(A) Carmina maiora

1.36-38 audiit et gelido si quem Maeotica pascit sub Iove vel calido si quis coniunctus in axe nascentem te, Nile, bibit.

"[The name of Probus] has been heard of both by those who are nurtured by the land of Maeotis under the frozen sky and by those near neighbours(?) who in the region of heat drink the Nile at its source."

It is very difficult to make sense of *coniunctus*, whether one supplies *axi calido* (so Delphin and Platnauer) or *Nilo nascenti* (so Heinsius and Birt). In "CQ" 33, 1939, 8, W.H. Semple suggests that the inhabitants of the far north of the temperate zone and those of the far south are "conjoined" by their mutual interest in hearing about Probus; this is an incredible explanation of the word. Nor are the available conjectures (*cognatus*; *contentus*; *calidum si quis coniectus in axem*) worthy of consideration. I suggest *confectus* (a word used by Claudian at 15.446), "worn out", "exhausted", by the excessive heat, which causes thirst (at *Carm. min.* 28.37 *defectis cultoribus* is used of the inhabitants of the Nile region in summer). "It was an old poetic way of identifying the inhabitants of a country to mention the river which they drank" (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.20); if *confectus* is right, Claudian here injects new life into a hackneyed geographical expression (which is copiously illustrated in *TLL* 2.1964.39 ff.).

1.150-153 Pieriis pollent studiis multoque redundant eloquio; nec desidiis dapibusve paratis indulgere iuvat nec tanta licentia vitae arripit aut mores aetas lasciva relaxat.

Praise of the brothers Olybrius and Probinus (coss. 395). "They excel in their devotion to the Muses and abound in great eloquence; it gives them no pleasure to indulge in idleness or splendid banquets, nor does *such great* licentiousness of life attract them or unbridled youth relax their morals."

The demonstrative *tanta* is not appropriate here. This was realized by Birt, who conjectured *blanda*, a feeble word in the context. Perhaps *laxa*, as at Prud. *Ham*. 245 *laxa licentia rerum*.

<sup>\*</sup> The latest and by far the best edition of Claudian is that of J. B. Hall (Leipzig 1985). Other editions referred to are the Valpy 'Delphin' edition (London 1821) and those of Th. Birt (Berlin 1892), J. Koch (Leipzig 1893), and M. Platnauer (Loeb edition 1922). Occasional reference is made to J. B. Hall, *Prolegomena to Claudian*, "BICS" Suppl. 45 (1986).

5.476-480

quaesitor in alto conspicuus solio pertemptat crimina Minos et iustis dirimit sontes. quos nolle fateri viderit, ad ¡mala¡, transmittit verbera fratris;

nam iuxta Rhadamanthus agit.

"Seen afar on his lofty throne the judge Minos examines the charges and separates the wicked from the righteous. Those whom he sees unwilling to confess their sins he remits to the lash of his... brother; for he, Rhadamanthus, is busy close at hand" (Platnauer).

Hall makes the point that, of the various readings offered by the manuscripts (mala, mala mox, mali mox, saevi, saeva, duri, rigidi), the oldest is mala; he therefore conjectures validi. I agree that an epithet of fratris seems to be the only possible solution, but preferable to validi would be magni; forms of magnus and malus have, I believe, been interchanged at [Quint.] Decl. mai. 2.6 (p. 25.24 H.), Decl. min. 302.1, Sen. Nat. 3.28.3, Anth. 193.7.

5.498-499 huc superum labes, huc insatiabilis auri proluvies pretioque nihil non ause parato, ...

Rhadamanthus begins to pronounce sentence on Rufinus. "Hither, scourge of the world, bottomless sink of gold who wouldst dare aught for money, ..." (Platnauer).

*Parato* makes sense (he had been paid in advance), but *parando* (dative of purpose) would make possibly better sense.

5.523-526

vacuo mandate barathro infra Titanum tenebras infraque recessus Tartareos nostrumque Chaos, qua noctis opacae fundamenta latent.

Rhadamanthus sentences Rufinus. "Thrust him down into the empty pit beneath the lightless prison of the Titans, below the depths of Tartarus and Chaos'... realm, where lie the foundations of thickest midnight" (Platnauer).

Nostrum is not an impossible epithet of *Chaos* in the mouth of Rhadamanthus, but it is a very feeble one. Hall puts in his text a conjecture of H.L. Levy, *imum*; this looks like an emendation not of the paradosis *nostrum* but of Birt's conjecture *ipsum*. I think that Burman's *vastum* is indubitably right; it is palaeographically excellent, and a very appropriate epithet of *Chaos* (cf. Ov. *Met*. 10.30, *TLL* 3.991.50, 992.15); similar epithets of *Chaos* are *ingens*, *immane*, *immensum*.

8.244-247

cumque omnia secum duceret et requiem membris vesana negaret, invenit pulmonis opem madidumque furenti

praebuit, ut tumidae ruerent in mollia fibrae.

"Then, since anger swept everything away with it and in its fury gave the limbs no rest, Prometheus invented the lungs to aid the body and applied their humidity to the raging of anger to soothe our wrath-swollen flesh" (Platnauer).

Hall reports that Goodyear suggested *praesuit* in place of *praebuit*, and indeed, even if some sense can be wrung from it, *praebuit* is extremely feeble. But *praesuo* is a very rare word and quite unsuitable in sense. That could not be said of *praestruit*, a word which Claudian uses three times elsewhere.

17.193-194 † nitidis† quisquis te sensibus hausit inruet intrepidus flammis.

"Whosoever has drunk of thee [Justice] with pure heart will rush fearless through flames" (Platnauer). But *nitidis* cannot mean "pure"; that is *puris* or *mundis*, both of which are found as variants. Palaeographically *mundis* would be a good emendation of *nitidis*; at Manil. 1.848 the two words are variants, and at 1.739 *nitido* is accepted for the manuscript reading *mundo*. The word is common in Christian Latin; for its use as an epithet of *spiritus*, *pectus*, *cor*, see *TLL* 8.1632.41 ff.

18.229-230 iamque oblita sui nec sobria divitiis mens in miseras leges hominumque negotia ludit.

"And now his [Eutropius's] mind, forgetful of its true nature and drunken with riches, makes sport of wretched law and the affairs of men" (Platnauer).

It is difficult to accept *miseras* as an epithet of *leges*. Hall reads his own conjecture *inversas*, "overturned", for which one could adduce 20.556, *totas vertere leges*, but there is no reason why the preposition *in* should not be sound; it is true that Birt (p. CV, n. 5) says that *in* is certainly wrong because *ludere* always governs a direct accusative, but he is adequately refuted by the passages listed in *TLL* 7.2.1778.56 ff. However, rather than *in versas* I should read *in nostras*, and attribute the corruption to a confusion of abbreviations; both *noster* and *miser* were regularly abbreviated. For *noster* = *Romanus* see 383 below, *nostris signis* ("Roman standards"), and other passages listed in Birt's Index; for the plural *leges* in the sense of "constitution" see *OLD* 3 (at 26.38 Platnauer translates *leges* by "civilization").

18.263-264 perque suam tremula testatur voce sororem defecisse vagas ad publica commoda vires.

"In tremulous tones he [sc. Eutropius] calls his sister to witness that he has spent his strength for his country's need" (Platnauer).

This translation just ignores vagas; not surprisingly, because it is difficult

to see its meaning. Birt suspected the word and tentatively proposed *avidas* or *datas*, neither of which deserves consideration. *Suas* would suit the context, and the supposed corruption could be explained (initial *s* lost after *se* and the remnant *uas* expanded to mend the metre), but whether Claudian would have repeated *suus* here so soon after *suam* in 263 I do not know.

18.500-502 quid trahor ulterius? Stilicho, quid vincere differs, dum certare pudet? nescis quod turpior hostis laetitia maiore cadit?

"What need of further words? Why, Stilicho, doest thou delay to conquer because ashamed to fight? Knowest thou not that the viler the foe the greater the rejoicing at his overthrow?" (Platnauer).

Dum certare pudet is one possible answer to the question quid vincere differs? There ought therefore to be a question-mark after differs as well as after pudet.

22.400-402 spectabunt cupidae matres, spargentur et omnes flore viae, superes cum Pincia culmina consul arduus, antiqui species Romana senatus.

"Eager mothers will watch, and all the roads will be strewn with flowers, when you [Stilicho], a majestic consul, the Roman image of the ancient senate, climb the summit of the Pincian hill."

It is impossible to believe that the 'transferred' epithet *Romana* is genuine, and I have no doubt that König's conjecture *germana* is what the author wrote. The same corruption has occurred at *Carm. min. app.* 2 (= *Anth.* 494b).10 f., addressed to Hercules, *germana Tonantis / progenies*, where the transmitted reading is *Romana*; in our passage the natural association of *Romanus* with *senatus* would help the corruption. The only point made against *germana* is that of Birt (Index p. 517), that Claudian does not use *germanus* in the sense of *genuinus*; I think that he undoubtedly does so here.

24.125-129 per quem fracta diu translataque paene potestas, non oblita sui, servilibus exulat arvis, in proprium sed ducta larem victricia reddit fata solo fruiturque iterum, quibus haeserat olim, auspiciis capitique errantia membra reponit.

"Thanks to him [sc. Stilicho] power, long degraded and all but transferred [sc. to Constantinople], no longer, forgetful of itself, is exiled in lands of servitude but, returned to its rightful home, restores to Italy its victorious destiny, enjoys the promised auspices of its foundation and gives back its scattered limbs to the head of the empire" (Platnauer).

This rendering of quibus haeserat olim is a translation not of Claudian's

Latin but of the Delphin paraphrase thereof, "quibus quondam constituta fuerat"; haeserat cannot possibly refer to the foundation of Rome. Equally impossible is Birt's idea that haeserat means "is halted" (as at Verg. Aen. 11.289 f. victoria Graium / haesit). The only possible meaning of haeserat is "infixa fuerat" (Barth), but then auspiciis haerere is a scarcely intelligible phrase. I suggest that haeserat should be arserat, "was roused", "was inspired with enthusiasm", equivalent to animata erat; just below, at 166 f., it is said of Rome that she was auguriis firmata Sibyllae and sacris animata Numae.

24.264-267 *cernitis ... laudi* quod nulla *canendae fratris plectra vacent?* 

Diana speaking. "Mark you... how none of my brother Apollo's lyres can refrain from singing the praises of Stilicho?" (Platnauer). Hall points out that this gives to *vacare laudi* (dative) the sense of *vacare laude* (ablative). He thinks that the variant *quam* (for *quod*) may be right; combine this with Gesner's conjecture *multa* (for *nulla*) and the problem is solved. Forms of *multus* and *nullus* are variants at (e.g.) Lucr. 2.95, Lucan 6.632.

28.557-559 haec sibi cura senum maturaque comprobat aetas idque inter veteris speciem praesentis et aulae iudicat, hunc civem, dominos venisse priores.

"These actions [of Honorius] are approved of by careful(?) old men and men of mature age, who recognize this difference between the appearance of the ancient and the present courts, that Honorius is a true citizen, his predecessors were tyrants."

Since *cura* has no relevant meaning, Birt conjectured *curva* (sc. *aetas*), "bent" (old age), which has been adopted by Koch and by Platnauer. But such a picturesque epithet is not wanted here; all that is wanted is an unadorned expression for "old men", corresponding to *matura aetas*. I therefore suggest tur < b > a, which can be used in poetry to denote nothing more than a plurality; the two words are variants at Ov. *Ars* 3.417. For the reflexive *sibi* "bei den verba sentiendi und dicendi" see Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax u. Stilistik* (München 1965), 294; for *venisse* = *fuisse* p. 395.

### (B) Carmina minora

2.1-3 urbs in conspectu montana cacumina velat tranquillo praetenta mari. ducentia portum cornua pacatas removent Aquilonibus undas.

Description of the harbour at Smyrna. "The city that meets our gaze veils the mountain peaks, fronting a tranquil sea. The two headlands that enclose

the harbour protect the quiet water from the north wind" (Platnauer).

*Vrbs in conspectu* seems dubious Latin for "the city that meets our gaze"; Hall (*Prolegomena* 196) tentatively suggests *a conspectu*, which is a decided improvement (cf. *TLL* 4.491.20 ff.). But we should expect the poet to say that the peaks veil the sight of the city rather than that the city veils the peaks; this result can be obtained by reading *urbis conspectum* (so both John Price and Heinsius), with *velant* for *velat*.

One can say with confidence that *ducentia* cannot mean "enclosing"; that is *cl(a)udentia*, which would be a credible emendation were it not that *clauditur* (*aequor*) is used in the next sentence. Birt (Index p. 501) takes *ducentia* to mean "praecedentia", adducing 15.498 f. *Taurum / ducat Hyas*, and *Carm. min.* 23.3 *noctem ducentibus Haedis*; but constellations differ from harbour headlands in that they move and the headlands do not. I suggest *tutantia*, a verb which Claudian uses more than once elsewhere.

25.21-23 subito varius vicina clamor ab urbe et fausti iuvenum plausus mixtaeque choreis auditae per rura lyrae.

From an epithalamium. "Suddenly there arose cries and shoutings from the neighbouring city; joyous acclamations of youth and the strains of the lyre accompanying dancing were heard in the countryside" (Platnauer adapted).

"Cries and shoutings", as a rendering of *varius clamor*, disguises the fact that *varius* is not an appropriate epithet of the cries that accompany the celebration of a marriage. Birt realized this; in his Index (p. 597) he says that *varius* here means *laetus*. This is surely impossible, but "joyful" is nevertheless the only sense which fits the context, and I should emend *varius* to *laetus*; the interchange of initial *l* and *u* (as in *libro/vibro*, *loco/voco*, *luctus/vultus*) is quite common. And I believe that this same corruption, of *laetus* to *varius*, has occurred at *Carm. mai*. 26.407 *singultus* varios *lacrimosaque gaudia miscent*, where only Koch's conjecture *laetos* will complete the double oxymoron which is called for ("happy sobs and tearful joys"); Koch adds the point that the resulting alliteration *laetos lacrimosaque* is "non iniucunda".

27.89-93 clara per Aegyptum placidis notissima sacris urbs Titana colit, centumque adcline columnis invehitur templum Thebaeo monte revulsis. illic, ut perhibent, patriam de more reponit congeriem.

"Celebrated throughout Egypt and most renowned for its peaceful rites is a city [sc. Heliopolis] which worships the sun, and [the phoenix] enters a

temple resting on a hundred columns hewn from the mountain of Thebes. Here, as the story goes, he is wont to deposit the pile of his father's ashes."

Hall rightly points out that it is very difficult to supply *phoenix* as the subject of *invehitur* and reports the view of Goodyear that either there is a lacuna after *colit* or *invehitur* is corrupt. I have no doubt that the latter is the right alternative, and I think that a solution is not far to seek: read *evehitur*, in the sense of *erigitur* or *surgit*, with *templum* as its subject; then it is only in the next sentence that the narrative is resumed (*phoenix reponit patriam congeriem*).

53.57-59 ergo quot dederit natos, tot funera matri reddamus. longo maneat per saecula luctu, tanto pro numero paribus damnata sepulchris.

Jupiter exhorts the assembly of the gods to defeat the giants, the offspring of Tellus. "Wherefore, for all the sons she bore, let us give back to their mother as many dead; let her mourning last through the ages as she weeps by as many graves as she now has children" (Platnauer).

Maneat luctu must mean maneat in luctu (so explicitly Birt, Index, p. 537), but the omission of the preposition is questionable. There may be a parallel for the omission at 15.155 f., nostris iam luctibus ille / consenuit, but in that line Hall's proposed insertion of in before luctibus is tempting. Birt's conjecture iaceat is not much of an improvement, and Heinsius's longi... maneant luctus is far too violent a change. If any change is needed, perhaps one should consider madeat; for madere or madescere used of weeping see TLL 8.33.15 ff. and 49 ff., 8.35.26 ff. and 45 ff.; here luctu would take the place of such ablatives as lacrimis, fletu, imbribus (20.303; Rapt. Pros. 1.268, 3.311 and 442).

53.73-74 *horrendus ubique it fragor, et pugnae* spatium discriminat *aer*.

"On all sides a horrid din resounds and only the air divides the rival armies [of gods and giants]" (Platnauer). This is the traditional interpretation of the latter clause, but it is little more than nonsense: how can *pugnae spatium* mean "the rival armies", and what is meant by saying that the air divides them? Birt reports an excellent conjecture of his own: for *spatium* read *strepitum*, a word which is common in battle-contexts; for the corruption cf. Manil. 5.729, where Bentley wrote *stipatum* for *spatium*. To complete the emendation I would write *disseminat* for *discriminat*; "the air scatters abroad the din of battle" follows very convincingly on *ubique it fragor*.

53.83-84 tum superinsultans avidus languentia curru membra terit multumque rotae sparsere cruorem.

In the battle between the gods and the giants Mars despatches Pelorus. "Then exulting in his victory he drives his chariot over the dying giant's limbs till the wheels ran red with blood" (Platnauer).

This translation ignores *avidus*, which has aroused justified suspicion. The available replacements are *avido*, *rapido*, *gravido* (the last presumably in its very rare sense of *gravi*). The easiest change (involving little more than the insertion of an initial letter) would be *rabidus*, which would suit both the immediately preceding narrative and the gruesome content of these two lines; Birt's Index lists five occurrences of the word.

# (C) Carminum minorum appendix

The poems which editors of Claudian print as an appendix appear also in fasc. 2 of Riese's edition of the *Anthologia Latina* (Leipzig 1906), whose numbering I give in brackets. In an article published in "Class. et Med." 47, 1996, I have proposed the following emendations: 2 (*Anth.* 494b).66 *taetris* (for *totis*), 106 *fulvoque* (for *soloque*), 135 *occupat* (for *accipit*); 5 (*Anth.* 742).2 *placido... pectore* (for *tacito... carmine*); 15 (*Anth.* 747).2 *non reor est* (for *at*); *Chloris*.

# 2 (Anth. 494b).48-51

neve haec monstra tibi faciant, Alcmena, pavorem; sic mater potes esse dei. iam tolle serenum laeta animum, tantoque libens haec aspice vultu ut deceat genuisse Iovem.

"And do not let these monstrous creatures [the two snakes that are attacking baby Hercules] cause you fear, Alcmena; in this way you can be the mother of a god. Now joyfully lift up your heart in peace, and look upon them gladly with such(?) a countenance that it becomes Jupiter to have begotten him [Hercules]".

Birt takes *vultu* in the sense of *despectu*, "contempt". That *tanto vultu* can have this or any other relevant sense I do not believe; *tanto* must be corrupt. The sense which we expect in view of line 48 (*pavorem*) is *securo*, "free from fear"; if Riese's discarded *tuto* can have this sense, it is the easiest change; otherwise either Baehrens's *lento* or (I suggest) *placido* (> *tacito* > *tanto*) could be considered. But irrespective of what we read in 50 the *ut* clause in 51 is unsatisfactory: how could the honour which fatherhood confers on Jupiter be either the consequence or the purpose of Alcmena looking upon the snakes without fear? I suggest that *deceat* should be *doceas*, "in order that you may prove that Jupiter is the father"; *doceas* derives support from *fidem* at 15 (*fecisti de patre fidem*) and *probabit* at 41 (*patremque probabit... patrem*). I take the *ut* clause as final, not however expressing the

conscious purpose in Alcmena's mind but a "rhetorical pseudo-final" clause expressing the "voluntas fati" (Hofmann-Szantyr 642).

2.79-80 *heu quanta virorum funera! quam multos stravit* cum dentibus *apros!* 

"Alas how numerous the deaths of men! How many boars did he [the Nemean lion] lay low with his teeth!"

Hall records seven ways of rewriting the latter exclamation, most of them violent and most involving the change of *apros* to *agros*; but Birt is justified in objecting to *agros* on the ground that no one has ever heard of lions devastating fields and crops. A note in the edition of Lemaire (Paris 1824) takes *cum dentibus* as equivalent to the expression of a second object of *stravit*: "laid low boars together with their tusks"; but this distinction between boars and their tusks seems improbable. Surely *dentibus* are the lion's teeth; in which case *cum* has the instrumental sense which is common in late Latin, and the sense of *stravit cum dentibus* is repeated in 83, *morsu fudit*; cf. also 91 *in nova sanguineos armantem vulnera rictus*.

14 (Anth. 746).3-6 te, mea bella Cythere, aspicio venientem et tu mea limina grato introitu dignata rosas et lenis amomi delicias miras tecum allicis.

"I see you coming, my beautiful Cythere, and you, deeming my threshold worthy of your welcome entry, bring(?) with you roses and the wonderful delights of mild perfume."

Secum allicere is not a convincing phrase. Should allicis be advehis?\*

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<sup>\*</sup> I am very grateful to Professor J. Delz for commenting on an earlier version of these notes.