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CLAUDIAN, FROM EASTERNER TO WESTERNER

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Coming to Rome from Greek speaking Egypt and adopting for his works the Latin language and its poetry tradition, Claudian tried to identify himself as much as possible with the Roman cultural world and to become "more Roman than the Romans". Therefore, although his poems are strongly indebted to the Greek rhetorical tradition and he read a wide range of Greek poets (including several poets of the imperial age whose works have now perished) it may be difficult to detect in his verses unmistakable traces of formal influences of Greek poetry. Focusing on the prefaces to his carmina publica, *which provide a sort of chronological framework and sometimes offer autobiographical clues, the paper aims at pointing out what does recall Greek poets (more specifically Pindar), and at highlighting any signs of Claudian's increasing awareness of Roman values and cultural traditions.*

It is well known that Claudian himself in his poems hints at his origin from Greek speaking Egypt more than once (Mulligan 2007). Nonetheless, his first public composition as a Latin poet – the panegyric on the consulship of the two young Roman aristocratic brothers, Olybrius and Probinus, performed in Rome in January 395 – displays such a mastery of Latin verse and such a remarkable command of Latin classical authors as stylistic models, that some scholars drew the conclusion that he actually was Roman rather than Greek (Christiansen 1977). Several arguments have successfully been brought against this opinion (Mulligan 2007) and it is generally agreed that Claudian spent some years composing Greek panegyrics in the East, possibly as a wandering poet, before coming to Rome; that he had a long training in Latin at the same time [1]; that these qualities put him in a favourable light among the Roman aristocracy, so that he was entrusted with the momentous commission to celebrate the young consuls in 395. Coming from a different culture, Claudian tried to identify himself necessarily as much as possible with the traditions of his adopted country, striving

[1] Cameron 1970, 458: "he must have written scores of progymnasmata on a variety of topics to have attained the mastery of Latin revealed in *Prob.*" [= *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*].

to be considered a true Roman: as Harry Levy (Levy 1948) points out, "he must be more Roman than the Romans, or run the risk of not being Roman at all". And "more Roman than the Romans of Rome" is the title recently given to a paper about the *Panegyric for Olybrius and Probinus* by Stephen Wheeler (Wheeler 2007), who shows that Claudian in this poem repeatedly alludes to two significant Vergilian texts, namely the fourth eclogue and the eight book of the *Aeneid*, in order to present the two brothers as the new founders of Rome, under whose auspices a new golden age would begin, and to promote himself as a new Vergil. I would add that the passage (lines 236-262) where Claudian introduces the river Tiber as a spectator of the consular ceremonies, who, addressing the rival Spartan river Eurotas, makes a proud speech in praise of Olybrius and Probinus, declaring that they would overcome the Greek twins Castor and Pollux and replace them as stars in heaven[2], has a distinctive tone of defiance towards the Greek world[3].

Moreover, Claudian himself in his *Epistula ad Probinum* (*carm. min.* 41), remembers that the panegyric for the two brothers was his first important commission as a Latin poet and marked his passage from the Greek to the Roman world, with such words (lines 13-14): *Romanos primum bibimus te consule fontes | et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togae* ("It was when you were consul that I first drank from Roman springs and that my Greek Muse made way for the Roman toga"). Although the reference to *Latia ... toga* has been subject to several interpretations[4], I suggest that it means that Claudian adopted for his works the Latin language and its poetry tradition, like a sort of new garb that, as it were, covered everything, including his Greek background[5].

No wonder then, that, as a result, it may sometimes be difficult to detect unmistakable signs of formal influences of Greek poetry in his poems, such as quotations from or allusions to Greek poets, traces of Greek vocabulary itself, or of Greek metrical features[6].

I would stress here, that I will strictly confine myself to this kind of formal parallels in Claudian's political poems: of course it is generally agreed that his panegyrics are, in Cameron's words "children of the marriage between Greek pan-

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[2] Claud. *Prob.* 236-239: *Respice, si tales iactas aluisse fluentis, | Eurota Spartane, tuis. quid protulit aequum | falsus olor, valido quamvis decernere caestu | noverit et ratibus saevas arcere procellas?* ("Behold, Eurotas, river of Sparta, boastest thou that thy streams have ever nurtured such as these? Did that false swan beget a child to rival them, though 'tis true his sons could fight with the heavy glove and save ships from cruel tempests?" (Unless otherwise stated, translations from Claudian are by Platnauer). Wheeler 2007, 103 considers this passage as an "embedded panegyric".

[3] Other examples of "anti-hellenism" are pointed out by Gineste 2007, 261-264.

[4] Cameron 1970, 458; Charlet 1991, xxviii-xxix; Mulligan 2007, 299-301.

[5] I wonder whether Claudian was thinking of a sort of *carmen togatum*, in a sense not quite different from that of *fabula togata*.

[6] In a provocative way Christiansen 1977, 94 states that "in all of Claudian's creativity, only standard Latin was involved. Nothing requires a knowledge of even a word of Greek".

egyric and Latin epic", as he introduced verse panegyrics in the Greek fashion into the Latin tradition, dominated by prose panegyric (Cameron 1970, 255); that his works are strongly indebted to the Greek rhetorical tradition[7]; and that his wide range of Greek readings probably included Homer, Callimachus, Theocritus, Aratus, Moschus, Oppian, Dionysius Periegetes, and several poets of the imperial age whose works have now generally perished (Cameron 1970, 306-315; Gualandri 2004a, 78). Yet their influence mainly remains elusive[8], and although scholars, trying to trace Claudian's models, listed series of supposed parallels to Greek poets[9], most of them unfortunately seem too vague to stand up to scrutiny.

This also happens because, as I wrote earlier (Gualandri 2004a, 79), Claudian is very skilful in manipulating his models: it is well known that he often draws inspiration from a particular passage of a certain author, but reuses it adding reminiscences from different sources, so that it is quite impossible to recognize his starting point[10]. This kind of interplay becomes particularly intricate when he mixes borrowings from Greek and Latin poets, hiding Greek themes under a Latin surface, that is, covering everything with a *Latia toga*.

We must add that sometimes, for instance, when dealing with mythological or philosophical and moral issues, it is very difficult to distinguish whether Claudian directly depends on a Greek tradition or resorts to Latin texts which had already absorbed it[11]. To produce a single instance, at the beginning of his invective against Rufinus, the eastern praetorian praefect whom he depicts as a tyrant and a monster, Claudian says that while Rufinus was alive he often doubted whether the world was ruled by the gods or by chance, and only when Rufinus was murdered he regained his faith in divine justice. The passage has been carefully examined by H. Funke (Funke 1985, 360), who found a distinctive Greek flavour in it, stressing some similarities to the third *stasimon* of Euripides' *Hippolytus* and, while not claiming that Claudian was directly imitating this text, pointed out that it was the "closest analogue so far discovered". But recently G. Mazzoli (2011), here and at the end of the second book *In Rufinum* (and elsewhere as well), with good arguments detected the influence of Seneca (*De clementia* and *De providentia*; *Phaedra*; *Apocolocyntosis*).

This does not mean that we must give up any attempt to understand how

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[7] Although, as Cameron 1970, 254 rightly points out, "if their form is Greek, their spirit is Roman".

[8] Excepting Homer, Oppian, and possibly (at least as I tried to show some years ago) Callimachus. See *infra*.

[9] Cf. Birt 1892, lxxii; Muellner 1893, 101-203, *passim*; Fargues 1933, 46-48, 52; Courcelle 1948, 119-129; Funke 1985.

[10] Cf. e.g. the gorgeous *ekphrasis* of Venus' palace in the *Epithalamium for Honorius and Maria*, 49-96 and what I said about it (Gualandri 1968, 17-37; 2004b, 409-421).

[11] Cf. Cameron 1970, 361: "Greek mythology plays an outstanding role also in Claudian's panegyrics and epic poems: but this is in the tradition of Latin poetry".

Claudian turned from an Easterner into a Westerner, and to find which traces of his *Graia Thalia* he kept under the *Latia toga*.

For this purpose I will select a few passages, focusing on two main issues: I will try to point out what does specifically recall Greek poets, and what can testify any development in Claudian's integration into Roman values (cf. Gineste 2007, 259-261, 266).

As to the first point, to search for specific traces of Greek poets is not always a simple task. Indeed, while it is easy to find in Claudian's works sure marks of allusive play to several Latin poets (such as Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal), which show that he trusts his audience's knowledge and memory, expecting them to recognize these models (and in this way helping us to identify them), Greek poetry, except Homer, is a different matter. That is because, as I suggested some years ago (Gualandri 2004a, 94-95), performing in front of a Western audience, whose knowledge of Greek literature was increasingly weakening, Claudian resorted to what I called an "elusive use of his Greek models", that makes it even more difficult to identify their echoes. I mean that he often reshaped them without displaying any *aemulatio* or allusive play, possibly because he considered them, I supposed, "as materials to be freely exploited and exhibited as if they were part of his own *inventio*" (Gualandri 2004a, 94).

As to the second point, since scholars are now beginning to look at Claudian's public poems as a whole, like a coherent and ongoing ensemble (Bureau 2009, 51), from this point of view they can provide a logical and chronological framework which helps highlight any signs of Claudian's increasing awareness of Roman values and cultural traditions.

I will choose as tests the prefaces in elegiacs, which are attached to all but three *carmina publica*[12]. Would it be true, as O. Kehding maintained (Kehding 1899, 16), that they never show the influence of Menander Rhetor's patterns[13], we might expect that the poet express himself there more freely. Nevertheless they actually exhibit some influence of rhetorical practice in that they abound in *topoi*, such as flattering compliments to the emperor or to the audience, programmatic remarks on the nature of the poet's work, allusions to the occasions of performance, etc. Even so, this does not preclude autobiographical touches nor conceals the expression of personal feelings[14].

I will consider the extant prefaces according to Cameron's chronology, which places *Panegyric on the III Consulship of Honorius* in 396; *In Rufinum* 1 and 2 in 397[15]; *Panegyric in Honour of Mallius Theodorus* in 399; *Panegyric on Stilicho's*

[12] I am excluding the preface to the second book of the invective *In Eutropium*, which has unusual features, and looks like a small invective prefixed to the longer one, rather than a preface. On Claudian's prefaces see Schmidt 1976, 63-65; Perrelli 1992; Felgentreu 1999.

[13] Excepting the preface to Honorius' *Epithalamium*, which I am not taking into account.

[14] Gineste 2007, 271 rightly speaks of Claudian's prefaces as "fragments d'une autobiographie". See also Ware 2004.

[15] For this paper's purpose it does not matter that scholars do not agree on the two prefaces' exact chronology (between 396 and 397: see Charlet 2000, xxi-xxiv).

Consulship in 400; *Bellum Geticum* in 402; *Panegyric on the VI Consulship of Honorius* in 404.

It may be noticed that the prefaces composed in the first years (396-399) deal with images connected with two main themes, which in my opinion have a distinctive Greek colour: Delphi (*In Ruf.* 1 and 2; *Theod.*); and the eagles (*Pan. III Cons. Hon.*; *Theod.*).

In the preface to the first book of *In Rufinum*, which is addressed to Stilicho and alludes to his expedition to Greece in 397 against Alaric, Stilicho's victory over Rufinus, that is Rufinus' being killed by soldiers loyal to Stilicho, is symbolized by Apollo's struggle against the dragon Python, which oppressed Delphi winding his coils around mount Parnassos. In the preface to the second book of *In Rufinum* Claudian praises Stilicho for putting an end to Alaric's raids in Greece. Focusing on Helicon, Delphi, Alpheus, and Arethusa, Claudian succeeds in shuffling his cards and giving a noble appearance to an episode in which Stilicho might not have taken much pride: he had blockaded the Visigoths on a mountain[16], but they had managed to escape. Only in this preface we find a tenuous link with historical reality, as Visigoths, pillaging Greece, on their way from Thermopylae to Thebes might actually have come close to Delphi. But in both prefaces, as I suggested some years ago (Gualandri 2004a), the descriptions bear a strong literary character that in my opinion allows to detect the influence of Callimachus' *Hymns* to Delos and to Apollo[17]. Nonetheless, while the mythological frame is reminiscent of Greek models, the last line of the preface to *In Ruf.* 1, *iustitia pacem viribus arma gerit* ("observing justice in peace and showing vigour in war"), portrays a 'Roman' Stilicho who epitomizes the typical Roman virtues praised in Verg. *A.* 6.851-853: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento! | hae tibi erunt artes: pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ("You, Roman, be sure to rule the World (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud" [tr. Fairclough/Goold]) (Felgentreu 1999, 69).

While I tried to detect traces of Callimachus in my previous paper, now I am rather focusing on Pindar. Both Callimachus and Pindar, who were virtually unknown among the Western audiences, were so popular in the Greek speaking East as to be reckoned among the grammarians' tools, according to a famous epigram by Palladas[18]: so any echoes from Pindar in Claudian may be regarded as traces of his Greek background, that is of *Graia Thalia* rather than *Latia toga.*

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[16] Mount Pholoe, between Elis and Arcadia.

[17] As to Python (Claud. *In Ruf.* 1, *Praef.* 2: *membraque Cirrhaeo fudit anhela iugo* ("his dying limbs outspread o'er Cirrha's heights") Prenner 2007, 43 compares also the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, lines 358 ff.

[18] Cf. Palladas (*AP* 9.175) (Cameron 1970, 307). Birt (1892, lxxii) does not include Pindar among the Greek poets Claudian knew; Green 1990, 317 remarks that Pindar, well known among the Eastern audiences, was probably only a name for the Western ones.

The eagle theme is developed in the preface to the *Pan. III Cons. Hon.* and in the preface to the *Theod.*; in the latter it is again connected to Delphi.
In the preface to the *Pan. III Cons. Hon.,* Claudian introduces an unusual comparison. According to a pattern quite common in his prefaces, the first part focuses on a mythological or historical episode, while the concluding lines compare it to contemporary circumstances, or to the particular situation of composition, or to the poet himself.
Here, Claudian describes in the first part (*Pan. III Cons. Hon., Praef.* 1-14) how the eagle, as soon as its chicks hatch, makes a trial of their strength forcing them to gaze at the sun's fire; it kills the one that cannot stand the proof, and will bring up as a legitimate son the one that can withstand the light and will become the king of birds and carry Jupiter's thunderbolt.
In the last lines the poet, who (like the little eagle) has just been tested in the Muses' caves (that is, the previous year, when he composed his *Panegyric for Olybrius and Probinus*), is sent by Rome itself (where the above mentioned panegyric had been performed) to her god, Jupiter, that is the emperor, in front of whom (in Milan) he is now playing his lyre: (*Pan. III Cons. Hon., Praef.* 15-18) *me quoque Pieriis temptatum saepius antris | audet magna suo mittere Roma deo. | iam dominas aures, iam regia tecta meremur | et chelys Augusto iudice nostra sonat* ("So mighty Rome fears not to send me, oft tested e'er now in the Muses' caverns, to face the emperor, her god. Now have I won an emperor's ear, the entrance to an emperor's palace and the emperor himself as judge of my lyre's song").
The theme of the eagle testing its offspring goes back at least to Aristotle; it is to be found *inter alia* in Plinius and Aelian[19] and, among Latin poets, in Lucan 9.900-907 and Silius 10.108-111. The comparison with Lucan 9.900-907 is suggested by Schrijvers (1988), who, however, especially stresses some echoes from Horace, *Carm.* 4.4.1-3, that is from the ode whose majestic opening in Pindar's style compares young Drusus' first achievements to the first flight of the little eagle pushed out of its nest[20]. Claudian's words about the little eagle, that, when passing the sun test, will become (12-13) *volucrumque potens et fulminis heres | gesturus summo tela trisulca Iovi* ("a king of birds, heir to the thunderbolt, destined to carry Jove's three-forked weapon"), recall Horace's incipit (Hor. *Carm*. 4.4.1-3): *qualem ministrum fulminis alitem, cui rex deorum regnum in avis vagas | permisit* ("Like the winged deliverer of the thunderbolt to whom Jupiter, king of the gods, gave kingship over the far-ranging birds" [tr. Rudd]), not only because the eagle is called *minister fulminis* ("deliverer of the thunder-

[19] Examples, from both pagan and Christian literature, in Ciccarese 2002, 109-138; Lentano 2007, 14-27. See also De Lucia 2006.

[20] For the Pindaric tone in this ode cf. Pasquali 1966, 772 ff.; Syndikus 2001, 303; Fedeli-Ciccarelli 2008, 210-212.

bolt"), but also because it is said to be the king of birds[21]. This feature, maybe rather less common in Roman tradition (where the eagle is rather considered 'bird of kings' or 'bird of Zeus')[22], seems to grasp the Pindaric tone of Horace's ode, since Pindar defines the eagle as ἀρχὸς οἰονῶν, "king of birds" in Pi. *O*. 13.21 (οἰονῶν βασιλέα) and Pi. *P.* 1.7 (ἀρχὸς οἰονῶν). Above all it is well known that it symbolizes Pindar himself, who in Pi. *O.* 2.86-89 calls his rivals "crows uselessly croacking against Zeus' divine bird". When Claudian compares himself with the little eagle standing the sun test, we cannot help remembering Pindar; like Pindar, even if in a less bold form, Claudian is well aware of his value as a poet[23], and points out the tests he has passed and which have proved him worthy to be admitted to the presence of the emperor: like the eagle perched on Zeus' sceptre[24], he too with his poems can offer the emperor (or rather Stilicho) a thunderbolt to strike his enemies[25]. And since Claudian would compose the wild invective against Rufinus, the *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, Stilicho's enemy, who had died some time before (November 395), not long after the *Pan. III Cons. Hon.*, I wonder whether these images of the eagle and the thunderbolt might not foreshadow it and mean that Claudian was already working at it[26].

To sum up, I think that Claudian here refers to his panegyric poetry in a frame of images where, despite the Latin form, a Greek background comes to the surface. I would add that the theme itself of the little eagle's test, while quite com-

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[21] Amongst the Horatian parallels mentioned by Schrijvers 1988, 252, stand out as particularly meaningful *Pieriis temptata modis* ("sought in Pierian strains" [tr. Fairclough]) from Hor. *Ars* 405 and *Pierio recreatis antro* ("you refresh within a Pierian grotto") from Hor. *Carm*. 3.4.40.

[22] As Schrijver (1988, 251) points out quoting Bömer's commentary on Ovid, Ov. *Met*. 4.362; but I don't think that this difference is relevant for Late Antiquity. According to Schrijvers 1988, 252 Claudian's model might be some late Greek text.

[23] While in Claudian's self-consciousness I see a Pindaric feature, Schrijvers 1988, 252, maintains that the Horatian echoes aim to highlight some parallels in Claudian's and Horace's lives, who, from humble origins, thanks to their poetry could both join the aristocratic circles.

[24] Pindar, *P.* 1.6; according to Pausanias (Paus. 5.11.1), an eagle was placed on the sceptre of the statue of Zeus by Phidias in Olympia.

[25] The eagle's strength and predatory nature are mentioned by Pindar (Pi. *N.* 3.80-83): "yet among the birds, the eagle is swift: though he swoops from afar, he has his prey, spattered with blood, in his claws, while the crows chatter, grazing the lower air" [tr. Nisetich]. Schrijvers 1988, 251 and note 18 recalls the traditional metaphor of thunder and lightning related to eloquence (cf., e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 2.16.19: *ut non loqui et orare sed, quod Pericli contigit, fulgere ac tonare videaris?* ("that you seem not just to be speaking or pleading, but, like Pericles, to 'lighten and thunder?'"); Prudent. *C.Symm* 1.649: *dicendi fulmine* ("flashing eloquence" [tr.Thomson]); but Claudian's image looks more vivid and visually effective.

[26] This would endorse Charlet's hypothesis (Charlet 2000, xxiii) that the first book *In Rufinum* was composed and performed immediately after *Pan. III Cons. Hon.*, "dont il reflète la tonalité".

mon in natural history and often used as a rhetorical commonplace[27], is unprecedented in Latin tradition as a literary comparison (Schrijvers 1988, 252): and to my knowledge the closest Greek example is in the brief letter where Julian, quoting the myth of the eagle, submits his writings to the philosopher Maximus of Ephesus (Jul. *Ep*. 59), asking him to test them and to decide whether to accept them or to throw them away[28].

If I am right in seeing here a subtle allusion to Pindar, I wonder whether Claudian, mentioning in his last line of the *Praefatio* of *Pan. III Cons. Hon.* the *chelys* (*et chelys Augusto iudice nostra sonat* ("and the emperor himself as judge of my lyre's song")), doesn't somehow have in mind the golden lyre, that is the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ Pindar invokes in the opening of the same Pythian ode which, in Fraenkel's words, "is perhaps the greatest praise of music ever written"[29]. Of the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Pindar's ode in the first lines emphasizes the soothing effect, so that by hearing its sound the thunderbolt's fire itself quenches and the eagle sleeps on the sceptre of Zeus (*P.* 1.5-10)[30]. Instead, Claudian-the-eagle offers Honorius-Zeus the weapons to destroy his enemies, echoing, I think, the following section of the same ode, (*P.* 1.13-16), where the Muses' voice symbolized by the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ becomes threatening, and terrifies "the creatures for whom Zeus has no love", like Typhon, "who lies in dread Tartaros, enemy of the gods"[31]: in the same way Claudian will attack Rufinus, describing him as a creature nursed by the powers of hell[32].

That Claudian was impressed by this ode is in my opinion confirmed by a detail in the preface to *In Ruf.* 2, where (13-20) Stilicho after having freed Greece from the Visigoths, is compared to Mars who rests after a victorious battle, listening to the poet's song:

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[27] According to Clarke 1968, 130, who tries to show Claudian's acquaintance with the writings of Ambrose, the sources of Claudian's passage are manifold, and beside Lucan and Silius, Ambrose *Expositio* 5.18.60 seems also to be in his mind. Parallelisms and analogies to Ambrose are also stressed by Felgentreu 1999, 81.

[28] Cf. also Ps. Jul. *Ep.* 78 Wright 1913-1924 (to Jamblichus), 418d: those who venture to write to Iamblichus are compared to the little eagles that stare at the beams of Helios; Them. *Or*. 20.240c remembers that his father had frequently tested him, to find whether he was able to gaze steadily at the bright splendour of truth.

[29] Fraenkel 1957, 277. On *chelys*, less usual than *lyra* and frequent in Statius see Rosati 2011, 16.

[30] καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις | ἀενάου πυρός. εὕδει δ᾽ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετὸς, ὠκεῖαν πτέρυγ᾽ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις, ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν: "you quench even the warring thunderbolt of ever flowing fire. And the eagle sleeps on the sceptre of Zeus, having relaxed his swift wings on either side, the king of birds" [tr. Race]).

[31] 13-16: ὅσσα δὲ μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεύς, ἀτύζονται βοάν Πιερίδων ἀΐοντα ... ὅς τ᾽ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμιος, Τυφὼς ἑκατοντακάρανος: "but those creatures for whom Zeus has no love are terrified when they hear the song of the Pierians ... and he one who lies in dread Tartaros, enemy of the gods, Thyphos the hundred headed" [tr. Race]).

[32] See Megaera's description, Claud. *In Ruf.* 1.89-115.

immensis, Stilicho, succedant otia curis
et nostrae patiens corda remitte lyrae,
nec pudeat longos interrupisse labores
et tenuem Musis constituisse moram.
Fertur et indomitus tandem post proelia Mavors
lassa per Odrysias fundere membra nives
oblitusque sui posita clementior hasta
Pieriis aures pacificasse modis.[33]

The unusual image of ἀκίθαρις Ἄρης ("Ares without the harp": A. *Supp.* 681) who relaxes at the lyre's sound, has been considered Claudian's invention[34], but I think that here too we may identify a Pindaric background: indeed, at the beginning of the same first Pythian ode the φόρμιγξ has a soothing influence even on Ares (Pi. *P.* 10-11): "for even the violent Ares puts aside his sharp-pointed spears and lets his heart enjoy profound sleep"[35]. We can highlight in Claudian's verses some significant analogies: like Pindar, Claudian mentions the god's spear (line 19 *posita clementior hasta*: "in gentler mood, now his spear is laid aside" [translation mine]) *oblitusque sui* ("[he being] unmindful", line 19) might be inspired by the god's deep sleep (κώματι); while *indomitus* – although quite vague – in some way recalls βιατὰς. Claudian's *fertur* ("is said", line 17), which according to Levy[36] was used by Claudian to introduce his inventions, although Norden warned that in Latin poets it must not be taken literally[37], here seems to recall a real source.

A further echo may perhaps be traced to Pindar in the preface to the *Theod.*, where Claudian tells that Jupiter, wanting to know the earth's extent, sent out two eagles of equal strength (Claud. *Theod., Praef.* 13: *aequalibus alis*), which flying at the same speed, one from the East and the other from the West, met on the Parnassus[38]; unlike him, Honorius does not need eagles to know the magni-

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[33] "Let peace, Stilicho, succeed these age-long labours and ease thine heart by graciously listening to my song. Think it no shame to interrupt thy long toil and to consecrate a few moments to the Muses. Even unwearying Mars is said to have stretched his tired limbs on the snowy Thracian plain when at last the battle was ended, and, unmindful of his wonted fierceness, to have laid aside his spear in gentler mood, soothing his ear with the Muses' melody".

[34] Levy 1948, *ad loc.*; Muellner 1893, 116 doubtfully quoted Pindar's passage, adding: *sed obscuriora sunt imitationis vestigia, quam ut certum quid de fonte dici posit* ("The signs of imitation are, however, too obscure to make any certain statement about the source" [tr. editors].

[35] Pi. *P.* 10-11: καὶ γὰρ βιατὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λιπών | ἐγχέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν | κώματι.

[36] Levy 1948, 118, *ad* 2.17-26.

[37] "Ein *fertur* bei römischen Dichtern nicht wörtlich genommen zu werden braucht" is Norden's (1971 [or. 1920] 187) remark (quoted by Levy 1948, 40).

[38] Here too, Claudian seems to have in mind some definite source (Claud. *Theod., Praef.* 11: *ut perhibent*; 15: *fertur*).

tude of his kingdom, since dignitaries from all over the Empire – that is the whole world – are gathered together in Milan to celebrate the new consul[39].
The myth of the eagles explains, as a sort of *aition*, why Delphi was called ὄμφαλος τῆς γῆς ("navel of the earth"); however, while this denomination was widespread, the story which Claudian reports seems to have been quite uncommon and to go back to Pindar, as mentioned by Strabo and Pausanias[40]. Actually the same story is told in *Scholia in Pindari Pythionicas* 4.4 (about the Pythia χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος, "seated by the gold eagles of Zeus") where it is specified that Zeus sent two eagles ἴσους κατὰ τὸ τάχος ("equal in speed"), which can be compared to Claudian's l.13: *armigeros ... aequalibus alis* and to the *Scholia in Euripidis Orestem* 331 (Schwartz 1887, 132) where similarly the eagles are called ἰσοταχεῖς ("of equal speed")[41].
Although fascinating, it would not be correct to suppose that Claudian was directly influenced by Pindar here rather than by a tradition recorded in commentaries and *scholia*: in any case to my knowledge no previous example is to be found in Latin[42].
Conversely, a strong Roman character marks the preface to the third book of the *Panegyric on Stilicho's Consulship*, composed at the beginning of 400. Two years before, in 398, the *comes Africae* Gildo, who had reduced corn supplies to Rome causing hunger and unrest in the town and *de facto* allying himself with the East against the West, had been defeated in Africa, on his own turf. The military expedition against him had been led by Gildo's brother, Mascezel, and Stilicho had stayed behind in Italy. The Gildonic war is the panegyric's leitmotif (Cuzzone 2006-07, lxxxv), and the victory is assigned to Stilicho and extolled as momentous: *Victoria nulla | clarior aut hominum votis optatior umquam | contigit* ("Never was a more famous victory nor one that was the object of more heart-felt prayers"), Claudian emphatically states (*Cons. Stil.* 1.368-370), remembering the greatest enemies of past history, Mithridates, Tigranes, Pyrrhus,

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[39] Milan is featured here as a new Delphi; in *Pan. VI Cons Hon.* 25-28, the new Delphi is Rome: as at Delphi everything is silent and sad when Apollo is far away, in the northern lands of the Hyperboreans, and the oracle regains its voice only when the god comes back, so the Palatine mount rejoices at the emperor's return from the North, i. e. from Ravenna. Dewar 1996, 80 rightly remarks that "these myths connecting Apollo with the Hyperboreans seem to have been much in Claudian's mind at this time" (cf. *Cons. Stil.* 3.256; 3.58-60). For a possible influence from Callimachus see Gualandri 2004a, 90.

[40] As pointed out by Birt 1892, lxxii note 4; cf. 175 *praef.* 11-14.; Str. 9.3.6 (C420); Paus. 10.16.3; cf. Simon 1975, 124; Pindari *Carmina cum fragmentis*, II, ed. H. Maehler 1989, 69 (*Paeanes* frg. 54, from Strabo); Pindari *Carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. C. M. Bowra, Oxonii 1968, *Fragmenta incerti loci* 267 b (from Strabo) and 267 a (from Pausanias). A shorter text in Plu. *De def. or.* 409e and *Schol. in Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 480.

[41] Charlet 2002, 308-309, remarking that Claudian here is focusing on the Parnassus more than Delphi, stresses the poem's metaliterary significance, which places poetry at the centre of the world.

[42] A new and more detailed analysis of this preface will soon be published by Álvaro Sánchez-Ostiz.

Antiochus, Jugurtha, Perseus, Philip V, and emphasizing that while against them Rome had fought to extend its domain, now against Gildo her survival itself was at stake. In a climax, at the end of the passage, Claudian (lines 380-385) lists the great Roman heroes of the Punic wars, whose memory would have disappeared had Gildo taken possession of Africa:

> *Quis Punica gesta,*
> *quis vos, Scipiadae, quis te iam, Regule, nosset,*
> *quis lentum caneret Fabium, si iure perempto*
> *insultaret atrox famula Carthagine Maurus?*
> *haec omnes veterum revocavit adorea lauros;*
> *restituit Stilicho cunctos tibi, Roma, triumphos*.[43]

So Stilicho's victory has saved the ancient heroes' laurels and Rome's triumphs. The Punic wars as a turning point in Roman history are recalled in the preface to the third book of Stilicho's panegyric, which was performed in Rome[44]. In the opening lines Claudian mentions Scipio Africanus Maior (*Maior Scipiades*)[45], who, alone against all[46], was engaged in the heroic enterprise to transfer the war to Africa, far from Rome, which suggests a close analogy to the recent Gildonic war[47]. The memory of military value is accompanied by the praise of poetry, since *virtus* loves the Muses' witness (*Cons. Stil*. 3, *Praef.* 5-6: *gaudet enim vir-*

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[43] "Who would now be telling of the Punic wars, of you, ye Scipios, or of thee, Regulus; who would sing of cautious Fabius, if, destroying right, the fierce Moor were trampling on an enslaved Carthage? This victory, Rome, has revived the laurels of thy heroes of old; Stilicho has restored to thee all thy triumphs".

[44] A careful analysis of this preface in Perrelli 1992, 111-116; Felgentreu 1999, 119-129; 2001; for some specific question cf. Döpp, 1987, 17-18 and Gualandri 1981, 54-55.

[45] Claud. *Cons. Stil*. 3, *Praef.* 1-4: *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* ("The elder Scipio, who single-handed turned the Punic wars back from Italy's coasts to their own home, fought not his battles unmindful of the Muse's art: poets were ever the hero's special care") ...

[46] He had to win the opposition of Fabius Maximus and Fulvius Flaccus: cf. Liv. 28.40-45.

[47] Scipio's other achievements are skilfully listed in Claud. *Cons. Stil*. 3, *Praef.* 7-10: *ergo seu patriis primaevus manibus ultor | subderet Hispanum legibus Oceanum, | seu Tyrias certa fracturus cuspide vires | inferret Libyco signa tremenda mari, | haerebat doctus lateri castrisque solebat | omnibus in medias Ennius ire tuba* ("Therefore, whether to avenge his sire's death the young warrior brought into subjection the Spanish seas or embarked upon the Libyan wave his dreadful standards, resolved to break with sure spear the strength of Carthage, the poet Ennius was ever at his side and in all his campaigns followed the trumpet's call into the midst of the fray") and Claud. *Cons. Stil*. 3, *Praef.* 15-18: *cumque triumpharet gemina Carthagine victa | (hanc vindex patri vicerat, hanc patriae) | cum longi Libyam tandem post funera belli | ante suas maestam cogeret ire rotas* ... ("When Scipio had triumphed over either Carthage − over the one to avenge his sire, over the other his fatherland − and when at last, after the disasters of a long war, he drove weeping Libya a captive before his chariot wheel …").

tus testes sibi iungere Musas: | carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit ("For valour is always fain to seek alliance with the Muses that they may bear witness to her deeds") and Scipio had always at his side on the battlefield Ennius as singer of his achievements (*Cons. Stil*. 3, *Praef.*11-12: *haerebat doctus lateri castrisque solebat | omnibus in medias Ennius ire tubas* ("resolved to break with sure spear the strength of Carthage, the poet Ennius was ever at his side and in all his campaigns followed the trumpet's call into the midst of the fray")[48], so that the warrior's and the poet's laurels are closely linked to each other (*Cons. Stil.* 3, *Praef.* 20: *et sertum vati Martia laurus erat* ("Mars' laurel crowned the poet's brow"). *Maior Scipiades* (line 1) is matched in the final *synkrisis* by *noster Scipiades Stilicho* (line 21), whose consulship provides the occasion for the poet's song and his coming back to Rome. And *solus,* related to Scipio in the preface's opening, is meant to redound to Stilicho himself, whom Claudian often likes to feature as brave and alone against his enemies[49]; Gildo in turn is a Hannibal more terrible than the old one (*Cons. Stil*.3, *Praef.* 21-22: *Noster Scipiades Stilicho quo concidit alter | Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale* ("Thee, Stilicho, our new Scipio, conqueror of a second Hannibal more terrible than the first" [tr. Platnauer]), and, although not explicitly stated, it is obvious that Claudian here is portraying himself as a Stilicho's Ennius. Indeed, the same closeness which marked the relationship between Scipio and Ennius is mirrored in the relationship between Stilicho and Claudian, insofar as the highest point in the warrior's career coincides with the highest point in the poet's progress[50].

The poem shows an elegant arrangement: in a subtle manner the similarity to Ennius[51] is already hinted at in the opening line, where *Scipiades* (related to Stilicho in line 21, in a sort of Ringkomposition, as I said), which occurs in

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[48] Vahlen 1928, xii ff. ascribes this detail to Claudian's *lusus poeticus* ("poetic fancy"), never mentioned by the other ancient sources who tell about Scipio's and Ennius' friendship and about Ennius' statue placed in Scipios' grave (Vahlen 1928 xviii-xix), whereas we know that Ennius accompanied Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (who, according to Cicero *Pro Archia* 11.27: *cum Aetolis Ennio comite pugnavit* ("fought against the Aetolians with Ennius as his comrade") to Aetolia. On the other hand Skutsch (1985, 20; 450) points out that Claudian's remark that Ennius was attached to Scipio in all his campaigns might not be mere poetic fancy, assuming that Claudian knew, from having read it in Gellius (12.4 = Ennius' *Ann.* VIII XII Sk.]), the famous portrait of an anonymous and faithful friend whom Servilius Geminus addressed *inter pugnas*, where, according to Aelius Stilo, Ennius in historical disguise gave a self-portrait and a description of his relationship to his patron, Scipio. That Claudian may have accompanied Stilicho in one or more of his campaigns is not excluded by Cameron 1970, 390.

[49] As *solus* Stilicho is portrayed e.g. *In Ruf.* 1.260-267; *Bellum Geticum* 267-269.

[50] Felgentreu 1999, 122; *id*. 2001, 94. As Felgentreu 2001, 92 points out, in the opening of the first book (*Cons. Stil.* 1.1-9) the list of Stilicho's major achievements is also a list of Claudian's poems. On Claudian/Ennius see also Ware 2004, 191-199.

[51] About the question whether Claudian had any direct knowledge of the *Annales* cf. Skutsch 1985, 19, who dismisses the evidence produced by Birt 1892, cci as weak. Cf. Felgentreu, 1999, 121.

Lucretius and Vergil, is probably of Ennius' coinage[52]; furthermore in line 1 (*Maior Scipiades Italis qui solus ab oris | in proprium vertit Punica bella caput* ("The elder Scipio, who single-handed turned the Punic wars back from Italy's coasts to their own home" [tr. Platnauer])), the echo of the Aeneid's incipit (Verg. *A.* 1.1: *Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris* ("Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy" [tr. Fairclough]) highlights Scipio's heroic image, so that in a way Ennius and Vergil are immediately connected together in what has been described as the statement of a poetic programme of historical epic celebrating national achievements[53]: or rather, since we are dealing with a panegyric preface, it might be considered as evidence of the osmosis between panegyric and epic poetry[54].

One might perhaps even detect a faint Greek echo, since *gaudet enim virtus testes sibi iungere Musas* ("valour is always fain to seek alliance with the Muses that they may bear witness to her deeds" [tr. Platnauer]) (line 5) develops Pindar's motif that virtues remain unknown if they are not praised by a poet's song[55]: the same topic can be found in Horace, Hor. *Carm*. 4.9.25-28: *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona | multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles | urgentur ignotique longa | nocte, carent quia vate sacro* ("Before Atrides men were brave: | But ah! oblivion, dark and long, | Has lock'd them in a tearless grave, | For lack of consecrating song" [tr. Conington]); and Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.13-22:

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[52] Lucr. 3.1034: *Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror* ("Scipio, the thunderbolt of war, the cause of horror for Carthage" [tr. editors]); Verg. *A.* 6.843: *Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*: ("The Scipios ... Libya's bane" [tr. Williams])]; id. *G.* 2.170: *Scipiadas duros bello* ("The Scipios, stubborn warriors" [tr. Greenough]), both from a lost passage in Ennius, according to Norden 1916, 333 and Skutsch 1985, 137 and 783; cf. Felgentreu 1999, 125. While Felgentreu 2001, 96 points out that Ennius is mentioned here as a symbol of poetry and its power, not as a literary model, I wonder whether the choice of *Scipiades* may allude to Ennius' poetic style.

[53] Perrelli 1992, 111 and 147; Perrelli 1992, 115 stresses the *imitatio cum variatione* in *primus ab oris* |*solus ab oris* ("first from the coasts | alone from the coasts").

[54] It might be doubtful whether Claudian was alluding to Ennius' *Annales* or *Scipio*: in Cic. *Arch.* 22 (who surely was one of Claudian's sources) Ennius features mostly as an encomiastic poet. Cf. Schindler 2004, 33. Among Claudian's sources Keudel 1970, 118 rightly quotes Ovid, Ov. *Ars* 3.403-410, *quid petitur sacris, nisi tantum fama, poetis? | Hoc votum nostri summa laboris habet. | Cura deum fuerant olim regumque poetae, | praemiaque antiqui magna tulere chori, | sanctaque maiestas et erat venerabile nomen | vatibus, et largae saepe dabantur opes: | Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus, | contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi* ("What do sacred poets seek but fame? | It's the final goal of all our labours. | Poets were once the concern of gods and kings: | and the ancient chorus earned a big reward. | A bard's dignity was inviolable: his name was honoured, | and he was often granted vast wealth. | Ennius earned it, born in Calabria's hills, | buried next to you, great Scipio" [tr. Kline]). Cf. Liv. 38.56 about Ennius' statue in Scipio's grave.

[55] Cf., e.g., Pi. *O.* 10.91; *N.* 7.12-16; in *N.* 4.4-8 words live longer than deeds.

Non incisa notis marmora publicis
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae

non incendia Karthaginis impiae
eius qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides neque,

si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

"Not public gravings on a marble base, | Whence comes a second life to men of might | E'en in the tomb: not Hannibal's swift flight, | Nor those fierce threats flung back into his face, || Not impious Carthage in its last red blaze, | In clearer light sets forth his spotless fame, | Who from crush'd Afric took away – a name, | Than rude Calabria's tributary lays. || Let silence hide the good your hand has wrought …"[56]

The passage is particularly relevant, as it provides Claudian with the pattern to praise Scipio's glory, which is closely connected to *Calabrae Pierides*, that is to Ennius' name (lines 13-22)[57]. This text and Hor. *Carm*. 4.9.25-28, although the motif was well known in Rome, retain a Pindaric aura[58]; besides Claudian's identification with Ennius, as scholars pointed out, has a special flavour in that Claudian too, like Ennius, came from a Greek background but wrote his poems in Latin. Therefore, even in the preface celebrating the highest point of his career and of his integration into the Roman world, Claudian does not forget his Greek past.
It may be worth noting that traces of an analogous development towards an ever deeper integration into Roman traditional values can be found also in the *synkriseis* which help draw Stilicho's portrait. While in the first years they mostly deal

[56] Tr. Conington, in which | marks the end of a verse and || the end of a quatrain. For the unmistakable Pindaric influence cf. Pasquali 1966, 755-782; Fedeli-Ciccarelli 2008, 382-389.

[57] That Claudian was recalling Horace's poem was already Vahlen's suggestion (Vahlen 1928, cxxi); Claudian, and like him Porphyrion and Pseudo Acron as well, read Horace's text at lines 15b-19a in the interpolated version that displays both metrical and historical errors (where Scipio Africanus Maior is credited with Carthage's destruction). For the *vexata quaestio* cf. Fedeli-Ciccarelli 2008, 381-388. A further echo of this passage can perhaps be detected in Claudian's *Pan. VI Cons. Hon.* 141-142: *talis ab urbe minas retro flectebat inanes | Italiam fugiens* (scil. Alarichus) ("even so Alaric turned backwards his vain threatenings, fleeing from Italy" [tr. Platnauer]).

[58] For Latin examples cf. Murgatroyd's commentary to Tibullus 1.4.63-64 and 65-66 (Murgatroyd 1980).

with the comparison between Stilicho and mythological characters[59], Stilicho is more and more often compared to ancient Roman heroes as time goes by, whose exploits he surpasses[60]. In the last two prefaces (*Bell. Get.* and *Pan. VI Cons. Hon.*), Claudian is more focused on himself. In *Pan. VI Cons. Hon*., flattering his audience, he elegantly develops a *topos*: sleep brings back to our minds the activities that had occupied us when we were awake; Claudian, as a poet, dreams that he is composing a *Gigantomachy* and performing it in front of Jupiter and the Olympian gods; but this dream turns out to be prophetic, since he actually is singing in front of Jupiter and the gods, that is Honorius and the Roman Senate. More meaningful is the preface to *Bell. Get.* where, coming back to Rome and to poetry after a gap of some years and while he is about to celebrate Stilicho's victory over the Visigoths at Pollentia, Claudian proudly recalls his previous composition on the victory in the Gildonic war, whose success earned him a brazen statue in the Forum of Trajan.
In this way Stilicho's victory and Claudian's statue are closely connected: both strangers, the semi-barbarian warrior and his Greek poet, now well integrated into the Roman world, reach together the climax of their careers; and once more, as in the preface to *Cons*. *Stil.* III, their different laurels seem to overlap[61].

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[59] Except for *IV Cons.* 455, where he is compared to the Drusi.

[60] Cf. for instance *VI Cons. Hon.* 484-488, *synkrisis* with Horatius Cocles; *Cons. Stil.*1.193, *synkrisis* with Drusus and Trajan; 1.368-385 Gildo's defeat compared to ancient Roman victories, culminating in Carthage's annihilation; *Cons. Stil.* 2.322-325 Stilicho's consulship compared to Brutus'; *Bell. Get*. 124-137 Stilicho compared to Curius, Aemilius Paulus, Marius, Decius Mus, Fabricius; 138-144 while it took three leaders (Fabius, Marcellus, Scipio) to chase Hannibal from Italy and defeat him, Stilicho alone has rejected Alaric's invasion. The most remarkable of all the monuments which Claudian imagines will be set up to celebrate the victory at Pollentia, whose inscription (645-647) will equate Stilicho and Marius.

[61] Most of all, at the very end of the preface, Claudian stresses that two things will grant him the audience's favour, *vel meritum belli vel Stilichonis amor* ("either his merit in the war or the love of Stilicho": [tr. editors]): so even Stilicho the warrior and Stilicho the man are closely connected and praised together.