirstiness of a *tyrannus*.[243] Certainly, there seems a very short step from Caesar to Atreus' butchery and Thyestes' unspeakable gluttony. Fraternal hatred is further implied in the setting: Lucan uses *ille locus* on only one other occasion as the reversed *locus ille*, the doubling of the phrase making it emphatic:

> **ille locus** fratres habuit**, locus ille** parentis.
> hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar (*BC* 7.550-1).

Civil war springing from familial hatred, an assault on the city of Rome, the bloodlust of a tyrant given free rein: the themes of Lucan's epic underscore the themes of *De bello Gildonico* and darken the image of Gildo, at once the instigator of civil war and the barbarian enemy from overseas. It remains to examine the universal relevance of the danger posed by Gildo, the cosmic repercussions of this reincarnation of Brennus or Hannibal, Caesar or Atreus, or any *alter hostis* in this particular cycle of Roman history.

Gildo: the Cosmic Dimension

The cosmic dimension of the danger posed by Gildo is present from the start: the emphatic and triumphant *redditus* simultaneously opening the book and returning to an earlier restoration and Ovid's series of repeated beginnings after flood and fire: *redditus orbis erat* (*Met.* 1.348).[244] That more than the empire has been saved is suggested by ***conspirat*** *geminus frenis communibus* ***orbis*** (*Gild.* 2), *conspirat* being a Stoic term for cosmic binding.[245] Claudian had portrayed Alaric as having the audacity of the Giants

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[242] Leigh (1996) 179-80.
[243] Johnson (1987) 102 argues that this "wallowing in gore is Caesar's *aristeia*".
[244] Olechowska (1978) 131.
[245] Cf. Cicero *Nat. Deor.* II.19, Manilius 1.251, Lapidge (1980) 824.

and Phaëthon; Rufinus, as the embodiment of a Tartarean explosion, is also a Giant-like figure, and in *De bello Gildonico* Phaëthon represents the *furor* of Gildo. In *Cosmos and Imperium*, Hardie has noted that Gigantomachic themes follow a set pattern, and summarised the four stages as (i) the supplication of a goddess to a male deity with sexual bribery, (ii) the resort by the male divinity to a cave of elemental activity, (iii) release of elemental (Gigantomachic) forces into the upper world and (iv) resolution of the conflict by the intervention of a third god.[246] A variation of this pattern is required when elemental forces are already unleashed and a suppliant divinity approaches Jupiter as ruler of the gods and promoter of universal order to restore peace.[247] The myth of Phaëthon in the *Metamorphoses* is expressed in this mode, Tellus turning to Jupiter in supplication as Phaëthon's flames burn the world. Cosmic *furor* in *De bello Gildonico* is indicated by the subtextual and intertextual presence of Ovid's Phaëthon. Divided between the speeches of Roma and Africa, this sustained allusion gives continuity to the episodic narration and exaggerates the havoc wrought by Gildo from the attack on Africa to universal destruction.

The subtext of Phaëthon is never made explicit but both Roma and Africa are associated with Ovid's Phaëthon by one verbal echo, the description of Africa, *rescissae vestes et **spicea** passim/**serta** iacent* (*Gild.* 136-7) alluding to Ovid's Autumnus in the house of the Sun: *stabat nuda Aestas et **spicea serta** gerebat* (*Met.* 2.28).[248] The verbal echo which associates Roma and Ovid is more significant. Roma is so weak that she can barely hold her shield, ***umeris vix sustinet** aegris/squalentem clipeum* (*Gild.* 23-4); just as Atlas, at the approach of Phaëthon, can barely hold up the vault of heaven:

> Atlas en ipse laborat
> **vix**que suis **umeris** candentem **sustinet** axem! (*Met.* 2.296-7).

The line is originally Vergilian, *Atlas...aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis* (*Aen.* 8.137-8)[249] and the reference encapsulates the cosmic threat of Gildo. The *orbis* carried on the shoulders of Atlas, *umero*, at the beginning of book 8 corresponds to the *clipeus/orbis* made for Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.447-8), which he takes on his shoulder, *attollens umero* (*Aen.* 8.731) at the end of the book.[250] With Ovid as an intermediary, the *orbis/clipeus* of Roma

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[246] Hardie (1986) 104.
[247] From Ennius, Jupiter is "the god who ordains the destiny of the world, the guiding force in the universe"see Feeney (1991) 115.
[248] Eaton (1943) 30. For a discussion of this allusion, page 91 above.
[249] Bömer (1969) 316.
[250] Hardie (1986) 372-5, see also Hardie (1983a).

is defiled, *squalentem*, instead of gleaming, *candentem*. Not until she is rejuvenated by Jupiter does the shield/empire shine again, *recanduit orbis* (*Gild.* 211).

The appeal of Tellus serves as a model for both of Gildo's victims. Tellus, her face scorched by the flames, begs to know what she had done to deserve such punishment:

> **si** placet hoc **meruique**, quid o tua fulmina cessant,
> summe deum? (*Met.* 2.279-80)

Roma, also disfigured by Gildo's attack, extends the theme:

> **si** mea mansuris **meruerunt** moenia nasci,
> Iuppiter, auguriis, **si** stant inmota Sibyllae
> carmina, Tarpeias **si** necdum respuis arces (*Gild.* 28-30).

Africa pleads that her fertility is the reason she is being destroyed:

> quid me temperies iuvit? quid **mitior** aether?
> Gildoni fecunda fui (*Gild.* 152-3),

reversing Tellus' lament that her fertility should have saved her:

> quod pecori frondes alimentaque **mitia**, fruges
> humano generi,vobis quoque tura ministro? (*Met.* 2.288-9).

Africa's *mitior* echoes Tellus' *mitia*, but she does not wish to support *pecori frondes*, pleading instead *pulsis dominentur aratris/dipsades et sitiens attollat glaeba cerastas* (*Gild.* 150-1). She rejects the plough, *vomeris inpatiens* (*Gild.* 150), the marks of which Tellus had indicated as marks of honour, *adunci vulnera aratri* (*Met.* 2.286). To save herself from destruction, Africa begs to be turned into a desert:

> felicior illa perustae
> pars Libyae, nimio quae se munita calore
> defendit tantique vacat secura tyranni! (*Gild.* 145-7)

while in the *Metamorphoses*, Libya had become such a desert because of Phaëthon: *tum facta est Libye raptis umoribus aestu/arida* (*Met.* 2.237-8).

All three suppliants pray for a different penalty. Tellus begs for Jupiter's thunderbolt rather than the flames. The world is being brought to an end, she pleads, and chaos will return if Jupiter does not act:

> si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli,
> in chaos antiquum confundimur! eripe flammis,
> si quid adhuc superest, et rerum consule summae! (*Met.* 2.298-300).

Roma, seeing Gildo as a political enemy, asks for the destruction wrought by the Gauls or Porsenna, reversing Tellus' *eripe flammis* by asking *me reddite flammis* (*Gild.* 126). Africa begs specifically for flood (*Gild.* 139-43) or fire, *crescat zona rubens; medius*

flagrantis Olympi/me quoque limes agat (*Gild.* 148-9).[251] Claudian may also be suggesting his own earlier work *In Rufinum*, where Stilicho, believing that Jupiter intends to destroy the earth, speaks lines very similar to those of Roma and of Tellus, the impersonal *si iuvat..si placuit...si piget* an expansion of Tellus' *si placet* (*Met.* 2.279), and the methods of alternative destruction being those desired by Africa:

> si iuvat imperium penitus de stirpe revelli,
> uno si placuit deleri saecula lapsu,
> si piget humani generis, prorumpat in arva
> libertas effrena maris vel limite iusto
> devius errantes Phaethon confundat habenas (*Ruf.* 2.207-11).[252]

If the gods were going to destroy the world, fire or flood were the methods at their disposal.

So great is the threat posed by Gildo that Claudian suggests the gods might intend both. Roma's catalogue of injuries includes a flood:

> aut **fluvium per tecta vagum summis**que minantem
> **collibus**? ingentes vexi **submersa carinas**
> **remorum**que sonos et Pyrrhae saecula sensi (*Gild.* 41-3).

The name of Pyrrha signals the first book of the *Metamorphoses* and the flood which destroyed all mankind save Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha. While Claudian omits the whimsical details of Ovid's flood, the close verbal parallels are obvious:

> occupat hic **collem**, cumba sedet alter adunca
> et ducit **remos** illic, ubi nuper arabat:
> ille supra segetes aut **mersae culmina** villae
> navigat, hic **summa** piscem deprendit in ulmo.
> figitur in viridi, si fors tulit, ancora prato
> aut subiecta terunt curvae vineta **carinae** (*Met.* 1.291-98).

The tone of the two passages is quite different. Claudian's river seems static in comparison with the rush of Ovid's flood, and Roma's lament seems querulous when placed beside the joyous imagination of the earlier poet. However, the similarities of vocabulary and the specific reference to Pyrrha demonstrate that Claudian had the great flood in mind, the Stoic *inundatio*, equivalent to the *conflagratio* of Phaëthon, the imagery of both intertwining. The allusion to universal annihilation, sustained throughout the speeches of Roma and Africa, is closed in Roma's final words. Summing up her situation, ***nullo**que palam circumdatus hoste/obsessi **discrimen habet*** (*Gild.* 100-1), she

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[251] The reference here is to Lucan, *ire libet qua zona rubens atque axis inustus/solis equis* (*BC* 9.852-3), and creates an internal reference to Phaëthon in *solis equis,* the phrase possibly fusing Phaëthon's flight *medio caelo* (*Met.* 2.64) behind the *Solis equi* (*Met.* 2.154, 162).

[252] See also Lucan *perdere nomen/**si placet** Hesperium* (*BC* 2.56-7): see Levy (1971) 174.

echoes the opening of Ovid's flood: *iamque mare et tellus* ***nullum discrimen habebant*** (*Met.* 1.291).[253] Gildo embodies the recurrence of *conflagratio* and *inundatio*, a power to destroy the universe.

Gildo: the Satiric Target

The piling up of mythological comparisons, historical *exempla* and cosmic warnings should combine to create a terrifying vision of Gildo, the blood-drenched tyrant, but it does not. The effect created by Claudian's precise layering of allusion are swept away by the power of the final image of Gildo, *imperator*, falling over his own feet under the sway of drink and lechery:

> umbratus dux ipse rosis et marcidus ibit
> unguentis crudusque cibo titubansque Lyaeo,
> confectus senio, morbis stuprisque solutus (*Gild.* 444-6).

Because it is the last, this is the picture of Gildo we take away from the book. The image is clearly inspired by Africa's account of the tyrant's banquet, transformed into a satiric parody of the tragic and gruesome scene. The impression of Gildo *titubans* effectively deflates the earlier images of Gildo *tyrannus* and yet the scene is not jarring or inappropriate. This can in part be explained by the structure. Claudian initially presents Gildo as a *tyrannus qua* usurper: an enemy at the gates. Roma mentions the violence his attack has done but not until Africa's speech are we shown the true savagery of the tyrant's character. To Africa, Gildo's tyranny centres on his appetites,[254] indiscriminately desiring food, women, wine and slaughter. In the final vignette of Gildo, the element of savagery has been removed and all that remains is an elderly glutton, no danger to anyone. However, structure alone cannot explain the transition between such different portrayals; allusion is the true link. The build-up of Gildo's Atreus-like personality through sustained allusion supported by direct comparison is evident, and I have argued that the shadow of Caesar *tyrannus* can also be detected in Gildo's feast. But one more layer of allusion must be taken into consideration: Claudian's close reliance on Juvenal's sixth satire.[255]

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[253] Masters (1992) 64 discusses the importance of *discrimen* in Lucan.
[254] Cf. Leigh (1996) 174.
[255] For popularity of Juvenal in this period, Ammianus xxviii.4.14; the audience's familiarity with his satires and the very close verbal connections in Claudian's passage would have created a readily

Once again, this is a sustained allusion, strengthening the connection between the different episodes of the poem, Juvenal's satiric reversal of epic themes subtextually answering, even mocking, and gently reassuring the victims of Gildo. Roma's nostalgia, her glorification of the days of simple poverty (*Gild.* 103-12), was a common theme of poets,[256] Juvenal in particular,[257] and one which was effectively parodied in the proem to Juvenal's sixth satire. The proem is an ironic flashback to the golden age when *Pudicitia* ruled the world.[258] As the golden age gave way to silver, she and *Iustitia* departed, morals declined and adulterers held sway (6.1-24). Arguing that *luxuria* had driven out *pudicitia*,[259] Juvenal uses the traditional imagery of the idealised Roman past to highlight the corresponding corruption of the present day:

> praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
> **quondam**, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebant
> tecta labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
> vexatae duraeque manus ac **proximus urbi**
> **Hannibal** et stantes **Collina turre** mariti
> nunc **patimur longae pacis mala. saevior armis**
> **luxuria** incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.
> nullum crimen abest facinusque **libidinis** ex quo
> paupertas Romana perit. hinc fluxit ad istos
> et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos
> atque **coronatum** et petulans **madidumque** Tarentum.
> prima peregrinos **obscena** pecunia mores
> intulit, et turpi fregerunt saecula **luxu**
> **divitiae** molles. quid enim **venus** ebria curat?
> inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit
> grandia quae mediis iam **noctibus** ostrea mordet,
> cum perfusa mero **spumant unguenta** Falerno,
> cum bibitur concha, cum iam vertigine tectum
> ambulat et geminis exsurgit **mensa** lucernis (6.287-305).

The first six lines provide a model for Roma's lament over her own military decline, begun with *quondam* (*Gild.* 46):

> ...et attonitae iam **proximus Hannibal urbi**?
> scilicet ut domitis frueretur barbarus Afris,
> muro sustinui Martem noctesque cruentas
> **Collina pro turre** tuli? (*Gild.* 83-6).[260]

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recognisable subtext. Long (1996), particularly 59-62, 125-7, discusses Claudian's use of Juvenal in *In Eutropium*.

[256] E.g. Luc. *BC* 1.158-82, Silius *Pun.* 1.609-16; cf. Livy, 1.1, Ammianus xiv.6.21. The theme is often associated with the golden age.

[257] Conte (1987) 467-8.

[258] Braund (1992) 74.

[259] On *Pudicitia* and *pudor* in this satire, Braund (1994) 74-5, 79-80, 82.

[260] Olechowska (1978) 149.

The rest of the passage, returning to sexual immorality, is the basis of Africa's condemnation of Gildo:

> virginibus raptor, thalamis **obscaenus** adulter.
> nulla quies: oritur praeda cessante **libido**,
> **divitibusque** dies et **nox** metuenda maritis.
> quisquis vel locuples pulchra vel coniuge notus,
> **crimine** pulsatur falso; si **crimina** desunt,
> accitus conviva perit. mors nulla refugit
> artificem: varios sucos **spumasque** requirit
> serpentum virides et adhuc ignota novercis
> gramina...
> ...incertaque pocula pallens
> haurit et intentos lateri circumspicit enses.
> splendet Tartareo furialis **mensa** paratu
> caede **madens**, atrox gladio, suspecta veneno.
> ut vino calefacta **Venus**, tum **saevior ardet**
> **luxuries**, mixtis redolent **unguenta coronis**.. (*Gild.* 166-74, 178-83).

Juvenal's influence is very evident on Africa's speech: even her later concern of forced interracial marriages – *exterret cunabula discolor infans* (*Gild.* 193) – suggests the *decolor heres* (6.600) of a cuckolded husband. The intertextual satiric hyperbole negates the menace of Gildo's feast point by point and prepares us for the parody of Gildo the general, lurching out of his tent. The allusion emasculates him. The wine at the feast reminds us of the women whom Juvenal describes, drinking until the ceiling spins round (6.304-5) or so much that they drink and vomit in turn (6.425-33). The reference to the poisonous herbs – *adhuc ignota novercis/gramina* (*Gild.* 173-4) – does not make us shudder, only reminds us that poison is a woman's weapon, as shown by Caesonia and Agrippina (6.615-21). When we are finally shown Gildo leading out his soldiers, we recall Juvenal's masculine women, dressing themselves in armour and training for the arena (6.252-64).

The gradual subversion of Gildo *tyrannus* is made possible by the convergence of two contrasting generic styles in a single scene which itself is a *topos* of several genres. As discussed, the *topos* of the feast demonstrates the perverse appetites of the tyrant, turning what should be the celebration of life and hospitality[261] into an occasion marked by fear and death. This is the tyrant's banquet in the high generic style, whether of tragedy, epic or history. As a *topos* of satire, the feast exposed pretensions, whether of table manners

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[261] *contaminari mensae sacra*, is the phrase used by Valerius Maximus (9.2.2) of the death of M. Antonius, cf. Luc. *BC* 2.118-24: see Leigh (1996) 179-80.

or social class.[262] Juvenal had used the banqueting scene of Satires 5 and 11 to contrast the worthy past and decadent present, whether it is the decline in *amicitia* or the increase in luxurious living.[263] Immoderate feasting was marked by over-eating, over-drinking and sexual activity,[264] and characterised the feast of Gildo whether as epic tyrant or as target of satire . By basing Gildo's feast on Juvenal's satire, Claudian parodies his own creation, turning what appears to be a tyrant's table into an exposition of Gildo's tyrannical pretensions. The satiric allusion prepares the way for Gildo's final cameo appearance, the scene purged of all epic or tragic overtones and only satire remaining. Gluttonous excess is the theme, *crudusque cibo* (*Gild.* 445) suggesting the solitary gourmand of Juvenal's first satire, who drags his undigested peacock, *crudum pavonem in balnea portas* (1.143) to the baths where he dies.[265]

Roma's fears that she has declined from her glorious past are also gently parodied by the satiric subtext. While Juvenal had praised the *mores* of the past in his sixth satire, he had implied that perhaps Rome was less than ideal, that the reign of chastity was due to poverty, exhaustion and hard work (6.89-90) rather than moral character.[266] Even her worries about Gildo as a second Hannibal or Syphax are dismissed in Juvenal's words to Cornelia:

> tolle tuum, precor, Hannibalem victumque Syphacem
> in castris et cum tota Carthagine migra (6.170-1).

Closure?

The unmasking of Gildo, his transferral from epic to satire, marks in effect his literary defeat. The epic, however, is greater than the sum of its parts, and, having been set in motion, continues with its own momentum. Gildo may have been an unworthy opponent but because of him the fleet has been mustered (*Gild.* 415-23), the proper speeches of encouragement given (*Gild.* 427-466), omens observed (*Gild.* 467-71), and it is time to

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[262] E.g. Hor., *Sat.* 2.8, on which Freudenburg (2001) 117-24. Gowers (1993) 211 sees the divisive dinner party as the "charged theme of the period".
[263] Cuccioli (1990) 139, see also Freudenburg (2001) 264-6.
[264] Corbeill (1997) 104.
[265] This scene is modelled on Persius 3.98-106: see Braund (1996) 105.
[266] For Juvenal's simultaneous exaltation and debunking of the past, Rudd (1986) 35.

set sail.[267] Other epic embarkations are recalled, the fleet at Aulis being specifically noted (*Gild.* 484-5). Of greater significance however is the allusion to Vergil in the final lines. By means of this reference, Claudian's book closes with literary renewal, a promised end to this second Hannibal and a return to Carthage. As the fleet sail for Africa, their first landing place

> pars adit **antiqua** ductos **Karthagine** Sulcos;
> partem litoreo complectitur Olbia muro.
> **urbs** Libyam **contra Tyrio** fundata potenti
> tenditur in **longum** Caralis (*Gild.* 518-21),[268]

takes us to the opening of the *Aeneid* and the hostility of Carthage,

> **urbs antiqua** fuit (**Tyrii** tenuere coloni)
> **Karthago**, Italiam **contra** Tiberinaque **longe**
> ostia (*Aen.* 1.12-14).[269]

This is an optimistic recreation of Aeneas' journey. In Carthage, Aeneas would bring about a hatred to last for generations, through Dido to Hannibal to Gildo. In his opening lines, Claudian has already told us that this *alter Hannibal* has been defeated, in his closing lines, the whole epic history of that hatred is evoked as his fleet retraces the journey of Aeneas, sailing back in time past Hannibal to Dido, the first Carthaginian enemy of Rome, and recreating and renewing the cycles of epic.

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[267] Olechowska (1974) 53-5 discusses the epic *topoi* of this section.

[268] See Haywood (1987) for the creative details of the journey.

[269] Bruère (1964) 252. Claudian also alludes to Silius' reworking of this passage: ***urbs*** *colitur, Teucro quondam* ***fundata*** *vetusto,/nomine* ***Carthago.*** ***Tyrius*** *tenet incola muros* (*Pun.* 15.192-3): see Olechowska (1978) 203. For the influence of Ennius on Vergil in this passage, Feeney (1991) 130-1).

CHAPTER 6

THE GOLDEN AGE

Amid the *redeuntia saecula*, one *saeculum* stands out as the natural counterbalance of cosmic discord and cyclical eruptions of *furor*: the golden age. From Vergil's assurance in the fourth *Eclogue* that the golden age could be restored, the theme had become a *topos* of imperial propaganda and panegyrists, emperor after emperor claiming restoration of the *aurea aetas*. For epic writers, however, the concept was a complex one, whether understood as an aetiological myth of the progression or regression of mankind, or an exploration of the essence of happiness. As a panegyrist, Claudian drew on the theme to glorify individuals: Serena, Stilicho, Theodorus all attract "golden" vocabulary, his subjects are placed in *loci amoeni*[1] typical of the golden age landscape, golden years are chosen for consuls.[2] As the writer of encomiastic epic, Claudian defines harmonious government as the recurrence of the golden age, whether under Theodosius (*Ruf.* 1.51-2) or Stilicho (*Stil* 2.450-2). Golden age imagery of this kind, involving spring-like weather and bounteous and harmonious nature, was a source of superficial flattery. Beneath the surface, however, Claudian analysed the essence of the myth as presented by earlier writers and used their findings to create a workable golden age for his own time.

This chapter will first examine the origins of the myth in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and its characterisation, development and renascence in the Augustan period, as a prelude to tracing its thematic variations in the work of Claudian. The primary function of the myth for Claudian is as a source of encomiastic material. In this regard, Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* is the key text, and it is the essential model for Claudian's shorter honorific poems, such as the *Laus Serenae* and Fescennine verses. Even in these short encomiastic works, however, we can see Claudian's interest in the more complex connotations of the myth, and in his longer works he examines and comments on themes which had been identified in the Augustan depiction of the myth, in particular, the corrupting influence of

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[1] E.g. Theodosius in *P&O* 113-16.

[2] Stilicho's consular year is specifically golden (*Stil* 2. 450-2), the year of Probinus and Olybrius has golden age weather (*P&O* 269-74).

true gold on the golden age and the necessity of war before the golden age can be restored. The "hard primitivism" of the early Italians as described in Vergil's *Aeneid* is fundamental here, Vergil's depiction of the primitive Italian society agreeing with Lucretius' theory as expounded in the fifth book of *De rerum natura.* Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, as witty and wry commentaries on the real and ideal golden ages also find resonance in Claudian's work.

Vergil's examination of the myth in the *Georgics*, however, is perhaps the greatest influence on Claudian's attempts to analyse the chronological setting and real meaning of the golden age. In his mythological epic, *De raptu Proserpinae*, set in the period of transition between the Saturnian and Jovian golden ages, Claudian builds on Vergil's depiction of these ages in the *Georgics*, and examines the reasons for the transition and the difference between realistic and ideal golden ages. From Vergil's idealised description of Italy and the life of the farmer, Claudian develops the idea that the golden age can be focused on one area or one group of people. Combining this concept with the prophecies of the *Aeneid* which centre the restoration of the *aurea aetas* on the reign of Augustus, Claudian depicts the golden age of the fourth century as centering on one person, whether Theodosius, Stilicho or Theodorus, or one place, the West rather than the East. The importance which Vergil assigns to *labor* and *ars* in the recreation of the golden age is expanded by Claudian to include the *labor* and *ars* of a consul, whether to wage righteous war or return to the practice of law. Furthermore, in his political epics, Claudian relies on Vergil's creation of the ideal rural life to assert that knowledge is the foundation for a golden age potentially attainable by all. Man must learn to turn away from the lure of gold, practise his *artes* and enjoy their fruits.

Finally I will examine Claudian's use of the myth to analyse the nature of government in the hands of different men, whether its abuse by Rufinus, or its proper management by Stilicho and Theodorus, and how their achievement of a golden age for the Roman empire differs from the traditional presentation of the myth. The golden race of Hesiod, the first stage of an inevitable deterioration, became in the work of Vergil a golden age, capable of restoration under the right circumstances, already to hand for those who could recognise it. With Claudian, the golden age is centred on and created by the golden man, one whose golden qualities are put at the service of the empire.

The Origins of the Golden Age

The myth of the golden age derived originally from Hesiod's description of the races of man (*W&D* 109-201)[3] which, beginning with the golden, progress through silver and bronze to the race of heroes and end with men of iron, the present race. While Hesiod does not in fact show an uninterrupted decline in the races of humanity,[4] his version of mankind's origins was imitated and simplified as the source of what Lovejoy and Boas describe as the Theory of Progressive Degeneration.[5] Hesiod's golden race had been created by gods and lived like gods (*W&D* 109-20). Their life was characterised by freedom from toil as the earth brought forth fruit of its own accord. Men of the silver race, resembling giant babies, had declined from this ideal (127-38), the bronze race was characterised by war (143-55) and the iron faced unending toil and sorrow. This race was destined to know hatred between father and son, guest and host, and these men would drive Aidos and Nemesis from the earth, leaving themselves without recourse against evil (176-201). Hesiod set the golden race in the time of Cronos (111).[6] It is unclear when the silver race was created, but it were destroyed by Zeus (137-9) who created the men of bronze in their stead (143-4). The Romans referred to the golden age as Saturnian, the tradition that Saturn was exiled to Italy giving the golden age a particular local significance.[7]

Hesiod's progresssion of races illustrates the "soft primitive" theory of early man,[8] a variant of the theory of progressive decline. This theory takes the view that primitive society represented an idealised existence from which men had deteriorated. To some extent, it was identified with the utopian belief in the Isles of the Blest or visions of the Elysian fields[9], where gentle zephyrs blew and it was always spring.[10] Various qualities

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[3] See Baldry (1952) on the origins of the myth, most recently Most (1997).
[4] Most (1997) 104 notes that the race of heroes interrupt the sequence of deterioration.
[5] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 2-3: "The best time was at the beginning, and – in spite, perhaps, of minor transitory undulations – the subsequent course of human history has been downward, and this will continue to be the case in the future, until the process is ended either as a direct consequence of this deterioration, or by some catastrophe arising through external causes".
[6] Baldry (1952) 84-6.
[7] Verg. *Aen.* 319-20, Tib. I.3.35-48: see Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 56.
[8] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 10, 28, see also Blundell (1986) 105.
[9] Cronos was believed to have been exiled to Elysium, presumably taking the qualities of his rulership with him: see Baldry (1952) 85-6. He is ruling in Elysium by the time of Hesiod's age of heroes (*W&D* 174).
[10] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 290-303. For the Isles of the Blest, Pindar *O.* II.68-76, cf. Homer *Od.* 4.561-8. For the tradition of *loci amoeni*, Curtius (1953) 183-200.

were attributed to this ideal society, so that by the time of the Augustans, the ideal golden age could be described as encompassing some or all of the following.[11] Mankind lived by nature's bounty, the earth, unharmed by plough or hoe, offering food of its own accord.[12] They lived without war, trade or seafaring[13]. Spring was eternal.[14] Poetic additions including the harmony between man and animals,[15] the absence of snakes[16] and honey dripping from the trees.[17] It was a time when gods visited men,[18] and when *Iustitia*, in particular, dwelt on earth.[19] The vocabulary emphasises peace: *placidus*, *quies, securus*. There is no mention of real gold in this time; as Baldry notes, the age was characterised by simplicity rather than wealth.[20] According to this theory, as civilization or technological advances gained a foothold, man was corrupted by greed so that he began to trade, moral deterioration ensued as greed led to hatred and war, symbolised by the iron age.[21]

"Hard primitivism" shares the belief in progressive decline; while accepting many of the same features of early society as soft primitivism, this theory viewed that society as harsh and difficult.[22] In hard primitivism, mankind had no laws or trading because of ignorance, he lived on berries because he did not know how to hunt.[23] Future representations of the golden age turned to one or other of these traditions, presenting an ideal (soft primitive) or real (hard primitive) version.

Contrary to the theory of progressive deterioration was the belief in a "progressivist" primitive era,[24] which argued that civilization was actually beneficial to an early harsh society. Since few would disagree with the benefits of civilization (even though they might emphasise its attendant disadvantages), elements of this theory can be seen to modify the myth, and in particular, the concept of the restoration of a golden age.

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[11] For these themes, Ferguson (1975) 16-19.
[12] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.28-30, 40-1, Ovid *Met.* 1.89-4, Germanicus *Arat.* 117-19.
[13] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.38-9, Ovid *Met.* 1.94-8, Germanicus *Arat.* 114-17, Tib. I.3.37-40.
[14] Ovid *Met.* 1.107.
[15] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.21, Hor. *Ep.* 16.49.
[16] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.24, Hor. *Epode* 16.52.
[17] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.30, Hor. *Epode* 16.47, Tib. I.3.45.
[18] Cat. 64.384-6, Feeney (1988) 104-5.
[19] Cat. 64.397-8, Verg. *Ecl.* 4.6, Ovid *Met.* 1.149-50.
[20] Baldry (1952) 86.
[21] Smolenaars (1987) 400.
[22] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 9-11.
[23] E.g. Lucr. *DRN* 5.925-87, Verg. *Aen.* 8.314-22, Ovid *Fast.* 2.289-302.
[24] Blundell (1986) 105.

In his *Phaenomena*, Aratus gives a thoughtful and balanced presentation of the golden race.[25] Drawing on Hesiod's scheme to describe the constellation of Virgo, he altered certain elements to give the myth practical application. In place of the society idealised by Hesiod, Aratus' men of the golden race are farmers[26] living by their own efforts rather than the bounty of nature. Free from hardship, their lives cannot be defined as hard primitivism, yet this is a more realistic golden age in which men are made responsible for their own fortune[27] and which is defined by work. For Hesiod, work was a punishment; for Aratus, it is a virtue. The men are described as civilized and their livelihood, derived from ploughing rather than trade, is presided over by the goddess Dike, who provided them with all they needed (*Phaen.* 110-13).[28] Compressing Hesiod, Aratus' golden race deteriorates to silver, and then to bronze. Differing from Hesiod, Aratus finds men are involved in this deterioration, their own characters leading them to vice in spite of the admonitions of Dike (*Phaen.* 120-32). The moral aspect added to the myth would find resonance in later writers, from Vergil to Claudian. Because of the idealisation of the farmer's life, the exaltation of country over city living became a variant motif of the golden age theme; the bounty of nature, whether of her own accord or derived from the work of the farmers, representing the *aurea aetas*.[29]

The centrality of Justice, Dike, to the golden age also originated with Aratus. As silver was succeeded by bronze and wars promised to grow worse, Justice departed for the heavens, μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν (*Phaen.* 133), taking on the attributes of Hesiod's Aidos and Nemesis.[30] Germanicus' translation of Aratus makes her presence essential to the Roman golden age:

> aurea pacati regeres cum saecula mundi
> Iustitia inviolata malis, placidissima virgo (*Arat.* 103-4)

and the arrival of the iron age signalled her departure, *ferrique invento mens est laetata metallo* (*Arat.* 135). Her presence or departure would become an intrinsic element of the myth, her name almost a signpost to the *topos*.

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[25] Gale (2000) 156-7.
[26] Solmsen (1966) 127, Blundell (1986) 145.
[27] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 34-6.
[28] Kidd (1997) 219.
[29] Smolenaars (1987) 400-1.
[30] Cf. Hesiod *W&D* 197: see Kidd (1997) 230. See also Solmsen (1966) 125.

The myth of the races of man, in particular the contrast between gold and iron, supplied material to every genre. As an aetiology, it had its place in the didactic epics of Hesiod and Aratus. Philosophers debated the likelihood of hard or soft primitivism,[31] the political implications of gold and silver men.[32] The lyric poet Pindar saw in the ideal golden society a *topos* of panegyric.[33] The elegiac poet, Tibullus, described it as a time of simplicity when love was freely honoured.[34] For many Romans, the theme of the golden age, as a symbol of the idealised past, combined easily with their fear of moral deterioration, Rome's expansion and acquisition of luxury epitomising the theory of progressive decline. Catullus ends his poem on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, set in the time of heroes, with the coming sins of the iron age:

> sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando
> iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt,
> perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres,
> destitit extinctos gnatus lugere parentes (64.397-400).[35]

In his fourth *Eclogue*, Virgil alludes clearly to the refrain of this poem, *currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi* (64.356, 361, 365, 371, 381), in *"talia saecla" suis dixerunt "currite" fusis* (*Ecl.* 4.46), as he challenges Catullus' pessimism, reworking the theme of the races of man to halt and reverse the theory of progressive decline. The figure of *Iustitia*, the constellation Virgo from Aratus' *Phaenomena*, is the focus of restoration; as a symbol of the golden age, she will reintroduce *Saturnia regna* (*Ecl.* 4.6).[36] There is very little of Hesiod's material in the *Eclogue*, nor does the poem attempt to explain the origins of mankind. The races of man become the ages of man. Silver and bronze are eliminated so that the polarity of gold and iron is highlighted. Ostensibly utilising the myth as a *topos* of encomium, Vergil steps up a generic level and draws attention to the elevated status of his theme:[37]

> Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
> non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
> si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae (*Ecl.* 4.1-3).

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[31] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 117-91 on different philosophical theories of primitivism.
[32] Plato *Rep.* 415a-c.
[33] Steiner (1986) 37.
[34] Tib. 3.29-30, 68-80: see Classen (2002) 3.
[35] For temporal dislocation and ambiguity of onset of iron age, Gaisser (1995) 586-7,609-13, Weber (1983), Bramble (1970).
[36] Clausen (1994) 120. Vergil also draws on Sybilline oracles for his prophecy: see Galinsky (1996) 92, Wallace-Hadrill (1982b) 21. For the relation of the *Eclogue* to the planned new *saeculum*, Scott Ryberg (1958) 114-15, Barker (1996) 437-8.
[37] For the interplay of genre in the first *Eclogue*, Du Quesnay (1981).

The honorand is Pollio during whose consulship an unnamed child will be born. As this child grows through adolescence to maturity, the Hesiodic idyll will be restored, the iron age will cease and the golden return:[38]

> tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
> desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo (*Ecl.* 4.8-9).

Time is reversed. This child, born in the golden age, can look back to the age of heroes (by Hesiod's reckoning, two generations before his own;[39] this is a theory of progressive recovery, attainable in three stages[40]) and look forward to a time when oaks drip with honey and nature offers her fruits unbidden:

> molli paulatim flavescet campus arista
> incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva
> et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella (*Ecl.* 4.28-30).

Also in the future are the heroic deeds which should signal the end of the golden age but are now only an interruption to its establishment, the voyage of the Argo and the Trojan war (*Ecl.* 4.34-6). When these wars are over and there is no more need for sailing or trade, then the earth will give crops without tillage, *omnis fert omnia tellus* (*Ecl.* 4.39), and the animals adorn themselves in bright colours. Setting aside the colourful details, the coming influence of the *Eclogue* rests on two points, firstly, that the natural decline of mankind can be arrested and reversed, and secondly, that this can be done under the auspices of one man, as yet unnamed.[41]

Imperial Propaganda and the Golden Age: Claudian and Flattery

The pastoral simplicity and fantastic decorative detail of the *Eclogue* concealed the ambiguity at its heart, an ambiguity which gave the poem much of its impact:[42] no-one was sure who this child was and the doubt gave the poem a mystical prophetic air. In the *Aeneid*, however, there was no doubt as to who would be responsible for the restoration of the *aurea saecula.* Jupiter's prophecy promises an age of peace under the Julian family,

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[38] The association of human maturity and the golden age reverses Hesiod's implication that the deterioration of metallic ages accompanies human senescence, from youth and beauty to old age: see West (1978) 173.

[39] The chronological scheme of the *Eclogue* is an exact inversion of that of Hesiod: see Galinsky (1996) 92.

[40] Williams (1974) 39.

[41] Clausen (1994) 121.

[42] Clausen (1994) 121-5 argues that the child would have been presumed to be the son of Antony and Octavia; for an alternative viewpoint, Marincic (2002) 144-54.

> aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis
> cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
> iura dabunt (*Aen.* 1.291-3).[43]

When Vergil returns to the theme in the speech of Anchises, Augustus is named openly:

> Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
> saecula qui rursus Latio, regnata per arva
> Saturno quondam (*Aen.* 6.793-5).

Some ambiguity remains.[44] Although Anchises had spoken of the future out of the distant past, for Vergil's audience, Augustus was a living ruler. Had he already restored the golden age? If not, then when? The golden age attributed to Augustus in the *Aeneid* suggests a policy of rulership, involving expansion and lawgiving; while the circumstances might not be entirely clear, the tone could be accepted as encomiastic, and the association of Augustus with a golden age could not be denied. In the Augustan period, the golden age was presented as being almost at hand and Rome appeared to be on the threshold of a new *aureum saeculum*, one which was dependent on the emperor.[45] The concept became central to Augustan ideology.[46] In the *Carmen Saeculare*, written for the inauguration of the new *saeculum* in 19B.C., Horace builds on Vergilian *auctoritas*, addressing Augustus in terms which suggest that the prophecy of Anchises has been fulfilled.[47] The *melius aevum* for which Horace prays (*CS* 67-8) is more feasible than the ideal of the *Eclogue*. While Horace does not promise a full golden age, the prayers for fertility and prosperity (29-32) and the return of virtues imply that the *melius aevum* will have golden age assocations.[48] Like Vergil, he acknowledges that wars will be necessary but his suggested wars with the Medes and Scythians are more realistic than Vergil's references to the Argo and Troy.[49]

After Augustus, the golden age remained a *topos* of imperial propaganda, purged of all ambiguities. Successive emperors proclaimed *reparatio saeculi* and it became a

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[43] For the ambiguity of the identity of Caesar (*Aen.* 1.286) Austin (1971) 108-10.
[44] Thomas (2001) 1-7, Otis (1963) 216.
[45] Wallace-Hadrill (1982b) 25 notes that this prophetic tone continued until the golden age predicted for Nero.
[46] Galinsky (1996) 90-121 discusses the promotion of the theme of the golden age in literature and art; see also Zanker (1988) 167-95.
[47] Feeney (1988) 36. Barker (1996) 439-41 discusses Horace's allusions to the Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*.
[48] Galinsky (1996) 102-4, Putnam (2000) 83-5.
[49] Barker (1996) 440 argues that Horace's *veraces Parcae* (*CS* 25) may suggest that his *Parcae* are more realistic and truthful than those of the *Eclogue*.

commonplace of coinage and panegyric, to be used on any occasion.[50] Statius compares the public feast of Domitian to the *aureum tempus*, the comparison suggested by the lavish provisions of food and wine (*Silv.* 1.4.39-42). The celebration of Rome's millenium inspired the slogan *aurea aetas* and its variants on coins.[51] The theme occurs frequently in the *Panegyrici Latini.* The fertility of Britain, its freedom from snakes and savage animals, make the birthplace of Constantine a *locus amoenus*, a setting for the golden age (*PL* VI(VII) 9.2). Mamertinus claims that men are more fortunate under Julian than the inhabitants of the Isles of the Blest (*PL* III(XI) 23.1). In the fourth century, Symmachus praised the reign of the Christian emperor Gratian (*Or.* 3.9) in golden age terminology.[52]

For Claudian, the trappings of the golden age provided a source of decorative flattery, particularly in the shorter poems where the eternal spring, balmy zephyrs and burgeoning vegetation provided a pleasant background for his encomia. The *Laus Serenae* adapts the Vergilian golden age of the *Eclogue* to praise Serena, niece of Theodosius and wife of Stilicho:

> te nascente ferunt per pinguia culta tumentem
> divitiis undasse Tagum; Callaecia risit
> floribus et roseis formosus Duria ripis
> vellere purpureo passim mutavit ovile (*Laus Ser.* 70-3).[53]

The Alexandrian footnote, *ferunt*, is reinforced by *te nascente*, directing the reader to Vergil's address to the young child: ***tu*** *modo* ***nascenti*** *puero* (*Ecl.* 4.8), and so identifying Serena with the unnamed child whose birth introduces the golden age. The vocabulary and imagery of the lines is Vergilian. Flowers pay homage: for Serena, Callaecia *risit floribus*, while in Vergil, *ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores* (*Ecl.* 4.23), the laughter in Claudian recalling that of the Vergilian child: *incipe, parve puer,* ***risu*** *cognoscere matrem...qui non* ***risere*** *parenti...*(*Ecl.* 4.60-2). The gifts to the little boy, *nullo munuscula cultu* (*Ecl.* 4.18) appear in the *pinguia culta* of Serena's golden age, and the Vergilian sheep,

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[50] Domitian, for example, intended the Flavians to introduce a new golden age and held the *Ludi Saeculares* in A.D. 88 for the purpose: see Hannestad (1986) 141. Commodus promised *saeculum aureum Commodianum*, *SHA v. Commodi* xiv.3: see Hannestad (1986) 248.

[51] Hannestad (1986) 286.

[52] Rees (2004b) 37-8. The Messianic quality of Vergil's *Eclogue* made the work appealing to Christians: see Clausen (1994) 120-1.

[53] The influence of the *Georgics*, in particular the *laudes Italiae*, is evident in the strongly geographical setting of Serena's golden age, as well as the introduction which compares various countries before turning to Spain.

> ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
> murice, croceo **mutabit vellera** luto (*Ecl.* 4.43-4)

restrict themselves to imperial purple for the niece of the emperor, ***vellere*** *purpureo* ***...mutavit.***

The ideal golden age could also furnish material for epithalamia.[54] In the Fescennine verses, in honour of Honorius' marriage to Maria, the earth, *redimita vere* (*Fesc.* 2.2), is urged to clothe itself with flowers, *subitisque se rosetis/vestiat Alpinus apex* (*Fesc.* 2.8) and to let Zephyrus, the wind of spring, take control for the year (*Fesc.* 2.44). At Stilicho's wedding to Serena, Nature exults:

> tunc et Solis equos, tunc exultasse choreis
> astra ferunt mellisque lacus et flumina lactis
> erupisse solo, cum floribus aequora vernis
> Bosporos indueret (*Stil.* 1.84-7),[55]

a vision of milk and honey derived from Ovid's golden age:

> mulcebant zephyri natos sine semine flores...
> flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant,
> flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella (*Met.* 1.107, 111-12).[56]

Even the inauguration of a consul is marked by such festivities:

> mella ferant silvae; iam profluat ebrius amnis
> mutatis in vina vadis; iam sponte per agros
> sudent inriguae spirantia balsama venae (*P&O* 250-2).

Any occasion could give rise to a sudden outburst of the *aurea aetas*, golden age moments which bubbled up to emphasise the underlying *aureum saeculum* established by Theodosius and continued by Honorius with Stilicho.[57] Although the *topos* is a technique of panegyric, it also illustrates an important feature of Claudian's treatment of the golden age: his focus on an individual or place, the depiction of a very specific golden age, applicable to a select group only.

While these poems are in keeping with the traditional presentation of the ideal golden age, one deviation from the *topos* must be noted in Claudian's work, the incorporation of real gold into the *aurea aetas*. For Serena, the river Tagus floods the fields with gold, *ferunt...divitiis per pinguia culta...divitiis undasse Tagum* (*Laus Ser.* 70-1), to honour the marriage of Stilicho, the bridal bed is decked with gold, *radiis auri Tyriaque*

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[54] Roberts (1989).
[55] Keudel (1970) 40.
[56] For introduction of nectar here, Anderson (1996) 163.
[57] Cameron (1970a) 369.

superbit/maiestate torus (*Stil.* 1.79-80). As we will see, Augustan writers were extremely conscious of the dangers of wealth, and sources reveal a marked tension between actual gold and the golden age. Late antique fascination with the gleam of metal, the splendour of ornamention,[58] no doubt influenced Claudian to some extent: elsewhere he sees no contradiction in Honorius' studying the *paupertas sobria* of early Romans (*IV Cons.* 412), and appearing in the same poem dressed in gold, emeralds and pearls (*IV Cons.* 586-600). Nevertheless, his awareness of the tension is apparent in the *Laus Serenae* where the gold offered by the Tagus, described as *divitiae* rather than *aurum*, is presented as part of the bounty of nature, and therefore free from corruption.

Auri Fames, Belli Rabies: the True Golden Age of Augustus?

The growth of civilization and man's natural desire for wealth was a fundamental element of the theory of progressive deterioration. In the *Eclogue*, Vergil promises that the *Saturnia regna* will return (*Ecl.* 4.6) but the idealised description of their recurrence bears little relation to the *Saturnia regna* of the past, as described in the *Aeneid* in Evander's speech to Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.324-5)[59] and suggested by Numanus' description of the native way of life (*Aen.* 9.598-620).[60] Evander describes Saturn's exiled flight and his gift of laws to the indigenous peoples. They were a hard race, sprung from wood, *duro robore nata* (*Aen.* 8.315), and so seem related to Hesiod's brazen race who were born from ash trees (*W&D* 145). Like Hesiod's golden men, they do not till the soil but this is from ignorance, *nec norant*:

> quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
> aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
> sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat (*Aen.* 8.316-18).[61]

Under Saturn they lived peacefully, *placida in pace* (*Aen.* 8.325) until their inevitable deterioration:

> deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
> et belli rabies et amor successit habendi (*Aen.* 8.326-7).

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[58] Roberts (1989a) 38-65.

[59] For the deliberate contradictions in Evander's speech and Vergil's creation of a myth, Adler (2003) 153-5.

[60] For this passage in general, Thomas (1982b) 94-8, Horsfall (1971), Hardie (1994) 17-18, 185-98, Cairns (1989) 125-7. For his debt to Lucretius' description of primitive society, Smolenaars (1987) 396.

[61] Galinsky (1996) 101-2 discusses the importance of *mores* to Augustus' reign.

This is a very different golden age from that described in the *Eclogue*,[62] closer to hard than soft primitivism: clearly much would have to change before the *aurea aetas* could be restored.

The difficulty centres in man's nature: gold was both the doing and undoing of any *aurea aetas*, real or ideal. Ovid presents the problem in a nutshell. His original golden age enjoyed the idleness of Hesiod's golden race or that of the *Eclogue*, with no sailing, no fighting, no fortifications (*Met.* 1.94-7) and no farming, *per se dabat omnia tellus* (*Met.* 1.102). After the silver race, came the bronze[63] and then iron:

> iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum
> prodierat, prodit bellum, quod pugnat utroque,
> sanguineaque manu crepitantia concutit arma.
> vivitur ex rapto (*Met.* 1.141-3).

Ovid's version combines and comments on the two contrasting presentations of the golden age in Vergil:[64] the blissful *aurea aetas* of the *Eclogue* which supplies material for his golden age, and the hard race of early Italians described in the *Aeneid*, undone by their desire for possessions, *amor habendi* (*Aen.* 8.327). Ovid uses the same phrase to relate mankind's deterioration in the *Metamorphoses*, ***amor*** *sceleratus* ***habendi*** (*Met.* 1.131).[65] Real gold had not featured in Hesiod's golden race. Now the nature of iron men leads them to seek gold: a truly metallic golden age within the iron age, with all the blood-thirstiness of the iron race and none of the benefits of the golden.[66] Similarly the writer of *Octavia* saw the search for gold as a characteristic of the iron race: *deterior aetas: eruit ferrum grave/aurumque* (*Oct.* 418-9), the lust for real gold driving away Astraea, the last trace of the golden age:

> neglecta terras fugit et mores feros
> hominum et cruenta caede pollutas manus
> Astraea virgo, siderum magnum decus.
> cupido belli crevit atque auri fames
> totum per orbem (*Oct.* 423-7).

The metal itself is not harmful[67] but lust for gold corrupts and leads to war. Vergil had associated *belli rabies* and *amor habendi* (*Aen.* 8.327), *rabies* being almost a synonym for *furor*. Certainly, the blindness associated with *furor* is also associated with greed: Vergil

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[62] Smolenaars (1987) 398.
[63] Verbally incorporating the age of heroes, with the suggestion of Aeneas in *aenea proles* (*Met.* 1.125).
[64] Anderson (1996) 165 suggests that *vivitur ex rapto* is a contraction of *vivere rapto* of *Aen.* 7.749 and 9.613,which he describes as "a simple, manly, Italian virtue".
[65] For *scelus* and the golden age (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.13), Wallace-Hadrill (1982b) 24-8.
[66] Thomas (1982b) 44-5.
[67] Cf. Lucr. *DRN* 5.1269-75 and the initial uselessness of gold.

describes Pygmalion as motivated by *auri caecus amore* (*Aen.* 1.349) and Seneca refers to the blind desire for gold, *auri caecus cupido* (*Phaed.* 528).[68]

Vergil's depiction of the Saturnian age in the *Aeneid* also gives the listener pause. Having described the benefits which Saturn brought to the early inhabitants, Evander shows Aeneas various geographical sites which will become part of Rome. Vergil comments of the landscape:

> hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
> aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis (*Aen.* 8.347-8).[69]

The contrast is drawn between the rural simplicity, *olim horrida dumis*, of a true golden age (although clearly a hard primitive one), and the *aurea nunc* of the present day, representing Roman glory and success – and luxury. The gold of the Capitol is not condemned and Vergil lets the contrast stand without remark.[70] Ovid makes a similar connection, albeit more cynically, again commenting on the Vergilian original and drawing his own conclusions. In relating the New Year custom of giving coins, Janus looks back to the time of Saturn when money was not important: *cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent* (*F.* 1.194). However, the inevitable *amor habendi* seized the people: *tempore crevit* ***amor****, qui nunc est summus,* ***habendi*** (*F.* 1.195), with the result that Rome, once content with simple decoration, is now ornate: *frondibus ornabant, quae nunc Capitolia gemmis* (*F.* 1.203), a clear allusion to the old/new Capitol described by Vergil. Gold is better than bronze, Janus concludes,[71] while the *nunc-olim* structure of his words keeps the Vergilian original in mind:

> aera dabant **olim**; melius **nunc** omen in auro est,
> victaque concessit prisca moneta novae.
> nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
> aurea; maiestas convenit ista deo (*F.* 1.221-4).[72]

There could be no denying the fact that Rome had become extremely rich and her temples ornate, nor – since Augustus had inaugurated a lavish programme of building and restoring these temples[73] – would anyone wish to suggest that the visible gold on the city monuments was a symbol of corruption. Claudian would later claim, in awe and apparent

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[68] Bömer (1969) 66.
[69] Edwards (1996) 31. For importance of *nunc* in the creation of real Rome see *Aen.* 8.99, Novara (1986) 70; cf. Ovid's switching between past and present Rome in the *Fasti*: see Edwards (1996) 59-60.
[70] Feeney (1992) 2.
[71] Newlands (1995) 7.
[72] For Janus' appropriately contradictory character, Hardie (1991) 60.
[73] *Res Gestae* 19-21, Galinsky (1996) 98-9.

sincerity, that the eye was blinded by the glare of golden Rome (*VI Cons.* 52).[74] Gold itself could not be sinful but it is clear from the writings of the Augustan poets that the love of gold was a grave fault and a symbol of men of the iron race, more harmful than iron, as Ovid observes. When Horace lauds the moral qualities of the primitive Scythians and advises the Romans to throw their riches into the sea

> vel nos in mare proximum
> gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile,
> summi materiem mali
> mittamus, scelerum si bene paenitet (*C.* 3.24.47-50),

he associates actual wealth with spiritual bankruptcy, gold by itself being useless, *inutile*, and a source of great evil, a hindrance to the construction of an ideal society.[75]

For the Romans, such barbarian tribes as the Scythians exemplified many aspects of the original golden age, a living image of how their own ancestors had lived.[76] In the *Aeneid*, Evander had spoken of a harsh primitive society, men born from wood, ignorant of farming, who lived by hunting. As we have seen, these features could be idealised to create soft primitivism or they could be accepted at face value. Ovid, whose metamorphic golden age glorifies the nature of primitive society, finds the same characteristics to be the marks of savagery in the *Fasti*, their condition based, like the early Italians of the *Aeneid*, on ignorance:

> vita feris similis, nullos agitata per usus;
> artis adhuc expers et rude vulgus erat.
> pro domibus frondes norant, pro frugibus herbas;
> nectar erat palmis hausta duabus aqua (*F.* 2.291-4).

Vergil is less critical. The hallmarks of the golden age which Saturn brought to the men of Italy were laws and peace, *sic placida populos in pace regebat* (*Aen.* 8.325) which had in part persisted under the rule of Saturn's descendant Latinus, *iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat* (*Aen.* 7.46). His concern with creating a worthy bloodline for future Romans is apparent: through Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, the rulers of Rome will inherit an ancestry back to Saturn and the native gods of Rome,[77] while the Roman people will descend from the combined virtues and ethnic characteristics of the Trojans and Italians. The nature of the Italians has not changed from Saturnian times. In his taunting speech to Ascanius, Numanus asserts that the Italians are a hard race, *durum a stirpe genus* (*Aen.*

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[74] On the gold of the Capitol as a symbol for Roma *aurea*, Edwards (1996) 70.
[75] For Vergil's comparision between the Scythians and Italians in the *Georgics*, and Hor. *Carm.* 3.24 as a comment on Vergil, Thomas (1982b) 54-5.
[76] E.g. Lucr. *DRN* 5. 925-87, Sall. *Cat.* 6.1-3.
[77] Cairns (1989) 119.

9.603) who live by hunting or pillage, *rapto* (9.613),[78] whose contempt for the Trojans' clothing (9.614) demonstrates their rejection of soft living: all these point to the hard primitive style of golden age. At the same time, they know how to farm and make war (9.608), while their emphasis on youthful military training and hostility to the Trojans shows that they are clearly possessed by the *rabies belli.* This, with Numanus' claim, *omne aevum* ***ferro*** *teritur* (9.609) and his final words, *sinite arma viris et cedite ferro* (*Aen.* 9.620), marks them as closer in spirit to iron than gold.[79]

This was how historians believed early Italian society to be. Sallust's description recalls Evander's words: *genus agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum* (*Cat.* vi.1).[80] The hardiness of this race, combined with the virtues of the Trojans, was needed to found a golden race under Augustus. As Johnston points out,[81] the future golden age was innately soft, *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis* (*Aen.* 1.291); hardness, therefore, had to come first so that the *ferrea gens* could become *aurea.*

Such primitive golden age societies had one major flaw in that they were susceptible to civilization. As they prospered, greed overtook them and their innate *virtus* fled.[82] Lucretius, without referring to the mythical ages of men, offers a realistic picture of early man, similar to the early Italians described by Evander. Lucretius' primitive race was *durius*, sprung from *tellus dura* (*DRN* 5.926). Ignorant of cultivation – ***nec scibat*** *ferro molirier arva* (934)...***nec****dum res igni* ***scibant*** *tractare* (953)...***neque*** *ullis/moribus inter se* ***scibant*** *nec legibus uti* (957-8) - they gathered their food from the wild:[83]

> quod sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearat
> sponte sua, satis id placabat pectora donum.
> glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus
> plerumque (*DRN* 5.937-40).

Gradually, they formed societies with kings and laws and cities and then, inevitably, gold was discovered (*DRN* 5.1113). Lucretius does not announce this to be the onset of the iron age but draws the conclusion:

> quod siquis vera vitam ratione gubernet,
> divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce

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[78] As Cairns (1989) 126 notes, Vergil does not intend us to accept Numanus' views uncritically. See also Hardie (1994) 188.
[79] Thomas (1982b) 98-9 discusses the difficulties of interpretation. See also Horsfall (1971) 307.
[80] Novara (1986) 76.
[81] Johnston (1980) 12. See also Adler (2003) 161.
[82] Sallust, for example, concludes *invidia ex opulentia orta est* (*Cat.* 6.3-4).
[83] Gale (1994) 165-6.

aequo animo (*DRN* 5.1117-19).[84]

Nothing is more destructive to a golden age society than the discovery of and desire for actual gold. Lucretius' philosophical summation is expressed by Vergil through the myth of the restoration of the golden age: men must turn aside from riches in order to live well.

Vergil's association of *belli rabies* with *amor habendi* (*Aen.* 8.327) leads to the next golden age paradox. In the *Eclogue*, Vergil had promised that a second Argo must set sail and a second Trojan war be fought prior to the return of the *Saturnia regna* (*Ecl.* 4.34-6). In the *Aeneid*, the *aurea saecula* are dependent on Augustus' sovereignty over foreign peoples:

qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias (*Aen.* 6.793-6).[85]

Although Jupiter had foretold that under Augustus, wars would end forever (*Aen.* 1.291-6), Anchises had spoken to the heart of the Roman people when he stated that it was the intrinsic nature of Romans to rule and make war, *regere* and *debellare* (*Aen.* 6.851-3),[86] and that this would lead to Augustus' *imperium* and the restoration of the *aurea saecula*. When the *Eclogues* were published, war with Parthia seemed inevitable.[87] How could warfare, the mark of the iron age, be necessary to restore the golden age?

As previously discussed, the Roman attitude to war was ambivalent.[88] Rome's greatness was founded on her military strength, and fighting kept her strong and young. The Roman character was created from a combination of the *duritia* and *patientia* described by Numanus.[89] While these qualities signified a primitive people, they were qualities which signalled military success and which were associated with superior moral characteristics,[90] very similar to the *mores* attributed to the great figures of the Republic

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[84] Bailey (1947) 1498-500.

[85] Austin (1977) 243-4 sees in *aurea saecula* a possible allusion to Augustus' social and moral legislation: military expansion, presumably, would offer these advantages to newly conquered peoples.

[86] For contemporary and earlier sources on Roman rule through armed peace, Austin (1977) who notes at 264 that Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare* was the first to apply this principle to Augustus.

[87] Kraggerud (1998) 11-12.

[88] See above page 170. Lyne (1983) 316-20 discusses writing on war before and contemporary with Vergil, see also Brunt (1978). Earl (1967) 65-79 discusses *virtus Romana* and its careful separation from *gloria* and *nobilitas* in Augustan writings.

[89] Thomas (1982b) 98.

[90] Thomas (1982b) 98, Horsfall (1971) 306-7.

and idealised thereafter as *mos maiorum*. Romans desired to repossess these qualities and yet they knew that the accompanying *rabies belli* was wrong.

In short, the fantasy of the golden age therefore was both a vision and a warning. The golden age contained the seeds of its own destruction, man's desire to advance would lead him inexorably to the desire for gold and the corresponding desire for war. A golden city and the possession of riches may indicate that the inhabitants have deteriorated from their early grace, as the combination of *amor habendi* and *belli rabies* (*Aen.* 8.327) brought about *deterior...ac decolor aetas* (*Aen.* 8.326).

The hope promised in the *Eclogue*, that a renaissance could occur, seemed to rest upon an impossibility:[91] how could Romans turn away from war which would bring them the world domination promised in Anchises' vision of the Augustan *aurea aetas*? To attempt to define the golden age from studying the *Eclogue* and the *Aeneid* is to confront a series of paradoxes. In the *Georgics*, however, Vergil explored the problems of a golden renaissance and, if he did not offer an obvious solution, suggested possible alternative interpretations of the myth which, in turn, could clarify the golden age pronouncements of the *Aeneid*.

The Golden Age and the *Georgics*

The scholarship on the *Georgics* is considerable[92] and consensus is rare. Vergil's presentation of the farming life is far from simple, his stand on many issues problematic and deliberately ambiguous;[93] the reader is intended to see the many complexities. In his use of the golden age myth, Vergil appears to combine several different philosophical and literary traditions, but all interpretations are open to challenge. It is not my intention here to join in the discussion on the *Georgics per se*; what is of importance is Claudian's understanding of the work. A nuanced reader of the classics, he found in the *Georgics* his own golden age text-book, a source for the presentation of the renewed *aurea aetas* in the

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[91] Boyle (1986) 23.

[92] The following I found particularly useful: Otis (1963), Wilkinson (1963), Stehle (1974), Putnam (1979), Johnston (1980), Thomas (1982b), Wallace-Hadrill (1982b), Boyle (1986), Ross (1987), Smolenaars (1987), Perkell (1989), Mynors (1969), Farrell (1991), Gale (1995), Thomas (1995), Gale (2000).

[93] As Gale (2000) 11 suggests, Vergil employs "different 'voices' of the didactic tradition [which] are brought together but not harmonized into a seamless whole".

time of Theodosius and Honorius. In this section, I will attempt to elucidate what Claudian found most relevant in the *Georgics* and how he interpreted Vergil's text, before looking at the incorporation of the myth into his own work. Three sections of the *Georgics* in particular are significant for Claudian's construction of a golden age, the transition from the reign of Saturn to Jupiter and Jupiter's theodicy (*Geo.* 1.121-59), the *laudes Italiae* (*Geo.* 2.136-76), and the description of the life of the farmer at the end of the second book (*Geo.* 2.458-542).

From Saturn to Jupiter: sacrifice

The life of the farmer, Vergil tells us early in the *Georgics*, was not meant to be easy. Jupiter, wishing men to be strengthened, put an end to the ease of Saturnian life:[94]

> pater ipse colendi
> haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
> movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda
> nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno (*Geo.* 1.121-4).

Cast as an omnipotent divinity,[95] Jupiter sees work, *labor*, as the means by which men may acquire skills, *artes*.[96] His own ability is put at the service of mankind as, *per artem* (1.122), he gives men challenges in the form of snakes and wolves, removes honey from the trees and wine from the rivers and takes away fire so that men must learn to work the land, sail the seas, and invent tools for so doing. Since tools depend on a knowledge of iron (1.143) and the launch of the first ship signified the end of the golden age, Vergil appears to be suggesting that the reign of Jupiter heralded the onset of the iron age.[97] Jupiter's termination of the Saturnian age is further expressed in golden age imagery:

> prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram
> instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
> deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret (1.147-9).

To grow wheat, man must plough the land with iron, a visible symbol of the transition from gold to iron ages, while strawberries and acorns epitomise the generosity of the

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[94] Mynors (1969) 25-30, Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 370-1.

[95] As Wilkinson (1963) 75 notes, he is "on the way to being absolute". His role as teacher of mankind suggests Hesiod's Prometheus (*W&D* 47-58), and possibly also the Prometheus of Aeschylus: see Wilkinson (1963) 78, cf. Gale (1995) 177-8, (2000) 61.

[96] As Stehle (1974) 347-50 argues, Vergil answers Lucretius' assertion (*DRN* 2.1150-63) that the earth is in a state of decline by making man responsible for the earth's fruitfulness, and that through *labor*, "man can recall nature to its Golden Age state", 349. See also Johnston (1980) 44 who notes that in Cat. 64.267-8, man's initial deterioration begins as he neglects his fields to gaze on wealth.

[97] Ross (1987) 84. However, Mynors (1969) 29 does not see *ferri* here as suggesting Hesiod's myth of the iron race.

earth.[98] This new age, however, does not involve the hatred and greed which mark the iron men of Hesiod but describes a necessary progression of mankind in its journey to civilization.[99] Vergil's conclusion:

> tum variae venere **artes**. labor omnia vicit
> improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas (1.144-5)

associating *artes* with *labor improbus*, suggests the difficult yet inexorable movement of progression. The necessity of this transition and the benefits of farming are apparent from the food they will enjoy. The wild strawberries and acorns of the Saturnian age were a symbol of the gifts of the earth; now, unless the farmer tends his crops, he will have nothing else to stave off hunger:[100]

> heu magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum
> concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu (1.158-9).

Acorns and strawberries reappear in the second book as part of the seasonal harvest, but so great now is man's prosperity that they have become food for animals: *glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae* (*Geo.* 2.520).[101] As Ovid remarked, *quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo* (*F.* 1.676).

The double nature of the Saturnian age as hard or soft primitivism allowed Vergil to combine the theory of progressive deterioration with the theory of progressivism; mankind moves from the idyllic golden age of Saturn to the toil-ridden age of Jupiter and benefits by so doing. The transition suggests the progression from childhood to maturity in the fourth *Eclogue*.[102] Hesiod's concept of decline is reworked to incorporate a Lucretian-style philosophy of technological development.[103] As the necessary skills are acquired, the disadvantages of the Saturnian age become evident and return is impossible; mankind cannot unlearn the benefits of civilization and although he can abandon them by

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[98] E.g. Lucr., *DRN* 5.965,Ovid *Met.* 1.104-6.

[99] Cf. Manil. *Astr.* 1.73-4 who pities the simple farmers for their lack of skills, *doctas artes*. Without referring to the mythological ages of man, he sees the lack of farming as an example of ignorance and the inability to sail as cowardice (77-8). While the arts of war led to the arts of peace (89), this was an inevitable step in mankind's journey to civilization. Cf. Lucr. 5.1105-60, which tells how men, exhausted by violence, submit to law.

[100] Mynors (1969) 33.

[101] Mynors (1969) 31, Ross (1987) 126, Mack (1978) 20.

[102] Scott Ryberg (1958) 122-3. Cf. Lucr. *DRN* 5.780, *novitas* suggesting the earth's infancy: see Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 223.

[103] Scott Ryberg (1958) 119-20. Gale (2000) 162 notes that Vergil differs from his main models, Hesiod, Lucretius and Aratus. Here, differing from Lucretius, he makes Jupiter responsible for man's progression, differing from Hesiod, he incorporates *labor* as the medium of improvement. For ambivalence of Lucretius' attitude to progress, Gale (2000) 174-82.

abandoning *labor*, he now knows the Saturnian ideal for what it really is, a harsh uncultivated society.

While the rewards of work are obvious, Vergil's definition of *labor* as *improbus* has caused considerable discussion.[104] Wilkinson, for example, argues that Vergil's enthusiasm is apparent in the catalogue of skills that man acquires, and that the importance of variety for its own sake, whether *variae artes* here or man's enjoyment of nature, *dives opum variorum* (*Geo.* 2.468), runs through the *Georgics*.[105] In contrast, Putnam points out the pessimism of the association of *labor* with *egestas*, noting that both are listed among the more suspect inhabitants of the Underworld in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 6.276-7).[106] Galinsky argues *improbus* adds a "meaningful cautionary note"[107] to the intrinsically positive *labor* while Batstone suggests that the reader is to see *labor* as simultaneously optimistic and pessimistic.[108] In *De raptu Proserpinae*, Claudian appears to follow Jupiter's theodicy very closely, yet by showing that Jupiter had a very different agenda implies that, by extension, the benefits of *labor* in the *Georgics* may not be as simple as Vergil claimed.

As in the *Georgics*, Jupiter's theodicy in *De raptu Proserpinae* is based on a condemnation of man's sloth:[109]

> abduxere meas iterum mortalia curas,
> iam pridem neglecta mihi, Saturnia postquam
> otia et ignavi senium cognovimus aevi,
> sopitosque diu populos torpore paterno
> sollicitae placuit stimulis inpellere vitae (*Rapt.* 3.19-3).

Jupiter claims to understand what mankind needs, using the key golden age term, *cognovimus* (*Rapt.* 3.21), and intends to lead men to *artes* (32). The sluggishness of Saturn's race, *torpore paterno*, echoes that described by Vergil: *nec* ***torpere*** *gravi passus sua regna* ***veterno*** (*Geo.* 1.124),[110] while *egestas* (*Geo.* 1.146, *Rapt.* 3.31) is the spur which drives men to progress. Ceres has not yet given men wheat, so acorns remain their food (*Rapt.* 3.43), and they wander in woods like animals (*Rapt.* 3.41-3).

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[104] Gale (2000) 61-72 discusses the various questions and, in particular, Vergil's allusions to Lucretius.
[105] Wilkinson (1963) 80-1, cf. Farrell (1991) 191, who notes a reworking of Lucretius' themes of creativity and variety.
[106] Putnam (1979) 34, cf. Thomas (1988) 92-3.
[107] Galinsky (1996 122.
[108] Batstone (1997) 137.
[109] Gruzelier (1993) 238.
[110] Farrell (1991) 145 notes that by associating *gravis veternus* with freedom from toil, Vergil uses Hesiod's words (δειλὸν γηρᾶς, *W&D* 113-14) to contradict his model.

While Jupiter in the *Georgics* appears to act for the benefit of the earth and mankind, Jupiter's gift of civilization in *De raptu Proserpinae* is less straightforward and his actions, and the role of Proserpina, are not explained until the third book. At the council of the gods (*Rapt.* 3.19-32) it becomes clear that at some time prior to the events of the narrative, Jupiter had noted the *torpor* of mankind in the Saturnian age, and had ended the spontaneous generosity of Nature. Since then he has forgotten about mankind, *mortalia...iam pridem neclecta mihi* (*Rapt.* 3.19-20). Now, Nature's complaints of his cruelty (3.33-45) combined with Pluto's threats of cosmic destruction if a wife is not provided (1.113-15) have suggested a solution. The second stage of man's development, the practice of agriculture, will originate from Ceres' loss: initially grief-stricken at the abduction of her daughter, Ceres will celebrate Proserpina's return by presenting man with the gift of corn (*Rapt.* 3.48-54).

Since the poem is incomplete, we can only assume that the plan is successful; there can be no doubt, however, that the price paid is high. In the *Georgics*, mankind generally will suffer to acquire civilization through the necessary imposition of *labor improbus*, but all will benefit. In *De raptu Proserpinae*, a sacrifice is required and Proserpina is snatched from the *locus amoenus* of Henna[111] to dwell underground. The perfection of Henna makes Pluto's assault more shocking: the earth is torn apart, foreshadowing the rape of Proserpina;[112] the idealised golden age has been destroyed for ever. Proserpina may be satisfied with the *pretiosior aetas* and *aurea progenies* (*Rapt.* 2.285-6) which Pluto gives her in the Underworld, yet the metallic lustre is that of art rather than nature, symbolising both the future loss and gain to mankind from an age founded on *ars*.

The addition of sacrifice to the transition from Saturnian to Jovian ages is a complex interpretation and development of Vergil's characterisation of *labor* as *improbus* and became a central theme of Claudian's political poetry, particularly in *Panegyricus dictus de Mallio Theodoro consuli*, which parallels *De raptu Proserpinae* in several respects. Like Proserpina, Theodorus lives in a *locus amoenus*, having created a golden age of

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[111] For Ovid's Enna (*Met.*5.385-95) as a model for *loci amoeni*, Hinds (2002) 123-4, cf. Fargues (1933) 274-81. The golden age qualities of Henna are suggested by allusion to Vergil's *laudes Italiae*, Ceres' address to the land, *salve, gratissima tellus* (*Rapt.* 1.194), recalling Vergil's *salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus* (*Geo.* 2.173), and Henna's untilled fertility (*Rapt.* 1.197-200) reminiscent of the idyllic landscape of the fourth *Eclogue* (4.40-1).

[112] Wheeler (1995a) 125.

retirement for himself, which he must abandon in order to restore his personal "golden" qualities to the world of government. Although Stilicho is not presented as a sacrifice, it is clear that he places all his skills and toil at the service of the state. In his focus on the individual as the source of the golden age, Claudian seems to differ from Vergil, yet the *Georgics* contributed to Claudian's depiction of the specialised *aurea aetas*, existing in an iron age world and among iron age people, the second book describing a possible situation of the golden age and the people who enjoy it.

Laudes Italiae: the golden age in Italy

In the second book of the *Georgics*, the *laudes Italiae* (2.136-76) present Italy in golden age terms. Basing the passage on the tradition of ethnographical writings in structure and contents,[113] Vergil introduces Italy as superior to all other lands. Initially, Italy seems to have a reality which the other countries lack; there are no mythical fire-breathing bulls or armed men growing from the earth (2.140-2). Instead:

> hic ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas:
> bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
> at rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum
> semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,
> nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto
> squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis (2.149-54).

This is of course another myth.[114] Eternal spring, fertile fields and flocks, no savage beasts or snakes: this is a hymn to the Italian countryside:[115]

> salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
> magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artem
> ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen (2.173-6).

That this land is Saturnian suggests that the golden age brought by Saturn has never left. The catalogue of places and people gives reality to the myth; this *aurea aetas* is literally grounded in the real Italy, a landscape which the poet has painted in a golden light.[116] The *Saturnia tellus* is all around, insists the poet, and always has been. All one need do is learn to appreciate what is there already.

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[113] Thomas (1982b) 35-9.
[114] Thomas (1982b) 41 describes the passage as a "combination of pure fiction and cliché", while for Ross (1987) 118 it is a "succession of lies". See Gale (2000) 215-16 for a more moderate view.
[115] Mynors (1969) 124.
[116] Johnston (1980) 48.

In the *Laus Serenae* Claudian transposes Serena's golden age to Spain. Like Vergil, he begins with a comparative catalogue of other countries[117] before praising the fertility and golden age qualities of Spain. The concept of a localised *aurea aetas* also had political significance. Writing for a divided empire, and in his poetry dissociating the decadent East from the Roman West, Claudian could not offer a true golden age to the entire empire. Mars complains of the *corrupta saecula* (*Eut.* 2.113-14) under Eutropius, making it clear that this applies only to the East, as Stilicho, *memor...morumque priorum* (*Eut.* 2.126) had saved the West from such a taint. In *In Rufinum*, the golden age which Rufinus rejects is that of the West, the repeated contrast of *hic* and *ibi* (*Ruf.* 1.205-14) highlighting the difference between the simple life of Rome and the luxurious living of the East.

The Italian landscape which Vergil praises is pastoral but not the idyllic countryside of the fourth *Eclogue*. The iron age elements in the *laudes Italiae* may give the golden landscape a reality but the renascent golden age promised in the *Eclogue* never becomes concrete in the *Georgics*. The specific allusion to Hesiod, *Ascraeum carmen* (*Geo.* 2.176) reminds the reader of Hesiod's golden race and his pessimistic progression to the iron race of his own time.[118] Nevertheless, the tone of the passage seems far from despondent, an undercurrent of pride in Roman achievement accompanying the ambiguous, iron-age, implications of the passage.[119] War is present in the horses bred in this region: *hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert* (2.145),[120] but, like the white herds of cattle, these horses are bred for triumphs, and will bring glory to the gods (2.146-8). The cities are remarkable, *egregias* (2.156), yet they are surrounded by walls, a feature of later ages,[121] and precious metals are produced by mining, the presence of actual gold offering an implicit warning (2.165-6).[122]

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[117] Claudian's catalogue is based on the tribute paid by the different countries to empire: Spain, he concludes, gives emperors.

[118] Putnam (1979) 108. For the Alexandrian connotations of this allusion, Farrell (1991) 31-2. Mynors (1969) 125 suggests that it is a reference to didactic and elegant poetry rather than a specific allusion to Hesiod. See also Gale (2000) 1-2.

[119] For opposite opinion, Thomas (1982b) 39-50, cf. Ross (1987) 116-22.

[120] Kronenberg (2000) 353 argues the *laudes Italiae* show the violent suppression of nature; cf. the suggestion of Thomas (1982b) 43-4 that the passage shows the imposition of civilization on nature. See also Ross (1987) 118.

[121] *Ecl.* 4.32-3, Thomas (1982b) 42.

[122] Cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.138-42; Thomas (1982b) 44-5 associates mining with the connotations of luxury suggested by the reference to the Lucrine and Avernus lakes.

The characteristics of the people, despite their warlike nature, are essentially those of the Saturnian age:

> haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
> adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos
> extulit, haec Decios Marios magnosque Camillos,
> Scipiadas duros bello et te, maxime Caesar (*Geo.* 2.167-70).

This *genus acre* is the same *dura gens* of the *Aeneid*, the hard breed of man from whom the golden age is created.[123] Their military capability is evident:[124] these represent the great men of the Parade of Heroes in the *Aeneid*, the Decii, the Camilli, the Scipiadae and, as the greatest warrior of all, *maxime Caesar* (*Geo.* 2.170).[125] The hardness of these men is based on the centrality of *labor* to their lives; *labor* which led men out of Saturnian ignorance is central to man's continued progression. This is not the suffering described by Hesiod as characteristic of the iron race:

> οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ
> παύονται καμάτου καὶ ὀιζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
> φθειρόμενοι (*W&D* 176-8)

but it is the routine, daily life of the farmer, whose tasks now become the focus of the book. The generosity of nature depends on man's tireless efforts. Every season has its work; the bountiful harvest at the end of the book is brought about by constant labour, emphasised by the opening *nec requies*:

> nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus
> aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
> proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat (*Geo.* 2.516-18).

While the work may be unceasing, it accompanies peace of mind.[126] As in the *laudes Italiae*, Vergil combines elements of hard and soft primitivism in this description; the farmer who enjoys the golden age fertility of the earth and the *secura quies* is enduring, *patiens operum* (2.472), and strong, *corpora praedura* (2.531), the equals of those hard primitives described by Numanus, *patiens operum* (*Aen.* 9.607) and *durum genus* (*Aen.* 9.603). The qualities of endurance exemplified by the farmers are those which create good soldiers and are the basis of the ideal Roman character.[127]

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[123] Mynors (1969) 167-8.
[124] Thomas (1982b) 46.
[125] Putnam (1979) 102 notes the transition from Italian tribes to Roman warriors to the concentration of all in the presence of one, Caesar. See also Ando (2002) 138 who argues that the catalogue represents a unification of the Italian peoples.
[126] Boyle (1986) 58, Smolenaars (1987) 353. For echoes of Lucretius, Gale (2000) 39.
[127] Perkell (1989) 31-3, Horsfall (1971) 310, Galinsky (1996) 122, Hardie (1994) 192.

The glorification of the heroes of the past as members of a golden race supplied material for Claudian's version of the golden age renaissance. Such figures as the Decii and Camilli were praised for their military ability and for their rejection of wealth:[128] in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian makes the association explicit:

> discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
> pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis,
> pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
> sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra;
> lustratae lictore casae fascesque salignis
> postibus affixi; collectae consule messes
> et sulcata diu trabeato rura colono (*IV Cons.* 412-18),

suggesting that the honest poverty of a farming background led to military might.[129] Claudian inverts this theme for his portrayal of Stilicho as a second Camillus whose military skill has brought fertility to lands oppressed by enemies; his victory is hailed by the Curii and Fabricii who having, by implication, brought about similar golden age qualities for their generations, now enjoy the golden age world of Elysium (*Stil* 2.378-82).

Cognoscere: the key to the golden age

In the final section of the book, Vergil presents the ideal life of the farmer as seen through the eyes of the city dweller:[130]

> o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
> fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus.
> si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
> mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam...
> at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
> dives opum variarum...
> illic saltus ac lustra ferarum
> et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
> sacra deum sanctique patres; extrema per illos
> Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit (2.458-62, 467-8, 471-4)

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[128] Cf. Luc. *BC* 10.151-4, who praises the *nomina pauperis aevi*, their Roman poverty contrasting with the riches of Cleopatra's court; see also his praise of Cato's poverty, *BC* 2.380-7, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.37-8. For variation on theme in panegyric, *PL* 9.5-7 which concludes *detrahit laudem patientiae inopia; maioris exempli est labor sine necessitate.*

[129] Florus (1.xiii.21-3) praised Curius and Fabius from their freedom from greed and concluded that such character brought about military success: *quis ergo miretur his moribus ea virtute militum victorem populum Romanum fuisse.*

[130] Mynors (1969) 162, Nelis (2004) 75-6.

The golden landscape of Italy represented one version of an attainable *aurea aetas* for Vergil's contemporaries, here he suggests that the golden age may already be at hand for the farmers.[131] *Iustitia*, driven out before, is now present in *iustissima tellus*, which gives its fruit generously. The peace, *secura quies*, has been created by the constant toil of the farmer, *nec requies* (2.516). The profits which this toil has brought are not gold and silver but a rich life, *dives opum variarum,*[132] the varied and natural beauties of the countryside replacing decorated splendour, *varios...postis*. Man's harmony with his surroundings is shown by his refusal to misuse the gifts of nature:

> alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana **veneno**
> nec casia liquidi **corrumpitur** usus olivi (*Geo.* 2.465-6).

The contemporary iron age has not vanished, being present in war, *discordibus armis*; however, a man can choose to separate himself from the world of war, riches and politics, and live the country life of peace.

The association of the golden age with the life of the farmer seems reinforced by the closing lines of the book:

> hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit
> scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
> aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
> necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
> impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis (2.533-8).

Yet in both passages ambiguity remains.[133] While the life of the farmer may be the unifying feature of the golden Italian landscape, the Saturnian age, here characterised as prior to war and craftsmanship, has long been exposed as primitive in the *Georgics*. Vergil's praise of the life of the farmer suggests the wishful thinking of the urban man, who sees only the iron age characteristics of city life; for the farmer himself, the difficulties have been catalogued in the *Georgics* and the conditionality of *o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint* (*Geo.* 2.458-9) suggests that the farmer does not appreciate his own good fortune.[134]

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[131] Smolenaars (1987) 405.

[132] Wilkinson (1963) 80-1.

[133] On this chronology, Smolenaars (1987) 394-7, cf. Ross (1987) 127-8. Putnam (1979) 156 discusses the passage as marking the point when Rome turned away from agricultural to martial pursuits and that the name of Remus suggests a beginning which would end at Actium.

[134] Putnam (1979) 143 suggests that the farmer's good fortune depends on his ignorance, cf. Perkell (1989) 44. Mynors (1969) 162 suggests that the farmers are happy and "will be (still more) happy if they come to know".

One possibility remains: a golden age which contains elements of the farming life, a distancing from the vices of the city and which is based on knowledge. Ignorance was always fundamental to the Saturnian age as described by Vergil, the people being *genus indocile* (*Aen.* 8.320), ignorant, *non norant* (8.317), of the basic elements of civilization, *mos* and *cultus*.[135] By contrast, the restoration of the true golden age depended on knowledge.[136] *cognoscere* is central to the child's maturity: *simul... quae sit poteris* ***cognoscere*** *virtus* (*Ecl.* 4.27).[137] The golden age men of the *Eclogue* have learnt seafaring and warfare (the *artes* of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*) and have given them up of their own volition. In the *Georgics*, the farmers might be happy if they could only realise it, *si norint*. Only the man who is at ease with his world has attained happiness, Vergil concludes, introducing the figure of the philosopher/poet.[138] His life suggests many of the qualities enjoyed by the farmers[139] but is marked by actual, rather than conditional, knowledge:[140]

> felix qui potuit rerum **cognoscere** causas
> atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum...
> fortunatus et ille deos qui **novit** agrestis
> Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.
> illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
> flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres...
> neque ille
> aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti.
> quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
> sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
> insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit (*Geo.* 2.490-1, 493-6, 498-502).

discordia between brothers, the *ferrea iura* and the trappings of monarchy represent the iron age; for the man with knowledge there is the bounty of the countryside and an accessible golden age.[141] In spite of the presence of the rustic gods, the lines are deeply Lucretian,[142] the significance of *rerum cognoscere causas* summarising the theme of *De rerum natura*, where the cause of error is ignorance.[143]

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[135] Cf. also Lucr. *DRN* 5.933-6, 953-9.

[136] Hardie (1986) 40 notes the relevance of *cognoscere* here to the importance of religion and philosophy.

[137] Note that in Elysium, which has many golden age parallels, the inhabitants know, *norunt* (*Aen.* 6.641) their own landscape.

[138] Nelis (2004) 76-7, Scott Ryberg (1958) 125; on Vergil's *recusatio*, his refusal to become Lucretius and write cosmological poetry, Hardie (1986) 43-8.

[139] For fusion of the figures of poet, philosopher and farmer, Kronenberg (2000) 349-50, on ambiguities, Gale (2000) 38.

[140] Hardie (1986) 44 notes the difference in meaning of the two verbs as representing a clash between Faith and Reason, cf. Putnam (1979) 150. For the poet's attainment of the *summum bonum*, Nelis (2004) 77-80.

[141] Scott Ryberg (1958) 125.

[142] Hardie (1986) 34-39. For Lucretius as the model of the simple life (*Geo.* 2.469-71), Smolenaars (1987) 394. On *labor* in Lucretius and Vergil, Catto (1986) 315-18, more recently Gale (2000) 154-95.

[143] E.g. Lucr. *DRN* 1.82-3.

Vergil has created a two-tier Italy in which elements of the iron and golden ages co-exist.[144] The termination of the Saturnian age was necessary in order to give man *artes*, the abilities to lead him to civilization. That civilization had its drawbacks, commonly expressed by the symbols of the iron age, was inevitable; in the second book of the *Georgics*, however, Vergil illustrates how man can consciously select the best and leave the worst. He does not state that any man has actually attained a golden age: he merely shows that it is there for the taking. The definition of the fortunate man as the one who understands *causas rerum* and no longer fears death is drawn from Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Lucretius' summary of what a man needs for happiness could apply as well to Vergil's depiction of this golden age:

> quod siquis vera vitam ratione gubernet,
> divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce
> aequo animo (*DRN* 5.1117-19).

Lucretius' words could also summarise Claudian's depiction of the golden age. His appreciation of *cognoscere* as an intrinsic element of the renascent golden age is evident throughout his work, repeatedly signifying man's rejection of the corrupting influence of gold or acceptance of the best *modus vivendi*. Probus' control over his wealth is praised in these terms:

> sed mens circumflua luxu
> **noverat** intactum vitio servare rigorem (*P&O* 40-1).

Following Vergil, and Lucretius through Vergil, Claudian accepts the deeper understanding of the philosopher as one whose studies have also given him insight into his own nature and freed him from the common vices. Ovid, alluding to the *Georgics* and perhaps with tongue in cheek, gave such honour to astronomers:

> felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis
> inque domos superas scandere cura fuit.
> credibile est illos pariter vitiisque locisque
> altius humanis exseruisse caput (*F.* 1.297-30).[145]

In his characterisation of Mallius Theodorus, philosopher, student of astronomy and, in retirement, student of the land, Claudian presents one who has learned mastery over himself and is free from taint of greed or political corruption. While he has studied in Vergilian terms, *nosse soli vires, nemori quae commoda rupes* (*Theod.* 178) suggesting

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[144] As Mack (1978) 28 notes, the golden age "has become, not a time, but a condition".
[145] Bömer (1958) 37.

themes of the *Georgics*,[146] he must still learn what his true task is, and only when *Iustitia* comes to persuade him is his mind fully opened, *cognovitque deam* (*Theod.* 133).

Labor and *Ars*

Although the idealised life of the farmer in the *Georgics* is conspicuously free from any contact with war, politics or business of government (*Geo.* 2.461-6), and the philosopher poet, *fortunatus*, would choose to live in retirement far from *fama* (*Geo.* 2.485-6), nevertheless in Vergil's depiction of *labor* and *artes* and their relevance to the golden age, Claudian found the justification for participation in war and politics in the late fourth century. Through the imagery of gold and iron, Vergil had examined the necessity of change, the benefits and disadvantages, concluding that any new golden age is dependent on the advances brought by the iron age, and that man cannot turn back except by retreating into savagery.

The importance of *labor* and *artes*, in the *Georgics* and in the *Aeneid*, suggests that Vergil avoided moral judgments and intended his readers to see that rather than an obviously right or wrong path, there is necessity and choice, which may have positive and negative consequences. The introduction of *labor*, while *improbus*, is beneficial to mankind, introducing *artes* necessary for progression. Both have a wide interpretation. For the farmer in the *Georgics*, *labor* is agricultural, the constant toil of the year which, nevertheless, produces its own pleasures.[147] For Aeneas, *labor* is both the task before him and the difficulties which arise from his attempt to accomplish that task. As Goins observes,[148] *labor* is used frequently to describe Aeneas' journey to Italy; once he has passed through the Underworld and has accepted the task before him, he faces the challenge without complaint, and finally advises Ascanius to learn the nature of true toil from his father, *disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem* (*Aen.* 12.435).[149] Aeneas does not elaborate but circumstances indicate that part of his *labor* is the coming duel with Turnus and the fight for the future of Rome.

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[146] Cf. *quo sidere terram vertere...cultor nemorum* (*Geo.* 1.1-2, 13).
[147] Smolenaars (1987) 394.
[148] Goins (1993) 375-6.
[149] Goins (1993) 381 suggests that Aeneas in the second half of the *Aeneid* acquires Stoic qualities, cf. Bowra (1933-4) 211.

In this, Aeneas' *labor* is very close to Roman *artes*. Like *labor*, the word has no fixed moral connotations. In the *Georgics*, *artes* are the necessary skills which man must acquire: the invention of the plough, for example, is both symbolic of the iron age and essential to man's progression. *artes* are suited to the individual and are often the extension and expression of his personality. The *Georgics* depicts the *ars* of Jupiter as the ability to order men's lives (*Geo.* 1.122), the *artes* of mankind as ranging from seafaring to astronomy (*Geo.* 1.133-45). In the *Aeneid*, Allecto possesses *mille artes nocendi* (*Aen.* 7.338) while the *ars* of Sinon is treachery (*Aen.* 2.195). As men cannot escape their nature, so they must practise their *artes* as required. For the Romans, Anchises had summed up their essence and duty by defining their *artes*:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt **artes**), pacique imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos (*Aen.* 6.851-3).[150]

The *labor* of Aeneas, combined with the *artes* of the Romans will lead to the promised golden age under Augustus (*Aen.* 6.791-7).

It is clear then that war is inescapable for Romans and Vergil was aware of the disadvantages of a military empire. The appalling effects of civil war feature in the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 1.463-97), yet the splendid warhorse and the great soldiers of the Republic are praised as part of the *laudes Italiae*. Civil war is unequivocably evil and its threat is ever-present;[151] the farmers may live far from battle, *procul discordibus armis* (*Geo.* 2.459). Their safety, however, depends on Octavian's ability to protect them (*Geo.* 1.498-511),[152] and from the *Aeneid* we know that the second golden age depends on Augustus' military expansion. Vergil does not give specific answers, leaving us to balance the knowledge that war is wrong and war is necessary, war is both hostile and essential to the golden age. The phrasing of Anchises' prophecy may suggest a compromise, however. Warfare is part of the Roman way of life but it need not be the *rabies belli* which destroyed the early Romans. In its place, there could be government through war, and clemency as much as mastery.[153] The first Roman *ars*, after all, is the

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[150] For a different interpretation of *artes*, Hines (1987).

[151] This is the *infidos agitans discordia fratres* (*Geo.* 2.496, cf. 2.510), Mynors (1969) 169-70. Otis (1963) 315 suggests that Vergil (and Aeneas) see civil war as a "terrible necessity".

[152] Gale (2000) 27.

[153] E.g. Cic. *Off.* 2.27. Lyne (1983) 322, Gale (2000) 240-2. For Latinus and Aeneas as creators of "peace thorugh justice", Scott Ryberg (1958) 130. For Augustan iconography of the golden age based on military victory, Zanker (1988) 183-92.

imposition of peace, which, in itself, implies armed supremacy. Adler argues that the golden age prophesied by Jupiter in the *Aeneid*, in order to to be permanent, must be universal and armed: "universal to obviate foreign war and strong to keep the peace by putting down internal war".[154]

The variable nature of *labor* and *ars* gave Claudian Vergilian *auctoritas* in prescribing the sources of restored *aurea saecula* for the fourth century. The *labor* and *artes* of the individual would affect the empire, whether Rufinus' inherited *artes nocendi* (*Ruf.* 1. 97) or the positive talents of Stilicho and Theodorus. Theodorus' *labor* is law (*Theod.* 140), Stilicho's is warfare (*Stil.* 1.21-2, 193). For Claudian, as for Vergil, the golden age catalysts of *labor* and *artes*, even if iron age in essence, would restore the *aurea aetas* for the state.

In short, for Claudian's understanding and recreation of the golden age, Vergil had highlighted the problems and suggested solutions. The warlike nature of the Romans and the constant necessity to maintain borders on the edge of empire and peace within meant that war was as endemic for his society as for the Augustans. Rome was as visibly rich as in the first century; the imperial court far more splendid.[155] Since these characteristics would not disappear, the only way in which man could attain the golden age was by rising above their attraction, by remaining uncorrupted by the moral taint which they carried. The golden age which Claudian saw in Vergil's work was one based on knowledge and work and available to the man who could turn aside from the pursuit of riches and power. Since golden and iron ages co-existed, the golden age was present for the individual who sought it for himself: for Claudian, Stilicho and Mallius Theodorus are such individuals. The idea could be taken farther. Combining the encomiastic *topos* of the golden age as the gift of the emperor with his understanding of Vergil's golden age, Claudian makes the individual who possesses golden age qualities capable of sharing these with his society. Conversely, a man of power who has been corrupted by gold threatens to bring the iron age into his world. In the opposition of Stilicho and Rufinus, we are shown the power of the individual to create or destroy the *aurea aetas* for the empire.

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[154] Adler (2003) 161.

[155] Without irony, Rome was *aurea Roma*, cf. Juvencus *praef.* 1.2, Ausonius *Ordo Urb. Nob.* 1.

Rufinus: The Threat of the Iron Age

In the first book of *In Rufinum*, Claudian varies the *topos* of the imperial golden age under Theodosius by making it the catalyst for Rufinus' evil career. The political reasons are evident. Claudian could not insult Theodosius under whom Rufinus had risen to power. Rufinus is therefore distanced from humanity, adopted by the Fury Megaera as a baby (*Ruf.* 1.92-3) and raised with the sole aim of destroying the *aurea saecula* of Theodosius. As Cameron remarks, "if Rufinus' elevation to Theodosius' right hand is the result of a plot by the powers of darkness, then Theodosius can hardly be held responsible for his crimes in the ordinary way".[156]

Golden age imagery pervades the first book of the invective. Claudian is not shy in alluding to the *topos*. Allecto calls an infernal council to protest against the return of harmony and to declare her intention of restoring the iron age to earth. Her description of the peace the Furies have suffered, *nos indecores longo torpebimus aevo* (58), suggests the *torpor* of the Saturnian age (*Geo.* 1.124) and her intended inversion of Jupiter's theodicy. Her diatribe lists the standard elements of the golden age.[157] Combining the Hesiodic races of man with the Vergilian ages, she deplores the *tranquillo saecula cursu* (*Ruf.* 1.45), the presence of *aurea aetas* (51) and the return of the *proles antiqua* (52). The gods, in the shape of personified virtues, have returned to earth:

> Concordia, Virtus,
> cumque Fide Pietas alta cervice vagantur (52-3),

and *Iustitia* has descended from heaven to jeer at Allecto (55-6). The catalogue is a clichéd one but certain attributes mark this as a specifically Roman and imperial *aurea aetas*. It has been established by the emperor Theodosius, who acts in tandem with Jupiter, together ruling earth and heaven (50-1). The gods who return are the Roman virtues, *Concordia*, the emperor's own gift to his people (together with the imperial *clementia* (47) which is destroying the character of the Furies), the quintessentially Roman *Pietas*, and the cardinal virtues of *Virtus* and *Fides*.[158] The image is evocative of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*:

> iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
> priscus et neglecta redire Virtus

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[156] Cameron (1970a) 70. James (1998) 158 notes that *In Rufinum* "establishes the tragedy of a divided empire" as any successor to Rufinus (e.g. Eutropius) must be an agent of the Furies.

[157] For this speech as reversal of rhetorical norms, James (1998) 163.

[158] Cf. the shield of Augustus, *virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis caussa*, *RG* VI.34.

audet (*CS* 57-9).[159]

Playing on Christian and golden age imagery, Claudian portrays Rufinus as the serpent in paradise,[160] the snake who threatens the *aurea aetas*.[161] In the preface he is Python, polluting the land with his poison, *vipereo veneno* (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 9).[162] The snake imagery runs through the poem,[163] as attributes of the Furies, *obstantes in tergum reppulit angues* (*Ruf.* 1.42), the venom recalling the poison of Python:

totos serpentum erexit hiatus
noxiaque effudit concusso crine venena (66-7).

Megaera, her dress bound *caeruleo angue* (118), tells of how her snakes literally shaped Rufinus, *linguisque trisulcis/mollia lambentes finxerunt membra cerastae* (95-6). In his rage, he becomes *serpens calcata* (228), and in opposition to Stilicho he combines the worst of all snaky monsters: *nec si concurrat in unum/vis hydrae Scyllaeque fames et flamma Chimaerae* (295-6).[164] Megaera's final taunt to *Iustitia* combines the end of the golden age with Rufinus' serpent-like actions:

en tibi prisca quies renovataque saecula rursus,
ut rebare, vigent!...
adspice barbaricis iaceant quot moenia flammis,
quas mihi Rufinus strages quantumque cruoris
praebeat et quantis epulentur caedibus hydri (357-8, 360-2)

as though Rufinus were one of her snakes, feeding on the blood which he has shed. *Iustitia* answers in terms familiar to Christian and pagan, promising the end to the Fury's snakes:

tuque simul gravibus ferri religata catenis
expellere die debellatasque draconum
tonsa comas imo barathri claudere recessu (377-9).[165]

Rufinus' embodiment of man's innate bestiality (in contrast with Stilicho's near-divinity) has been discussed;[166] it is notable also that his first beastly manifestations are designed to

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[159] Galinsky (1996) 104, Putnam (2000) 83-5.

[160] Gen. 3.1, 14-15, James (1998) 167. The characterisation of the Biblical serpent as *callidior cunctis animantibus* (Gen. 3.1) may resonate in Megaera's description of Rufinus as *prodigium cunctis inmanius hydris* (*Ruf.* 1.89). For the deChristianisation of Rufinus, James (1998) 151-2. As an epic parallel, Levy (1971) 33 notes *calcato immitior hydro* of Ovid *Met.* 13.804.

[161] Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.24-5: *occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni occidet.*

[162] Claudian's debt in the preface to Ovid and Statius has been discussed (pages 31-2 above); in the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, Python is responsible for raising Typhon as a punishment for mankind (III.300-6), a possible source of the relationship between Megaera and Rufinus in this poem.

[163] James (1998) 161.

[164] So pervasive is Claudian's association of snakes with evil that Stilicho as Perseus rejects the help of Medusa's head, *non vipereo defensus crine Medusae* (*Ruf.* 1. 281).

[165] For cutting the hair of enemies, Levy (1971) 112.

counteract the golden age qualities of the world under Theodosius. Megaera describes him:

> est mihi prodigium cunctis inmanius hydris,
> tigride mobilius feta, violentius Austris
> acribus, Euripi refluis incertius undis (89-91),

every detail challenging an aspect of the golden age. Tigers, as savage animals, were banned like snakes from the world of the *Eclogue* (4.22) and are specifically absent from the idealised Italian landscape of the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 2.151)[167] being *rabidae*, a characteristic of Allecto (*Ruf.* 1.44). The destructive Auster[168] was not welcome in the golden age, where only the gentle Zephyr blew, nor was the notorious current of the Euripus a problem in a world before sea-faring.[169]

Rufinus' outstanding characteristic, however, is greed. Claudian foreshadows this theme by augmenting Vergil's Underworld inhabitants (*Aen.* 6.273-81) with *Audacia*, *Luxus* and *Avaritia*:

> caeco praeceps Audacia vultu
> et Luxus populator opum, quem semper adhaerens
> infelix humili gressu comitatur Egestas,
> foedaque Avaritiae complexae pectora matris
> insomnes longo veniunt examine Curae (*Ruf.* 1.34-8).

In the *Georgics*, *egestas* is the companion of *labor improbus* (*Geo.* 1.145-6). Galinsky notes that the pairing suggests the "avoidance of materialistic excess";[170] as Claudian will show, Rufinus seeks excess, preferring *luxus* to *labor*, and will take from others, becoming *populator opum*, to satisfy his greed. His thirst for gold is unquenchable:

> non Tartesiacis illum satiaret harenis
> tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis
> aurea Pactoli; totumque exhauserit Hermum,
> ardebit maiore siti (*Ruf.* 1.101-4).

His draining of golden rivers suggests Python in the preface, *hauriret hiatu/flumina* (*Ruf.* 1 *pr.* 3-4). The more he consumes, the more he hungers. His constant greed, *non satiaret*, and the image of the sea, unfulfilled by the addition of all the rivers (*Ruf.* 1.183-5), recalls Ovid's Erysichthon:[171]

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[166] See pages 175-7 above.
[167] Mynors (1969) 121.
[168] E.g. Lucr. *DRN* 5.1002-5. The stormy Auster appears in Luc. *BC* 9.448.
[169] The Euripus is described by Lucan as the channel which sends ships adrift (*BC* 5.234-6); the connections with seafaring may suggest the iron age.
[170] Galinsky (1996) 122.
[171] Levy (1971) 56.

utque fretum recipit de tota flumina terra
nec satiatur aquis peregrinosque ebibit amnes (*Met.* 8.835-6).[172]

What would suffice a nation, is not enough for Erysichthon, *quodque urbibus esse,/quodque satis poterat populo, non sufficiet uni* (*Met.* 8.832-3). In the same way, Rufinus amasses the wealth of a nation: *congestae cumulantur opes orbisque ruinas/accipit una domus* (*Ruf.* 1.193-4).[173]

Megaera had summed up the essence of Rufinus, *plenus saevitiae lucrique cupidine fervens* (*Ruf.* 1.100) and in savagery and greed he epitomises the iron age man, his lust for actual gold symbolizing his lack of spiritual gold. In describing the downfall of early man, Vergil had juxtaposed anger and avarice as *belli rabies et amor habendi* (*Aen.* 8.327); Rufinus' *rabies* is that of the Furies (*Ruf.* 1.48) and manifests itself not in the desire for war, but for torture: *pro saevior ense/parcendi rabies concessaque vita dolori!* (*Ruf.* 1.236-7).[174]

It is through his *auri fames*, however, that he is persuaded by Megaera. She tempts him with gold and he, like Midas, is captured by the bait. It could not be suggested more forcefully than by this comparison that the lure of gold itself is vain. In Ovid's narration of the myth, the gift of the golden touch is at best useless, *inutile*, more likely a source of harm, *nocitura munera*, and Midas will make bad use of it, *male usurus donis* (*Met.* 11.100-4). Claudian draws the moral openly: *tum munus acerbum/sensit et inviso votum damnavit in auro* (*Ruf.* 1.168-9).[175] The warning is intended for the audience, not for Rufinus who embarks at once on his quest for personal gain. There is no suggestion that he might have achieved power through the regular *cursus honorum*; instead, he snakes his way, *subrepsit* (177), into the palace where his greed can run rampant. Run rampant it does, and Claudian warns him again, *quo, vaesane, ruis?* (196), an allusion to Aeneas' words to Lausus:[176]

"quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?

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[172] Bömer (1977) 261, Hollis (1970) 143.

[173] With the exception of the sea simile, there are no verbal parallels between the two texts; it must be noted, however, that both Erysichthon and Rufinus are torn to pieces (*Met.* 8.878, *Ruf.* 2.407-16).

[174] Bruère (1964) 228 suggests that Claudian is alluding to the torture and death of M. Marius Gratidianus described by Luc. *BC* 2.179-80: *nil animae letale datum moremque nefandae/dirum saevitiae, pereuntis parcere morti*: see Levy (1971) 68-9.

[175] Levy (1971) 51. In the second book, Rufinus has a similar but brief understanding of the uselessness of his wealth (*Ruf.* 2.134-6).

[176] Levy (1971) 58. The image may also pick up the reference to the rivers flowing into the sea at *Ruf.* 1.183-5: see James (1988) 171.

> fallit te incautum pietas tua." nec minus ille
> exsultat demens (*Aen.* 10.811-3).

praeceps Audacia had been added to the company of the Underworld: like Lausus, Rufinus rushes on to his doom.

The accusation of greed was a *topos* of invective,[177] but Claudian develops the golden age imagery of the *Georgics* to show what Rufinus has himself lost and what he is destroying for others. Although raised to *furor*, Rufinus' first appearance suggests that he may have had a choice. In imitation of Allecto's approach to Turnus (*Aen.* 7.415-9),[178] Megaera comes in disguise to Rufinus, seeking him on his father's estate. Her opening words rebuke him for idleness:

> otia te, Rufine, iuvant frustraque iuventae
> consumis florem patriis inglorius arvis? (*Ruf.* 1.140-1).

From the time of Hesiod, leisure had been associated with the idyllic golden age (*W&D* 112-13). While Vergil makes *labor* crucial to man's development towards a second, realistic, golden age he acknowledges the delight of rest, listing among the blessings of the happy farmers *latis otia fundis* (*Geo.* 2.468).[179] Claudian may be in part relying on the tradition which claims that *otium* corrupts[180] but the lines are above all an elaboration of golden age vocabulary and imagery. In a shorter poem (*c.m.* xx) closely based on Vergil's old man of Corycia (*Geo.* 4.125-46), Claudian envisions the ideal yet attainable life as that lived by man in harmony with nature.[181] His old man of Verona is introduced in lines reminiscent of Vergil's philosopher poet, ***felix qui*** *potuit rerum cognoscere causas* (*Geo.*2.490):

> **feiix, qui** patriis aevum transegit in arvis (*c.m.* xx.1).

The old man's contentment, *patriis in arvis*, suggests that Rufinus' existence, *patriis arvis*, should be enough to content him.[182] The fertility of the golden age is present in Rufinus who possesses the flower of youth, *florem iuventae*, while the poet's prayer of the *Georgics* is to live in the countryside, *inglorius* (*Geo.* 2.486), learning to understand

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[177] Cameron (1970a) 106.
[178] Barr (1979) 187.
[179] Cf. Lucr. *DRN* 5.1379-89.
[180] For the belief that man may suffer from idleness, Cat. 51.13-14, on his sources Quinn (1970) 245. For *otium*, see Segal (1970), Laidlaw (1968).
[181] Thomas (1982b) 56-60 argues that the old man of Corycia is presented as a comparison to the inhabitants of Italy and Scythia, and represents the the ideal.
[182] Note, however, that Claudian's *senex* has created almost a pre-lapsarian world for himself, remaining ignorant, *indocilis rerum..nescius* (*c.m.* xx.9) of the merchant, the soldier and the politician.

nature.[183] The association of allusions in Claudian's two lines offers Rufinus a vision of what he could be, living in harmony with nature, away from the court, untouched by greed. The vision is of course an impossibility and the golden age imagery serves to introduce Rufinus' attempted destruction of the *aurea aetas* for all men.

The fertility of the countryside makes it a target for his greed:

> dominoque parabat
> exitium fecundus ager; metuenda colonis
> fertilitas; laribus pellit, detrudit avitis
> finibus (*Ruf.* 1.189-92).

As Cameron notes, these are stock accusations against a *tyrannus*;[184] in the context of the golden age, however, and Claudian's strong reliance on the *Georgics*, we are reminded of the triumph of misrule when *coloni* were put off their land (*Geo.* 1.506-8). Those whom Rufinus attacks are the simple people of the countryside, small farmers tilling a single field, *ager*, living on their ancestral land, *avitis finibus*, and worshipping their household gods, *lares*. The golden age is not invoked, but the values of these people are those of the farmers, praised by Vergil:

> [illic]...patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus
> sacra deum sanctique patres (*Geo.* 2.471-3).

Opening with the aphorism *semper inops quicumque cupit* (*Ruf.* 1.200), Claudian turns to the remote past and the familiar *exempla* of Fabricius, Serranus and the Curii, combining the great figures of the *Aeneid* (6.843-4) with the golden age of the *Georgics*. Hard work and contempt for gold unites these heroes as Claudian argues that this is true wealth (*Ruf.* 1.204-5). Reference to these heroes in the context of allusion to the *Georgics* emphasises the Roman quality of the golden age Claudian creates, their upright poverty in contrast with the oriental wealth of Croesus and Cyrus (*Ruf.* 1.198). Drawing on Vergil's life of the farmer, and the geographical location of the golden age in Italy, Claudian compares the artificial riches of Rufinus with those available as nature's gift in terms of *hic* and *ibi*. *hic* is here, in the West, the home of the traditional *mos maiorum*, the golden age established by Saturn and the *laudes Italiae* where the golden age could be seen to continue, while *ibi*, there, represents the East, ruled by Rufinus, the home of luxury.[185] To create the contrast, Claudian interweaves the golden age of the *Georgics* with Lucan's

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[183] Nelis (2004) 76.
[184] Cameron (1970a) 106, cf. Africa's complaints against Gildo which are virtually identical, *Gildoni fecunda fui* (*Gild.* 153), *proturbat avita/quemque domo; veteres detrudit rure colonos* (*Gild.* 197-8).
[185] James (1998) 167.

condemnation of Cleopatra's luxurious feasting,[186] a scene which Lucan, without alluding specifically to the iron age, describes as typical of *corruptior aetas* (*BC* 10.111).

> pax ubi parta ducis **donis**que ingentibus **empta** est,
> excepere epulae tantarum gaudia rerum,
> explicuitque suos magno Cleopatra tumultu
> nondum translatos Romana in saecula **luxus**...
> **fulget** gemma **toris**...
> **strata** micant (*BC* 10.107-10, 122, 124).

Claudian's luxurious details are very similar:

> ibi quaerit inanes
> **luxuries** nocitura cibos; hic **donat inemptas**
> terra dapes. rapiunt Tyrios ibi vellera fucos
> et picturatae saturantur murice vestes;
> hic radiant flores et prati viva voluptas
> ingenio variata suo. **fulgentibus** illic
> surgunt **strata toris**; hic mollis panditur herba
> sollicitum curis non abruptura soporem.
> turba salutantum latas ibi perstrepit aedes;
> hic avium cantus, labentis murmura rivi. (*Ruf.* 1.205-14).

The theme, however, is Vergilian. For Vergil, the throngs of clients, the rich clothes, define those who are not *fortunati*:

> si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
> mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
> nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
> inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera (*Geo.* 2.461-4).

The *domus alta* contrasts with Claudian's description of the hut of the Curii, *casa angusta* (*Ruf.* 1.203).[187] In transferring the luxurious *variatio* of precious metals and tortoiseshell to nature's own variety, Claudian picks up a theme of the *Georgics* where variety was initially the reward for the toil imposed on man (*Geo.* 1.133), but in the second book of the *Georgics*, part of the idyllic landscape (*Geo.* 2.468). This diversity is the true wealth of nature and, with peace of mind and the beauties of the countryside, is the reward for the man who knows his own good fortune:

> at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
> dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,
> speluncae vivique lacus (*Geo.* 2.467-9).

Lucretius' summation of man's inclination to greed (*DRN* 5.1117-19) is echoed in Claudian's conclusion:

> vivitur exiguo melius; natura beatis

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[186] Bruère (1964) 227, Levy (1971) 61.
[187] Bruère (1964) 227 also sees a suggestion of Amyclas' hut, Luc. *BC* 5.523, 527, 528.

omnibus esse dedit, si quis cognoverit uti (*Ruf.* 1.215-16),

the relevant phrase being *si quis cognoverit uti*.[188] This associates his happy poor with the *fortunati* of Vergil, *sua si bona norint* (*Geo.* 2.458), stating specifically that the golden age is here for those who enjoy it; for the enlightened, poverty of this nature is really wealth. This is the wisdom of the old man of Corycia, rich in simple sufficiency:[189]

regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens
nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis (*Geo.* 4.132-3).

which is present in Claudian's advice: *hic donat inemptas/terra dapes* (*Ruf.* 1.206-7). The conditionality, however, of *sua si bona norint*, is also present in *si quis cognoverit uti* and the pathos of Claudian's conclusion suggests that man will never learn:

haec si nota forent, frueremur simplice cultu,
classica non gemerent, non stridula fraxinus iret,
non ventus quateret puppes, non machina muros (*Ruf.* 1.217-19).[190]

The pessimism of this midpoint conclusion introduces Rufinus' reign of terror, his delight in pain and torture: *cruciatus, vincla, tenebras/dilato mucrone parat* (*Ruf.* 1.235-6). In the person of one man, the qualities of the iron age rule the world. Ovid had listed them:

omne nefas: fugere **pudor** verumque **fides**que
in quorum subiere locum **fraudes**que **dolus**que
insidiaeque et vis et **amor sceleratus** habendi (*Met.* 1.129-31)

and, divided between two passages, Claudian attributes them to Rufinus, in the voice of Megaera:

meque etiam tradente **dolos** artesque nocendi
edidicit simulare **fidem** sensusque minaces
protegere et blando **fraudem** praetexere risu,
plenus saevitiae lucrique cupidine fervens...
sit licet ipse Numa gravior, sit denique Minos,
cedet et **insidiis** nostri flectetur alumni (*Ruf.* 1.97-100, 114-15)

and of the narrator:

crescebat **scelerata** sitis praedaeque recentis
incestus flagrabat **amor**, nullusque petendi
cogendive **pudor** (*Ruf.* 1.220-2).

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[188] *vivitur exiguo melius* suggests a combined allusion to Horace's *vivitur parvo bene* (*C.* 2.16.12) and Vergil's *exiguoque adsueta iuventus* (*Geo.* 2.472): see Levy (1971) 62.

[189] For the realism of this picture, in contrast to the impossibilities of the *laudes Italiae*, Thomas (1982b) 47-8.

[190] For this passage, cf. *Geo.* 2.539: see Levy (1971) 63. Claudian's pessimism may be founded on the chronological complexities of Vergil's depiction of the Saturnian age here.

If one man could spread the iron age, *Stygiam pestem desudat* (*Ruf.* 1.304), like a disease across the empire, one man could stand against him as the representative of the golden age. Stilicho is introduced as the embodiment of *virtus* (*Ruf.* 1.259) and, in significant golden age terminology, he is *cunctis optata quies* (264).[191] Virtue and vice confront each other – *certamen moribus inpar,/virtutum scelerumque fuit* (297-8) – but the confrontation is spiritual only and, as the book ends with the world preparing for war, Claudian seems to be promising a pessimistic outcome to his golden age. The ending, however, is more optimistic. As Megaera reappears to exult over *Iustitia*, *Iustitia* retorts that the golden age is at hand.

The promise of the golden age in *Iustitia*'s speech to Megaera is a nexus of allusion, based on skilful juggling of chronology, combining the prophecies of Jupiter and Anchises in the *Aeneid*, the blissful golden age of the fourth *Eclogue* and the contemporary *aurea aetas* of Theodosius. She warns Megaera to rage no longer:

> iam poenas tuus iste dabit, iam debitus ultor
> inminet, et **terras qui nunc** ipsumque **fatigat**
> **aethera** nec vili moriens condetur harena (369-71),

alluding clearly to Jupiter's reference to Juno's hostility, ***quae*** *mare* ***nunc terrasque*** *metu* ***caelumque fatigat*** (*Aen.* 1.280).[192] The *ultor* in question is Honorius:

> iamque aderit laeto promissus Honorius aevo
> nec forti genitore minor nec fratre corusco,
> qui subiget Medos, qui cuspide proteret Indos (*Ruf.* 1.372-4).

This is a composite allusion, suggesting both the coming of Julius Caesar, laden with the spoils of the East (*Aen.* 1.286-90), and also Anchises' foretelling of Augustus, *super et Garamantas et Indos/proferet imperium* (*Aen.* 6.794-5). The golden age which Megaera had planned to destroy will continue because of the chains of iron which will bind her (*Ruf.* 1. 377-9), thus fulfilling the prophesy of Jupiter in the *Aeneid*:

> cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
> iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
> claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
> saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
> post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento (*Aen.* 1.292-6).

Now we can see that this allusion has been divided, the opening *cana Fides et Vesta* having introduced the golden age of Theodosius at the beginning of the book, *cumque*

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[191] James (1998) 169-70 sees in the mythological comparisons between Stilicho and Hercules (*Ruf.* 1.278-96) an "obvious expansion of Virgil's homage to the achievements of Augustus (*Aeneid* 6.791-805)"; if so, the golden age promised under Augustus in that passage would add golden lustre to the image of Stilicho.

[192] Levy (1971) 108.

Fide Pietas (*Ruf.* 1.53). The positioning of the allusion demonstrates Claudian's attention to his sources. In the *Aeneid*, the golden age is promised early in the first book and late in the sixth: in other words, at the beginning and the middle of the epic. In Claudian we find the golden age, created by allusion to the *Aeneid*, at the beginning and end of the book, which is the mid-point of the poem as a whole. If we look at the first book of *In Rufinum* as a unit, then the positioning of the golden age landscape, based on the end of the second book of the *Georgics*, is set at the mid-point, a position identical to that of the Vergilian source.

The chronological ambiguities of the Vergilian prophecies are also to be found in *In Rufinum* and the problems which faced Vergil's audience now confront Claudian's readers. The golden age of Theodosius must be past since he died two years before the performance of *In Rufinum* but the golden age of Honorius, promised in the words of *Iustitia* has yet to come. *Iustitia*'s description of this coming golden age may raise further questions as she draws on the idyllic *aureae aetates* of Ovid and Vergil for its characteristics. The opening lines are Ovidian:[193]

> tum tellus **communis** erit, tum **limite** nullo
> discernetur ager; nec vomere sulcus adunco
> findetur: subitis **messor** gaudebit aristis (*Ruf.* 1.380-2)

reversing Ovid's division of the earth at the coming of the iron age:

> **communem**que prius ceu lumina solis et auras
> cautus humum longo signavit **limite mensor** (*Met.* 1.135-6).

Otherwise, this is the golden age of the fourth *Eclogue*:

> rorabunt querceta favis; stagnantia passim
> vina fluent oleique lacus; nec murice tinctis
> velleribus quaeretur honos, sed sponte rubebunt
> attonito pastore greges pontumque per omnem
> ridebunt virides gemmis nascentibus algae (*Ruf.* 1.383-7).

The uncultivated corn and the honey-drippings oaks are from the *Eclogue* (4.28, 30), as are the colourful sheep (4.43-7) and the untilled earth (4.33), the verbal parallels being very close.[194] The jewelled seaweed is a late antique touch,[195] given a Vergilian flavour with the words *ridebunt* (cf. *Ecl.* 4.20, 60, 62) and *nascentibus* (cf. *Ecl.* 4.5, 8).

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[193] Cf. also *Geo.* 1.126-7, [Sen.] *Oct.* 401-3, Levy (1971) 113.

[194] Levy (1971) 113-14 notes similar passages in Tib. 1.3.45, Verg. *Geo.* 1.131-2, and in Claudian *Rapt.* 1.198-200.

[195] Literally suggesting the "jewelled style": see Roberts (1989a).

The emphasis Claudian gives to the communality of this golden age catches the eye. While this was a feature of the original golden age – and of its idyllic renaissance – the division of land was an integral part of the farming arts which Jupiter wished men to learn (*Geo.* 1.125-8).[196] Claudian had criticised Rufinus for banishing farmers from their land (*Ruf.* 1. 189-92); it seems illogical, even in golden age terms, not to return it. While the illogicality makes the vision of *Iustitia* even more unreal, Claudian's implicit condemnation of any personal property reinforces the theme of the book. Rufinus' greed threatened to restore the iron age to the world; a future without Rufinus and the restoration of the golden age under Honorius must depend on man's rejection of gold. *tellus communis* symbolises that rejection.

The golden age myth as utilised in *In Rufinum* clearly demonstrates Claudian's awareness of the subtleties of interpretation. Accepting the fact that war and wealth show the presence of the iron age, Claudian argues that the golden age is also present, centred on the simple gifts of nature and on man's awareness, his ability to reject the vain enticements of riches. This is the lesson of Rufinus' fall. Like Midas, he has become an *exemplum*, showing the evils of *auri fames*, an object lesson for his contemporaries.[197] The golden age has become the choice of the individual; Rufinus' corruption by gold is set against Stilicho's incorruptible golden qualities, illustrating the importance of the individual to restore or destroy the *aurea aetas* for the empire. In *In Rufinum*, Claudian shows Stilicho's stand against the savagery and greed of one man; in *De bello Getico*, he must rescue a nation from the lure of the iron age.

Stilicho: *Labor* and War

As the *optata quies* sought by the people (*Ruf.* 1.264), Stilicho represented the resistance of the golden age of Theodosius to the iron age of Rufinus, the conflict between the two men representing, on a human level, the opposition of *Iustitia* and Megaera, Justice and Madness. In the panegyric on Stilicho's consulship, recited three years later in A.D. 400, Claudian develops the theme fully, portraying Stilicho as a man in whom the golden age

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[196] Galinsky (1996) 122 argues that Vergil's rejection of common property was in keeping with his and Augustus' concerns for moral regeneration, the *mores* sought being those of the small landholder.

[197] The actual punishment for his greed is described in the second book, Rufinus' severed hand being passed around to beg, *aera petens poenasque animi persolvit avari/terribili lucro* (*Ruf.* 2.437-8).

is situated, the literal embodiment of golden age virtues. At the beginning of the second book, Claudian tells us that *Clementia* has taken up residence in Stilicho's breast, accompanied by *Fides*, *Iustitia*, *Patientia*, *Temperies*, *Prudentia* and *Constantia* who combine to repel the charms of *Avaratia*, *Ambitio*, *Luxuries* and *Libido* (*Stil* 2.30-49).[198] These virtues suggest the golden age qualities of the early Romans, their hardness and endurance softened by *Temperies* (the ideal climate of the *aurea aetas*) and controlled by *Iustitia*. The vices from which they protect Stilicho are those which epitomised Rufinus, and which are most likely to corrupt a high official.[199]

While the iron age, *gurges corruptior aevi*, is all around, Stilicho has chosen to distance himself from contemporary faults:

> nec te gurges corruptior aevi
> traxit ad exemplum, qui iam firmaverat annis
> crimen et in legem rapiendi verterat usum (*Stil.* 2.116-18)

giving honour to virtue rather than riches, and so recalling the habits of earlier ages:

> hinc priscae redeunt artes; felicibus inde
> ingeniis aperitur iter despectaque Musae
> colla levant opibusque fluens et pauper eodem
> nititur ad fructum studio, cum cernat uterque
> quod nec inops iaceat probitas nec inertia surgat
> divitiis (*Stil.* 2.126-31).

The vocabulary suggests themes of Vergil's *aurea aetas*, the *priscae artes* deliberately vague, recalling at once the *variae artes* which men had to acquire (*Geo.* 1.145) as well as the specifically Roman *artes* described by Anchises: to rule, to be merciful, to impose peace (*Aen.* 6.852-4). The golden age which Stilicho embodies, while characterised by many of the idyllic features, is far from the primitive pre-lapsarian world of the Saturnian age. Vergil's Jupiter had demanded that man endure *labor* in order to learn *artes*; man's happiness is based on his ability to enjoy the fruits of his labour and of the world around him. For Romans of the fourth century, the restoration of the golden age and their *priscae artes* depends on Stilicho, his virtues and his *labor*. This is not the toil of the farmer, but of a servant of the empire and involves the maintenance of empire by war and the imposition of peace. His *labor* is the subject of panegyric, *decertatosque labores/Hebro teste canam?* (*Stil.* 1.21-2), surpassing the successes of Drusus and Trajan over Germany: *cedant, Druse, tui, cedant, Traiane, labores* (*Stil.* 1.193). In the third book of the

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[198] Keudel (1970) 79-80.

[199] Christiansen (1967) 121. In *De consulatu Stilichonis*, Stilicho shows his freedom from greed by lavishing his riches – *magnarum nec parcus opum* (*Stil* 3.223) - on games for his soldiers. Cf. Probus' freedom from corruption (*P&O* 40-1), also Theodorus (*Theod.*38-41).

panegyric we learn that victory is Stilicho's true *labor* (*Stil* 3.14) and that he toils not for praise, but for pleasure in the work: *non illum praemia tantum/quam labor ipse iuvat* (*Stil* 3.27-8).

In this final book of the panegyric, Claudian recalls the *priscae artes* as Stilicho is entrusted with restoring the qualities of ancient Rome, the *patrias artes*:

> cani virtutibus aevi
> materiam pandit Stilicho populumque vetusti
> culminis inmemorem dominandi rursus in usum
> excitat, ut magnos calcet metuendus honores,
> pendat iustitia crimen, pietate remittat
> errorem purosque probet damnetque nocentes
> et patrias iterum clemens exerceat artes (*Stil.* 3.106-12).

While the phrase *patrias artes* suggests Romulus' advice to the Romans, *patrias artes militiamque colant* (*Fast.* 2.508),[200] associating Roman *artes* with *militia*, the elaboration of Claudian's passage paraphrases Anchises' instructions to *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 6.851-3), explaining the necessity of war and the importance of military might in keeping the peace. Here *clementia* is literally positioned at the centre of *patriae artes* (*Stil* 3.12). Claudian's justification of war as a means of re-establishing the *mos maiorum* – *virtus*, *iustitia*, *pietas*, *clementia* – combines uneasily with the violence of war – *dominandi*, *calcet* – yet the overriding insistence that these are the virtues of the past - *cani virtutibus aevi*, *vetusti*, *rursus*, *iterum* – wins through.[201]

These lines both justify Stilicho's victory over Gildo, his triumph being the theme of this book, and foreshadow the righteous war which will be fought in *De bello Getico*. Two years after *De consulatu Stilichonis*, Alaric and his Goths were threatening the empire. Even without Claudian's hyperbole, it is clear that Rome was facing its greatest danger in many centuries.[202] In *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, he describes the fortification of the walls of Rome (*VI Cons.* 531-6). As usual, Claudian compares the attack of Alaric to the wars with Pyrrhus, Jugurtha, Hannibal and Spartacus, this time with reason; on the evidence of the poem itself, Alaric left the country without suffering heavy defeat (*Get.* 96-103).[203] For the panegyrist, this was irrelevant; any small defeat for the Goths would be portrayed as a mighty triumph for Stilicho. To Claudian,

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[200] Keudel (1970) 126.
[201] Cf. Vergil's treatment of the Augustan regime: see Morgan (1999) 105-49.
[202] Cameron (1970a) 156-7, Fargues (1933) 109.
[203] Cameron (1970a) 180-8, Wolfram (1997) 96-7, Heather (1991) 209-13.

however, the true nature of the crisis does not come from the hordes of Visigoths intent on capturing Rome[204] but from the Romans themselves. In comparing Alaric to previous enemies, Claudian concludes that no comparison can be valid because of the deterioration of the Roman character: *nos, terrorum expers et luxu mollior aetas* (*Get.* 160).[205] The moral regeneration of the Romans through war and rejection of wealth would become the theme of the poem. As a parallel to Roman improvement, Claudian shows barbarian regression, the Visigoths corrupted by greed and desire for battle spoils. War saves one people and destroys the other, and Stilicho is the agent of both.

De bello Getico is not built on the myth of the golden age as was the first book of *In Rufinum*; rather, it addresses themes which arose from earlier considerations of the myth and of the influence of civilization on early man. As argued, the image of primitive man as uncorrupted by greed was a commonplace of history and literature, his progression towards civilization, the influence of luxury, the desire for riches and the corresponding need for warfare being expressed as the transition from the golden to the iron age. It was not necessary, however, to draw the moral from history; the example of the barbarian, uncorrupted by decadent ways was always to hand, [206] and whose innocent virtue showed Romans what their prosperous society had lost. Horace had extolled the hardiness of the Scythians and Goths:

> campestres melius Scythae,
> quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
> vivunt et rigidi Getae (*C.* 3.24.9-11)

for their freedom from greed and strict moral code[207], constrasting them with Romans whose morals had declined as the empire grew richer. The fact that the barbarians were as liable to corruption as the Romans was, for the time being, irrelevant; their present hardness was itself a virtue, and their moral simplicity a rebuke to Romans, who were reminded of how far they themselves had come from the qualities which had brought them *imperium*.

Four hundred years after Horace, the Goths are less idealised. They still possess the hardness that the Romans have lost, being a northern people, *hic validam gentem, quam*

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[204] Cameron (1970a) 184.
[205] Fargues (1933) 113 suggests that the Romans might have blamed Stilicho for this *mollitia*.
[206] For the noble savage, Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 287-367.
[207] West (2002) 198-9, Thomas (1982b) 51-5 on the Scythians in the *Georgics* and Horace.

dura nivosis/educat Ursa plagis (*Get.* 134-5),[208] but their hardness and incorruptibility are under threat. No longer a distant symbol of the noble savage, their wagons have invaded the empire. That they have seen civilization and want their share of riches is evident from their initial presentation as plunder seekers in *De bello Getico*. Having abandoned their uncorrupted primitive lifestyle and now seeking riches through war, the Goths are evolving from the golden to the iron age. Horace's Goths had lived on the fruit of the land, *immetata quibus iugera liberas/fruges et Cererem ferunt* (*Carm.* 3.24.12-13); the Goths of late antiquity live by plunder, *adsuetum spoliis* (*Get.* 94), their aim to drain Rome of its riches, *qui mente profunda/hauserat urbis opes* (*Get.* 85-6), their leader marked by a desire for booty, *praedari cupiens* (*Get.* 502).

The Romans are also changing. Now used to luxury, they have declined from their military ideal and are unprepared for the coming onslaught. Without referring to the golden age, Claudian notes that the former age of justice, *priscus ordo iustititae* (*Get.* 39-40), has been suppressed by fear,[209] the phrase suggesting the need for restoration. Soft living has undone the Roman *mos maiorum*; while Alaric may be a latter-day Hannibal, his opponents are no better than the weaklings shamed by Spartacus who:

> consulibusque palam totiens congressus inertes
> exuerit castris dominos et strage pudenda
> fuderit inbelles aquilas servilibus armis?
> nos, terrorum expers et luxu mollior aetas,
> deficimus queruli, si bos abductus aratro,
> si libata seges (*Get.* 157-62).

inbellis is an adjective applied to the decadent Indians;[210] in *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian had highlighted the difference between the morally rigorous Romans and the soft Easterners (*IV Cons.* 214-20). *luxus* has now created a *mollior aetas*, the hardness essential to Roman victory softened by wealth. Playing with the golden paradox, Claudian suggests that reliance on gold has destroyed the efficacy of iron: the gates, *ferratae portae*, open of their own accord to the Goths (*Get.* 215) as the inhabitants reject the protection of their (iron age) golden ceilings, wishing for the (golden age) protection of a cave:

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[208] Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 315 note that the Scythians were a particularly important model for a hard primitive society; in *In Rufinum*, however, Claudian sees nothing noble in their customs (*Ruf.* 1. 323-31) and depicts them only as invaders at *Ruf.* 2.28-33 which implies that the golden age he desired was intended only for the citizens of the empire in the West. For the political background to Claudian's attitude to barbarians, Cameron (1970a) 370-7, Fargues (1933) 96-8.

[209] Balzert (1974) 18-23, cf. Fargues (1933) 109.

[210] Cf. *Geo.* 2.172; on the ethnographic tradition, Thomas (1982b) 48.

> fultaque despiciens auro laquearia dives
> tutior Aeoliis mallet vixisse cavernis (*Get.* 223-4).[211]

They see the error of their ways:

> iamque oneri creduntur opes tandemque libido
> haesit avaritiae gravioribus obruta curis (*Get.* 225-6),

their *libido avaritiae* the same destructive *cupido lucri* (*Ruf.* 1.100) which corrupted Rufinus, or the *amor habendi* (*Aen.* 8.327, *Met.* 1.131) which destroyed golden age society. Understanding of their fault has led them to rejection of gold; they are ready to restore the *priscus ordo* but fear has made them incapable.

For both Romans and Goths, *De bello Getico* marks a point of transition, in mythological terms, between the gold and iron ages, signfied both by Hesiod and the fourth *Eclogue* as the age of heroes. The Romans cannot be restored to the full golden age without war, the necessity of which is defined in the fourth *Eclogue*:

> alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
> delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
> atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles (*Ecl.* 4.34-6).

In *De bello Getico*, Claudian provides them with a second Argonautica. The poem opens with praise of Stilicho as a second Tiphys, who has steered the whole empire out of trouble:[212]

> intacti cum claustra freti, coeuntibus aequor
> armatum scopulis, audax inrumperet Argo
> Aeeten Colchosque petens, propiore periclo
> omnibus attonitis, solus post numina Tiphys
> incolumem tenui damno servasse carinam
> fertur et ancipitem montis vitasse ruinam
> deceptoque vagae concursu rupis in altum
> victricem duxisse ratem; stupuere superbae
> arte viri domitae Symplegades (*Get.* 1-9).

The skill, *ars* (9), of the hero, superior to all, *omnibus attonitis, solus* (4), is contrasted with the terror of the crew, and anticipates Stilicho's encouragement to Romans terrified at the approach of the Goths: *solus erat Stilicho* (267).[213] The *claustra* through which the Argo bursts will recur as the prison of law, destroyed by Stilicho: *claustrisque solutae/tristibus exangues audent procedere leges* (37-8).

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[211] Cf. Lucretius' primitive men *DRN* 5.955.

[212] For the association of Argo and empire, see the proem to Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, which draws a parallel between Jason and the emperor: see Toohey (1992) 198, Hardie (1993) 83.

[213] On Stilicho *solus*, Balzert (1974) 10-8.

The Argonauts are praised, not for gaining the golden fleece, but for driving away the greedy Harpies, *rapaces Harpyias* (27-8); an echo of Stilicho's earlier victory over Rufinus, a *rapax fera* (*Ruf.* 1.261-2), and a foreshadowing of the coming war against the plundering Goths (*Get.* 30). War is inevitable, but the parallel with the earth-born opponents of the Argonauts tells that this is a just war. Those soldiers, sprung from dragon's teeth, are *terrigenae* (*Get.* 31), an epithet often applied to the Giants;[214] the simile combines the innate mindless violence of the soldiers with the implicit *furor* of the Giants and with the greed of the Goths, whose desire for battle trophies has been nourished by Bellona (*Get.* 35), a goddess who shares many of the characteristics of the Furies. The original sailing of the Argo had represented the onset of the iron age,[215] now, as a symbol of daring rather than greed, the *audax Argo* (2) is needed to rescue Rome from her own weakness and from the rapacity of the Goths.

To recall Rome to her *priscae patriae artes*, a hero of the past is needed. The literary reincarnation of Stilicho as different heroes of the Republic has been discussed;[216] in *De bello Getico* he initially combines the qualities of Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio against Alaric, the new Hannibal (*Get.* 138-44). More devastating to the city, however, was the earlier invasion of the Gauls; for the present danger, so that Rome may become Rome again,[217] a second Camillus is needed. This comparison had been made in *De consulatu Stilichonis* as a *topos* of flattery, associating him with *ultor* and *servator* (*Stil* 2. 391). In *De bello Getico* the parallel is central as Stilicho saves Rome from the ultimate loss, the willing departure of her inhabitants.

Typically, Claudian delays making the comparison explicit, the causes of the Gallic invasion and the reaction of the Romans making the model an obvious one. According to Livy the Gauls had been attracted by Roman wealth[218] as the Goths were in Claudian's time. Greed is central to Livy's narration, the avarice of the Gauls and also of the Romans, riches having led them to neglect the gods and to consider moving to Veii.[219] Claudian's Romans have also succumbed to *avaritia* and their actions now parallel those

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[214] Sil. *Pun.* 9.306, Val. Fl. *Arg.*2.18.
[215] E.g. Cat. 64, Luc. *BC* 3.193-7.
[216] See above pages 161-2.
[217] Feldherr (1998) 80.
[218] Or rather by the fruits and wine, Livy 5.33.
[219] Feldherr (1998) 44.

of the past. From fear of the Gauls, the Romans fled to Veii (5.38), fearing the Goths, the Romans plan flight (*Get.* 217-22). In both cases, one man only can save the city, Camillus (5.33) and Stilicho (*Get.* 267). In his words to the terrified Romans:

> quid turpes iam mente fugas, quid Gallica rura
> respicitis Latioque libet post terga relicto
> longinquum profugis Ararim praecingere castris?
> scilicet Arctois concessa gentibus urbe
> considet regnum Rhodano capitique superstes
> truncus erit (*Get.* 296-301)

he becomes a second Camillus who, according to Livy, *servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit cum prohibuit migrari* (5.49). Camillus' speech is considerably longer than Stilicho's brief lines but his themes run through Claudian's epic. Both Stilicho and Camillus remind Romans that Rome is the head of the world: *hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore* (5.54). Rome is also the home of the gods whose rites are inextricably linked with location and who cannot be properly worshipped except in Rome (5.51). This remains true for Claudian and is accepted even by the Goths who assert that the gods will not leave the city: *nec numina sedem/destituunt* (*Get.* 508-9).[220]

The words of Camillus also offer hope to Stilicho. Neglect of the gods and sacred duties had led to Roman defeat; once they had made amends they were victorious while the Gauls, greedy for gold, were destroyed: *reddidere igitur patriam et victoriam et antiquum belli decus amissum, et in hostes qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem* (5.51). The same befalls the Romans of the fourth century and their new opponents, the Visigoths, as Claudian finally makes explicit the comparison between Camillus and Stilicho:

> celsior o cunctis unique aequande Camillo!
> vestris namque armis Alarici fracta quievit
> ac Brenni rabies; confusis rebus uterque
> divinam tribuistis opem, sed tardior ille
> iam captae vindex patriae, tu sospitis ultor (*Get.* 430-4).

In the final battle, we see Roman rejection of wealth and the defeat of the Visigoths:

> invisum miles sitiens haurire cruorem
> per varias vestes onerataque plaustra metallo
> transit et argenti cumulos et caedis avarus
> contemptas proculcat opes; pretiosior auro
> sanguis erat (*Get.* 604-8).

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[220] For Augustan appreciation of Camillus as *conditor*, Edwards (1996) 47-50.

The treasures which the Visigoths throw in the path of the Romans are the visible symbols of *avaritia* and *luxuria* which have corrupted both sides.[221] Now, however, the Romans have been restored to their true values. Camillus claimed that the Romans had reinstituted *antiquum belli decus amissum* (5.51), and so Stilicho urged his soldiers *Romanum reparate decus* (*Get.* 571). In their initial hardness the Goths offered a contrast to Roman weakness but the lure of gold was too strong and they are defeated; the Romans resist temptation and are victorious. The wheel of fortune has turned for them and for Rome:

> sed dea quae nimiis obstat Rhamnusia votis
> ingemuit flexitque rotam: domat aspera victos
> pauperies, unoque die Romana rependit
> quidquid ter denis acies amisimus annis (*Get.* 631-4).

The barbarians through greed have lost their wealth; Rome, turning away from greed, has had her *imperium*, lost at Adrianople, restored.

The symbol of the wheel of fortune signifies more than the defeat of the barbarians and victory of Rome. *De bello Getico* examines a period of transition. On the one hand is the barbarians' passage from a harsh primitive golden age based on ignorance of wealth and tillage to an iron age characterised by desire for war and plunder. On the other is Rome, weakened from her innate hardness and superiority by reliance on wealth, her people needing to be led to the second golden age, represented by a turning away from luxury and riches. The midpoint in the myth of ages is the race of heroes, and Stilicho appears as a second Tiphys to lead a second Argo to the new golden age. It is surely no coincidence that his exhortation to the Romans, *exemplum veteris cognoscite facti* (*Get.* 385), introducing the defeat of Philip of Macedon, suggests the progress of the child of the *Eclogue*,

> at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
> iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus (*Ecl.* 4.26-7)

lines which introduce the second sailing of the Argo. For Claudian, the *audacia* of the Argo was needed to rouse the Romans from their moral torpor; instead of the golden fleece, this Argo sought the qualities of the golden age and found spiritual gold in the shedding of barbarian blood (*Get.* 607-8).

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[221] Cf. Cato's speech in Livy 34.3-4, Feldherr (1998) 42-3.

In *De bello Getico*, Claudian combines the epic concept of the heroic *unus*, military saviour of the empire, with the myth of the golden age, so that the hero, Stilicho, becomes the focus of the restoration of the *aurea aetas*, and through his *labor* restoring their native *artes* of government to the Roman people. In describing the restoration of the golden age under Mallius Theodorus, Claudian combines didactic with heroic epic, showing how Theodorus must learn the true nature of the golden age and must sacrifice his own "golden" retirement in order to bring about an *aurea aetas* for the empire.[222]

Sacrifice: *Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli*

The presentation of the golden age in this poem relies strongly on the various manifestations of the *aurea aetas* in the *Georgics*. Like the farmers of Italy, Theodorus has recreated an ideal pastoral retreat for himself, like the philosopher-poet, he appreciates fully the true blessings of life. In Vergilian terms, he is both *fortunatus* and *felix*, enjoying the blessings of the countryside and the rewards of philosophical study. This is not a true golden age, however, since Theodorus does not understand the nature of his real *labor*, which is to return to the world and bring his *ars*, his legal knowledge and talent for government, to the service of the state. While the *aurea aetas* is making a return under the emperor Honorius, it lacks the presence of justice and *Iustitia*; the presence of bad laws signify the iron age and Theodorus, as the good judge, is summoned by *Iustitia* to restore true justice to empire. The law which he brings is described as the honey of the golden age, present in his speech. Taking Theodorus' occupations as his inspiration, Claudian works didactic themes into the confrontation of *Iustitia* and Theodorus; Theodorus must abandon his rural philosophical retirement and literally go back to school to learn from *Iustitia*, *cognoscere* (*Theod.*133), what he must do. Only by abandoning his own golden age can he enrich Rome with the real wealth of his spiritual gold.

From the opening of this panegyric, Claudian creates a golden age subtext through subtle allusion to Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*. Vergil had begun the poem by urging his pastoral Muses to sing a loftier theme:

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[222] Hardie (1993a) 19-35. Claudian may also have been influenced by Christian writings; the notion of the restoration of a pre-lapsarian Eden through the sacrifice of one man cannot be discounted.

Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae (*Ecl.* 4.1-3).

Similarly Claudian's slight Muse, Thalia, is urged to be brave to honour the consul Theodorus:

audebisne, precor, tantae subiecta catervae,
inter tot proceres, nostra Thalia, loqui? (*Theod. pr.* 1-2).

As soon as the child in the *Eclogue* has learned the nature of *virtus* – *[at simul] iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus* (*Ecl.* 4.24-5) - the golden age can begin. Theodorus' panegyric opens with the praise of *virtus*, the chief characteristic of the consul. *virtus* seeks neither worldly riches nor praise but is itself sought out and honoured:

docuit totiens ad rura profectus
lictor et in mediis consul quaesitus aratris (*Theod.* 8-9),

combining the qualities of an Epicurean philosopher[223] with a suggestion of the farmers/consuls of old whose rigorous frugality and military might went hand in hand. Although Theodorus is not needed for battle, his adherence to the virtues of old associates him with the heroes of the Republic and gives a start to the narrative. Once upon a time, virtuous men were summoned from their farms to lead the country and this just such a story.

Like the *fortunati* of the *Georgics*, Theodorus has no need of wealth. He is free from greed, *nil opis externae cupiens* (*Theod.* 4),[224] unlike Rufinus who burned for money, *lucrique cupidine fervens* (*Ruf.* 1.100) or Eutropius (Theodorus' fellow consul in the East): *peius in aurum/aestuat* (*Eut.* 1.190-1). As the farmers are rich in their surroundings, Theodorus possesses inner treasure: *divitiis animosa suis* (*Theod.* 5) and, in particular, has the wealth of oratory, *opulentia linguae* (21), riches with which he endows the empire:

oracula regis
eloquio crevere tuo, nec dignius umquam
maiestas meminit sese Romana locutam (35-7).[225]

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[223] Christiansen (1967) 120.
[224] The phrase suggests Lucretius' depiction of the gods, *ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri* (*DRN* 2.650): see Werner (1975) 130.
[225] This is in marked contrast to the *maiestas* of the *Fasti* which is best served by golden temples (*Fast.* 1.223-6).

Being free from gold, he is the one man to whom the gold of the world can be entrusted (38-41), a man possessing "golden" qualities whom gold cannot influence.

The restoration of the golden age depends on knowledge; Claudian is at pains to show Theodorus' rise through the *cursus honorum*, where he filled every post (58), learning his trade as a sailor learns to be captain of a ship, *expertus* (42), *edocet adsiduo...usu* (45). More attention is given to Theodorus' learning. To Vergil, the happy man is one *qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* (*Geo.* 2.490), and Theodorus earned this *felicitas*. The image of the sea-captain paralleled Theodorus' political career, now, as he turns to retirement, he is compared to the captain's search for safe harbour. Claudian does not make the point explicit; given the context, we may assume that the necessary iron age seafaring is over, and the golden age can begin:

> iam secura petit privatum gloria portum,
> ingenii redeunt fructus aliique labores (62-3).

In abandoning *secura gloria* for a private life – Vergil's *secura quies* (*Geo.* 2.467), perhaps – Theodorus combines the poet's abandonment of fame, *inglorius* (*Geo.* 2.486), in the search for knowledge, with the concerns of the farmers, *fructus aliique labores*. In returning to the land, he seems to be embracing the original *labor* of the *Georgics*, the necessity to work the land.

The central focus on Theodorus' agricultural and philosophical studies, suggesting Vergil and Lucretius, gives a marked didactic tone to the poem. His initial task is *rerum cognoscere causas* as he considers the claims of the various elements to be *princeps rerum* (*Theod.* 70). In his translations, Theodorus distills the wisdom of Socrates, Chrysippus, Democritus and Pythagoras (*Theod.* 84-92), all Latium coming to learn from him:

> quaenam membra sui virtus divisa domandis
> obiectet vitiis; quae pars iniusta recidat,
> quae vincat ratione metus, quae frenet amores (*Theod.* 97-9),

as well as the nature of the universe, the workings of the stars and the weather. His self-control and his freedom from fear suggest Vergil's tribute to Lucretius, *metus omnis/subiecit pedibus* (*Geo.* 2.491-2).

The didactic list of philosophical considerations, with the anaphora *quae*, have their counterpart in Theodorus' study of agriculture. He himself describes his toil:

> nam quae mihi cura tot annis
> altera quam duras sulcis mollire novales,
> nosse soli vires, nemori quae commoda rupes,
> quis felix oleae tractus, quae glaeba faveret
> frugibus aut quales tegeret vindemia colles? (*Theod.* 176-80).

The catalogue suggest an index to the first two books of the *Georgics*, recalling Vergil's opening lines:

> quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
> vertere...quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
> sit pecori (*Geo.* 1.1-2, 3-4).

Vergil's golden age is implied by Claudian's combination of *felix* and *nosse*. Theodorus is a man who has studied the larger mechanisms of the universe as well as the smaller workings of nature and is *fortunatus* in both his philosophical knowledge and agricultural retirement. Shunning riches and retiring from his career, he resembles the fortunate poet/farmer:

> quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
> sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
> insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit (*Geo.* 2.500-2).

This private golden age, however, is not his destiny. Like Proserpina, he must leave his idyllic retreat, sacrificing himself for the benefit of empire. When *Iustitia* comes to demand his return to government, *pridem te iura reposcunt* (*Theod.* 139), Theodorus, who has been studying the heavens and sketching astronomical charts in the sand, hastens to greet her. As he rises, he accidentally but very symbolically erases his drawings.

The goddess *Iustitita* is the medium of transition from a personal to a general golden age. While the arrival of a god or goddess to request a favour is a *topos* of Claudian's work[226] *Iustitia*, as a symbol of the golden age, has a particular significance. Her return to earth symbolises a coming restoration of the *aurea aetas* for mankind, and her words establish the golden age significance of Theodorus:

> Malli, sincera bonorum
> congeries, in quo veteris vestigia recti
> et ductos video mores meliore metallo (135-7).

veteris vestigia recti recalls and corrects the transition from iron age to gold in the *Eclogue*, *pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis* (*Ecl.* 4.31),[227] perhaps also suggesting *Iustitia*'s departure in the *Georgics*: *extrema per illos/Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit* (*Geo.* 2.473-4). Now the golden age is found in one man.

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[226] Fargues (1933) 257.
[227] Werner (1975) 195.

Confronting Theodorus she reveals that his idyll is not the true golden age, picking up his vocabulary and using it in argument against him. Forestalling Theodorus' objection that he has been absent too long from legal affairs and that farming has become his care, *quae mihi* ***cura*** *tot annis* (*Theod.* 176). *Iustitia* observes that it is his duty *humanum* ***curare*** *genus* (142). On leaving the law, Theodorus had sought *alii labores* (63); *Iustitia* asks *adgredere et nostro rursum te redde labori* (140). If agriculture, the basis of the restored golden age of the *Georgics* is not acceptable here, neither is philosophy. *Iustitita* dismisses his studies *in abstrusa rerum* (148), arguing that, while worthy enough in itself, philosophy is not a suitable occupation for a man called upon to rule Rome:

> scilicet illa tui patriam praecepta Platonis
> erexere magis, quam qui responsa secutus
> obruit Eoas classes urbemque carinis
> vexit et arsuras Medo subduxit Athenas? (149-52).

She notes that under Honorius' reign features of the golden age are evident:

> nonne vides ut nostra soror Clementia tristes
> obtundat gladios, fratresque amplexa serenos
> adsurgat Pietas, fractis ut lugeat armis
> Perfidia et laceris morientes crinibus hydri
> lambant invalido Furiarum vincla veneno? (166-70),

the return of the virtues suggesting the golden age of Theodosius (*Ruf.* 1.52-5) and the promised golden age of Honorius (*Ruf.* 1.377-9), and the prophecy of Jupiter in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 1.292-6). Theodorus is needed to reinforce the transition. His answer, however, phrased in iron age terminology, highlights the contrast between the individual and general golden age:

> terribiles rursum lituos veteranus adibo
> et desueta vetus temptabo caerula vector? (181-2)

He argues that his skill, *ars* (186) may have grown rusty yet he cannot refuse. His eventual acceptance of her request was marked when *Iustitia* first appeared and Theodorus recognised her, *cognovitque deam.* Here, *cognovit* signals his full understanding of his duty, *labor*, which will restore the *aurea aetas.*

Theodorus' acceptance has a variety of generic interpretations. In philosophical terms, his decision to turn aside from his chosen retirement proves that he has fully assimilated the principles of the true golden age, putting the wellbeing of society before his own. In their ignorance, primitive men lived without the bonds of society:

> nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis

moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti (*DRN* 5.958-9).[228]

His respect for the *commune bonum* makes Theodorus a Saturn-like figure, who had given laws to the early Italians, as well as the earthly counterpart of *Iustitia*, and so symbolic in his own person of the *aurea aetas*. In epic terms, he is the heroic *unus* who acts on behalf of all,[229] as well as the sacrifice which re-establishes order, here defined as the golden age.[230] A willing victim, he is more fortunate than Proserpina whose marriage to Pluto symbolises death.[231]

While the epithet *unus* usually applies to the epic hero, here it represents Theodorus' philosophical superiority: *uno se pectore cuncta vetustas/condidit* (*Theod.* 91-2); in this didactic section, Theodorus' ability endows him with the "lonely pre-eminence"[232] of the hero. The detail Claudian gives to Theodorus' studies and mastery of his subject prepares the way for the confrontation with *Iustitia*, their dialogue based on the didactic *topos* of master and student.[233] Theodorus, initially presented as a learned man whose teachings were preferred to those of the Academy (93-4), must go back to school under the greatest teacher of all. The discussion incorporates different didactic elements. Presenting her arguments, *Iustitia* uses the Lucretian phrase *nonne vides* (166),[234] in accepting, Theodorus praises justice in terms which suggest Lucretius' description of early man:

tu prima hominem silvestribus antris
elicis et foedo deterres saecula victu;
te propter colimus leges animosque ferarum
exuimus (*Theod.* 190-3).[235]

In learning lessons more valuable than philosophy, Theodorus becomes the pupil who succeeds in his "passing-out examination".[236] He must unlearn the wisdom of the text-books: the golden age may be found in Vergil and Lucretius but the life of the farmer or the philosopher is not for him. To create the golden age for all, he must abandon his idyll and return to the law. His reward is the peaceful detachment of mind, as far removed from earthly care as Olympus is above thunderstorms:

qui spatio ventos hiemesque relinquit,

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[228] Gale (2000) 166.
[229] Hardie (1993a) 3-10.
[230] Hardie (1993a) 19-26.
[231] Wheeler (1995a) 24-5. Proserpina's greater sacrifice is needed to avert the return of chaos.
[232] Hardie (1993a) 3.
[233] Fowler (2000) 205.
[234] Volk (2000) 73-83 notes how Lucretius presents himself as addressing a student, frequently using such phrases as *nonne vides*, and *nunc ages*. See also Gale (2002) 50, Clay (1998) 35.
[235] Christiansen (1969) 117-18.
[236] Fowler (2000) 211-12.

> perpetuum nulla temeratus nube serenum
> celsior exurgit pluviis auditque ruentes
> sub pedibus nimbos et rauca tonitrua calcat (207-10).

The lines suggest the serenity of the Epicurean gods, models for the serenity of the philosopher:[237]

> apparet divum numen sedesque quietae
> quas neque concutiunt venti nec nubila nimbis
> aspergunt neque nix acri concreta pruina
> cana cadens violet semperque innubilis aether
> integit (*DRN* 3.18-22).

Returning to law and politics from the *quies* of retirement may seem problematic in terms of the restoration of the golden age. In the *Georgics*, Vergil had shown this world, incorporating *ferrea iura* (*Geo.* 2.501) to be akin to the iron age. To Ovid, absence of law was a characteristic of the golden age:

> aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo,
> sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
> poena metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo
> aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat
> iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice tuti (*Met.* 1.89-93),

At this time, man of his own accord acted justly and the phrase, *sponte sua*, usually applied to the generosity of nature, here suggests his innate – golden age - predisposition to moral rectitude. Vergil depicts a similarly informal acknowledgement of social behaviour in the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 1.126-8) while Lucretius shows primitive societies forming alliances for mutual protection and the care of the weak (*DRN* 5.1019-23), arguing that, for the most part, early peoples acted justly of their own volition.[238] The introduction of formal law brought with it the possibilities of abuse. In the *ferrea iura*, Vergil implies the worst aspects of law, the abused law of the tyrant of which Ovid's *poena* and *metus* are hallmarks.[239] The nature of true law, however, is embodied by *Iustitia*, the law which distinguishes men from beasts. This was the law which Saturn brought to the early Italians: *is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis/composuit legesque dedit* (*Aen.* 8.321-2) and the law to which Theodorus refers when he agrees to *Iustitia*'s request:

> tu prima hominem silvestribus antris
> elicis et foedo deterres saecula victu.

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[237] Gale (1995) 124-5

[238] Cf. Sallust's description of early Romans: *ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat* (*Cat.* ix.1): see Gale (1995) 166.

[239] Cf. Plato *Rep.* 565e-566d.

> te propter colimus leges animosque ferarum
> exuimus (*Theod.* 190-3).[240]

The golden age, being introduced by Honorius, cannot be accomplished without the presence of justice; *Iustitia* makes her return conditional upon Theodorus who will speak for her. Together they leave in her chariot,[241] Theodorus handling the reins.[242]

The contrast between true justice and the abuse of law is illustrated in the comparison between Theodorus and the man who enjoys inflicting punishment:

> qui fruitur poena, ferus est, legumque videtur
> vindictam praestare sibi; cum viscera felle
> **canduerint**, ardet **stimulus** ferturque nocendi
> prodigus, ignarus causae (*Theod.* 224-7).

The vocabulary suggests Allecto's fury at Theodosius' golden age: *invidiae quondam* ***stimulis incanduit*** *atrox/Allecto* (*Ruf.* 1. 25-6), as well as Rufinus' (and her own) evil, *artes nocendi* (*Ruf.* 1.97, *Aen.* 7.338). Familiar with law, he is ignorant of justice and so resembles an animal, *ferus*; earlier in the poem, Claudian associated *feritas* with greed: *studeant feritate timeri/addictoque hominum cumulent aeraria censu* (*Theod.* 230-1).

Theodorus, free from greed, is also free from such savagery. The evil judge is *ignarus causae*, the opposite of Theodorus who has devoted his retirement to studying *causae rerum* and who is governed by *ratio* rather than *ira* (*Theod.* 228) as befits a man whose studies and way of life owe much to Lucretius. Theodorus brings *clementia* (235) to the law and *imperiosa quies* (241), a variation of the Vergilian *secura quies* (*Geo.* 2.461), modified for government. Gentleness marks his judgements, *mitibus arbitriis* (*Theod.* 31) and, like the cities of the golden age which *Iustitia* promises (*Theod.* 172) and Allecto despised (*Ruf.* 1.126) he is *placidus* (*Theod.* 222). His entire demeanour is moderate:

> temperiem servant oculi; nec lumina fervor
> asperat aut rabidas suffundit sanguine venas,
> nullaque mutati tempestas proditur oris (*Theod.* 218-20),

resembling the eternal spring offered by Ovid in his *aurea aetas*:

> ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris
> mulcebant zephyri natos sine semine flores (*Met.* 1.107-8).

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[240] For Ammianus' concerns about the lack of true justice in the fourth century, Earl (1967) 111-12.

[241] The chariot ride is also a *topos* of didactic poetry: see Volk (2000) 21-2, Gale (2000) 188. *Iustitia* here takes on the role of a Muse, symbolising practical action rather than poetic or philosophical composition.

[242] The four reins of *Iustitia*'s chariot cover Italy, North Africa, Illyria, the Italian islands and the Ionian sea: the eastern half of empire is pointedly omitted.

In addition to suggesting the golden age in his countenance, Theodorus offers it in his voice. The suavity and charm of his speech has won over all:

> vel quis non, sitiens sermonis mella politi,
> deserat Orpheos blanda testudine cantus (*Theod.* 251-2).[243]

To describe an orator as honey-voiced may be a cliché yet the image in this context is suggestive. Ovid and Vergil described the trees of the *aurea aetas* as running with honey (*Ecl.* 4.30, *Met.* 1.112); in the fourth century golden age the honey is found in the speech of Mallius Theodorus. In philosophical terms, the honey he provides reminds us of the role of poetry in teaching philosophy (*DRN* 1.936-50, 4.11-25).[244] The focus extends outward from Theodorus, sweetening judgement for Romans, to us, the readers, seeing Theodorus as an *exemplum* of *virtus* and the *aurea aetas*, a lesson presented in the honeyed terms of Claudian's poetry.

In his panegyric on Theodorus, Claudian turns the simple theme of return from retirement into an exploration of the golden age. Immune to the lure of gold, he is by nature a man of a better age, and treating his retirement as an opportunity for learning, *cognoscere*, Theodorus becomes a farmer-philosopher, epitomising the ideal of the *Georgics*. In describing Theodorus' studies, Claudian seems to imitate themes of Vergil and Lucretius, before showing that the real pupil is Theodorus who must learn from *Iustitia* that the life of retirement is not for him, that he must turn away from the *labor* of Vergil's country life to the *labor* of *Iustitia*. The golden age introduced by Honorius depends on the return of justice whose symbolic presence will be guaranteed by Theodorus' return to law.

The containment of the golden age in one man is a characteristic feature of the *aurea aetas* in Claudian's poetry. While his depiction of the golden ideal derives from the Augustans and is in part influenced by theme as a *topos* of encomium, Claudian's interpretation is designed to recreate a genuine golden age for the fourth century. Influenced by Vergil and Vergil's understanding of Lucretius, Claudian depicts the golden age as existing both externally and internally. Following Vergil's *laudes Italiae*, he idealises the countryside, giving his audience to understand that all his *loci amoeni* represent western simplicity in contrast to eastern luxury. Landscape, however, is not enough; only those who can appreciate their good fortune can belong to the golden age. Knowledge is central, and with it the freedom from greed and anger which characterised

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[243] For Orpheus as a golden age figure, Stehle (1974) 363-7, Johnston (1980) 106-20.
[244] Cf. *DRN* 4.11-13 where Lucretius compares the students of Epicurus to bees, tasting the *aurea dicta*.

men of the iron age. Possessing these qualities, a man such as Stilicho or Theodorus carries the golden age within himself and does not need the reinforcement of traditional golden age surroundings. Farmers may have been the backbone of the Augustan empire but consuls of late antiquity have different tasks. As in the *Georgics*, Claudian bases his golden age on *labor* and *ars*; giving a wide interpretation to the terms. Interpreting the complexities of law and war in golden age texts, Claudian sees the *labor* of Stilicho and Theodorus as including righteous war, clement government and honest law. The virtues they possess are those of the Romans of old, the *mos maiorum*, and are sufficient to restore and maintain the *aurea aetas* for empire.

CONCLUSION

In his article of 2003,[1] Joseph Farrell discusses the discrepancies between the theories of genre as laid down by Aristotle and the presentation of those genres by poets. As far as classical theorists were concerned, he argues, genre was a "procrustean theory"[2] which imposed rigid distinctions based on metre and tended to dismiss sub-groups within such major classifications as epic. Farrell notes that modern classicists have moved on from this "belief in ideal patterns"[3] yet it may argued that they have, until recently, been particularly slow to move in the case of Claudian and only lately has his work begun to be regarded as highly-polished instances of the panegyric-epic tradition. The acceptance of classical theories of genre, the fact that Claudian's political poetry was intended for court ritual and was labelled panegyric led critics to focus on his debt to the tradition of ceremonial encomia, dismissing his more substantial debt to epic. In fact, Claudian's work conforms completely to the definition of epic established by theoreticians. His metre is the hexameter, his subject *reges et proelia.* In relating the deeds of the emperor Theodosius, of the great general Stilicho and his opponents Rufinus and Alaric, Claudian is following the epic path laid down by Ennius,Vergil and their successors.

Claudian's insistence on his epic identity cannot be ignored and is supported by contemporary opinion.[4] As I have shown, it was usual for a poet to address his readers in the preface to his work with a statement of generic intention. In Claudian's prefaces, the intent is invariably epic. He speaks of his time in the camp (*Theod. pr.* 5-6) as though a soldier, of becoming the *fulmen*-bearer of Jupiter (*III Cons. pr.* 11-14), of his role as the new Ennius, recording the deeds of the new Scipio (*Stil.* 3 *pr.*). In the prefaces to *De raptu Proserpinae*, he exalts the power of the poet, linking the metaphor of the first sailor with the figure of Orpheus, the controller of wild nature and the powers of chaos.

Claudian's epic assertions cannot be accepted without some qualification, however. He incorporates the *topoi* of epic - divine messengers, omens, gods in disguise – yet his

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[1] Farrell (2003).
[2] Farrell (2003) 385.
[3] Farrell (2003) 383.
[4] As shown by the inscription on the statue dedicated to him, *CIL* vi. 1710.

episodic narrative is very different from that of Vergil. This is partly because of the structure of his poems which follows closely the guidelines laid down by the writers of rhetorical handbooks[5] and is also due to the literary style of his time which elevates the episode and favours elaborate descriptive passages, the "jeweled style" of Michael Roberts.[6] Even battle scenes are frozen in verse, becoming ecphrastic tableaux. Nor, on examination, can we always accept Claudian's own epic assertions at face value. I have argued that the invocation to Thalia suggests a deliberate crossing of genres: Claudian's debt to Ovid, the master manipulator of genre, cannot be ignored.

In what sense, then, can we justify Claudian's claim to be an epic poet? It would perhaps be more informative to ask: how could Claudian not be an epic poet, given his subject matter of *reges et proelia*? Claudian's poetry is epic because he interprets the world in epic terms, and specifically in terms of Roman epic. In Naevius' *Punica* and Ennius' *Annales*, the focus of epic had switched from the individual to the community, moving from the Homeric style to a new Roman model and paving the way for Vergil's national epic. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil created a Rome without boundaries of time or space; all later writers had to find their place within the epic framework created by Vergil, as though all epic works were segments of an ongoing work, a Roman *carmen perpetuum*.

Claudian's poems, whether regarded individually or as a single entity, are inspired by the same epic code as his literary predecessors. His understanding of the world is based on the Vergilian tension between *furor* and *concordia*, a constantly shifting balance between the stability of good (Roman) government and the instability which arises to threaten the empire.[7] In Claudian's interpretation of fourth-century politics, the hero Stilicho stands alone against a series of threats to Roman order, both internal and external. The emperor Honorius, identified with Jupiter in imperial iconography, becomes part of the divine machinery. The enemies of order are the agents of *furor*, identified with the Giants or Phaëthon, while the natural state of empire under the rule of Theodosius or Honorius is defined as the golden age. Vergil showed that ancient history and mythology could be transformed through epic as the medium for the discussion of contemporary politics; by means of this code and through the myth of the golden age, Claudian discusses the role of the individual in achieving *concordia* for the State.

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[5] Struthers (1919).
[6] Roberts (1989).
[7] Hardie (1993) 57-8.

The identification of Honorius with Jupiter or Stilicho with Hercules might seem no more than encomiastic *topoi*; the images, however, are given depth and substance by Claudian's use of allusion. Actual portrayals of the court (*IV Cons.* 565-610) are sufficiently splendid to stand alone, examples of the "jeweled style" and poetic technique. In describing individuals and events, however, Claudian invariably sees through an epic lens and draws on earlier works to augment his subject. Rufinus, for example, is not just Python but the Python of Ovid and Statius (*Ruf.* 1, *pr.*). Allusion elevates the poet also and allows Claudian to establish his exact position in the epic tradition: he may claim to be Ennius (*Stil.* 3 *pr.*) yet the allusive phrasing of the lines suggest that he is instead writing as the successor of Vergil, Lucretius, Ovid and Silius.

In the poetry of Claudian, then, we find a world view shaped by generations of earlier epic poets, an interpretation so accepted that it was natural, even inevitable, for Claudian to define the people and events of his day in epic terms. His work, while influenced by the tradition of prose panegyrics, is essentially rooted in the panegyric-epic tradition but such narrow definitions place limits where none exist. Like all poets, Claudian was deeply conscious of the expected boundaries of his genre and delighted in playing with these expectations. A primary concern of epic, from Ennius onwards was to write *ad mea tempora*, to bring the story of Rome up to date. As far as Claudian was concerned, this was what his poetry had achieved, becoming the latest chapter of the *carmen perpetuum* of Rome.

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