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CLAUDIAN

I

CLAUDIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

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Claudius Claudianus may be called the last poet of classical Rome. He was born about the year 370 A.D. and died within a decade of the sack of the city by Alaric in 410. The thirty to forty odd years which comprised his life were some of the most momentous in the history of Rome. Valentinian and Valens were emperors respectively of the West and the East when he was born, and while the former was engaged in constant warfare with the northern tribes of Alamanni, Quadi and Sarmatians, whose advances the skill of his general, Theodosius, had managed to check, the latter was being reserved for unsuccessful battle with an enemy still more deadly.

It is about the year 370 that we begin to hear of the Huns. The first people to fall a victim to their eastward aggression were the Alans, next came the Ostrogoths, whose king, Hermanric, was driven to suicide; and by 375 the Visigoths were threatened with a similar fate. Hemmed in by the advancing flood of Huns and the stationary power of Rome this people, after a vain attempt to ally itself with the latter, was forced into arms against her. An indecisive battle with the generals of Valens (377) was followed by a crushing Roman defeat in the succeeding year (August 9, 378) at Adrianople, where Valens himself, but recently returned from his Persian war, lost his life.

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Gratian and his half-brother, Valentinian II., who had become Augusti upon the death of their father, Valentinian I., in 375, would have had little power of themselves to withstand the victorious Goths and Rome might well have fallen thirty years before she did, had it not been for the force of character and the military skill of that same Theodosius whose successes against the

Alamanni have already been mentioned. Theodosius was summoned from his retirement in Spain and made Augustus (January 19, 379). During the next three years he succeeded, with the help of the Frankish generals, Bauto and Arbogast, in gradually driving the Goths northward, and so relieved the barbarian pressure on the Eastern Empire and its capital. In 381 Athanaric, the Gothic king, sued in person for peace at Constantinople and there did homage to the emperor. In the following year the Visigoths became allies of Rome and, for a time at least, the danger was averted.

Meanwhile the West was faring not much better. Gratian, after an uneasy reign, was murdered in 383 by the British pretender, Magnus Maximus. From 383 to 387 Maximus was joint ruler of the West with Valentinian II., whom he had left in command of Italy rather from motives of policy than of clemency; but in the latter year he threw off the mask and, crossing the Alps, descended upon his colleague whose court was at Milan. Valentinian fled to Thessalonica and there threw himself on the mercy of Theodosius. Once more that general was to save the situation.

Maximus was defeated by him at Aquileia and put to death, while Arbogast recovered Gaul by means of an almost bloodless campaign (388). [ix]

The next scene in the drama is the murder at Vienne on May 15, 392, of the feeble Valentinian at the instigation of Arbogast. Arbogast's triumph was, however, short-lived. Not daring himself, a Frank, to assume the purple he invested therewith his secretary, the Roman Eugenius, intending to govern the West with Eugenius as a mere figure-head. Once more, and now for the last time, Theodosius saved the cause of legitimacy by defeating Eugenius at the battle of the Frigidus^[1] in September 394. Eugenius was executed but Arbogast made good his escape, only to fall a few weeks later by his own hand.

Theodosius himself died on January 17, 395, leaving his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, emperors of the East and West respectively. Arcadius was but a tool in the hands of his praetorian prefect, Rufinus, whose character is drawn with such venomous ferocity in Claudian's two poems. Almost equally powerful and scarcely less corrupt seems to have been that other victim of Claudian's splenetic verses, the eunuch chamberlain Eutropius, who became consul in the year 399. Both these men suffered a violent end: Eutropius, in spite of the pleadings of S. John Chrysostom, was put to death by Gainas, the commander of the Gothic troops in the East; Rufinus was torn to pieces in the presence of Arcadius himself by his Eastern troops.^[2] The instigator of this just murder was Claudian's hero, Stilicho the Vandal. [x]

Stilicho, who had been one of Theodosius' generals, had been put in command of the troops sent to oppose Alaric, the Visigoth, when the latter had broken away from his allegiance to Rome and was spreading devastation throughout Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly. He was successful in his campaign, but, upon his marching south into Greece, in order to rid that country also of its Gothic invaders, he was forbidden by Rufinus to advance any farther. There can be little doubt that the murder of Rufinus was Stilicho's answer.

In spite of a subsequent victory over Alaric near Elis in the year 397, Stilicho's success can have been but a partial one, for we find the Visigoth general occupying the post of Master of the Soldiery in Illyricum, the withholding of which office had been the main cause of his defection. Possibly, too, the revolt of Gildo in Africa had something to do with the unsatisfactory termination of the Visigothic war. It is interesting to observe the dependence of Italy on African corn, a dependence of which in the first century of the Christian era Vespasian, and right at the end of the second the pretender Pescennius Niger, threatened to make use. If we can credit the details of Claudian's poem on the war (No. xv.), Rome was very shortly reduced to a state of semi-starvation by Gildo's holding up of the corn fleet, and, but for Stilicho's prompt action in sending Gildo's own brother, Mascezel, to put down the rebellion, the situation might have become even more critical. The poet, it may be remarked, was in an awkward position with regard to the war for, though the real credit of victory was clearly due to Mascezel (*cf.* xv. 380 *et sqq.*), he nevertheless wished to attribute it to his hero Stilicho, and, as Stilicho had Mascezel executed^[3] later in that same year (Gildo had been defeated at Tabraca July 31, 398), he prudently did not write, or perhaps suppressed, Book II. [xi]

Stilicho, who had married Serena, niece and adoptive daughter of Theodosius, still further secured his position by giving his daughter, Maria, in marriage to the young Emperor Honorius in the year 398. This "father-in-law and son-in-law of an emperor," as Claudian is never wearied of calling him, did the country of his adoption a signal service by the defeat at Pollentia on Easter Day (April 6), 402, of Alaric, who, for reasons of which we really know nothing, had again proved unfaithful to Rome and had invaded and laid waste Italy in the winter of 401-402.

The battle of Pollentia was the last important event in Claudian's lifetime. He seems to have died in 404, four years before the murder of Stilicho by the jealous Honorius and six before the sack of Rome by Alaric—a disaster which Stilicho^[4] alone, perhaps, might have averted.

So much for the historical background of the life of the poet. Of the details of his career we are not well informed. Something, indeed, we can gather from the pages of the poet himself, though it is not much, but besides this we have to guide us only Hesychius of Miletus' short article in Suidas' lexicon, a brief mention in the Chronicle of 395, and (a curious survival) the inscription^[5] under the statue which, as he himself tells us,^[6] emperor and senate had made in his honour and [xii]

set up in the Forum of Trajan. We are ignorant even of the date of his birth and can only conjecture that it was about the year 370. Of the place of his birth we are equally uninformed by contemporary and credible testimony, but there can be little doubt that he came from Egypt,^[7] probably from Alexandria itself. We have, for what it is worth, the word of Suidas and the lines of Sidonius Apollinaris,^[8] which clearly refer to Claudian and which give Canopus as the place of his birth. (Canopus is almost certainly to be taken as synonymous with Egypt.) But besides these two statements we have only to look at his interest in things Egyptian, *e.g.* his poems on the Nile, the Phoenix, etc., at such passages as his account of the rites at Memphis,^[9] at such phrases as “nostro cognite Nilo,”^[10] to see that the poet is an Egyptian himself. It is probable that, whether or not he spent all his early life in Egypt, Claudian did not visit Rome until 394. We know from his own statement^[11] that his first essays in literature were all of them written in Greek and that it was not until the year 395 that he started to write Latin. It is not unlikely, therefore, that his change of country and of literary language were more or less contemporaneous, and it is highly probable that he was in Rome before January 3, 395, on which day his friends the Anicii (Probinus and Olybrius) entered upon their consulship. Speaking, moreover, of Stilicho’s consulship in 400 Claudian mentions a five years’ *absence*.^[12] Not long after January 3, 395, Claudian seems to have betaken himself to the court at Milan, and it is from there that he sends letters to Probinus and Olybrius.^[13] Here the poet seems to have stayed for five years, and here he seems to have won for himself a position of some importance. As we see from the inscription quoted above, he became *vir clarissimus, tribunus et notarius*, and, as he does not continue further along the road of honours (does not, for instance, become a *vir spectabilis*) we must suppose that he served in some capacity on Stilicho’s private staff. No doubt he became a sort of poet laureate.

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It is probable that the “De raptu” was written during the first two years of his sojourn at the court of Milan. The poem is dedicated, or addressed, to Florentinus,^[14] who was *praefectus urbi* from August 395 to the end of 397 when he fell into disgrace with Stilicho. It is to this circumstance that we are to attribute the unfinished state of Claudian’s poem.

The Emperor Honorius became consul for the third time on January 3, 396, and on this occasion Claudian read his Panegyric in the emperor’s presence.^[15]

Some five weeks before this event another of greater importance had occurred in the East. This was the murder of Rufinus, the praetorian prefect, amid the circumstances that have been related above. The date of the composition of Claudian’s two poems “In Rufinum” is certainly to be placed within the years 395-397, and the mention of a “tenuem moram”^[16] makes it probable that Book II. was written considerably later than Book I.; the references, moreover, in the Preface to Book II. to a victory of Stilicho clearly point to that general’s defeat of the Goths near Elis in 397.

To the year 398 belong the Panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius and the poems celebrating the marriage of the emperor to Stilicho’s daughter, Maria. We have already seen that the Gildo episode and Claudian’s poem on that subject are to be attributed to this same year.

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The consuls for the year 399 were both, in different ways, considered worthy of the poet’s pen. Perhaps the most savage of all his poems was directed against Eutropius, the eunuch chamberlain, whose claim to the consulship the West never recognized,^[17] while a Panegyric on Flavius Manlius Theodorus made amends for an abusive epigram which the usually more politic Claudian had previously levelled at him.^[18]

At the end of 399, or possibly at the beginning of 400, Claudian returned to Rome^[19] where, probably in February,^[20] he recited his poem on the consulship of Stilicho; and we have no reason for supposing that the poet left the capital from this time on until his departure for his ill-starred journey four years later. In the year 402,^[21] as has already been mentioned, Stilicho defeated Alaric at Pollentia, and Claudian recited his poem on the Gothic war sometime during the summer of the same year. The scene of the recitation seems to have been the Bibliotheca Templi Apollinis.^[22] It was in this year, too, that the poet reached the summit of his greatness in the dedication of the statue which, as we have seen, was accorded to him by the wishes of the emperor and at the demand of the senate.

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The last of Claudian’s datable public poems is that on the sixth consulship of Honorius. It was composed probably towards the end of 403 and recited in Rome on (or after) the occasion of the emperor’s triumphant entry into the city. The emperor had just returned after inflicting a defeat on the Goths at Verona in the summer of 403. It is reasonable to suppose that this triumphant entry (to which the poem refers in some detail, ll. 331-639) took place on the day on which the emperor assumed the consular office, viz. January 3, 404.

In the year 404 Claudian seems to have married some protégée of Serena’s. Of the two poems addressed to her the “Laus Serenae” is clearly the earlier, and we may take the other, the “Epistola ad Serenam,” to be the last poem Claudian ever wrote. It is a poem which seems to have been written on his honeymoon, during the course of which he died.^[23]

It is not easy to arrive at any just estimate of Claudian as a writer, partly because of an inevitable

tendency to confuse relative with absolute standards, and partly (and it is saying much the same thing in other words) because it is so hard to separate Claudian the poet from Claudian the manipulator of the Latin language. If we compare his latinity with that of his contemporaries (with the possible exception of Rutilius) or with that of such a poet as Sidonius Apollinaris, who came not much more than half a century after him, it is hard to withhold our admiration from a writer who could, at least as far as his language is concerned, challenge comparison with poets such as Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Statius—poets who flourished about three centuries before him.^[24] I doubt whether, subject matter set aside, Claudian might not deceive the very elect into thinking him a contemporary of Statius, with whose *Silvae* his own shorter poems have much in common.

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Even as a poet Claudian is not always despicable. His descriptions are often clever, *e.g.* the Aponus, and many passages in the “De raptu.”^[25] His treatment of somewhat commonplace and often threadbare themes is not seldom successful—for example, the poem on the Phoenix and a four-line description of the horses of the dawn in the Panegyric on Honorius’ fourth consulship^[26]—and he has a happy knack of phrase-making which often relieves a tedious page:

ille vel aerata Danaën in turre latentem
eliceret^[27]

he says of the pander Eutropius.

But perhaps Claudian’s forte is invective. The panegyrics (with the doubtful exception of that on Manlius, which is certainly brighter than the others) are uniformly dull, but the poems on Rufinus and Eutropius are, though doubtless in the worst of taste, at least in parts amusing.

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Claudian’s faults are easy to find. He mistook memory for inspiration and so is often wordy and tedious, as for instance in his three poems on Stilicho’s consulship.^[28] Worse than this he is frequently obscure and involved—witness his seven poems on the drop of water contained within the rock crystal.^[29] The besetting sin, too, of almost all post-Virgilian Roman poets, I mean a “conceited” frigidity, is one into which he is particularly liable to fall. Examples are almost too numerous to cite but the following are typical: “nusquam totiensque sepultus”^[30] of the body of Rufinus, torn limb from limb by the infuriated soldiery; “caudamque in puppe retorquens Ad proram iacet usque leo”^[31] of one of the animals brought from Africa for the games at Stilicho’s triumph; “saevusque Damastor, Ad depellendos iaculum cum quaereret hostes, Germani rigidum misit pro rupe cadaver”^[32] of the giant Pallas turned to stone by the Gorgon’s head on Minerva’s shield. Consider, too, the remarkable statement that Stilicho, in swimming the Addua, showed greater bravery than Horatius Cocles because, while the latter swam away from Lars Porsenna, the former “dabat ... Geticis pectora bellis.”^[33]

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Two of the poems are interesting as touching upon Christianity (Carm. min. corp. xxxii. “De salvatore,” and l. “In Iacobum”). The second of these two poems can scarcely be held to be serious, and although the first is unobjectionable it cannot be said to stamp its author as a sincere Christian. Orosius^[34] and S. Augustine^[35] both declare him to have been a heathen, but it is probable that, like his master Stilicho, Claudian rendered the new and orthodox religion at least lip-service.

It seems likely that after the death of Claudian (404) and that of his hero, Stilicho, the political poems (with the exception of the Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius,^[36] which did not concern Stilicho) were collected and published separately. The “Carmina minora” may have been published about the same time. The subsequent conflation of these two portions came to be known as “Claudianus maior,” the “De raptu” being “Claudianus minor.”

The mss. of Claudian’s poems fall into two main classes:

(1) Those which Birt refers to as the *Codices maiores* and which contain the bulk of the poems but seldom the “De raptu.”

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(2) Those which Birt calls the *Codices minores* and which contain (generally exclusively) the “De raptu.”

Class (1) may be again divided into (a) mss. proper; (b) excerpts. I give Birt’s abbreviations.

(a) The most important are:

R = Cod. Veronensis 163. 9th century. Contains only the “Carmina minora.”

G = Cod. Sangallensis S n. 429. 9th century. Contains only the (Latin) “Gigantomachia.”

G (*sic*) = Cod. Regimensis 123. 11th century. Contains only “De Nilo.”

V = Cod. Vaticanus 2809. 12th century.

P = Cod. Parisinus lat. 18,552. 12th or 13th century. Contains all the “Carmina maiora” except (as usual) the “De raptu” and “Pan. Prob. et Olyb.” No “minora.”

C = Cod. Bruxellensis 5380-4. (?) 12th-13th century.

Π = Cod. Parisinus lat. 8082. 13th century. This is Heinsius' "Regius." The ms. once belonged to Petrarch and still bears his name.

B = Cod. Neapolitanus Borbonicus 1111 E 47. 13th century.

A = Cod. Ambrosianus S 66. 15th century. Contains all the "maiora" except the "De raptu" and "Pan. Prob. et Olyb."

J = Cod. Cantabrigiensis coll. Trinitatis 0.3.22. 13th century.

Besides these are many inferior mss. referred to collectively by Birt as ζ .

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(b) Consists of:

E = Excerpta Florentina. 15th century.

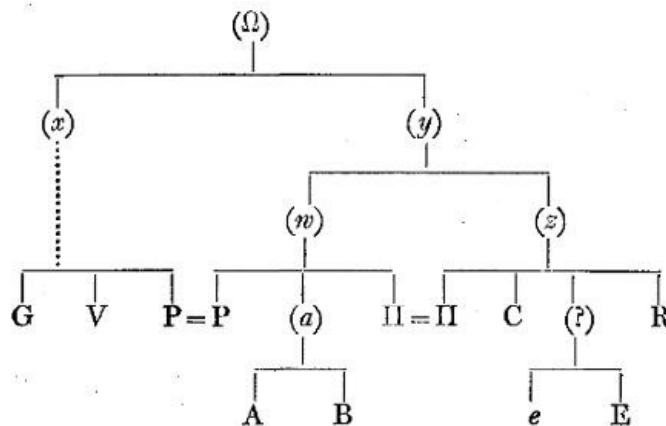
e = Excerpta Gyraldina. 16th century.

Each of them resembles the other closely and both come from a common parent.

Under (b) may further be mentioned the Basel edition of Isengrin (1534), which preserves an independent tradition.

Birt postulates an archetype (Ω), dating between 6th and 9th centuries, and two main "streams," x and y ; y being again subdivided into w and z .

The following is the family "tree." Letters enclosed in brackets refer to non-existent mss.



Of class (2) may be mentioned:

S = Cod. Parisinus lat. 15,005. 13th or 14th century.

C = Cod. Cantabrigiensis coll. corp. Christi 228. 13th century.

D = Cod. Musei Britannici 6042. 13th century.

W = Cod. Antverpiensis iii. 59. 12th or 13th century.

F = Cod. Florentinus bibl. St. Crucis. 12th century.

A, B = Codd. Oxonienses Bodleiani. (?) 13th century.

V = Cod. Antverpiensis N. 71. 14th century.

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It is to be observed that in Birt's edition, and in any other that accepts his "sigla," A B C and V stand for different mss. according to whether they refer, or do not refer, to the "De raptu."

Some mss. contain scholia but none of these go back before the 12th or even the 13th century.

The chief editions of Claudian are as follows:

Ed. princeps:

Celsanus, Vicenza, 1482.

Ugolentus, Parma, 1500.

Parrhasius, Milan, 1500.

Camers, Vienna, 1510.

Aldine ed. (Asulanus), 1523.

Isengrin ed. (Michael Bentinus), Basel, 1534.^[37]

Claverius, Paris, 1602.

Like Bentinus, Claverius used certain mss. (in his case those of the library of Cuiacius) unknown to us.^[38]

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Plantin ed. (Scaliger), 1603.
Elzevir ed. (Heinsius), Leyden, 1650.
Amsterdam, 1665.
Barth, Hanau, 1612.
Frankfort, 1650.
Delphin ed. (Pyrrho), Paris, 1677.
Burmans, Amsterdam, 1760.
König, Göttingen, 1808.

These last three have good explanatory notes.

The first critical edition is that of L. Jeep (Leipzig, 1876-79).

In 1892 Birt published what must be considered as the standard edition of Claudian—vol. x. in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* series. Birt was the first to put the text of Claudian on a firm footing, and it is his edition that I have followed, appending critical notes only where I differ from him.^[39]

The latest edition of Claudian is that of Koch (Teubner, Leipzig, 1893). Koch was long associated with Birt in his researches into textual questions connected with Claudian, and his text is substantially the same as that of Birt.

So far as I know, there is no English prose translation of Claudian already in the field, though various of his poems, notably the "De raptu," have found many verse translators, and in 1817 his complete works were put into English verse by A. Hawkins. An Italian version was published by Domenico Grillo in Venice in 1716, a German one by Wedekind in Darmstadt in 1868, and there exist two French prose translations, one by MM. Delatour and Geruzez (éd. Nisard, Paris, 1850) and one by M. Héguin de Guerle (Garnier frères, Collection Panckoucke, Paris, 1865). [xxiv]

Of Claudiana may be mentioned Vogt, *De Claudiani carminum quae Stilichonem praedicant fide historica* (1863); Ney, *Vindictae Claudianae* (1865); T. Hodgkin's *Claudian, the last of the Roman Poets* (1875); E. Arens' *Quaestiones Claudianae* (1894); two studies by A. Parravicini, (1) *Studio di retorica sulle opere di Claudio Claudiano* (1905), and (2) *I Panegirici di Claudiano* (1909); J. H. E. Crees' *Claudian as an Historical Authority* (Cambridge Historical Essays, No. 17, 1908); Professor Postgate's article on the editions of Birt and Koch in the *Class. Rev.* (vol. ix. pp. 162 *et seq.*), and the same scholar's Emendations in the *Class. Quarterly* of 1910 (pp. 257 *et seq.*). Reference may also be made to Professor Bury's appendix to vol. iii. of his edition of Gibbon (1897, under "Claudian") and to Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. xxx. *The Encomiums of Claudius Claudianus*. Vollmer's article in Pauly-Wissowa's Lexicon is a mine of information, but for completeness Birt's introduction (over 200 pp. long) stands alone.

The curious may find an interesting light thrown on Claudian and his circle by Sudermann's play, *Die Lobgesänge des Claudian* (Berlin, 1914). [xxv]

All Claudian's genuine works are translated in the present volumes with the exception of the two-line fragment "De Lanario" (Birt, c.m.c. lii [lxxxviii.]). The appendix "vel spuria vel suspecta continens" has been rejected both by Birt and Koch, and I have in this followed their example. The eight Greek poems attributed to Claudian are at least of doubtful authenticity, though Birt certainly makes out a good case for the "Gigantomachia" (a fragment of 77 lines). The remainder consists of short epigrams, two on the well-worn theme of the water enclosed in the crystal and two Christian ones. These last are almost certainly not the work of Claudius Claudianus but of Claudianus Mamertus, presbyter of Vienne *circ.* 474 A.D. We know from Sidonius (*Ep.* iv. 3. 8) that this Claudian was a writer of sacred poetry both in Greek and Latin—indeed the famous "Pange lingua" is attributed to him.

A word should perhaps be said as to the numbering of the poems.

It is much to be regretted that Birt did not cut adrift from Gesner's system, or at least that he only did so in the "Carmina minora." The resultant discrepancy in his (and Koch's) edition between the order of the poems and their numbering is undoubtedly a nuisance, but I have not felt justified, in so slight a work as the present one, in departing from the now traditional arrangement.

I wish, in conclusion, to express my thanks to my colleagues, Mr. R. L. A. Du Pontet and Mr. E. H. Blakeney: to the first for valuable suggestions on several obscure points, and to the second for help in reading the proofs. [xxvi]

MAURICE PLATNAUER.

[1] Cf. vii. 99 *et sqq.*

[2] v. 348 *et sqq.* S. Jerome (*Ep.* lx.) refers to his death and tells how his head was carried on a pike to Constantinople.

[3] Or at least connived at his death; see Zosimus v. 11. 5.

[4] For an adverse (and probably unfair) view of Stilicho see Jerome, *Ep.* cxxiii. § 17.

[5] *C.I.L.* vi. 1710 (=Dessau 2949). Now in the Naples Museum.

[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[pi]ternam carmina ab eodem | scripta sufficiant, adtamen | testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui | [f]idem, dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius | [fe-]licissimi et doctissimi | imperatores senatu petente | statuam in foro divi Traiani | erigi collocarique iusserunt.

Εἶν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳιο νόον | καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὅμηρου |
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ | βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.

v.c. = vir clarissimus, *i.e.* (roughly) The Rt. Hon. dd. nn. = domini nostri. The inscription may be translated:—To Claudius Claudianus v.c., son of Claudius Claudianus v.c., tribune and notary (*i.e.* Permanent Secretary), master of the ennobling arts but above all a poet and most famous of poets, though his own poems are enough to ensure his immortality, yet, in thankful memory of his discretion and loyalty, their serene and learned majesties, the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius have, at the instance of the senate, bidden this statue to be raised and set up in the Forum of the Emperor Trajan of blessed memory.

Rome and her kings—to one who has combined
A Homer's music with a Vergil's mind.

[6] xxv. 7.

[7] John Lydus (*De magistr.* i. 47) writes οὗτος ὁ Παφλαγών, but this, as Birt has shown, is merely an abusive appellation.

[8] Sid. Ap. *Carm.* ix. 274.

[9] viii. 570 *et sqq.*

[10] *Carm. min. corp.* xix. 3: *cf.* also *Carm. min. corp.* xxii. 20.

[11] *Carm. min. corp.* xli. 13.

[12] xxiii. 23.

[13] *Carm. min. corp.* xl. and xli.; see ref. to Via Flaminia in xl. 8.

[14] *Praef.* ii. 50.

[15] vi. 17.

[16] iv. 15.

[17] Cf. xxii. 291 *et sqq.*

[18] *Carm. min.* xxi.

[19] xxiii. 23.

[20] So Birt, *Praef.* p. xlii. note 1.

[21] It should perhaps be mentioned that this date is disputed: see Crees, *Claudian as an Historical Authority*, pp. 175 *et sqq.*

[22] xxv. 4 "Pythia ... domus."

[23] This suggestion is Vollmer's: see his article on Claudian in Pauly-Wissowa, III. ii. p. 2655.

[24] Still more striking is the comparison of Claudian's latinity with that of his contemporary, the authoress of the frankly colloquial *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (see Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 5: Wölfflin, "Über die Latinität der P. ad l. sancta," in *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie*, iv. 259).

[25] It is not impossible that this poem is a translation or at least an adaptation of a Greek (Alexandrine) original. So Förster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone*, Stuttgart, 1874.

[26] viii. 561-4 (dawns seem to suit him: *cf.* i. 1-6).

[27] xviii. 82, 83.

[28] Honourable exception should be made of xxi. 291 *et sqq.*—one of the best and most sincere things Claudian ever wrote.

[29] It is worth observing that not infrequently Claudian is making "tentamina," or writing alternative lines: *e.g.* *Carm. min. corp.* vii. 1 and 2, and almost certainly the four lines of id. vi. v. is quite likely "a trial" for some such passage as xv. 523.

[30] v. 453.

[31] xxiv. 357-8.

[32] *Carm. min. corp.* liii. 101-3.

[33] xxviii. 490.

[34] vii. 35 "Paganus pervicacissimus."

[35] *Civ. dei*, v. 26 "a Christi numine alienus."

[36] This poem does not seem to have been associated with the others till the 12th century.

[37] See section on MSS.

[38] Koch, *De codicibus Cuiacianis quibus in edendo Claudiano Claverius usus est*, Marburg, 1889.

[39] I should like if possible to anticipate criticism by frankly stating that the text of this edition makes no claims to being based on scientific principles. I have followed Birt not because I think him invariably right but because his is at present the standard text. Where I differ from him (and this is but in a few places) I do so not because I prefer the authority of another ms. or because I am convinced of the rightness of a conjecture, but because Birt's conservatism commits him (in my opinion) to untranslatable readings, in which cases my choice of a variant is arbitrary. Of the principle of *difficilior lectio* I pragmatically take no account.

CLAUDIAN

[1]

CLAUDII CLAUDIANI CARMINA

**PANEGYRICUS DICTUS PROBINO
ET OLYBRIO CONSULIBUS**

I

Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus
habenis
volvis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu,
sparge diem meliore coma crinemque
repexi
blandius elato surgant temone iugales
efflantes roseum frenis spumantibus ignem.
iam nova germanis vestigia torqueat annus
consulibus, laetique petant exordia menses.
Scis genus Auchenium, nec te latuere
potentes
Anniadae; nam saepe soles ductoribus illis
10 instaurare vias et cursibus addere nomen.
his neque per dubium pendet Fortuna
favorem
nec novit mutare vices, sed fixus in omnes
cognatos procedit honos. quemcumque
require
hac de stirpe virum: certum est de consule
nasci.

**PANEGYRIC ON THE CONSULS
PROBINUS AND OLYBRIUS**

I

Sun, that encirclest the world with reins of
flame and rollest in ceaseless motion the
revolving centuries, scatter thy light with
kindlier beams and let thy coursers, their
manes combed and they breathing forth a rosy
flame from their foaming bits, climb the
heavens more jocund in their loftier drawn
chariot. Now let the year bend its new steps for
the consul brothers and the glad months take
their beginning.

Thou wottest of the Auchenian^[40] race nor are
the powerful Anniadae unknown to thee, for
thou oft hast started thy yearly journey with
them as consuls and hast given their name to
thy revolution. For them Fortune neither hangs
on uncertain favour nor changes, but honours,
firmly fixed, pass to all their kin. Select what
man thou wilt from their family, 'tis certain he
is a consul's son. Their ancestors are

[40] Probinus and Olybrius, the consuls for
395 (they were brothers), both belonged to
the Anician gens, of which Auchenius
became an alternative gentile name,
Anicius becoming, in these cases, the
praenomen. Many members of this family
had been, and were to be, consuls: *e.g.*
Anicius Auchenius Bassus in A.D. 408. The
Annian gens was related by intermarriage
to the Anician: *e.g.* Annius Bassus (cos.
331) who married the daughter of Annius
Anicius Iulianus (cos. 322).

15 per fasces numerantur avi semperque
 renata
 nobilitate virent, et prolem fata sequuntur
 continuum simili servantia lege tenorem.
 nec quisquam procerum temptat, licet aere
 vetusto
 20 floreat et claro cingatur Roma senatu,
 se iactare parem; sed, prima sede relicta
 Aucheniis, de iure licet certare secundo:
 haud secus ac tacitam Luna regnante per
 Arcton
 sidereae cedunt acies, cum fratre retuso
 aemulus adversis flagraverit ignibus orbis;
 tunc iubar Arcturi languet, tunc fulva
 25 Leonis
 ira perit, Plaustro iam rara intermicat
 Arctos
 indignata tegi, iam caligantibus armis
 debilis Orion dextram miratur inertem.
 Quem prius adgrediar? veteris quis facta
 Probini
 30 nesciat aut nimias laudes ignoret Olybri?
 Vivit adhuc completque vagis sermonibus
 aures
 gloria fusa Probi, quam non ventura
 silebunt
 lustra nec ignota rapiet sub nube vetustas.
 ilium fama vehit trans aequora transque
 remotas
 35 Tethyos ambages Atlanteosque recessus.
 audiit et gelido si quem Maeotia pascit
 sub Iove vel calido si quis coniunctus in axe
 nascentem te, Nile, bibit. virtutibus ille
 Fortunam domuit numquamque levantibus
 alte
 40 intumuit rebus; sed mens circumflua luxu
 noverat intactum vitio servare rigorem.
 hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris
 nec tenebris damnavit opes; sed largior
 imbre
 sueverat innumeras hominum ditare
 catervas.

counted by the fasces (for each has held them),
 the same recurring honours crown them, and a
 like destiny awaits their children in unbroken
 succession. No noble, though he boast of the
 brazen statues of his ancestors, though Rome
 be thronged with senators, no noble, I say, dare
 boast himself their equal. Give the first place to
 the Aucheniis and let who will contest the
 second. It is as when the moon queens it in the
 calm northern sky and her orb gleams with
 brightness equal to that of her brother whose
 light she reflects; for then the starry hosts give
 place, Arcturus' beam grows dim and tawny
 Leo loses his angry glint, far-spaced shine the
 Bear's stars in the Wain, wroth at their eclipse,
 Orion's shafts grow dark as he looks in feeble
 amaze at his strengthless arm.

Which shall I speak of first? Who has not heard
 of the deeds of Probinus of ancient lineage,
 who knows not the endless praise of Olybrius?

The far-flung fame of Probus^[41] and his sire
 lives yet and fills all ears with widespread
 discourse: the years to come shall not silence it
 nor time o'ercloud or put an end to it. His great
 name carries him beyond the seas, beyond
 Ocean's distant windings and Atlas' mountain
 caverns. If any live beneath the frozen sky by
 Maeotis' banks, or any, near neighbours of the
 torrid zone, drink Nile's stripling stream, they,
 too, have heard. Fortune yielded to his virtues,
 but never was he puffed up with success that
 engenders pride. Though his life was
 surrounded with luxury he knew how to
 preserve his uprightness uncorrupted. He did
 not hide his wealth in dark cellars nor condemn
 his riches to the nether gloom, but in showers
 more abundant than rain would ever enrich
 countless numbers of

[41] Probus was born about 332 and died
 about 390. He was (among many other
 things) proconsul of Africa and praefectus
 of Illyricum.

45 quippe velut denso currentia munera nimbo
 cernere semper erat, populis undare
 penates,
 adsiduos intrare inopes, remeare beatos.
 praeceps illa manus fluvios superabat
 Hiberos
 aurea dona vomens (sic vix^[42] tellure
 revulsa
 50 sollicitis fodiens miratur collibus aurum),
 quantum stagna Tagi rudibus stillantia
 venis
 effluxere decus, quanto pretiosa metalli
 Hermi ripa micat, quantas per Lydia culta
 despumat rutilas dives Pactolus harenas.
 55 Non, mihi centenis pateant si vocibus ora
 multifidusque ruat centum per pectora
 Phoebus,
 acta Probi narrare queam, quot in ordine
 gentes
 rexerit, ad summi quotiens fastigia iuris
 venerit, Italiae late cum frena teneret
 Illyricosque sinus et quos arat Africa
 60 campos.
 sed nati vicere patrem solique merentur
 victores audire Probi. non contigit illi
 talis honor, prima cum parte viresceret
 aevi,
 nec consul cum fratre fuit. vos nulla fatigat
 65 cura diu maiora petens, non anxia mentem
 spes agit et longo tendit praecordia voto:
 coepistis quo finis erat. primordia vestra
 vix pauci meruere senes, metasque tenetis
 ante genas dulces quam flos iuvenilis
 inumbret
 70 oraque ridenti lanugine vestiat aetas.
 tu, precor, ignarum doceas, Parnasia,
 vatem,
 quis deus ambobus tanti sit muneris auctor.
 Postquam fulmineis impellens viribus
 hostem
 belliger Augustus trepidas laxaverat Alpes,

[42] mss. si quis; *Birt* suggests sic vix; possibly *ecquis* should be read. *Postgate* (*C. Q. iv. p. 258*) quae vix ... miretur ... Astur.

men. The thick cloud of his generosity was ever big with gifts, full and overflowing with clients was his mansion, and thereinto there poured a stream of paupers to issue forth again rich men. His prodigal hand outdid Spain's rivers in scattering gifts of gold (scarce so much precious metal dazzles the gaze of the miner delving in the vexed bowels of the earth), exceeding all the gold dust carried down by Tagus' water trickling from unsmelted lodes, the glittering ore that enriches Hermus' banks, the golden sand that rich Pactolus in flood deposits over the plains of Lydia.

Could my words issue from a hundred mouths, could Phoebus' manifold inspiration breathe through a hundred breasts, even so I could not tell of Probus' deeds, of all the people his ordered governance ruled, of the many times he rose to the highest honours, when he held the reins of broad-acred Italy, the Illyrian coast, and Africa's lands. But his sons o'ershadowed their sire and they alone deserve to be called Probus' vanquishers. No such honour befell Probus in his youth: he was never consul with his brother. You ambition, ever o'ervaulting itself, pricks not; no anxious hopes afflict your minds or keep your hearts in long suspense. You have begun where most end: but few seniors have attained to your earliest office. You have finished your race e'er the full flower of youth has crowned your gentle cheeks or adolescence clothed your faces with its pleasant down. Do thou, my Muse, tell their ignorant poet what god it was granted such a boon to the twain.

When the warlike emperor had with the thunderbolt of his might put his enemy to flight and freed

Roma Probo cupiens dignas persolvere
 75 grates
 sedula pro natis dominum flexura rogando
 ire parat. famuli currum iunxere volentem
 Impetus horribilisque Metus, qui semper
 agentes
 proelia cum fremitu Romam comitantur
 anhelo,
 sive petat Parthos seu cuspidem turbet
 80 Hydaspem.
 hic ligat axe rotas; hic sub iuga ferrea
 nectit
 cornipedes rigidisque docet servire lupatis.
 ipsa, triumphatis qua possidet aethera
 regnis,
 adsilit innuptae ritus imitata Minervae.
 nam neque caesariem crinali stringere
 85 cultu
 colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto;
 dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
 audacem retegat mammam, laxumque
 coercens
 mordet gemma sinum; nodus, qui subleuat
 ensem,
 90 album puniceo pectus discriminat ostro.
 miscetur decori virtus pulcherque severo
 armatur terrore pudor, galeaeque minaci
 flava cruentarum praetenditur umbra
 iubarum,
 et formidato clipeus Titana lacessit
 95 lumine quem tota variarat Mulciber arte.
 hic patrius Mavortis amor fetusque
 notantur
 Romulei; pius amnis inest et belua nutrix;
 electro Tiberis, pueri formantur in auro;
 fingunt aera lupam; Mavors adamante
 coruscat.
 100 Iam simul emissis rapido velocior Euro
 fertur equis; strident Zephyri cursuque
 rotarum
 saucia dividuis clarescunt nubila sulcis.
 nec traxere moras, sed lapsu protinus uno,

the Alps from fear, Rome, anxious worthily to
 thank her Probus, hastened to beg the
 Emperor's favour for that hero's sons. Her
 slaves, Shock and horrid Fear, yoked her
 winged chariot; 'tis they who ever attend Rome
 with loud-voiced roar, setting wars afoot,
 whether she battle against the Parthians or vex
 Hydaspes' stream with her spear. The one
 fastens the wheels to the hubs, the other drives
 the horses beneath the iron yoke and makes
 them obey the stubborn bit. Rome herself in the
 guise of the virgin goddess Minerva soars aloft
 on the road by which she takes possession of
 the sky after triumphing over the realms of
 earth. She will not have her hair bound with a
 comb nor her neck made effeminate with a
 twisted necklace. Her right side is bare; her
 snowy shoulder exposed; her brooch fastens
 her flowing garments but loosely and boldly
 shows her breast: the belt that supports her
 sword throws a strip of scarlet across her fair
 skin. She looks as good as she is fair, chaste
 beauty armed with awe; her threatening helm
 of blood-red plumes casts a dark shadow and
 her shield challenges the sun in its fearful
 brilliance, that shield which Vulcan forged with
 all the subtlety of his skill. In it are depicted the
 children Romulus and Remus, and their loving
 father Mars, Tiber's reverent stream, and the
 wolf that was their nurse; Tiber is embossed in
 electrum, the children in pure gold, brazen is
 the wolf, and Mars fashioned of flashing steel.

And now Rome, loosing both her steeds
 together, flies swifter than the fleet east wind;
 the Zephyrs shrill and the clouds, cleft with the
 track of the wheels, glow in separate furrows.
 What matchless speed! One pinion's stroke and
 they reach their

- quem poscunt, tetigere locum: qua fine sub
imo
105 angustant aditum curvis anfractibus Alpes
claustraque congestis scopulis durissima
tendunt,
non alia reseranda manu, sed pervia
tantum
Augusto geminisque fidem mentita
tyrannis.
semirutae turres avulsaque moenia fumant;
crescunt in cumulum strages vallemque
profundam
111 aequavere iugis; stagnant immersa cruore
corpora; turbantur permixto funere manes.
Haud procul exhausto laetus certamine
victor
caespite gramineo consederat arbore fultus
115 adclines umeros; domimim gavisam coronat
terra suam, surguntque toris maioribus
herbae.
sudor adhuc per membra calet creberque
recurrat
halitus et placidi radiant in casside vultus:
qualis letifera populatus caede Gelonos
procubat horrendus Getico Gradivus in
120 arvo;
exuvias Bellona levat, Bellona tepentes
pulvere solvit equos, immensaque cornus in
hastam
porrigitur tremulisque ferit splendoribus
Hebrum.
Ut stetit ante ducem discussas Roma per
auras,
125 conscia ter sonuit rupes et inhorruit atrum
maiestate nemus. prior hic: "o numen
amicum"
dux ait "et legum genetrix longeque
regendo
circumfusa polo consors ac dicta Tonantis,
dic aegedum, quae causa viae? cur deseris
arces
Ausonias caelumque tuum? dic, maxima
130 rerum!

goal: it is there where in their furthestmost parts the Alps narrow their approaches into tortuous valleys and extend their adamantine bars of piled-up rocks. No other hand could unlock that gate, as, to their cost, those two tyrants^[43] found; to the Emperor only they offer a way. The smoke of towers o'erthrown and of ruined fortresses ascends to heaven. Slaughtered men are piled up on a heap and bring the lowest valley equal with the hills; corpses welter in their blood; the very shades are confounded with the inrush of the slain.

Close at hand the victor, Theodosius, happy that his warfare is accomplished, sits upon the green sward, his shoulders leaning against a tree. Triumphant earth crowned her lord and flowers sprang up from prouder banks. The sweat is still warm upon his body, his breath comes panting, but calm shines his countenance beneath his helmet. Such is Mars, when with deadly slaughter he has devastated the Geloni and thereafter rests, a dread figure, in the Getic plain, while Bellona, goddess of war, lightens him of his armour and unyokes his dust-stained coursers; an outstretched spear, a huge cornel trunk, arms his hand and flashes its tremulous splendour over Hebrus' stream.

When Rome had ended her airy journey and now stood before her lord, thrice thundered the conscious rocks and the black wood shuddered in awe. First to speak was the hero: "Goddess and friend, mother of laws, thou whose empire is conterminous with heaven, thou that art called the consort of the Thunderer, say what hath caused thy coming: why leavest thou the towns of Italy and thy native clime? Say, queen of the world. Were it thy

[43] Maximus and Eugenius. See Introduction, p. ix.

non ego vel Libycos cessem tolerare
 labores
 Sarmaticosve pati medio sub frigore
 Cauros,
 si tu, Roma, velis; pro te quascumque per
 oras
 ibimus et nulla sub tempestate timentes
 solstitio Meroën, bruma temptabimus
 135 Histrum.”
 Tum regina refert: “non me latet, inclite
 rector,
 quod tua pro Latio victricia castra laborant
 nec quod servitium rursus Furiaeque
 rebelles
 edomitae paribus sub te cecidere
 triumphis.
 sed precor hoc donum cum libertate recenti
 140 adicias, si vera manet reverentia nostri.
 sunt mihi pubentes alto de semine fratres,
 pignora cara Probi, festa quos luce creatos
 ipsa meo fovi gremio. cunabula parvis
 145 ipsa dedi, cum matris onus Lucina beatum
 solveret et magnos profferrent sidera
 partus.
 his ego nec Decios pulchros fortesve
 Metellos
 praetulerim, non, qui Poenum domuere
 ferocem,
 Scipiadas Gallisque genus fatale Camillos.
 150 Pieriis pollent studiis multoque redundant
 eloquio; nec desidiis dapibusve paratis
 indulgere iuvat nec tanta licentia vitae
 adripit aut mores aetas lasciva relaxat:
 sed gravibus curis animum sortita senilem
 155 ignea longaevo frenatur corde iuventus.
 illis, quam propriam ducunt ab origine,
 sortem
 oramus praebere velis annique futurum
 devoveas venientis iter. non improba posco,
 non insueta dabis: domus haec de more
 requirit.
 adnue: sic nobis Scythicus famuletur
 160 Araxes,

wish I would not shrink from toiling neath a
 Libyan sun nor from the cold winds of a
 Russian midwinter. At thy behest I will traverse
 all lands and fearing no season of the year will
 hazard Meroë in summer and the Danube in
 winter.”

Then the Queen answered: “Full well know I,
 far-famed ruler, that thy victorious armies toil
 for Italy, and that once again servitude and
 furious rebels have given way before thee,
 overthrown in one and the same battle. Yet I
 pray thee add to our late won liberty this
 further boon, if in very truth thou still reverest
 me. There are among my citizens two young
 brothers of noble lineage, the dearly loved sons
 of Probus, born on a festal day and reared in
 my own bosom. ’Twas I gave the little ones
 their cradles when the goddess of childbirth
 freed their mother’s womb from its blessed
 burden and heaven brought to light her
 glorious offspring. To these I would not prefer
 the noble Decii nor the brave Metelli, no, nor
 the Scipios who overcame the warlike
 Carthaginians nor the Camilli, that family
 fraught with ruin for the Gauls. The Muses
 have endowed them with full measure of their
 skill; their eloquence knows no bounds. Theirs
 not to wanton in sloth and banquets spread;
 unbridled pleasure tempts them not, nor can
 the lure of youth undermine their characters.
 Gaining from weighty cares an old man’s mind,
 their fiery youth is bridled by a greybeard’s
 wisdom. That fortune to which their birth
 entitles them I beg thee assure them and
 appoint for them the path of the coming year.
 ’Tis no unreasonable request and will be no
 unheard-of boon. Their birth demands it should
 be so. Grant it; so may Scythian Araxes be our
 vassal

sic Rhenus per utrumque latus, Medisque
subactis
nostra Semiramiae timeant insignia turres;
sic fluat attonitus Romana per oppida
Ganges."

- Ductor ad haec: "optata iubes ultroque
volentem,
diva, rogas; non haec precibus temptanda
fuissent.
usque adeone meam condunt oblivia
166 mentem,
ut pigeat meminisse Probi, quo vindice
totam
vidimus Hesperiam fessasque resurgere
gentes?
ante dabunt hiemes Nilum, per flumina
dammae
errabunt glacieque niger damnabitur Indus,
170 ante Thyesteis iterum conterrita mensis
intercisa dies refugos vertetur in ortus,
quam Probus a nostro possit discedere
sensu."
Dixerat et velox iam nuntius advolat
urbem.
175 extemplo strepuere chori collesque canoris
plausibus impulsus septena voce resultant.
laetatur veneranda parens et pollice docto
iam parat auratas trabeas cinctusque
micantes
stamine, quod molli tondent de stipite
Seres
180 frondea lanigeræ carpentes vellera silvae,
et longum tenue tractus producit in aurum
filaque concreto cogit squalere metallo:
qualis purpureas praebebat candida vestes
numinibus Latona suis, cum sacra redirent
185 ad loca nutricis iam non errantia Deli,
illa feros saltus et desolata relinquens
Maenala lassato certis venatibus arcu,
Phoebus adhuc nigris rorantia tela venenis
extincto Pythone gerens; tunc insula notos

and Rhine's either bank; so may the Mede be
o'erthrown and the towers that Semiramis built
yield to our standards, while amazed Ganges
flows between Roman cities."

To this the king: "Goddess, thou biddest me do
what I would fain do and askest a boon that I
wish to grant: thy entreaties were not needed
for this. Does forgetfulness so wholly cloud my
mind that I will not remember Probus, beneath
whose leadership I have seen all Italy and her
war-weary peoples come again to prosperity?
Winter shall cause Nile's rising, hinds shall
make rivers their element, dark-flowing Indus
shall be ice-bound, terror-stricken once again
by the banquet of Thyestes the sun shall stay
his course and fly for refuge back into the east,
all this ere Probus can fade from my memory."

He spake, and now the speedy messenger hies
him to Rome. Straightway the choirs chant and
the seven hills re-echo their tuneful applause.
Joy is in the heart of that aged mother whose
skilled fingers now make ready gold-
embroidered vestment and garments a gleam
with the thread which the Seres comb out from
their delicate plants, gathering the leafy fleece
of the wool-bearing trees. These long threads
she draws out to an equal length with the
threads of gold and by intertwining them
makes one golden cord; as fair Latona gave
scarlet garments to her divine offspring when
they returned to the now firm-fixed shrine of
Delos their foster-island, Diana leaving the
forest glades and bleak Maenalus, her unerring
bow wearied with much hunting, and Phoebus
bearing the sword still dripping with black
venom from the slaughtered Python. Then their
dear island laved the feet of its acknowledged

190 lambit amica pedes ridetque Aegaeus
 alumnis
 lenior et blando testatur gaudia fluctu.
 Sic Proba praecipuo natos exornat
 amictu:
 quae decorat mundum, cuius Romana
 potestas
 fetibus augetur. credas ex aethere lapsam
 195 stare Pudicitiam vel sacro ture vocatam
 Iunonem Inachiis oculos advertere templis.
 talem nulla refert antiquis pagina libris
 nec Latiae cecinere tubae nec Graeca
 vetustas.
 coniuge digna Probo; nam tantum coetibus
 extat
 femineis, quantum supereminet ille
 200 maritos.
 ceu sibi certantes, sexus quid possit
 uterque,
 hunc legere torum. taceat Nereida nuptam
 Pelion. o duplici fecundam consule matrem
 felicemque uterum, qui nomina parturit
 annis!
 Ut sceptrum gessere manu membrisque
 rigentes
 200 aptavere togas, signum dat summus hiulca
 nube Pater gratamque facem per inane
 rotantes
 prospera vibrati tonuerunt omina nimbi.
 accepit sonitus curvis Tiberinus in antris
 210 ima valle sedens. adrectis auribus haesit,
 unde repentinus populi fragor. ilicet herbis
 pallentes thalamos et structa cubilia musco
 deserit ac Nymphis urnam commendat
 erilem.
 illi glauca nitent hirsuto lumina vultu
 215 caeruleis infecta notis, reddentia patrem
 Oceanum; crispo densantur gramine colla;
 vertice luxuriat toto crinalis harundo,

deities, the Aegean smiled more gently on its
 nurslings, the Aegean whose soft ripples bore
 witness to its joy.

So Proba^[44] adorns her children with vestment
 rare, Proba, the world's glory, by whose
 increase the power of Rome, too, is increased.
 You would have thought her Modesty's self
 fallen from heaven or Juno, summoned by
 sacred incense, turning her eyes on the shrines
 of Argos. No page in ancient story tells of such
 a mother, no Latin Muse nor old Grecian tale.
 Worthy is she of Probus for a husband, for he
 surpassed all husbands as she all wives. 'Twas
 as though in rivalry either sex had done its
 uttermost and so brought about this marriage.
 Let Pelion vaunt no more that Nereid bride.^[45]
 Happy thou that art the mother of consuls
 twain, blessed thy womb whose offspring have
 given the year their name for its own.

So soon as their hands held the sceptres and
 the jewel-studded togas had enfolded their
 limbs the almighty Sire vouchsafes a sign with
 riven cloud and the shaken heavens, projecting
 a welcoming flash through the void, thundered
 with prosperous omen. Father Tiber, seated in
 that low valley, heard the sound in his
 labyrinthine cave. He stays with ears pricked
 up wondering whence this sudden popular
 clamour comes. Straightway he leaves his
 couch of green leaves, his mossy bed, and
 entrusts his urn to his attendant nymphs. Grey
 eyes flecked with blue shine out from his
 shaggy countenance, recalling his father
 Oceanus; thick curled grasses cover his neck
 and lush sedge crowns his head.

^[44] Anicia Faltonia Proba. She was still
 alive in 410 and according to Procopius
 (*Bell. Vand.* i. 2) opened the gates of Rome
 to Alaric.

^[45] Thetis, daughter of Nereus, was
 married to Peleus on Mount Pelion in
 Thessaly.

quam neque fas Zephyris frangi nec sole
 perustam
 aestivo candore mori; sed vivida frondet
 aequaevum complexa caput. taurina
 220 levantur
 cornua temporibus raucos sudantia rivos;
 distillant per pectus aquae; frons hispida
 manat
 imbribus; in liquidos fontes se barba
 repectit.
 palla graves umeros velat, quam neverat
 uxor
 225 Ilia percurrans vitreas sub gurgite telas.
 Est in Romuleo procumbens insula Thybri
 qua medius geminas interfluit alveus urbes
 discretas subeunte freto, pariterque
 minantes
 ardua turrigeræ surgunt in culmina ripae.
 hic stetit et subitum prospexit ab aggere
 230 votum:
 unanimos^[46] fratres iuncto stipante senatu
 ire forum strictasque procul radiare
 secures
 atque uno biuges tolli de limine fasces.
 obstupuit visu suspensaque gaudia vocem
 235 oppressam tenuere diu; mox incohat ore:
 "Respice, si tales iactas aluisse fluentis,
 Eurota Spartane, tuis. quid protulit aequum
 falsus olor, valido quamvis decernere
 caestu
 noverit et ratibus saevas arcere procellas?
 240 en nova Ladaeis suboles fulgentior astris,
 ecce mei cives, quorum iam Signifer optat
 adventum stellisque parat convexa futuris.
 iam per noctivagos dominetur Olybrius axes
 pro Polluce rubens, pro Castore flamma
 Probinus.

[46] *Birt*, following *MSS.*, unanimes; *Koch* unanimos.

This the Zephyrs may not break nor the summer sun scorch to withering; it lives and burgeons around those brows immortal as itself. From his temples sprout horns like those of a bull; from these pour babbling streamlets; water drips upon his breast, showers pour down his hair-crowned forehead, flowing rivers from his parted beard. There clothes his massy shoulders a cloak woven by his wife Ilia, who threaded the crystalline loom beneath the flood.

There lies in Roman Tiber's stream an island where the central flood washes as 'twere two cities parted by the sundering waters: with equal threatening height the tower-clad banks rise in lofty buildings. Here stood Tiber and from this eminence beheld his prayer of a sudden fulfilled, saw the twin-souled brothers enter the Forum amid the press of thronging senators, the bared axes gleam afar and both sets of fasces brought forth from one threshold. He stood amazed at the sight and for a long time incredulous joy held his voice in check. Yet soon he thus began:

"Behold, Eurotas, river of Sparta, boastest thou that thy streams have ever nurtured such as these? Did that false swan^[47] beget a child to rival them, though 'tis true his sons could fight with the heavy glove and save ships from cruel tempests? Behold new offspring outshining the stars to which Leda gave birth, men of my city for whose coming the Zodiac is now awatch, making ready his hollow tract of sky for a constellation that is to be. Henceforth let Olybrius rule the nightly sky, shedding his ruddy light where Pollux once shone, and where glinted Castor's fires there let glitter Probinus'

[47] Jupiter, who courted Leda in the form of a swan, becoming by her the father of Helen, Clytemnestra, Castor and Pollux. These latter two were the patrons of the ring—hence "decernere caestu" (l. 238); and of sailors—hence "arcere procellas" (l. 239).

245 ipsi vela regent, ipsis donantibus auras
 navita tranquillo moderabitur aequore
 pinum.
 nunc pateras libare deis, nunc solvere
 multo
 nectare corda libet. niveos iam pandite
 coetus,
 Naides, et totum violis praetexite fontem;
 mella ferant silvae; iam profluat ebrius
 250 amnis
 mutatis in vina vadis; iam sponte per agros
 sudent inriguae spirantia balsama venae!
 currat, qui sociae roget in convivium mensae
 indigenas Fluvios, Italis quicumque
 suberrant
 montibus Alpinasque bibunt de more
 255 pruinis:
 Vulturusque rapax et Nar vitiat odor
 sulphure tardatusque suis erroribus Ufens
 et Phaëthontae perpressus damna ruinae
 Eridanus flavaeque terens querceta
 Maricae
 Liris et Oebaliae qui temperat arva
 260 Galaesus.
 semper honoratus nostris celebrabitur
 undis
 iste dies, semper dapibus recoletur opimis."
 Sic ait et Nymphae patris praecepta
 secutae
 tecta parant epulis ostroque infecta corusco
 265 umida gemmiferis inluxit regia mensis.
 O bene signatum fraterno nomine
 tempus!
 o consanguineis felix auctoribus annus,
 incipe quadrifidum Phoebi torquere
 laborem.
 prima tibi procedat hiems non frigore
 torpens,
 270 non canas vestita nives, non aspera ventis,
 sed tepido calefacta Noto; ver inde
 serenum
 protinus et liquidi clementior aura Favoni
 pratis te croceis pingat; te messibus aestas

flame. These shall direct men's sails and
 vouchsafe those breezes whereby the sailor
 shall guide his bark o'er the calm ocean. Let us
 now pour libation to the new gods and ease our
 hearts with copious draughts of nectar. Naiads,
 now spread your snowy bands, wreath every
 spring with violets. Let the woods bring forth
 honey and the drunken river roll, its waters
 changed to wine; let the watering streams that
 vein the fields give off the scent of balsam
 spice. Let one run and invite to the feast and
 banquet-board all the rivers of our land, even
 all that wander beneath the mountains of Italy
 and drink as their portion the Alpine snows,
 swift Vulturus and Nar infected with ill-
 smelling sulphur, Ufens whose meanderings
 delay his course and Eridanus into whose
 waters Phaëthon fell headlong; Liris who laves
 Marica's golden oak groves and Galaesus who
 tempers the fields of Sparta's colony Tarentum.
 This day shall always be held in honour and
 observed by our rivers and its anniversary ever
 celebrated with rich feasting."

So spake he, and the Nymphs, obeying their
 sire's behest, made ready the rooms for the
 banquet, and the watery palace, ablaze with
 gleaming purple, shone with jewelled tables.

O happy months to bear these brothers' name!
 O year blessed to own such a pair as overlords,
 begin thou to turn the laborious wheel of
 Phoebus' four-fold circle. First let thy winter
 pursue its course, sans numbing cold, not
 clothed in white snow nor torn by rough blasts,
 but warmed with the south wind's breath: next,
 be thy spring calm from the outset and let the
 limpid west wind's gentler breeze flood thy
 meads with yellow flowers.

induat autumnusque madentibus ambiat
uvis.

275 omni nobilior lustro, tibi gloria soli
contigit exactum numquam memorata per
aevum,
germanos habuisse duces; te cuncta
loquetur
tellus; te variis scribent in floribus Horae
longaque perpetui ducent in saecula fasti.

May summer crown thee with harvest and
autumn store thee with luscious grapes. An
honour that no age has ever yet known, a
privilege never yet heard of in times gone by,
this has been thine and thine alone—to have
had brothers as thy consuls. The whole world
shall tell of thee, the Hours shall inscribe thy
name in various flowers, and age-long annals
hand thy fame down through the long
centuries.

IN RUFINUM LIBER PRIMUS

INCIPIT PRAEFATIO

(II.)

Phoebeo domitus Python cum decidit arcu
 membraque Cirrhaeo fudit anhela iugo,
 qui spiris tegeter montes, hauriret hiatu
 flumina, sanguineis tangeret astra iubis:
 5 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
 10 Cephisos nitidis purior ibat aquis.
 omnis "io Paeon" regio sonat; omnia
 Phoebum
 rura canunt; tripodas plenior aura rotat,
 auditoque procul Musarum carmine dulci
 ad Themidis coeunt antra severa dei.
 15 Nunc alio domini telis Pythone perempto
 convenit ad nostram sacra caterva lyram,
 qui stabilem servans Augustis fratribus
 orbem
 iustitia pacem, viribus arma regit.

**THE FIRST BOOK AGAINST
 RUFINUS**

PREFACE

(II.)

When Python had fallen, laid low by the arrow
 of Phoebus, his dying limbs outspread o'er
 Cirrha's heights—Python, whose coils covered
 whole mountains, whose maw swallowed rivers
 and whose bloody crest touched the stars—then
 Parnassus was free and the woods, their
 serpent fetters shaken off, began to grow tall
 with lofty trees. The mountain-ashes, long
 shaken by the dragon's sinuous coils, spread
 their leaves securely to the breeze, and
 Cephisos, who had so often foamed with his
 poisonous venom, now flowed a purer stream
 with limpid wave. The whole country echoed
 with the cry, "hail, Healer": every land sang
 Phoebus' praise. A fuller wind shakes the
 tripod, and the gods, hearing the Muses' sweet
 song from afar off, gather in the dread caverns
 of Themis.

A blessed band comes together to hear my
 song, now that a second Python has been slain
 by the weapons of that master of ours who
 made the rule of the brother Emperors hold the
 world steady, observing justice in peace and
 showing vigour in war.

LIBER I

(III.)

Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia
mentem,
curarent superi terras an nullus inesset
rector et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.
nam cum dispositi quaesissem foedera
mundi
5 praescriptosque mari fines annisque
meatus
et lucis noctisque vices: tunc omnia rebar
consilio firmata dei, qui lege moveri
sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,
qui variam Phoeben alieno iusserit igni
10 compleri Solemque suo, porrexerit undis
litora, tellurem medio libraverit axe.
sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
adspicerem laetosque diu florere nocentes
vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat
relligio causaeque viam non sponte
15 sequebar
alterius, vacuo quae currere semina motu
adfirmat magnumque novas per inane
figuras
fortuna non arte regi, quae numina sensu
ambiguo vel nulla putat vel nescia nostri.

BOOK I

(III.)

My mind has often wavered between two opinions: have the gods a care for the world or is there no ruler therein and do mortal things drift as dubious chance dictates? For when I investigated the laws and the ordinances of heaven and observed the sea's appointed limits, the year's fixed cycle and the alternation of light and darkness, then methought everything was ordained according to the direction of a God who had bidden the stars move by fixed laws, plants grow at different seasons, the changing moon fulfil her circle with borrowed light and the sun shine by his own, who spread the shore before the waves and balanced the world in the centre of the firmament. But when I saw the impenetrable mist which surrounds human affairs, the wicked happy and long prosperous and the good discomforted, then in turn my belief in God was weakened and failed, and even against mine own will I embraced the tenets of that other philosophy^[48] which teaches that atoms drift in purposeless motion and that new forms throughout the vast void are shaped by chance and not design—that philosophy which believes in God in an ambiguous sense, or holds that there be no gods, or that they are careless of our doings. At

[48] Epicureanism.

abstulit hunc tandem Rufini poena
 20 tumultum
 absolvitque deos. iam non ad culmina
 rerum
 iniustos crevisse queror; tolluntur in altum,
 ut lapsu graviore ruant. vos pandite vati,
 Pierides, quo tanta lues eruperit ortu.
 Invidiae quondam stimulis incanduit
 25 atrox
 Allecto, placidas late cum cerneret urbes.
 protinus infernas ad limina taetra sorores
 concilium deformae vocat. glomerantur in
 unum
 innumerae pestes Erebi, quascumque
 sinistro
 30 Nox genuit fetu: 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
 35 adhaerens
 infelix humili gressu comitatur Egestas,
 foedaque Avaritiae complexae pectora
 matris
 insomnes longo veniunt examine Curae.
 complentur vario ferrata sedilia coetu
 40 torvaque collectis stipatur curia monstros.
 Allecto stetit in mediis vulgusque tacere
 iussit et obstantes in tergum reppulit
 angues
 perque umeros errare dedit. tum corde sub
 imo
 inclusam rabidis patefecit vocibus iram:
 45 "Sicine tranquillo produci saecula cursu,
 sic fortunatas patiemur vivere gentes?
 quae nova corrumpit nostros clementia
 mores?
 quo rabies innata perit? quid inania prosunt
 verbera? quid facibus nequiquam cingimur
 atris?

last Rufinus' fate has dispelled this uncertainty
 and freed the gods from this imputation. No
 longer can I complain that the unrighteous man
 reaches the highest pinnacle of success. He is
 raised aloft that he may be hurled down in
 more headlong ruin. Muses, unfold to your poet
 whence sprang this grievous pest.

Dire Allecto once kindled with jealous wrath on
 seeing widespread peace among the cities of
 men. Straightway she summons the hideous
 council of the nether-world sisters to her foul
 palace gates. Hell's numberless monsters are
 gathered together, Night's children of ill-
 omened birth. Discord, mother of war,
 imperious Hunger, Age, near neighbour to
 Death; Disease, whose life is a burden to
 himself; Envy that brooks not another's
 prosperity, woeful Sorrow with rent garments;
 Fear and foolhardy Rashness with sightless
 eyes; Luxury, destroyer of wealth, to whose
 side ever clings unhappy Want with humble
 tread, and the long company of sleepless Cares,
 hanging round the foul neck of their mother
 Avarice. The iron seats are filled with all this
 rout and the grim chamber is thronged with the
 monstrous crowd. Allecto stood in their midst
 and called for silence, thrusting behind her
 back the snaky hair that swept her face and
 letting it play over her shoulders. Then with
 mad utterance she unlocked the anger deep
 hidden in her heart.

"Shall we allow the centuries to roll on in this
 even tenour, and man to live thus blessed?
 What novel kindness has corrupted our
 characters? Where is our inbred fury? Of what
 use the lash with none to suffer beneath it?
 Why this purposeless girdle of smoky torches?
 Sluggards, ye,

50 heu nimis ignavae, quas Iuppiter arcet
 Olympo,
 Theodosius terris. en aurea nascitur aetas,
 en proles antiqua redit. Concordia, Virtus
 eumque Fide Pietas alta cervice vagantur
 insignemque canunt nostra de plebe
 triumphum.
 55 pro dolor! ipsa mihi liquidas delapsa per
 auras
 Iustitia insultat vitiisque a stirpe recisis
 elicit oppressas tenebroso carcere leges.
 at nos indecores longo torpebimus aevo
 60 omnibus eiectae regnis! agnoscite tandem
 quid Furias deceat; consuetas sumite vires
 conventuque nefas tanto decernite dignum.
 iam cupio Stygiis invadere nubibus astra,
 iam flatu violare diem, laxare profundo
 frena mari, fluvios ruptis inmittere ripis
 et rerum vexare fidem."
 65 Sic fata cruentum
 mugit et totos serpentum erexit hiatus
 noxiaque effudit concusso crine venena.
 anceps motus erat vulgi. pars maxima
 bellum
 indicit superis, pars Ditis iura veretur,
 dissensuque alitur rumor: ceu murmurat
 70 alti
 impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
 durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque
 per aestum
 lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.
 Improba mox surgit tristi de sede
 Megaera,
 75 quam penes insani fremitus animique
 profanus
 error et undantes spumis furialibus irae:
 non nisi quaesitum cognata caede cruorem
 inlicitumve bibit, patrius quem fuderit
 ensis,

whom Jove has excluded from heaven,
 Theodosius from earth. Lo! a golden age
 begins; lo! the old breed of men returns. Peace
 and Godliness, Love and Honour hold high their
 heads throughout the world and sing a proud
 song of triumph over our conquered folk.
 Justice herself (oh the pity of it!), down-gliding
 through the limpid air, exults over me and, now
 that crime has been cut down to the roots,
 frees law from the dark prison wherein she lay
 oppressed. Shall we, expelled from every land,
 lie this long age in shameful torpor? Ere it be
 too late recognize a Fury's duty: resume your
 wonted strength and decree a crime worthy of
 this august assembly. Fain would I shroud the
 stars in Stygian darkness, smirch the light of
 day with our breath, unbridle the ocean deeps,
 hurl rivers against their shattered banks, and
 break the bonds of the universe."

So spake she with cruel roar and uproused
 every gaping serpent mouth as she shook her
 snaky locks and scattered their baneful poison.
 Of two minds was the band of her sisters. The
 greater number was for declaring war upon
 heaven, yet some respected still the ordinances
 of Dis and the uproar grew by reason of their
 dissension, even as the sea's calm is not at
 once restored, but the deep still thunders
 when, for all the wind be dropped, the swelling
 tide yet flows, and the last weary winds of the
 departing storm play o'er the tossing waves.

Thereupon cruel Megaera rose from her
 funereal seat, mistress she of madness'
 howlings and impious ill and wrath bathed in
 fury's foam. No blood her drink but that flowing
 from kindred slaughter and forbidden crime,
 shed by a father's, by a brother's

quem dederint fratres; haec terruit
 Herculis ora
 80 et defensores terrarum polluit arcus,
 haec Athamanteae direxit spicula dextrae,
 haec Agamemnonios inter bacchata
 penates
 alternis lusit iugulis; hac auspice taedae
 Oedipoden matri, natae iunxere Thyesten.
 85 quae tunc horronis effatur talia dictis:
 "Signa quidem, sociae, divos attollere
 contra
 nec fas est nec posse reor; sed laedere
 mundum
 si libet et populis commune intendere
 letum.
 est mihi prodigium cunctis inmanius hydris,
 90 tigride mobilius feta, violentius Austris
 acribus, Euripi fulvis incertius undis
 Rufinus, quem prima meo de matre
 cadentem
 suscepi gremio. parvus reptavit in isto
 saepe sinu teneroque per ardua colla
 volutus
 95 ubera quaesivit fletu linguisque trisulcis
 mollia lambentes finxerunt membra
 cerastae;
 meque etiam tradente dolos artesque
 nocendi
 edidicit: simulare fidem sensusque minaces
 protegere et blando fraudem praetexere
 risu,
 100 plenus saevitiae lucrique cupidine fervens.
 non Tartesiatis ilium satiaret harenis
 tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna
 rubentis
 aurea Pactoli; totumque exhausit
 Hermum,
 ardebit maiore siti. quam fallere mentes
 105 doctus et unanimos odiis turbare sodales!
 talem progenies hominum si prisca tulisset,
 Perithoum fugeret Theseus, offensus
 Orestem
 desereret Pylades, odisset Castora Pollux.
 ipsa quidem fateor vinci rapidoque
 magistrum

sword. 'Twas she made e'en Hercules afraid
 and brought shame upon that bow that had
 freed the world of monsters; she aimed the
 arrow in Athamas'^[49] hand: she took her
 pleasure in murder after murder, a mad fury in
 Agamemnon's palace; beneath her auspices
 wedlock mated Oedipus with his mother and
 Thyestes with his daughter. Thus then she
 speaks with dread-sounding words:

"To raise our standards against the gods, my
 sisters, is neither right nor, methinks, possible;
 but hurt the world we may, if such our wish,
 and bring an universal destruction upon its
 inhabitants. I have a monster more savage than
 the hydra brood, swifter than the mother
 tigress, fiercer than the south wind's blast,
 more treacherous than Euripus' yellow flood—
 Rufinus. I was the first to gather him, a new-
 born babe, to my bosom. Often did the child
 nestle in mine embrace and seek my breast, his
 arms thrown about my neck in a flood of infant
 tears. My snakes shaped his soft limbs licking
 them with their three-forked tongues. I taught
 him guile whereby he learnt the arts of injury
 and deceit, how to conceal the intended
 menace and cover his treachery with a smile,
 full-filled with savagery and hot with lust of
 gain. Him nor the sands of rich Tagus' flood by
 Tartessus' town could satisfy nor the golden
 waters of ruddy Pactolus; should he drink all
 Hermus' stream he would parch with the
 greedier thirst. How skilled to deceive and
 wreck friendships with hate! Had that old
 generation of men produced such an one as he,
 Theseus had fled Pirithous, Pylades deserted
 Orestes in wrath, Pollux hated Castor. I confess
 myself his inferior: his quick genius has
 outstripped

[49] Athamas, king of Orchomenus,
 murdered his son Learchus in a fit of
 madness.

110 praevenit ingenio; nec plus sermone
 morabor:
 solus habet scelerum quidquid possedimus
 omnes.
 hunc ego, si vestrae res est accommoda
 turbae,
 regalem ad summi producam principis
 aulam.
 sit licet ipse Numa gravior, sit denique
 Minos,
 115 cedet et insidiis nostri flectetur alumni."
 Orantem sequitur clamor cunctaeque
 profanas
 porrexere manus inventaque tristia
 laudant.
 illa ubi caeruleo vestes conexuit angue
 nodavitque adamante comas, Phlegethonta
 sonorum
 poscit et ambusto flagrantis ab aggere
 120 ripae
 ingentem piceo succendit gurgite pinum
 pigraque veloces per Tartara concutit alas.
 Est locus extremum pandit qua Gallia
 litus
 Oceani praetentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
 125 sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
 illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum
 flebilis auditur questus; simulacra coloni
 pallida defunctasque vident migrare
 figuras.
 hinc dea prosiluit Phoebique egressa
 serenos
 130 infecit radios ululatuque aethera rupit
 terrifico: sentit ferale Britannia murmur
 et Senonum quatit arva fragor revolutaque
 Tethys
 substitit et Rhenus proiecta torpuit urna.
 tunc in canitiem mutatis sponte colubris
 longaevum mentita senem rugisque seueras
 135 persulcata genas et ficto languida passu
 invadit muros Elusae, notissima dudum

his preceptress: in a word (that I waste not
 your time further) all the wickedness that is
 ours in common is his alone. Him will I
 introduce, if the plan commend itself to you, to
 the kingly palace of the emperor of the world.
 Be he wiser than Numa, be he Minos' self,
 needs must he yield and succumb to the
 treachery of my foster child."

A shout followed her words: all stretched forth
 their impious hands and applauded the awful
 plot. When Megaera had gathered together her
 dress with the black serpent that girdled her,
 and bound her hair with combs of steel, she
 approached the sounding stream of Phlegethon,
 and seizing a tall pine-tree from the scorched
 summit of the flaming bank kindled it in the
 pitchy flood, then plied her swift wings o'er
 sluggish Tartarus.

There is a place where Gaul stretches her
 furthestmost shore spread out before the waves
 of Ocean: 'tis there that Ulysses is said to have
 called up the silent ghosts with a libation of
 blood. There is heard the mournful weeping of
 the spirits of the dead as they flit by with faint
 sound of wings, and the inhabitants see the
 pale ghosts pass and the shades of the dead.
 'Twas from here the goddess leapt forth,
 dimmed the sun's fair beams and clave the sky
 with horrid howlings. Britain felt the deadly
 sound, the noise shook the country of the
 Senones,^[50] Tethys stayed her tide, and Rhine
 let fall his urn and shrank his stream.
 Thereupon, in the guise of an old man, her
 serpent locks changed at her desire to snowy
 hair, her dread cheeks furrowed with many a
 wrinkle and feigning weariness in her gait she
 enters the walls of Elusa,^[51] in search of the
 house she had long known so well. Long

[50] Their territory lay some sixty miles
 S.E. of Paris. Its chief town was Agedincum
 (mod. Sens).

[51] Elusa (the modern Eauze in the
 Department of Gers) was the birthplace of
 Rufinus (*cf.* Zosim. iv. 51. 1).

tecta petens, oculisque diu viventibus haesit
 peiorem mirata virum, tum talia fatur:
 "Otia te, Rufine, iuvant frustra
 140 iuventae
 consumis florem patriis inglorius arvis?
 heu nescis quid fata tibi, quid sidera
 debent,
 quid Fortuna parat: toto dominabere
 mundo,
 si parere velis! artus ne sperne seniles!
 145 namque mihi magicae vires aevique futuri
 praescius ardor inest; novi quo Thessala
 cantu
 eripiat lunare iubar, quid signa sagacis
 Aegypti valeant, qua gens Chaldaea vocatis
 imperet arte deis, nec me latuere fluentes
 150 arboribus suci funestarumque potestas
 herbarum, quidquid letali gramine pollens
 Caucasus et Scythicae vernant in
 crimina^[52] rupes,
 quas legit Medea ferox et callida Circe.
 saepius horrendos manes sacrisque litavi
 155 nocturnis Hecaten et condita funera traxi
 carminibus victura meis, multosque
 canendo,
 quamvis Parcarum restarent fila, peremi.
 ire vagas quercus et fulmen stare coegi
 versaque non pronò curvavi flumina lapsu
 160 in fontes reditura suos. ne vana locutum
 me fortasse putes, mutatos cerne penates."
 dixerat, et niveae (mirum!) coepere
 columnae
 ditari subitoque trabes lucere metallo.
 Inlecebris capitur nimiumque elatus
 avaro
 165 pascitur aspectu. sic rex ad prima tumbat

[52] *gramina E: other codd. gramine. Birt conjectures toxica, Heinsius carmina. I take Postgate's crimina.*

she stood and gazed with jealous eyes,
 marvelling at a man worse than herself; then
 spake she thus: "Does ease content thee,
 Rufinus? Wastest thou in vain the flower of thy
 youth inglorious thus in thy father's fields?
 Thou knowest not what fate and the stars owe
 thee, what fortune makes ready. So thou wilt
 obey me thou shalt be lord of the whole world.
 Despise not an old man's feeble limbs: I have
 the gift of magic and the fire of prophecy is
 within me. I have learned the incantations
 wherewith Thessalian witches pull down the
 bright moon, I know the meaning of the wise
 Egyptians' runes, the art whereby the
 Chaldeans impose their will upon the subject
 gods, the various saps that flow within trees
 and the power of deadly herbs; all those that
 grow on Caucasus rich in poisonous plants, or,
 to man's bane, clothe the crags of Scythia;
 herbs such as cruel Medea gathered and
 curious Circe. Often in nocturnal rites have I
 sought to propitiate the dread ghosts and
 Hecate, and recalled the shades of buried men
 to live again by my magic: many, too, has my
 wizardry brought to destruction though the
 Fates had yet somewhat of their life's thread to
 spin. I have caused oaks to walk and the
 thunderbolt to stay his course, aye, and made
 rivers reverse their course and flow backwards
 to their fount. Lest thou perchance think these
 be but idle boasts behold the change of thine
 own house." At these words the white pillars, to
 his amazement, began to turn into gold and the
 beams of a sudden to shine with metal.

His senses are captured by the bait, and,
 thrilled beyond measure, he feasts his greedy
 eyes on the sight. So Midas, king of Lydia,
 swelled at first

Maeonius, pulchro cum verteret omnia
 tactu;
 sed postquam riguisse dapes fulvamque
 revinctos
 in glaciem vidit latices, tum munus
 acerbum
 sensit et invisum votum damnavit in auro.
 ergo animi victus "sequimur quocumque
 170 vocabis,
 seu tu vir seu numen" ait, patriaque relicta
 Eoas Furiae iussu tendebat ad arces
 instabilesque olim Symplegadas et freta
 remis
 inclita Thessalicas, celsa qua Bosphorus
 urbe
 splendet et Odrysiis Asiam discriminat oris.
 175 Ut longum permensus iter ductusque
 maligno
 stamine fatorum claram subrepsit in aulam,
 illicit ambitio nasci, discedere rectum,
 venum cuncta dari; profert arcana, clientes
 180 fallit et ambitos a principe vendit honores.
 ingeminat crimen, commoti pectoris ignem
 nutrit et exiguum stimulando vulnus
 acerbatur.
 ac velut innumeros amnes accedere Nereus
 nescit et undantem quamvis hinc hauriat
 Histrum,
 185 hinc bibat aestivum septeno gurgite Nilum,
 par semper similisque manet: sic fluctibus
 auri
 expleri calor ille nequit. cuicumque monile
 contextum gemmis aut praedia culta
 fuissent,
 Rufino populandus erat, dominoque
 parabat
 190 exitium fecundus ager; metuenda colonis
 fertilitas: laribus pellit, detrudit avitis

with pride when he found he could transform
 everything he touched to gold: but when he
 beheld his food grow rigid and his drink harden
 into golden ice then he understood that this gift
 was a bane and in his loathing for the gold
 cursed his prayer. Thus Rufinus, overcome,
 cried out: "Whithersoever thou summonest me
 I follow, be thou man or god." Then at the
 Fury's bidding he left his fatherland and
 approached the cities of the East, threading the
 once floating Symplegades and the seas
 renowned for the voyage of the Argo, ship of
 Thessaly, till he came to where, beneath its
 high-walled town, the gleaming Bosphorus
 separates Asia from the Thracian coast.

When he had completed this long journey and,
 led by the evil thread of the fates, had won his
 way into the far-famed palace, then did
 ambition straightway come to birth and right
 was no more. Everything had its price. He
 betrayed secrets, deceived dependents, and
 sold honours that had been wheedled from the
 emperor. He followed up one crime with
 another, heaping fuel on the inflamed mind and
 probing and embittering the erstwhile trivial
 wound. And yet, as Nereus knows no addition
 from the infinitude of rivers that flow into him
 and though here he drains Danube's wave and
 there Nile's summer flood with its sevenfold
 mouth, yet ever remains his same and constant
 self, so Rufinus' thirst knew no abatement for
 all the streams of gold that flowed in upon him.
 Had any a necklace studded with jewels or a
 fertile demesne he was sure prey for Rufinus: a
 rich property assured the ruin of its own
 possessor: fertility was the husbandman's bane.
 He drives them from their homes, expels them
 from the lands their sires had

finibus; aut aufert vivis aut occupat heres
 congestae cumulantur opes orbisque ruinas
 accipit una domus: populi servire coacti
 plenaque privato succumbunt oppida
 regno.

195

Quo, vesane, ruis? teneas utrumque
 licebit

Oceanum, laxet rutilos tibi Lydia fontes,
 iungatur solium Croesi Cyrique tiara:
 numquam dives eris, numquam satiabere
 quaestu.

semper inops quicumque cupit. contentus
 honesto

201

Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum
 sudabatque gravi consul Serranus aratro
 et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.
 haec mihi paupertas opulentior, haec mihi
 tecta

205

culminibus maiora tuis. ibi quaerit inanes
 luxuries nocitura cibos; hic donat inemptas
 terra dapes. rapiunt Tyrios ibi vellera sucos
 et picturatae saturantur murice vestes;
 hic radiant flores et prati viva voluptas
 ingenio variata suo. fulgentibus illic
 surgunt strata toris; hic mollis panditur
 herba

210

sollicitum curis non abruptura soporem.
 turba salutantum latas ibi perstrepat aedes;
 hic avium cantus, labentis murmura rivi.

215

vivitur exiguo melius; natura beatissimis
 omnibus esse dedit, si quis cognoverit uti.
 haec si nota forent, frueremur simplici
 cultu,
 classica non gement, non stridula
 fraxinus iret,
 nec ventus quateret puppes nec machina
 muros.

left them, either wresting them from the living
 owners or fastening upon them as an inheritor.
 Massed riches are piled up and a single house
 receives the plunder of a world; whole peoples
 are forced into slavery, and thronging cities
 bow beneath the tyranny of a private man.

Madman, what shall be the end? Though thou
 possess either Ocean, though Lydia pour forth
 for thee her golden waters, though thou join
 Croesus' throne to Cyrus' crown, yet shalt thou
 never be rich nor ever contented with thy
 booty. The greedy man is always poor.
 Fabricius, happy in his honourable poverty,
 despised the gifts of monarchs; the consul
 Serranus sweated at his heavy plough and a
 small cottage gave shelter to the warlike Curii.
 To my mind such poverty as this is richer than
 thy wealth, such a home greater than thy
 palaces. There pernicious luxury seeks for the
 food that satisfieth not; here the earth provides
 a banquet for which is nought to pay. With thee
 wool absorbs the dyes of Tyre; thy patterned
 clothes are stained with purple; here are bright
 flowers and the meadow's breathing charm
 which owes its varied hues but to itself. There
 are beds piled on glittering bedsteads; here
 stretches the soft grass, that breaks not sleep
 with anxious cares. There a crowd of clients
 dins through the spacious halls, here is song of
 birds and the murmur of the gliding stream. A
 frugal life is best. Nature has given the
 opportunity of happiness to all, knew they but
 how to use it. Had we realized this we should
 now have been enjoying a simple life, no
 trumpets would be sounding, no whistling
 spear would speed, no ship be buffeted by the
 wind, no siege-engine overthrow battlements.

Crescebat scelerata sitis praedaeque
 220 recentis
 incestus flagrabat amor, nullusque petendi
 cogendive pudor: crebris periuria nectit
 blanditiis; sociat perituro foedere dextras.
 225 si semel e tantis poscenti quisque negasset,
 efferat praetumido quatibat corda furore.
 quae sic Gaetuli iaculo percussa leaena
 aut Hyrcana premens raptorem belua
 partus
 aut serpens calcata furit? iurata deorum
 maiestas teritur; nusquam reverentia
 mensae.
 non coniunx, non ipse simul, non pignora
 230 caesa
 sufficiunt odiis; non extinxisse propinquos,
 non notos egisse sat est; excindere cives
 funditus et nomen gentis delere laborat.
 nec celeri perimit leto; crudelibus ante
 suppliciis fruitur; cruciatus, vincla,
 235 tenebras
 dilato mucrone parat. pro saevior ense
 parcendi rabies concessaque vita dolori!
 mors adeone parum est? causis fallacibus
 instat,
 arguit attonitos se iudice. cetera segnis,
 240 ad facinus velox, penitus regione remotas
 impiger ire vias: non illum Sirius ardens
 brumave Riphaeo stridens Aquilone
 retardat.
 efferat torquebant avidae praecordia curae,
 effugeret ne quis gladios neu perderet
 ullum
 245 Augusto miserante nefas. non flectitur
 annis,
 non aetate labat: iuvenum rorantia colla
 ante patrum vultus stricta cecidere securi;

Still grew Rufinus' wicked greed, and his
 impious passion for new-won wealth blazed yet
 fiercer; no feeling of shame kept him from
 demanding and extorting money. He combines
 perjury with ceaseless cajolery, ratifying with a
 hand-clasp the bond he purposes to break.
 Should any dare to refuse his demand for one
 thing out of so many, his fierce heart would be
 stirred with swelling wrath. Was ever lioness
 wounded with a Gaetulian's spear, or Hyrcan
 tiger pursuing the robber of her young, was
 ever bruised serpent so fierce? He swears by
 the majesty of the gods and tramples on his
 oath. He reverences not the laws of hospitality.
 To kill a wife and her husband with her and her
 children sates not his anger; 'tis not enough to
 slaughter relations and drive friends into exile;
 he strives to destroy every citizen of Rome and
 to blot out the very name of our race. Nor does
 he even slay with a swift death; ere that he
 enjoys the infliction of cruel torture; the rack,
 the chain, the lightless cell, these he sets
 before the final blow. Why, this remission is
 more savage, more madly cruel, than the sword
 —this grant of life that agony may accompany
 it! Is death not enough for him? With
 treacherous charges he attacks; dazed
 wretches find him at once accuser and judge.
 Slow to all else he is swift to crime and tireless
 to visit the ends of the earth in its pursuit.
 Neither the Dog-star's heat nor the wintry
 blasts of the Thracian north wind detain him.
 Feverish anxiety torments his cruel heart lest
 any escape his sword, or an emperor's pardon
 lose him an opportunity for injury. Neither age
 nor youth can move his pity: before their
 father's eyes his bloody axe severs boys' heads

ibat grandaevus nato moriente superstes
 post trabeas exul. quis prodere tanta relatu
 funera, quis caedes possit deflere
 250 nefandas?
 quid tale inmanes umquam gessisse
 feruntur
 vel Sinis Isthmiaca pinu vel rupe profunda
 Sciron vel Phalaris tauro vel carcere Sulla?
 o mites Diomedis equi! Busiridis arae
 clementes! iam Cinna pius, iam Spartace
 255 segnis
 Rufino collatus eris!
 Deiecerat omnes
 occultis odiis terror tacitique sepultos
 suspirant gemitus indignarique verentur.
 at non magnanimi virtus Stilichonis eodem
 fracta metu; solus medio sed turbine rerum
 260 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,
 266 hic profugis sedes adversaque signa furori,
 servandis hic castra bonis.
 Hucusque minatus
 haerebat retroque fuga cedebat inerti:
 haud secus hiberno tumidus cum vertice
 torrens
 saxa rotat volvitque nemus pontesque
 270 revellit,
 frangitur obiectu scopuli quaerensque
 meatum
 spumat et inlisa montem circumtonat unda.
 Qua dignum te laude feram, qui paene
 ruenti

from their bodies; an aged man, once a consul, survived the murder of his son but to be driven into exile. Who can bring himself to tell of so many murders, who can adequately mourn such impious slaughter? Do men tell that cruel Sinis of Corinth e'er wrought such wickedness with his pine-tree, or Sciron with his precipitous rock, or Phalaris with his brazen bull, or Sulla with his prison? O gentle horses of Diomedes! O pitiful altars of Busiris! Henceforth, compared with Rufinus thou, Cinna, shalt be loving, and thou, Spartacus, a sluggard.

All were a prey to terror, for men knew not where next his hidden hatred would break forth, they sob in silence for the tears they dare not shed and fear to show their indignation. Yet is not the spirit of great-hearted Stilicho broken by this same fear. Alone amid the general calamity he took arms against this monster of greed and his devouring maw, though not borne on the swift course of any winged steed nor aided by Pegasus' reins. In him all found the quiet they longed for, he was their one defence in danger, their shield out-held against the fierce foe, the exile's sanctuary, standard confronting the madness of Rufinus, fortress for the protection of the good.

Thus far Rufinus advanced his threats and stayed; then fell back in coward flight: even as a torrent swollen with winter rains rolls down great stones in its course, overwhelms woods, tears away bridges, yet is broken by a jutting rock, and, seeking a way through, foams and thunders about the cliff with shattered waves.

How can I praise thee worthily, thou who

lapsuroque tuos umeros obieceris orbi?
 275 te nobis trepidae sidus ceu dulce carinae
 ostendere dei, geminis quae lassa procellis
 tunditur et victo trahitur iam caeca
 magistro.
 Inachus Rubro perhibetur in aequore
 Perseus
 Neptuni domuisse pecus, sed tutior alis:
 te non penna vehit; rigida cum Gorgone
 Perseus:
 281 tu non vipereo defensus crine Medusae;
 ilium vilis amor suspensae virginis egit:
 te Romana salus. taceat superata vetustas,
 Herculeos conferre tuis iam desinat actus.
 285 una Cleonaeum pascebat silva leonem;
 Arcadiae saltum vastabat dentibus unum
 saevus aper, tuque o compressa matre
 rebellans
 non ultra Libyae fines, Antaeae, nocebas,
 solaque fulmineo resonabat Creta iuvenco
 Lernaemque virens obsederat hydra
 290 paludem.
 hoc monstrum non una palus, non una
 tremebat
 insula, sed Latia quidquid dicione subactum
 vivit, et a primis Ganges horrebat Hiberis.
 hoc neque Geryon triplex nec turbidus Orci
 295 ianitor aequabit nec si concurrat in unum
 vis hydrae Scyllaeque fames et flamma
 Chimaerae.
 Certamen sublime diu, sed moribus impar
 virtutum scelerumque fuit. iugulare
 minatur:
 tu prohibes; ditem spoliat: tu reddis egenti;
 300 eruit: instauras; accendit proelia: vincis.

sustainedst with thy shoulders the tottering
 world in its threatened fall? The gods gave thee
 to us as they show a welcome star to frightened
 mariners whose weary bark is buffeted with
 storms of wind and wave and drifts with blind
 course now that her steersman is beaten.
 Perseus, descendant of Inachus, is said to have
 overcome Neptune's monsters in the Red Sea,
 but he was helped by his wings; no wing bore
 thee aloft: Perseus was armed with the
 Gorgons' head that turneth all to stone; the
 snaky locks of Medusa protected not thee. His
 motive was but the love of a chained girl, thine
 the salvation of Rome. The days of old are
 surpassed; let them keep silence and cease to
 compare Hercules' labours with thine. 'Twas
 but one wood that sheltered the lion of
 Cleonae, the savage boar's tusks laid waste a
 single Arcadian vale, and thou, rebel Antaeus,
 holding thy mother earth in thine embrace,
 didst no hurt beyond the borders of Africa.
 Crete alone re-echoed to the bellowings of the
 fire-breathing bull, and the green hydra
 beleaguered no more than Lerna's lake. But
 this monster Rufinus terrified not one lake nor
 one island: whatsoever lives beneath the
 Roman rule, from distant Spain to Ganges'
 stream, was in fear of him. Neither triple
 Geryon nor Hell's fierce janitor can vie with
 him nor could the conjoined terrors of powerful
 Hydra, ravenous Scylla, and fiery Chimaera.

Long hung the contest in suspense, but the
 struggle betwixt vice and virtue was ill-
 matched in character. Rufinus threatens
 slaughter, thou stayest his hand; he robs the
 rich, thou givest back to the poor; he
 overthrows, thou restorest; he sets wars afoot,
 thou winnest them. As a pestilence, growing
 from day

ac velut infecto morbus crudescere caelo
 incipiens primos pecudum depascitur artus,
 mox populos urbesque rapit ventisque
 perustis
 corruptos Stygiam pestem desudat in
 amnes:
 sic avidus praedo iam non per singula
 305 saevit.
 sed sceptris inferre minas omnique
 perempto
 milite Romanas ardet prosternere vires,
 iamque Getas Histrumque movet
 Scythiamque receptat
 auxilio traditque suas hostilibus armis
 310 relliquias. mixtis descendit Sarmata Dacis
 et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax
 Massagetes caesamque bibens Maeotin
 Alanus
 membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse
 Gelonus,
 Rufino collecta manus. vetat ille domari
 innectitque moras et congrua tempora
 315 differt.
 nam tua cum Geticas stravisset dextra
 catervas,
 ulta ducis socii letum, parsque una maneret
 debilior facilisque capi, tunc impius ille
 proditor imperii coniuratusque Getarum
 320 distulit instantes eluso principe pugnans
 Hunorum laturus opem, quos adfore hello
 norat et invisus mox se coniungere castris.
 Est genus extremos Scythiae vergentis in
 ortus
 trans gelidum Tanain, quo non famosius
 ullum
 325 Arctos alit. turpes habitus obscaenaque
 visu
 corpora; mens duro numquam cessura
 labori;
 praeda cibus, vitanda Ceres frontemque
 secari

to day by reason of the infected air, fastens
 first upon the bodies of animals but soon
 sweeps away peoples and cities, and when the
 winds blow hot spreads its hellish poison to the
 polluted streams, so the ambitious rebel marks
 down no private prey, but hurls his eager
 threats at kings, and seeks to destroy Rome's
 army and overthrow her might. Now he stirs up
 the Getae^[53] and the tribes on Danube's banks,
 allies himself with Scythia and exposes what
 few his cruelties have spared to the sword of
 the enemy. There march against us a mixed
 horde of Sarmatians and Dacians, the
 Massagetes who cruelly wound their horses
 that they may drink their blood, the Alans who
 break the ice and drink the waters of Maeotis'
 lake, and the Geloni who tattoo their limbs:
 these form Rufinus' army. And he brooks not
 their defeat; he frames delays and postpones
 the fitting season for battle. For when thy right
 hand, Stilicho, had scattered the Getic bands
 and avenged the death of thy brother general,
 when one section of Rufinus' army was thus
 weakened and made an easy prey, then that
 foul traitor, that conspirator with the Getae,
 tricked the emperor and put off the instant day
 of battle, meaning to ally himself with the
 Huns, who, as he knew, would fight and quickly
 join the enemies of Rome.^[54]

These Huns are a tribe who live on the extreme
 eastern borders of Scythia, beyond frozen
 Tanais; most infamous of all the children of the
 north. Hideous to look upon are their faces and
 loathsome their bodies, but indefatigable is
 their spirit. The chase supplies their food;
 bread they will not eat. They love to slash their
 faces and hold it a

^[53] Here and throughout his poems
 Claudian refers to the Visigoths as the
 Getae.

^[54] Cf. Introduction, p. x.

ludus et occisos pulchrum iurare parentes.
 nec plus nubigenas duplex natura bifformes
 330 cognatis aptavit equis; acerrima nullo
 ordine mobilitas insperatique recursus.
 Quos tamen impavidus contra spumantis
 ad Hebri
 tendis aquas, sic ante tubas aciemque
 precatus:
 "Mavors, nubifero seu tu procumbis in
 Haemo
 seu te cana gelu Rhodope seu remige Medo
 335 sollicitatus Athos seu caligantia nigris
 ilicibus Pangaea tenent, accingere mecum
 et Thracas defende tuos. si laetior adsit
 gloria, vestita spoliis donabere quercu."
 Audiit illa pater scopulisque nivalibus
 340 Haemi
 surgit et hortatur celeres clamore
 ministros:
 "fer galeam, Bellona, mihi nexusque
 rotarum
 tende, Pavor. frenet rapidos Formido
 iugales.
 festinas urgete manus. meus ecce paratur
 ad bellum Stilicho, qui me de more tropaeis
 345 ditat et hostiles suspendit in arbore cristas.
 communes semper litui, communia nobis
 signa canunt iunctoque sequor tentoria
 curru."
 sic fatus campo insiluit lateque fugatas
 350 hinc Stilicho turmas, illinc Gradivus agebat
 et clipeis et mole pares; stat cassis utrique
 sidereis hirsuta iubis loricaque cursu
 aestuat et largo saturatur vulnere cornus.
 355 Acrior interea voto multisque Megaera
 luxuriata malis maestam deprendit in arce

righteous act to swear by their murdered
 parents. Their double nature fitted not better
 the two-formed Centaurs to the horses that
 were parts of them. Disorderly, but of
 incredible swiftness, they often return to the
 fight when little expected.

Fearless, however, against such forces, thou,
 Stilicho, approachest the waters of foaming
 Hebrus and thus prayest ere the trumpets
 sound and the fight begins: "Mars, whether
 thou reclinest on cloud-capped Haemus, or
 frost-white Rhodope holdeth thee, or Athos,
 severed to give passage to the Persian fleet, or
 Pangaeus, gloomy with dark holm-oaks, gird
 thyself at my side and defend thine own land of
 Thrace. If victory smile on us, thy meed shall be
 an oak stump adorned with spoils."

The Father heard his prayer and rose from the
 snowy peaks of Haemus shouting commands to
 his speedy servants: "Bellona, bring my helmet;
 fasten me, Panic, the wheels upon my chariot;
 harness my swift horses, Fear. Hasten: speed
 on your work. See, my Stilicho makes him
 ready for war; Stilicho whose habit it is to load
 me with rich trophies and hang upon the oak
 the plumed helmets of his enemies. For us
 together the trumpets ever sound the call to
 battle; yoking my chariot I follow wheresoever
 he pitch his camp." So spake he and leapt upon
 the plain, and on this side Stilicho scattered the
 enemy bands in broadcast flight and on that
 Mars; alike the twain in accoutrement and
 stature. The helmets of either tower with
 bristling crests, their breastplates flash as they
 speed along and their spears take their fill of
 widely dealt wounds.

Meanwhile Megaera, more eager now she has
 got her way, and revelling in this widespread

Iustitiam diroque prior sic ore lacescit:
 "en tibi prisca quies renovataque saecula
 rursus,
 ut rebare, vigent? en nostra potentia cessit
 nec locus est usquam Furiis? huc lumina
 flecte.
 adspice barbaricis iaceant quot moenia
 360 flammis,
 quas mihi Rufinus strages quantumque
 cruoris
 praebeat et quantis epulentur caedibus
 hydri.
 linque homines sortemque meam, pete
 sidera; notis
 Autumni te redde plagis, qua vergit in
 Austrum
 365 Signifer; aestivo sedes vicina Leoni
 iam pridem gelidaeque vacant confinia
 Librae.
 atque utinam per magna sequi convexa
 liceret!"
 Diva refert: "non ulterius bacchabere
 demens.
 iam poenas tuus iste dabit, iam debitus
 ultor
 inminet, et, terras qui nunc ipsumque
 370 fatigat
 aethera, non vili moriens condetur harena.
 iamque aderit laeto promissus Honorius
 aevo
 nec forti genitore minor nec fratre corusco,
 qui subiget Medos, qui cuspide proteret
 Indos.
 375 sub iuga venturi reges; calcabitur asper
 Phasis equo pontemque pati cogetur
 Araxes,
 tuque simul gravibus ferri religata catenis
 expellere die debellatasque draconum
 tonsa comas imo barathri claudere recessu.
 380 tum tellus communis erit, tum limite nullo

calamity, comes upon Justice sad at heart in
 her palace, and thus provokes her with horrid
 utterance: "Is this that old reign of peace; this
 the return of that golden age thou fondly
 hopedst had come to pass? Is our power gone,
 and no place now left for the Furies? Turn thine
 eyes this way. See how many cities the
 barbarians' fires have laid low, how vast a
 slaughter, how much blood Rufinus hath
 procured for me, and on what widespread
 death my serpents gorge themselves. Leave
 thou the world of men; that lot is mine. Mount
 to the stars, return to that well-known tract of
 Autumn sky where the Standard-bearer dips
 towards the south. The space next to the
 summer constellation of the Lion, the
 neighbourhood of the winter Balance has long
 been empty. And would I could now follow thee
 through the dome of heaven."

The goddess made answer: "Thou shalt rage no
 further, mad that thou art. Now shall thy
 creature receive his due, the destined avenger
 hangs over him, and he who now wearies land
 and the very sky shall die, though no handful of
 dust shall cover his corpse. Soon shall come
 Honorius, promised of old to this fortunate age,
 brave as his father Theodosius, brilliant as his
 brother Arcadius; he shall subdue the Medes
 and overthrow the Indians with his spear. Kings
 shall pass under his yoke, frozen Phasis shall
 bear his horses' hooves, and Araxes submit
 perforce to be bridged by him. Then too shalt
 thou be bound with heavy chains of iron and
 cast out from the light of day and imprisoned in
 the nethermost pit, thy snaky locks overcome
 and shorn from thy head. Then the world shall
 be owned by all in common, no field marked off
 from another

discernetur ager; nec vomere sulcus
 adunco
 findetur: subitis messor gaudebit aristas.
 rorabunt querceta favis; stagnantia passim
 vina fluent oleique lacus; nec murice tinctis
 385 velleribus quaeretur honos, sed sponte
 rubebunt
 attonito pastore greges pontumque per
 omnem
 ridebunt virides gemmis nascentibus
 algae."

by any dividing boundary, no furrow cleft with
 bended ploughshare; for the husbandman shall
 rejoice in corn that springs untended. Oak
 groves shall drip with honey, streams of wine
 well up on every side, lakes of oil abound. No
 price shall be asked for fleeces dyed scarlet,
 but of themselves shall the flocks grow red to
 the astonishment of the shepherd, and in every
 sea the green seaweed will laugh with flashing
 jewels."

IN RUFINUM LIBER SECUNDUS

INCIPIIT PRAEFATIO

(IV.)

Pandite defensum reduces Helicon
 sorores,
 pandite; permissis iam licet ire choris:
 nulla per Aonios hostilis bucina campos
 carmina mugitu deteriore vetat.
 5 tu quoque securis pulsa formidine Delphis
 floribus ultorem, Delie, cinge tuum.
 nullus Castalios latices et praescia fati
 flumina polluto barbarus ore bibit.
 Alpheus late rubuit Siculumque per aequor
 10 sanguineas belli rettulit unda notas
 agnovitque novos absens Arethusa
 triumphos
 et Geticam sensit teste cruore necem.

Inmensis, Stilicho, succedant otia curis
 et nostrae patiens corda remitte lyrae,
 15 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
 20 Pieriis aures pacificare modis.

THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST
RUFINUS

PREFACE

(IV.)

Return, ye Muses, and throw open rescued
 Helicon; now again may your company gather
 there. Nowhere now in Italy does the hostile
 trumpet forbid song with its viler bray. Do thou
 too, Delian Apollo, now that Delphi is safe and
 fear has been dispelled, wreath thy avenger's
 head with flowers. No savage foe sets profane
 lips to Castalia's spring or those prophetic
 streams. Alpheus^[55] flood ran all his length
 red with slaughter and the waves bore the
 bloody marks of war across the Sicilian sea;
 whereby Arethusa, though herself not present,
 recognized the triumphs freshly won and knew
 of the slaughter of the Getae, to which that
 blood bore witness.

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.

[55] A reference to Stilicho's campaign
 against Alaric in the Peloponnese in 397
 (see Introduction, p. x).

LIBER II

(V.)

Iam post edomitas Alpes defensaque
 regna
 Hesperiae merita complexus sede parentem
 auctior adiecto fulgebat sidere mundus,
 iamque tuis, Stilicho, Romana potentia
 curis
 5 et rerum commissus apex, tibi credita
 fratrum
 utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus
 aulae.
 Rufinus (neque enim patiuntur saeva
 quietem
 crimina pollutaeque negant arescere
 fauces)
 10 infandis iterum terras accendere bellis
 incohat et solito pacem vexare tumultu.
 haec etiam secum: "quam ratione tuebor
 spem vitae fragilem? qua tot depellere
 fluctus
 arte queam? premor hinc odiis, hinc milite
 cingor.
 heu quid agam? non arma mihi, non
 principis ullus
 15 auxiliatur amor. matura pericula surgunt
 undique et impositi radiant cervicibus
 enses.
 quid restat, nisi cuncta novo confundere
 luctu
 insontesque meae populos miscere ruinae?
 everso iuvat orbe mori; solacia leto

BOOK II

(V.)

After the subjugation of the Alpine tribes and
 the salvation of the kingdoms of Italy the
 heavens welcomed the Emperor Theodosius^[56]
 to the place of honour due to his worth, and so
 shone the brighter by the addition of another
 star. Then was the power of Rome entrusted to
 thy care, Stilicho; in thy hands was placed the
 governance of the world. The brothers' twin
 majesty and the armies of either royal court
 were given into thy charge. But Rufinus (for
 cruelty and crime brook not peace, and a
 tainted mouth will not forgo its draughts of
 blood), Rufinus, I say, began once more to
 inflame the world with wicked wars and to
 disturb peace with accustomed sedition. Thus
 to himself: "How shall I assure my slender
 hopes of survival? By what means beat back the
 rising storm? On all sides are hate and the
 threat of arms. What am I to do? No help can I
 find in soldier's weapon or emperor's favour.
 Instant dangers ring me round and a gleaming
 sword hangs above my head. What is left but to
 plunge the world into fresh troubles and draw
 down innocent peoples in my ruin? Gladly will I
 perish if the world does too; general
 destruction shall console me for

^[56] Theodosius died in January 395, not
 long after his defeat of Eugenius at the
 Frigidus River (near Aquileia), September
 5-6, 394 (see Introduction, p. ix).

20 exitium commune dabit nec territus ante
 discedam: cum luce simul linquenda
 potestas.”
 Haec fatus, ventis veluti si frena resolvat
 Aeolus, abrupto gentes sic obice fudit
 laxavitque viam bellis et, nequa maneret
 25 immunis regio, cladem divisit in orbem
 disposuitque nefas. alii per terga ferocis
 Danuvii solidata ruunt expertaque remos
 frangunt stagna rotis; alii per Caspia
 claustra
 Armeniasque nives inopino tramite ducti
 30 invadunt Orientis opes. iam pascua fumant
 Cappadocum volucrumque parens Argaeus
 equorum,
 iam rubet altus Halys nec se defendit
 iniquo
 monte Cilix. Syriae tractus vastantur
 amoeni
 adsuetumque choris et laeta plebe canorum
 35 proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.
 hinc planctus Asiae; Geticis Europa catervis
 ludibrio praedaeque datur frondentis ad
 usque
 Dalmatiae fines: omnis quae mobile Ponti
 aequor et Adriacas tellus interiacet undas
 squalet inops pecudum, nullis habitata
 40 colonis,
 instar anhelantis Libyae, quae torrida
 semper
 solibus humano nescit mansuescere cultu.
 Thessalus ardet ager; reticet pastore fugato
 Pelion; Emathias ignis populatur aristas.
 nam plaga Pannoniae miserandaque
 moenia Thracum
 arvaque Mysorum iam nulli flebile
 46 damnum,
 sed cursus sollempnis erat campusque furori
 expositus, sensumque malis detraxerat
 usus.
 eheu quam brevibus pereunt ingentia fatis!

mine own death, nor will I die (for I am no
 coward) till I have accomplished this. I will not
 lay down my power before my life.”

So spake he, and as if Aeolus unchained the
 winds so he, breaking their bonds, let loose the
 nations, clearing the way for war; and, that no
 land should be free therefrom, apportioned ruin
 throughout the world, parcelling out
 destruction. Some pour across the frozen
 surface of swift-flowing Danube and break with
 the chariot wheel what erstwhile knew but the
 oar; others invade the wealthy East, led
 through the Caspian Gates and over the
 Armenian snows by a newly-discovered pass.
 The fields of Cappadocia reek with slaughter;
 Argaeus, father of swift horses, is laid waste.
 Halys' deep waters run red and the Cilician
 cannot defend himself in his precipitous
 mountains. The pleasant plains of Syria are
 devastated, and the enemy's cavalry thunders
 along the banks of Orontes, home hitherto of
 the dance and of a happy people's song. Hence
 comes mourning to Asia, while Europe is left to
 be the sport and prey of Getic hordes even to
 the borders of fertile Dalmatia. All that tract of
 land lying between the stormy Euxine and the
 Adriatic is laid waste and plundered, no
 inhabitants dwell there; 'tis like torrid Africa
 whose sun-scorched plains never grow kindlier
 through human tillage. Thessaly is afire; Pelion
 silent, his shepherds put to flight; flames bring
 destruction on Macedonia's crops. For
 Pannonia's plain, the Thracians' helpless cities,
 the fields of Mysia were ruined but now none
 wept; year by year came the invader,
 unsheltered was the countryside from havoc
 and custom had robbed suffering of its sting.
 Alas, in how swift ruin perish

50 imperium tanto quaesitum sanguine, tanto
 servatum, quod mille ducum peperere
 labores,
 quod tantis Romana manus contexuit annis,
 proditor unus iners angusto tempore vertit.
 Urbs etiam, magnae quae ducitur aemula
 Romae

55 et Calchedonias contra despectat harenas,
 iam non finitimo Martis terrore movetur,
 sed propius lucere faces et rauca sonare
 cornua vibratisque peti fastigia telis
 adspicit. hi vigili muros statione tueri,
 60 hi iunctis properant portus munire carinis.
 obsessa tamen ille ferus laetatur in urbe
 exultatque malis summaeque ex culmine
 turris
 impia vicini cernit spectacula campi:
 vinctas ire nurus, nunc in vada proxima
 mergi
 seminecem, hunc subito percussum vulnere
 65 labi
 dum fugit, hunc animam portis efflare sub
 ipsis;
 nec canos prodesse seni puerique cruore
 maternos undare sinus. immensa voluptas
 et risus plerumque subit; dolor afficit unus,
 quod feriat non ipse manu. videt omnia late
 70 exceptis incensa suis et crimine tanto
 luxuriat carumque sibi non abnuat hostem;
 iactabatque ultro, quod soli castra paterent
 sermonumque foret vicibus permissa
 potestas.

75 egregii quotiens exisset foederis auctor,
 stipatur sociis, circumque armata clientum

even the greatest things! An empire won and kept at the expense of so much bloodshed, born from the toils of countless leaders, knit together through so many years by Roman hands, one coward traitor overthrew in the twinkling of an eye.

That city,^[57] too, called of men the rival of great Rome, that looks across to Chalcedon's strand, is stricken now with terror at no neighbouring war; nearer home it observes the flash of torches, the trumpet's call, and its own roofs the target for an enemy's artillery. Some guard the walls with watchful outposts, others hasten to fortify the harbour with a chain of ships. But fierce Rufinus is full of joy in the leaguered city and exults in its misfortunes, gazing at the awful spectacle of the surrounding country from the summit of a lofty tower. He watches the procession of women in chains, sees one poor half-dead wretch drowned in the water hard by, another, stricken as he fled, sink down beneath the sudden wound, another breathe out his life at the tower's very gates; he rejoices that no respect is shown to grey hairs and that mother's breasts are drenched with their children's blood. Great is his pleasure thereat; from time to time he laughs and knows but one regret—that it is not his own hand that strikes. He sees the whole countryside (except for his own lands) ablaze, and has joy of his great wickedness, making no secret of the fact that the city's foes are his friends. It is his boast, moreover, that to him alone the enemy camp opened its gates, and that there was allowed right of parley between them. Whene'er he issued forth to arrange some wondrous truce his companions thronged him round and an armed band of dependents

[57] Constantinople.

agmina privatis ibant famulantia signis;
 ipse inter medios, ne qua de parte relinquat
 barbariem, revocat fulvas in pectora pelles
 frenaque et inmanes pharetras arcusque
 80 sonoros
 adsimulat mentemque palam proclamat
 amictu,
 nec pudet Ausonios currus et iura regentem
 sumere deformes ritus vestemque Getarum;
 insignemque habitum Latii mutare coactae
 85 maerent captivae pellito iudice leges.
 Quis populi tum vultus erat! quae
 murmura furtim!
 (nam miseris ne flere quidem aut lenire
 dolorem
 colloquiis impune licet): "quonam usque
 feremus
 exitiale iugum? durae quis terminus
 umquam
 90 sortis erit? quis nos funesto turbine rerum
 aut tantis solvet lacrimis, quos barbarus
 illinc,
 hinc Rufinus agit, quibus arva fretumque
 negatur?
 magna quidem per rura lues, sed maior
 oberrat
 intra tecta timor. tandem succurre ruenti
 heu patriae, Stilicho! dilecta hic pignora
 95 certe,
 hic domus, hic thalamis primum genialibus
 omen,
 hic tibi felices erexit regia taedas.
 vel solus sperate veni. te proelia viso
 languescent avidique cadet dementia
 monstri."
 100 Talibus urgetur discors Aurora procellis.
 at Stilicho, Zephyris cum primum bruma
 remitti
 et iuga diffusis nudari coepta pruinis,
 partibus Italiae tuta sub pace relictis
 utraque castra movens Phoebi properabat
 ad ortus,

danced attendance on a civilian's standards. Rufinus himself in their midst drapes tawny skins of beasts about his breast (thorough in his barbarity), and uses harness and huge quivers and twanging bows like those of the Getae—his dress openly showing the temper of his mind. One who drives a consul's chariot and enjoys a consul's powers has no shame to adopt the manners and dress of barbarians; Roman law, obliged to change her noble garment, mourns her slavery to a skin-clad judge.

What looks then on men's faces! What furtive murmurs! For, poor wretches, they could not even weep nor, without risk, ease their grief in converse. "How long shall we bear this deadly yoke? What end shall there ever be to our hard lot? Who will free us from this death-fraught anarchy, this day of tears? On this side the barbarian hems us in, on that Rufinus oppresses us; land and sea are alike denied us. A pestilence stalks through the country: yes, but a deadlier terror haunts our houses. Stilicho, delay no more but succour thy dying land; of a truth here are thy children, here thy home, here were taken those first auspices for thy marriage, so blessed with children, here the palace was illumined with the torches of happy wedlock. Nay, come even though alone, thou for whom we long; wars will perish at thy sight and the ravening monster's rage subside."

Such were the tempests that vexed the turbulent East. But so soon as ever winter had given place to the winds of spring and the hills began to lose their covering of snow, Stilicho, leaving the fields of Italy in peace and safety, set in motion his two armies and hastened to the lands of the sunrise, combining

105 Gallica discretis Eoaque roborata turmis
 amplexus. numquam tantae ditione sub una
 convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum:
 illinc Armeniae vibratis crinibus alae
 herbida collectae facili velamina nodo;
 110 inde truces flavo comitantur vertice Galli,
 quos Rhodanus velox, Araris quos tardior
 ambit
 et quos nascentes explorat gurgite Rhenus
 quosque rigat retro perniciosior unda
 Garunnae,
 Oceani pleno quotiens impellitur aestu.
 mens eadem quinctis animique recentia
 115 ponunt
 vulnera; non odit victus victorve superbit.
 et quamvis praesens tumor et civilia nuper
 classica bellatrixque etiam nunc ira caleret,
 in ducis eximii conspiravere favorem.
 120 haud aliter Xerxen toto simul orbe secutus.
 narratur rapuisse vagos exercitus amnes
 et telis umbrasse diem, cum classibus iret
 per scopulos tectumque pedes contemneret
 aequor.
 Vix Alpes egressus erat nec iam amplius
 errat
 barbarus adventumque timens se cogit in
 125 unam
 planitiem tutoque includit pascua gyro:
 tum duplici fossa non exuperabile vallum
 asperat alternis sudibus muri que locata
 in speciem caesis obtendit plaustra
 iuvenis.
 At procul exanguis Rufinum perculit
 130 horror;
 infectae pallore genae; stetit ore gelato
 incertus peteretne fugam, veniamne
 subactus

the so different squadrons of Gaul and of the East. Never before did there meet together under one command such numerous bands, never in one army such a babel of tongues. Here were curly-haired Armenian cavalry, their green cloaks fastened with a loose knot, fierce Gauls with golden locks accompanied them, some from the banks of the swift-flowing Rhone, or the more sluggish Saône, some whose infant bodies Rhine's flood had laved, or who had been washed by the waves of the Garonne that flow more rapidly towards, than from, their source, whenever they are driven back by Ocean's full tide. One common purpose inspires them all; grudges lately harboured are laid aside; the vanquished feels no hate, the victor shows no pride. And despite of present unrest, of the trumpet's late challenge to civil strife, and of warlike rage still aglow, yet were all at one in their support of their great leader. So it is said that the army that followed Xerxes, gathered into one from all quarters of the world, drank up whole rivers in their courses, obscured the sun with the rain of their arrows, passed through mountains on board ship, and walked the bridged sea with contemptuous foot.

Scarce had Stilicho crossed the Alps when the barbarian hordes began to restrict their forays and for fear of his approach gathered together in the plain and enclosed their pasture lands within a defensive ring. They then built an impregnable fortification with a double moat, planted stakes two deep at intervals along its summit and set wagons rigged with ox-hide all round like a wall.

Panic fear seized upon Rufinus as he saw this from afar, and his cheeks grew pale. He stood with ice-cold face, not knowing whether to fly, to own himself

- posceret an fidos sese transferret in hostes.
 quid nunc divitiae, quid fulvi vasta metalli
 135 congeries, quid purpureis effulta columnis
 atria prolataeve iuvant ad sidera moles?
 audit iter numeratque dies spatioque
 viarum
 metitur vitam. torquetur pace futura
 nec recipit somnos et saepe cubilibus
 amens
 excutitur poenamque luit formidine poenae.
 140 sed redit in rabiem scelerumque inmane
 resumit
 ingenium sacrasque fores praedivitis aulae
 intrat et Arcadium mixto terrore precatur:
 "Per fratris regale iubar, per facta
 parentis
 145 aetherii floremque tui te deprecor aevi,
 eripe me gladiis; liceat Stilichonis iniquas
 evitare minas. in nostram Gallia caedem
 coniurata venit. quidquid rigat ultima
 Tethys,
 extremos ultra volitat gens si qua
 Britannos,
 150 mota mihi. tantis capiendi credimur armis?
 tot signis unum petitur caput? unde cruoris
 ista sitis? geminum caeli sibi vindicat axem
 et nullum vult esse parem. succumbere
 poscit
 cuncta sibi: regit Italiam Libyamque
 coercet;
 155 Hispanis Gallisque iubet; non orbita solis,
 non illum natura capit. quascumque paravit
 hic Augustus opes et quas post bella
 recepit,
 solus habet, possessa semel nec reddere
 curat.
 scilicet ille quidem tranquilla pace fruatur;
 nos premat obsidio? quid partem invadere
 temptat?
 161 deserat Illyricos fines; Eoa remittat

beaten and sue for mercy, or go over to an enemy whose good faith his treachery had assured. Of what use now were his riches, his vast stores of golden ore, his halls upheld with red marble pillars, his sky-towering palace? He hears of Stilicho's march and counts the days, measuring his term of life according to the distance of his enemy from him. He is troubled with thoughts of coming peace and cannot sleep, often starts up distraught from his bed and suffers as punishment the fear of punishment. But his fury repossesses him and, regaining his genius for crime, he enters the sacred portal of the rich palace and addresses Arcadius with prayers and threats: "By thy brother's royal star, by the deeds of thy divine sire and the flower of thine own age, I beg thee deliver me from the edge of the sword; let me escape the cruel threatenings of Stilicho. All Gaul is sworn to my destruction. Tethys' extreme coasts, the wandering tribes beyond the farthest Britons are stirred up against me. Am I thought fit prey for all those armies? Are so many standards advanced against a solitary man? Whence comes this lust for blood? Stilicho lays claim to either hemisphere and will brook no equal. The world forsooth must lie at his feet. Italy is his kingdom, Libya his dominion, Spain and Gaul his empire. The sun's path circumscribes him not, no nor the whole universe. All the wealth collected here by Theodosius or received by him after the war is Stilicho's alone, and he has small mind to restore what he has once acquired. Is he to enjoy his gains in peace and quietness while 'tis mine to stand a siege? Why should he encroach on thy share? Let him leave Illyria, send back his Eastern troops, divide the

agmina; fraternas ex aequo dividat hastas,
 nec sceptri tantum fueris, sed militis heres.
 quodsi dissimulas nostrae succurrere morti
 nec prohibere paras, Manes et sidera
 165 testor:
 haec cervix non sola cadet; miscebitur alter
 sanguis; nec Stygias ferar incomitatus ad
 undas
 nec mea securus ridebit funera victor!"
 Haec ubi, dictatur facinus missusque
 repente
 170 qui ferat extortas invito principe voces.
 Interea Stilicho iam laetior hoste
 propinquo
 nec multo spatii distantibus aequore vallis
 pugnandi cupidus accendit voce cohortes.
 Armeniis frons laeva datur; per cornua
 Gallos
 175 dexteriora locat. spumis ignescere frena,
 pulveris extolli nimbos lateque videres
 surgere purpureis undantes anguibus
 hastas
 serpentumque vago caelum saevire volatu.
 implet Thessaliam ferri nitor antraque docti
 cornipedis, teneroque amnis reptatus
 180 Achilli
 et nemus Oetaeum radiat. clamore nivalis
 Ossa tonat pulsoque fragor geminatur
 Olympo.
 intumuit virtus et lucis prodigus arsit
 impetus; haud illos rupes, haud alta
 vetarent
 185 flumina: praecipiti stravissent omnia cursu.
 Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset,
 prodita non tantas vidisset Graecia caedes,
 oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent,

hosts fairly between the two brothers, and do
 thou not be heir to the sceptre only but to thy
 forces. But if thou neglect to come to mine aid
 and make not ready to prevent my death, this
 head of mine shall not fall alone—by the dead
 and the stars I swear it. The blood of another
 shall be mingled with mine. I will not go
 unaccompanied to the waters of Styx nor shall
 the victor be free to exult in my death."

So saying he dictates a treasonable letter and
 sends therewith an emissary to bear the
 message extorted from the emperor's unwilling
 lips.

Meanwhile Stilicho, exulting in the thought of
 advancing upon the foe and of the narrow
 stretch of country that separated him from the
 fortifications, inflames with his words the
 hearts of his troops already thirsting for battle.
 On the left wing are posted the Armenians,
 farther to the right the Gauls. A beholder might
 have seen bits covered with warm foam, clouds
 of dust uprising, and on all sides waving
 banners bearing the device of a scarlet dragon;
 the very air seemed to teem with these fierce
 flying monsters. The glint of steel fills all
 Thessaly and the cave of the wise Centaur; the
 river whose banks supported Achilles' baby
 footsteps and the forests of Oeta are a gleam
 with arms, snowy Ossa re-echoes to the sound
 and Olympus smitten therewith sends it back
 twofold. Hearts beat high with a courage that is
 lavish of life. Neither precipice nor deep river
 could check their advance: their headlong
 speed would have overthrown all barriers.

If the two armies had then joined battle in this
 temper ruined Greece would not have
 witnessed such disaster as she did, the cities of
 the Peloponnese would still have been
 flourishing untouched by the hand

starent Arcadiae, starent Lacedaemonis
 arces;
 non mare fumasset geminum flagrante
 190 Corintho
 nec fera Cecropiae traxissent vincula
 matres.
 illa dies potuit nostris imponere finem
 cladibus et sceleris causas auferre futuri.
 invida pro quantum rapuit Fortuna
 triumphum!
 inter equos interque tubas mandata
 195 feruntur
 regia et armati veniunt ductoris ad aures.
 Obstupuit; simul ira virum, simul obruit
 ingens
 maeror et ignavo tantum licuisse nocenti
 miratur. dubios anceps sententia volvit
 200 eventus: peragat pugnas an fortia coepta
 deserat? Illyricis ardet succurrere damnis;
 praeceptis obstare timet. reverentia frangit
 virtutis stimulos: hinc publica commoda
 suadent,
 hinc metus invidiae. tandem indignatus ad
 astra
 205 extollit palmas et ab imo pectore fatur:
 "Numina Romanis necdum satiata ruinis,
 si iuvat imperium penitus de stirpe revelli,
 uno si placuit deleri saecula lapsu,
 si piget humani generis, prorumpat in arva
 210 libertas effrena maris vel limite iusto
 devius errantes Phaëthon confundat
 habenas.
 cur per Rufinum geritur? procumbere
 mundum
 hoc auctore pudet. mediis revocamur ab
 armis
 (pro dolor!) et strictos deponere cogimur
 enses.
 vos, arsurae urbes perituraeque moenia,
 215 testor:
 cedo equidem et miserum permitto casibus
 orbem
 flectite signa, duces. redeat iam miles Eous.

of war, Arcadia and Sparta's citadel would have remained unravaged. Burning Corinth would not have heated the waves of her two seas, nor would cruel chains have led in captivity the matrons of Athens. That day might have set an end to our disasters and destroyed the seeds of future calamities. For shame, envious Fortune, of what a triumph didst thou rob us! The kingly mandate came to Stilicho in arms amid the cavalry and the trumpets' din.

He stood amazed; anger and great grief o'erwhelm the hero and he wonders that such power for ill is allowed a coward. His wavering mind ponders the uncertain issue: shall he continue his advance or fail his brave beginnings? He longs to stem Illyria's ruin but fears to disobey orders. Loyalty annuls the prickings-on of valour. The public good urges him one way, fear of the emperor's displeasure another. At length in his distress he raises his hands to heaven and speaks from deep within his heart: "Ye gods not yet glutted with Rome's destruction, if ye will that our empire be utterly uprooted, if ye have resolved to blot out all the centuries with one blow, if ye repent you of the race of man, then let the sea's unrestrained fury burst forth upon the land or let Phaëthon, deviating from his ordained course, drive his straying chariot at random. Shall Rufinus be your tool? 'Twere shame that such an one should be the author of the world's destruction. O the grief of it! recalled in mid fight; forced to lay down the swords we have drawn! Cities marked out for the flames, walls doomed to destruction, I call you to witness: see, I retire; I leave the unhappy world to its fate. Turn your banners, captains; to your homes, soldiers of the east. Needs must we obey.

parendum est. taceant litui. prohibete
sagittas.
parcite contiguo—Rufinus praecipit!—
hosti.”

- 220 His dictis omnes una fremuere manipuli
quantum non Italo percussa Ceraunia
fluctu,
quantum non madidis elisa tonitrua Cauris,
secernique negant ereptaque proelia
poscunt,
insignemque ducem populus defendit
uterque
et sibi quisque trahit. magno certatur
225 amore,
alternamque fidem non inlaudata lacessit
seditio talique simul clamore queruntur:
“Quis mihi nudatos enses, quis tela
lacertis
excutit et solvi curvatos imperat arcus?
quisnam audet stricto leges imponere
230 ferro?
inflammata semel nescit mitescere virtus.
iam mihi barbaricos sitientia pila cruores
sponte volant ultroque manus mucrone
furenti
ducitur et siccum gladium vagina recusat.
non patiar. semperne Getis discordia nostra
235 proderit? en iterum belli civilis imago!
quid consanguineas acies, quid dividis olim
concordes aquilas? non dissociabile corpus
coniunctumque sumus. te qua libet ire
sequemur.
te vel Hyperboreo damnatam sidere Thylen,
240 te vel ad incensas Libyae comitabor
harenas.
Indorum si stagna petas Rubrique recessus
litoris, auriferum veniam poturus
Hydaspen;
si calcare Notum secretaque noscere Nili
nascentis iubeas, mundum post terga
245 relinquam;

Silence, ye clarions; men, forbear to shoot. The
foe is at hand, spare him; 'tis Rufinus'
command.”

At these words an unanimous roar went up
from all the companies. With less din are the
cliffs of Ceraunia buffeted by the Italian sea or
the thunders evoked from the western winds'
wet storm-clouds. They will not separate, and
demand the battle of which they have been
defrauded. East and west claim the leadership
of that illustrious chief. It is a contest of
affection; insubordination that none can blame
threatens to sap the loyalty of both armies who
thus utter their common complaint: “Who is it
robs us of our drawn swords? Who strikes the
lance from our hand and bids us unstring the
bent bow? Who dares dictate to an army under
arms? Valour once roused knows no abatement.
Spears thirsting for barbarian blood cast
themselves from out our hands; our headlong
blades force our vengeful arms to follow them;
our very scabbards refuse to sheath an
unblooded sword. I will not bear it. Shall the
Getae ever profit by our dissension? Behold
once more the shadow of civil war. Why dost
thou seek to separate armies whose blood is
one, standards of immemorial alliance? We are
a body one and indivisible. Thee will we follow
whithersoever thou goest; thee will we
accompany even as far as Thule lying ice-bound
beneath the pole-star, or to the burning sands
of Libya. Should thy path be by the waters of
Ind, or the bays of the Red Sea,^[58] I would go
drink Hydaspes' golden stream. Shouldst thou
bid me fare south and search out the hidden
sources of the stripling Nile, I would leave
behind me the world

[58] By the *mare rubrum* the ancients
meant the Indian Ocean. The Hydaspes is
the modern Jhylum.

et quocumque loco Stilicho tentoria figat,
haec patria est."

Dux inde vetat: "desistite, quaeso.
atque avidam differte manum. cadat iste
minacis

250 invidiae cumulus. non est victoria tanti,
ut videar vicisse mihi. vos fida iuventus
ite, mei quondam socii." nec plura locutus
flexit iter: vacuo qualis discedit hiatu
impatiens remeare leo, quem plurima
cuspis

255 et pastorales pepulerunt igne catervae,
inclinatque iubas demissaque lumina velat
et trepidas maesto rimatur murmure silvas.

Ut sese legio vidit disiuncta relinqui,
ingentem tollit gemitum galeasque solutis
umectat lacrimis pressamque morantia
vocem

260 thoracum validos pulsant suspiria nexus:
"tradimur, heu, tantumque sequi
prohibemur
amorem!"

exclamant. "spernisne tuas, dux optime,
dextras,
quas tibi victrices totiens Bellona probavit?
nos adeo viles? adeo felicior axis

265 Hesperius, meruit qui te rectore teneri?
quid nobis patriam, quid cara revisere
tandem

pignora dilectosve iuvat coluisse penates?
te sine dulce nihil. iam formidata tyranni
tempestas subeunda mihi, qui forte
nefandas

270 iam parat insidias, qui nos aut turpibus
Hunis

aut impacatis famulos praebebit Alanis;
quamquam non adeo robur defecerit omne
tantave gestandi fuerit penuria ferri.
tu, licet occiduo maneas sub cardine caeli,

I know. Wheresoever Stilicho plants his tent
there is my fatherland."

But Stilicho said them nay: "Cease, I beg you,"
he cried, "stay your eager hands. Suffer to
disperse the mountain of hatred that towers
over me. I hold not victory so dear that I would
fain seem to win it for myself. Loyal gentlemen,
so long my fellow-soldiers, get you gone." He
said no more but turned away, as a lion loath to
retire makes off with empty maw when the
serried spears and the burning branches in the
hands of the shepherd band drive him back and
he droops his mane and closes his downcast
eyes and with a disappointed roar pushes his
way through the trembling forest.

When the armies saw that they had been parted
and left, they groaned deeply and bedewed
their helmets with a stream of tears. The sighs
that refused egress to their smothered words
shook the strong fastenings of their
breastplates. "We are betrayed," they cried,
"and forbidden to follow him we love so well.
Dost thou despise, matchless chief, thine own
right hands which have so often won thee the
victory? Are we thus vile? Is the Western sky to
be the happier which has won the right to enjoy
thy rule? What boots it to return to our country,
to see once more our children dear after so
long an absence, to live again in the home we
love? Without thee is no joy. Now must I face
the tyrant's dread wrath; mayhap e'en now he
is making ready against me some wicked snare
and will make me a slave to the foul Huns or
restless Alans. Yet is not my strength
altogether perished nor so complete my
powerlessness to wield the sword. Rest thou
beneath the sun's westering course, Stilicho,
thou art still

tu mihi dux semper, Stilicho, nostramque
 vel absens
 276 experiere fidem. dabitur tibi debita pridem
 victima: promissis longe placabere sacris."
 Tristior Haemoniis miles digressus ab
 oris
 tangebatur Macetum fines murosque subibat,
 Thessalonica, tuos. sensu dolor haeret in
 280 alto
 abditus et tacitas vindictae praestruit iras,
 spectaturque favens odiis locus aptaque
 leto
 tempora. nec quisquam tanta de pube
 repertus,
 proderet incautis qui corda minantia verbis.
 quae non posteritas, quae non mirabitur
 285 aetas
 tanti consilium vulgi potuisse taceri
 aut facinus tam grande tegi mentisque
 calorem
 non sermone viae, non inter pocula rumpi?
 aequalis tantam tenuit constantia turbam
 et fuit arcanum populo. percurritur
 290 Haemus,
 deseritur Rhodope Thracumque per ardua
 tendunt,
 donec ad Herculei perventum nominis
 urbem.
 Ut cessasse ducem, propius venisse
 cohortes
 cognita Rufino, magna cervice triumphat
 omnia tuta ratus sceptrumque capessere
 295 fervet
 et coniuratos hortatur voce clientes:
 "vicimus, expulimus, facilis iam copia regni.
 nullus ab hoste timor. quis enim, quem
 poscere solum
 horruit, hunc tanto munitum milite vincat?
 quis ferat armatum, quem non superavit
 inermem?
 301 i nunc, exitium nobis meditare remotus

ever our general, and though we be not
 together thou shalt still know our loyalty. Long
 has a victim been owed thee; he shall be
 sacrificed and thou placated by an immolation
 promised of old."

Sad at heart the army left Thessaly, reached
 the borders of Macedon, and arrived before the
 walls of Thessalonica. Indignation deep hid in
 their hearts prepares the silent wrath of
 revenge. They look for a place where they may
 wreak their vengeance and a moment
 propitious for the blow, and of all that vast
 army not one is found to divulge with
 incautious speech his heart's intent. What
 succeeding age and time but will marvel that a
 plot so widespread could be kept hid, a deed of
 such vast import concealed; that the ardour of
 their minds was not rendered of no avail by the
 chance word of a soldier on the march or a
 drunkard's babbling? But discretion ruled all
 alike and the people's secret was kept. The
 army crossed the Hebrus, left Rhodope behind,
 and struck across the uplands of Thrace until it
 came to the city called after Hercules.^[59]

When Rufinus learned that Stilicho had retired
 and that his troops were approaching he held
 his head high in triumph, believing everything
 safe, and, anxious to seize the power, inflamed
 his traitorous minions with this speech: "We
 have conquered; have driven off our enemy;
 empire is within my grasp, nor have we
 anything to fear from the foe. Will one who
 dared not approach me when I stood alone
 defeat me now that I am strengthened by the
 addition of so great a force? Who could stand
 against him armed whom unarmed he could not
 conquer? Plot my destruction in exile, friend

^[59] Probably Heraclea, at the west end of
 the Propontis.

incassum, Stilicho, dum nos longissima
 tellus
 dividat et mediis Nereus interstrepit undis.
 Alpinas transire tibi me sospite rupes
 haud dabitur. iaculis illinc me figere
 305 tempta.
 quaere ferox ensem, qui nostra ad moenia
 tendi
 possit ab Italia. non te documenta priorum,
 non exempla vetant? quisnam conatus adire
 has iactat vitasse manus? detrusimus orbe
 te medio tantisque simul spoliavimus armis.
 310 nunc epulis tempus, socii, nunc larga
 parare
 munera donandumque novis legionibus
 aurum!
 opportuna meis oritur lux crastina votis.
 quod nolit rex ipse velit iubeatque coactus
 315 in partem mihi regna dari. contingat in uno
 privati fugisse modum crimenque tyranni.”
 Talibus adclamat dictis infame nocentum
 concilium, qui perpetuis crevere rapinis
 et quos una facit Rufino causa sodales,
 320 illicitum duxisse nihil; funesta tacere
 nexus amicitiae. iamiam conubia laeti
 despondent aliena sibi frustra que vicissim
 promittunt, quae quisque petat, quas
 devoret urbes.
 Coeperat humanos alto sopire labores
 nox gremio, nigrasque sopor diffuderat
 325 alas.
 ille diu curis animum stimulantibus aegre
 labitur in somnos. toto vix corde quierat,
 ecce videt diras adludere protinus umbras,

Stilicho. What harm can that do so long as a vast stretch of country divide us and Nereus' waves thunder between? Thou shalt have no chance of crossing the rocky Alps while I live. Transfix me from thence with thine arrows, if thou canst. Seek in thy fury a sword that from Italy shall reach my city's walls. Does not the experience and the example of those who have tried before deter thee? Who that has dared approach can boast escape from my hands? I have driven thee from the centre of the civilized world and at the same time deprived thee of thy great army. Now, my friends, is come the time for feasting and making ready bountiful gifts and bestowing gold upon these new legions. To-morrow's light dawns prosperously for my purpose. Needs must the emperor will what he would not and bid a portion of his empire to be given to me. Mine alone be the happy fortune to rise above a private estate and yet escape the charge of tyranny.”

To such words they shout acclaim—that vile band of traitors, waxed fat on plunder, whom one principle makes fellows with Rufinus, the holding nothing unlawful, and whose bond of friendship is to guard guilt in silence. Straightway they joyfully promise themselves foreign wives and all to no purpose forecast the booty they will win and the cities they will sack.

Night had begun to soothe human toils in her deep bosom and sleep had spread his black wings when Rufinus, whose mind had long been a prey to anxiety, sank into a troubled slumber. Scarce had quiet fastened on his heart when, lo, he sees flit before his eyes the dread ghosts of those whom he

quas dedit ipse neci; quarum quae clarior
 una
 330 visa loqui: "pro! surge toro. quid plurima
 volvis
 anxius? haec requiem rebus finemque
 labori
 adlatura dies: omni iam plebe redibis
 altior et laeti manibus portabere vulgi."
 335 has canit ambages. occulto fallitur ille
 omine nec capitis sentit praesagia fixi.
 Iam summum radiis stringebat Lucifer
 Haemum
 festinamque rotam solito properantior
 urget
 tandem Rufini visurus funera Titan:
 desiluit stratis densaeque capacia turbae
 340 atria regifico iussit splendere paratu
 exceptura dapes et, quod post vota daretur,
 insculpi propriis aurum fatale figuris.
 ipse salutatum reduces post proelia turmas
 iam regale tumens et principe celsior ibat
 345 collaque femineo solvebat mollia gestu
 imperii certus, tegetet ceu purpura dudum
 corpus et ardentes ambirent tempora
 gemmae.
 Urbis ab angusto tractu, qua vergit in
 austrum,
 planities vicina patet: nam cetera pontus
 350 circuit exiguo dirimi se limite passus.
 hic ultrix acies ornatu lucida Martis
 explicuit cuneos. pedites in parte sinistra
 consistunt. equites illinc poscentia cursum
 ora reluctantur pressis sedare lupatis;
 355 hinc alii saevum cristato vertice nutant
 et tremulos umeris gaudent vibrare colores,
 quos operit formatque chalybs; coniuncta
 per artem

had killed. Of them one, more distinct than the
 rest, seemed thus to address him: "Up from thy
 couch! why schemes thine anxious mind
 further? This coming day shall bring thee rest
 and end thy toils. High above the people shalt
 thou be raised, and happy crowds shall carry
 thee in their arms." Such was the ambiguous
 prophecy of the ghost, but Rufinus observed
 not the hidden omen and saw not it foretold the
 elevation of his severed head upon a spear.

Now Lucifer touched the peak of Haemus with
 his rays and Titan urged his hastening wheel
 quicker than his wont, so soon to see at last the
 death of Rufinus. Rufinus himself leapt from his
 bed and bade make ready the capacious palace
 with regal splendour in preparation for the
 feast; the gold to be given in largesse he
 ordered to be stamped with his own fateful
 image. Himself went to welcome the troops
 returning from the battle in kingly pride and
 arrogance above a prince's. Sure now of empire
 he wore a woman's raiment about his neck; as
 though the purple already clothed his limbs and
 the jewelled crown blazed upon his brow.

Hard by a crowded quarter of the city of
 Constantinople, towards the south, there lies a
 plain. The rest is surrounded by the sea which
 here allows itself to be parted by a narrow way.
 Here the avenging army, bright with the
 panoply of the war god, disposes its squadrons.
 On the left stands the infantry. Over against
 them the cavalry seek to restrain their eager
 steeds by holding tight the reins. Here nod the
 savage waving plumes whose wearers rejoice
 to shake the flashing colours of their shoulder-
 armour; for steel clothes them on and gives
 them their shape; the limbs within

flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris;
 horribiles visu: credas simulacra moveri
 360 ferrea cognatoque viros spirare metallo.
 par vestitus equis: ferrata fronte minantur
 ferratosque levant securi vulneris armos.
 diviso stat quisque loco, metuenda voluptas
 cernenti pulcherque timor, spirisque
 remissis
 mansuescunt varii vento cessante dracones.
 365 Augustus veneranda prior vexilla salutat.
 Rufinus sequitur, quo fallere cuncta solebat
 callidus adfatu, devotaque brachia laudat;
 nomine quemque vocat; natos patresque
 reversis
 370 nuntiat incolumes. illi dum plurima ficto
 certatim sermone petunt, extendere longos
 a tergo flexus insperatoque suprema
 circuitu sociare parant; decrescere campus
 incipit, et clipeis in se redeuntia iunctis
 375 curvo paulatim sinuantur cornua ductu:
 sic ligat immensa virides indagine saltus
 venator; sic attonitos ad litora pisces
 aequoreus populator agit rarosque
 plagarum
 contrahit anfractus et hiantes colligit oras.
 380 excludunt alios. cingi se fervidus ille
 nescit adhuc graviterque adpressa veste
 morantem
 increpat Augustum: scandat sublime
 tribunal,
 participem sceptri, socium declaret honoris
 —cum
 subito stringunt gladios; vox desuper
 ingens
 385 infremuit: “nobis etiam, deterrime, nobis

give life to the armour’s pliant scales so artfully
 conjoined, and strike terror into the beholder.
 ’Tis as though iron statues moved and men
 lived cast from that same metal. The horses are
 armed in the same way; their heads are
 encased in threatening iron, their forequarters
 move beneath steel plates protecting them
 from wounds; each stands alone, a pleasure yet
 a dread to behold, beautiful, yet terrible, and as
 the wind drops the parti-coloured dragons^[60]
 sink with relaxing coils into repose.

The emperor first salutes the hallowed
 standards; Rufinus follows him, speaking with
 that crafty voice wherewith he deceived all,
 praising their devoted arms and addressing
 each by name. He tells those who have
 returned that their sons and fathers are still
 alive. The soldiers, observing a feigned rivalry
 in asking questions, begin to extend their long
 lines behind his back and to join up the ends so
 as to form a circle unnoticed by Rufinus. The
 space in the centre grows smaller and the
 wings meeting with serried shields gradually
 form into one lessening circle. Even so the
 huntsman surrounds the grassy glades with his
 widespread snares: so the spoiler of the ocean
 drives to land the frightened fish, narrowing
 the circuit of his nets and closing up all
 possible ways of egress. All others they
 exclude. In his eagerness he notes not yet that
 he is being surrounded and, strongly seizing his
 robe, chides the hesitating emperor: let him
 mount the lofty platform and declare him
 sharer in his sceptre, partaker in his dignities—
 when suddenly they draw their swords and
 above the rest there rang out a mighty voice;
 “Basest of the base, didst

[60] Claudian refers to the devices
 emblazoned upon the banners.

sperasti famulas imponere posse catenas?
unde redi nescis? patiarne audire satelles,
qui leges aliis libertatemque reduxi?
bis domitum civile nefas, bis rupimus Alpes.
390 tot nos bella docent nulli servire tyranno."
Deriguit. spes nulla fugae; seges undique
ferri
circumfusa micat; dextra laevaue
revinctus
haesit et ensiferae stupuit mucrone
coronae,
ut fera, quae nuper montes amisit avitos
altorumque exul nemorum damnatur
395 harenae
muneribus, commota ruit; vir murmure
contra
hortatur nixusque genu venabula tendit;
illa pavet strepitus cuneosque erecta
theatri
respicit et tanti miratur sibila vulgi.
400 Unus per medios audendi pronior ense
prosilit exerto dictisque et vulnere torvus
impetit: "hac Stilicho, quem iactas pellere,
dextra
te ferit; hoc absens invadit viscera ferro."
sic fatur meritoque latus transverberat ictu.
Felix illa manus, talem quae prima
405 cruorem
hauserit et fessi poenam libaverit orbis!
mox omnes laniant hastis artusque
trementes
dilacerant; uno tot corpore tela tepescunt
et non infecto produit mucrone reverti.

thou hope to cast upon *us* the yoke of slavery?
Knowest thou not whence I return? Shall I
allow myself to be called another's servant, I
who gave laws to others and restored the reign
of liberty? Two civil wars have I quenched,
twice forced the barrier of the Alps. These
many battles have taught me to serve no
tyrant."

Rufinus stood rooted to earth. There is no hope
of escape, for a forest of flashing spears hems
him in. Shut in on the right hand and on the left
he stood and gazed in wonder on the drawn
blades of the armed throng; as a beast who has
lately left his native hills, driven in exile from
the wooded mountains and condemned to the
gladiatorial shows, rushes into the arena while
over against him the gladiator, heartened by
the crowd's applause kneels and holds out his
spear. The beast, alarmed at the noise, gazes
with head erect upon the rows of seats in the
amphitheatre and hears with amazement the
murmuring of the crowd.

Then one more daring than the rest drew his
sword and leapt forward from the crowd and
with fierce words and flashing eye rushed upon
Rufinus crying: "It is the hand of Stilicho whom
thou vauntest that thou didst expel that smites
thee; his sword, which thou thoughtest far
away, that pierces thy heart." So spake he and
transfixed Rufinus' side with a well-deserved
thrust.

Happy the hand that first spilt such vile blood
and poured out vengeance for a world made
weary. Straightway all pierce him with their
spears and tear quivering limb from limb; one
single body warms all these weapons with its
blood; shame to him whose sword returns
unstained therewith.

- 410 hi vultus avidos et adhuc spirantia vellunt
lumina, truncatos alii rapuere lacertos.
amputat ille pedes, umerum quatit ille
solutis
nexibus; hic fracti reserat curvamina dorsi;
hic iecur, hic cordis fibras, hic pandit
anhelas
- 415 pulmonis latebras. spatium non invenit ira
nec locus est odiis. consumpto funere vix
tum
deseritur sparsumque perit per tela
cadaver.
sic mons Aonius rubuit, cum Penthea
ferrent
Maenades aut subito mutatum Actaeona
cornu
- 420 traderet insanis Latonia visa Molossis.
criminibusne tuis credis, Fortuna, mederi
et male donatum certas aequare favorem
suppliciiis? una tot milia morte rependis?
eversis aedem Rufinum divide terris.
da caput Odrysiis, truncum mereantur
- 425 Achivi.
quid reliquis dabitur? nec singula membra
peremptis
sufficiunt populis.
Vacuo plebs undique muro
iam segura fluit; senibus non obstitit aetas
virginibusve pudor; viduae, quibus ille
maritos
abstulit, orbataeque ruunt ad gaudia
matres
- 430 insultantque alacres. laceros iuvat ire per
artus
pressaque calcato vestigia sanguine tingui.
nec minus adsiduis flagrant elidere saxis
prodigiale caput, quod iam de cuspide
summa

They stamp on that face of greed and while yet he lives pluck out his eyes; others seize and carry off his severed arms. One cuts off his foot, another wrenches a shoulder from the torn sinews; one lays bare the ribs of the cleft spine, another his liver, his heart, his still panting lungs. There is not space enough to satisfy their anger nor room to wreak their hate. Scarce when his death had been accomplished do they leave him; his body is hacked in pieces and the fragments borne on the soldiers' spears. Thus red with blood ran the Boeotian mountain when the Maenads caused Pentheus' destruction or when Latona's daughter seen by Actaeon betrayed the huntsman, suddenly transformed into a stag, to the fury of her Molossian hounds. Dost thou hope, Fortune, thus to right thy wrongs? Seekest thou to atone by this meting out of punishment for favour ill bestowed? Dost thou with one death make payment for ten thousand murders? Come, portion out Rufinus' corpse among the lands he has wronged. Give the Thracians his head; let Greece have as her due his body. What shall be given the rest? Give but a limb apiece, there are not enough for the peoples he has ruined.

The citizens leave the town and hasten exulting to the spot from every quarter, old men and girls among them whom nor age nor sex could keep at home. Widows whose husbands he had killed, mothers whose children he had murdered hurry to the joyful scene with eager steps. They are fain to trample the torn limbs and stain their deep pressed feet with the blood. So, too, they eagerly hurl a shower of stones at the monstrous head, nodding from the summit of the spear that transfixed it as it

435 nutabat digna rediens ad moenia pompa.
 dextera quin etiam ludo concessa vagatur
 aera petens poenasque animi persolvit
 avari
 terribili lucro vivosque imitata retentus
 cogitur adductis digitos inflectere nervis.
 440 Desinat elatis quisquam confidere rebus
 instabilesque deos ac lubrica numina
 discat.
 illa manus, quae sceptrum sibi gestanda
 parabat,
 cuius se totiens summisit ad oscula supplex
 nobilitas, inhumata diu miseroque revulsa
 corpore feralem quaestum post fata
 445 reposcit.
 adspiciat quisquis nimium sublata secundis
 colla gerit: triviis calcandus spargitur ecce,
 qui sibi pyramidas, qui non cedentia
 templis
 ornatura suos extruxit culmina manes,
 450 et qui Sidonio velari credidit ostro,
 nudus pascit aves. iacet en, qui possidet
 orbem,
 exiguae telluris inops et pulvere raro
 per partes tegitur nusquam totiensque
 sepultus.
 Senserunt convexa necem tellusque
 nefandum
 455 amolitur onus iam respirantibus astris.
 infernos gravat umbra lacus. pater Aeacus
 horret
 intrantemque etiam latratu Cerberus urget.
 tunc animae, quas ille fero sub iure
 peremit,
 circumstant nigrique trahunt ad iudicis
 urnam
 460 infesto fremitu: veluti pastoris in ora
 commotae glomerantur apes, qui dulcia
 raptu
 mella vehit, pennasque cunctas et spicula
 tendunt
 et tenuis saxi per propugnacula cinctae

was carried back in merited splendour to the
 city. Nay his hand too, made over to their
 mockery, goes a-begging for alms, and with its
 awful gains pays the penalty for his greedy
 soul, while forced, in mimicry of its living
 clutch, to draw up the fingers by their sinews.

Put not now your trust in prosperity; learn that
 the gods are inconstant and heaven
 untrustworthy. That hand which sought to
 wield a sceptre, which a humbled nobility
 stooped so often to kiss, now torn from its
 wretched trunk and left long unburied begs
 after death a baneful alms. Let him gaze on this
 whoso carries his head high in pride of
 prosperity, see trodden under foot at the cross-
 roads him who built pyramids for himself and a
 tomb, large as a temple, to the glory of his own
 ghost. He who trusted to be clothed in Tyrian
 purple is now a naked corpse and food for
 birds. See, he who owns the world lies denied
 six foot of earth, half covered with a sprinkling
 of dust, given no grave yet given so many.

Heaven knew of his death and earth is freed of
 her hated burden, now that the stars can
 breathe again. His shade oppresses the rivers
 of Hell. Old Aeacus shudders and Cerberus
 bays to stop, in this case, the *entry* of a ghost.
 Then those shades which he had sent to death
 beneath his cruel laws flock round him and hale
 him away with horrid shoutings to the tribunal
 of the gloomy judge: even as bees whom a
 shepherd has disturbed swarm round his head
 when he would rob them of their sweet honey,
 and flutter their wings and put forth their
 stings, making them ready for battle in the
 fastnesses of their little rock, and seek to
 defend the

rimosam patriam dilectaque pumicis antra
 465 defendunt pronoque favos examine velant.
 Est locus infaustis quo conciliantur in
 unum
 Cocytos Phlegethonque vadis; inamoenus
 uterque
 alveus; hic volvit lacrimas, hic igne
 redundat.
 turris per geminos, flammis vicinior, amnes
 porrigitur solidoque rigens adamante
 470 sinistrum
 proluit igne latus; dextro Cocytia findit
 aequora triste gemens et fletu concita
 plangit.
 huc post emeritam mortalia saecula vitam
 deveniunt. ibi nulla manent discrimina fati,
 nullus honos vanoque exutum nomine
 475 regem
 proturbat plebeius egens. quaesitor in alto
 conspicuus solio pertemptat crimina Minos
 et iustis dirimit sontes. quos nolle fateri
 viderit, ad rigidi transmittit verbera fratris.
 nam iuxta Rhadamanthys agit. cum gesta
 superni
 481 curriculi totosque diu perspexerit actus,
 exaequat damnum meritis et muta ferarum
 cogit vincla pati. truculentos ingerit ursis
 praedonesque lupis; fallaces vulpibus addit.
 485 at qui desidia semper vinoque gravatus,
 indulgens Veneri, voluit torpescere luxu,
 hunc suis inmundi pingues detrudit in
 artus.
 qui iusto plus esse loquax arcanaque suevit
 prodere, piscosas fertur victurus in undas,
 490 ut nimiam pensent aeterna silentia vocem.
 quos ubi per varias annis ter mille figuras
 egit, Lethaeo purgatos flumine tandem
 rursus ad humanae revocat primordia
 formae.

crevices of their home, their beloved pumice-
 stone cave, swarming over the honeycombs
 therein.

There is a place where the unhallowed rivers of
 Cocytus and Phlegethon mingle their dread
 streams of tears and fire. Between the rivers
 yet nearer to that of Phlegethon there juts a
 tower stiff with solid adamant that bathes its
 left side in the flames; its right hand wall
 extends into Cocytus' stream and echoes the
 lamentation of the river of tears. Hither come
 all the children of men whose life is ended;
 here there abide no marks of earthly fortune;
 no reverence is shown; the common beggar
 ousts the king, now stripped of his empty title.
 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 stern brother; for he,
 Rhadamanthus, is busy close at hand. When he
 has closely examined the deeds of their earthly
 life and all that they did therein, he suits the
 punishment to their crimes and makes them
 undergo the bonds of dumb animals. The spirits
 of the cruel enter into bears, of the rapacious
 into wolves, of the treacherous into foxes.
 Those, on the other hand, who were ever sunk
 in sloth, sodden with wine, given to venery,
 sluggish from excesses, he compelled to enter
 the fat bodies of filthy swine. Was any above
 measure talkative, a betrayer of secrets, he was
 carried off, a fish, to live in the waters amid his
 kind, that in eternal silence he might atone for
 his garrulity. When for thrice a thousand years
 he had forced these through countless diverse
 shapes, he sends them back once more to the
 beginnings of human form purged at last with
 Lethe's stream.

Tum quoque, dum lites Stygiique negotia
 solvit
 dura fori veteresque reos ex ordine quaerit,
 495 Rufinum procul ecce notat visuque severo
 lustrat et ex imo concussa sede profatur:
 "Huc superum labes, huc insatiabilis auri
 proluvies pretioque nihil non ause parato,
 quodque mihi summum scelus est, huc
 improbe legum
 501 venditor, Arctoi stimulator perfide Martis!
 cuius ob innumeras strages angustus
 Averni
 iam sinus et plena lassatur portitor alno.
 quid demens manifesta negas? en pectus
 inustae
 505 deformant maculae vitiisque inolevit imago
 nec sese commissa tegunt. genus omne
 dolorum
 in te ferre libet: dubio tibi pendula rupes
 imineat lapsu, volucer te torqueat axis,
 te refugi fallant latices atque ore natanti
 510 arescat decepta sitis, dapibusque relictis
 in tua mansurus migret praecordia vultur.
 quamquam omnes alii, quos haec tormenta
 fatigant,
 pars quota sunt, Rufine, tui! quid tale vel
 audax
 fulmine Salmoneus vel lingua Tantalus egit
 515 aut inconsulto Tityos deliquit amore?
 cunctorum si facta simul iungantur in
 unum,
 praecedes numero. cui tanta piacula
 quisquam
 supplicio conferre valet? quid denique
 dignum
 omnibus inveniam, vincant cum singula
 poenas?
 tollite de mediis animarum dedecus umbris.
 520 adspexisse sat est. oculis iam parcite
 nostris
 et Ditis purgate domos. agitate flagellis

So then while he settles these suits, dread
 business of that infernal court, while he
 examines in due order the criminals of old, he
 marks afar Rufinus, scans him with a stern
 scrutiny and speaks, shaking his throne to its
 foundation. "Hither, Rufinus, scourge of the
 world, bottomless sink of gold who wouldst
 dare aught for money; hither conscienceless
 seller of justice (that crime of crimes), faithless
 cause of that northern war whose thousand
 slaughtered victims now throng Hell's narrow
 entry and weigh down Charon's crowded
 barque. Madman, why deny what all know? The
 foul stains of wickedness are branded upon thy
 heart, thy crimes have made their impress on
 thy spirit and thy sins cannot be hid. Right glad
 I am to sentence thee to every kind of
 punishment. O'er thee shall hang the
 threatening rock the moment of whose fall thou
 knowest not. The circling wheel shall rack thee.
 Thy lips the stream's waves shall flee, thirst
 shall parch thee to whose chin its elusive
 waters mount. The vulture shall leave his
 former prey and feast for ever on thy heart.
 And yet all these, Rufinus, whom the like
 punishments torment, how paltry their
 wickedness compared with thine! Did bold
 Salmoneus' thunderbolt or Tantalus' tongue
 ever do like wrong or Tityos so offend with his
 mad love? Join all their crimes together yet wilt
 thou surpass them. What sufficient atonement
 can be found for such wickedness? What to
 match thy sum of crimes whose single
 misdeeds outmatch all punishment? Shades,
 remove from this our ghostly company that
 presence that disgraces it. To have seen once is
 enough. Have mercy now on our eyes, and
 cleanse the realm of Dis. Drive

trans Styga, trans Erebum, vacuo mandate
 barathro
 infra Titanum tenebras infraque recessus
 Tartareos ipsumque^[61] Chaos, qua noctis
 525 opacae
 fundamenta latent; praeceps ibi mersus
 anhelet,
 dum rotat astra polus, feriunt dum litora
 venti.”

[61] *MSS. have nostrumque.*

him with whips beyond the Styx, beyond
 Erebus; thrust him down into the empty pit
 beneath the lightless prison of the Titans,
 below the depths of Tartarus and Chaos' own
 realm, where lie the foundations of thickest
 midnight; deep hidden there let him live while
 ever the vault of heaven carries round the stars
 and the winds beat upon the land.”

DE BELLO GILDONICO

LIBER I

(XV.)

Redditus imperiis Auster subiectaque
 rursus
 alterius convexa poli. rectore sub uno
 conspirat geminus frenis communibus
 orbis.
 iunximus Europen Libyae. concordia
 fratrum
 plena redit. patriis solum quod defuit armis,
 5 tertius occubuit nati virtute tyrannus.
 horret adhuc animus manifestaue gaudia
 differt,
 dum stupet et tanto cunctatur credere voto.
 necdum Cinyphias exercitus attigit oras:
 10 iam domitus Gildo. nullis victoria nodis
 haesit, non spatio terrae, non obice ponti.
 congressum profugum captum vox nuntiat
 una
 rumoremque sui praevenit laurea belli.
 quo, precor, haec effecta deo? robusta
 vetusque
 15 tempore tam parvo potuit dementia vinci?
 quem veniens indixit hiems, ver perculit
 hostem.

THE WAR AGAINST GILDO^[62]

BOOK I

(XV.)

The kingdom of the south is restored to our
 empire, the sky of that other hemisphere is
 once more brought into subjection. East and
 West live in amity and concord beneath the
 sway of one ruler. We have joined Europe again
 to Africa, and unswerving singleness of purpose
 unites the brother emperors. The would-be
 third participant of empire has fallen before the
 prowess of Honorius the son—that one victory
 that failed to grace the arms of Theodosius, the
 father. Still is my mind troubled and admits not
 the universal joy for very amazement, nor can
 believe the fulfilment of its heart-felt prayers.
 Not yet had the army landed upon Africa's^[63]
 coasts when Gildo yielded to defeat. No
 difficulties delayed our victorious arms, neither
 length of march nor intervening ocean. One
 and the same word brings news of the conflict,
 the flight, the capture of Gildo. The news of
 victory outstripped the news of the war that
 occasioned it. What god wrought this for us?
 Could madness so strong, so deep-seated be
 overcome so soon? The enemy whom early
 winter brought upon us, spring destroyed.

[62] For the details of Gildo's rebellion see Introduction, p. x.

[63] The Cinyps is a river in Libya; *cf.* Virg. *Georg.* iii. 312.

Exitium iam Roma timens et fessa negatis
 frugibus ad rapidi limen tendebat Olympi
 non solito vultu nec qualis iura Britannis
 dividit aut trepidos summittit fascibus
 20 Indos.
 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
 25 hastam.
 attigit ut tandem caelum genibusque
 Tonantis
 procubuit, tales orditur maesta querellas:
 "Si mea mansuris meruerunt moenia
 nasci,
 Iuppiter, auguriis, si stant inmoti Sibyllae
 30 carmina, Tarpeias si necdum respuis arces:
 advenio supplex, non ut proculcet Araxen
 consul ovans nostraeve premant pharetrata
 secures
 Susa, nec ut Rubris aquilas figamus
 harenis.
 haec nobis, haec ante dabas; nunc pabula
 tantum
 Roma precor. miserere tuae, pater optinae,
 35 gentis,
 extremam defende famem. satiavimus iram
 si qua fuit; lugenda Getis et flenda Suebis
 hausimus; ipsa meos horreret Parthia
 casus.
 quid referam morbive luem tumulosve
 repletos
 stragibus et crebras corrupto sidere
 40 mortes?
 aut fluvium per tecta vagum summisque
 minatum
 collibus? ingentes vexi summersa carinas
 remorumque sonos et Pyrrhae saecula
 sensi.
 "Ei mihi, quo Latiae vires urbisque
 potestas

Rome, the goddess, fearing for her city's
 destruction and weak with corn withheld,
 hastened to the threshold of revolving Olympus
 with looks unlike her own; not with such
 countenance does she assign laws to the
 Britons, or subject the frightened Indians to her
 rule. Feeble her voice, slow her step, her eyes
 deep buried. Her cheeks were sunken and
 hunger had wasted her limbs. Scarce can her
 weak shoulders support her unpolished shield.
 Her ill-fitting helmet shows her grey hairs and
 the spear she carries is a mass of rust. At last
 she reaches heaven and falls at the Thunderer's
 feet and utters this mournful complaint: "If
 prophecy rightly foretold the permanence of
 the rising walls of Rome; if the Sibyl's verse is
 unalterable; if thou art not yet wearied of our
 city and the Capitol, I come to thee as a
 suppliant. My prayer is not that a consul may
 march in triumph along Araxes' banks, nor that
 Rome's power may crush the archer Persians
 and Susa their capital, nor yet that we may
 plant our standards on the Red Sea's strand. All
 this thou grantedst us of old. 'Tis but food I,
 Rome, ask for now; father, take pity on thy
 chosen race and ease us of this hunger unto
 death. Whatever thy displeasure, we have
 surely sated it. The very Getae and Suebi would
 pity our sufferings; Parthia's self would
 shudder at my disasters. What need have I to
 mention the pestilence, the heaps of corpses,
 the numberless deaths wherewith the very air
 is corrupted? Why tell of Tiber's flooded
 stream, sweeping betwixt roofs and threatening
 the very hills? My submerged city has borne
 mighty ships, echoed the sound of oars, and
 experienced Pyrrha's flood.

"Woe is me, whither are fled the power of
 Latium

45 decidit! in qualem paulatim fluximus
 umbram!
 armato quondam populo patrumque
 vigebam
 conciliis; domui terras urbesque revinxi
 legibus: ad solem victrix utrumque cucurri.
 50 postquam iura ferox in se communia Caesar
 transtulit et lapsi mores desuetaque priscis
 artibus in gremium pacis servile recessi,
 tot mihi pro meritis Libyam Nilumque
 dedere,
 ut dominam plebem bellatoremque
 senatum
 classibus aestivis alerent geminoque
 vicissim
 55 litore diversi complerent horrea venti.
 stabat certa salus: Memphis si forte
 negasset,
 pensabam Pharium Gaetulis messibus
 annum,
 frugiferas certare rates lateque videbam
 Punica Niliacis concurrere carbasa velis.
 cum subiit par Roma mihi divisaque
 60 sumpsit
 aequales Aurora togas, Aegyptia rura
 in partem cessere novae. spes unica nobis
 restabat Libyae, quae vix aegreque fovebat;
 solo ducta Noto, numquam secura futuri,
 semper inops, ventique fidem poscebat et
 65 anni.
 hanc quoque nunc Gildo rapuit sub fine
 cadentis
 autumnis. pavido metimur caerula voto,
 puppis si qua venit, si quid fortasse potenti
 vel pudor extorsit domino vel praedo
 reliquit.
 70 pascimur arbitrio Mauri nec debita reddi,

and the might of Rome? To what a shadow of
 our former glory are we by gradual decline
 arrived! Time was when my men bore arms and
 my greybeards met in council; mistress of the
 world was I and lawgiver to mankind. From
 rising to setting sun I sped in triumph. When
 proud Caesar had transferred my people's
 power to himself, when manners became
 corrupt and forgetful of war's old discipline I
 declined into the servile lap of peace, the
 emperors rewarded me with Africa and Egypt
 that they might nourish the sovereign people
 and the Senate, arbiter of peace and war, by
 means of summer-spiced fleets, and that the
 winds, blowing alternately from either shore,
 should fill our granaries with corn. Our
 provisioning was secure. Should Memphis
 perchance have denied us food, I would make
 up for the failure of Egypt's harvest by the
 African supply. I saw competition between
 grain-bearing vessels, and where'er I looked I
 beheld the fleet of Carthage strive in rivalry
 with that of the Nile. When a second Rome
 arose and the Eastern Empire assumed the
 toga of the West, Egypt fell beneath that new
 sway. Africa remained our only hope and
 scarcely did she suffice to feed us, whose corn-
 ships none but the south wind wafted across.
 Her promise for the future was insecure, as,
 ever helpless, she demanded the loyalty of the
 wind and of the season.^[64] This province, too,
 Gildo seized towards the close of autumn.
 Anxiously and prayerfully we scan the blue sea
 to glance a coming sail in the fond hope that
 perchance a sense of shame has extorted
 somewhat from the powerful tyrant, or the
 conqueror left some corner unconquered. We
 are fed at the pleasure of the Moor,

[64] Claudian means that the African corn-
 supply was not always to be relied upon
 because (1) there might be a bad season,
 (2) there might be unfavourable winds.

sed sua concedi iactat gaudetque diurnos
 ut famulae praebere cibos vitamque
 famemque
 librat barbarico fastu vulgique superbit
 fletibus et tantae suspendit fata ruinae.
 75 Romuleas vendit segetes et possidet arva
 vulneribus quaesita meis. ideone tot annos
 flebile cum tumida bellum Carthagine
 gessi?
 idcirco voluit contempta luce reverti
 Regulus? hoc damnis, genitor, Cannensibus
 emi?
 80 incassum totiens lituis navalibus arsit
 Hispanum Siculumque fretum vastataque
 tellus
 totque duces caesi ruptaque emissus ab
 Alpe
 Poenus et attonitae iam proximus Hannibal
 urbi?
 scilicet ut domitis frueretur barbarus Afris,
 85 muro sustinui Martem noctesque cruentas
 Collina pro turre tuli? Gildonis ad usum
 Carthago ter victa ruit? hoc mille gementis
 Italiae clades impensa saecula bellis,
 hoc Fabius fortisque mihi Marcellus
 agebant,
 90 ut Gildo cumularet opes? haurire venena
 compulimus dirum Syphacem fractumque
 Metello
 traximus inmanem Marii sub vincla
 Iugurtham,
 et Numidae Gildonis erunt? pro funera
 tanta,
 pro labor! in Bocchi regnum sudavit
 uterque
 95 Scipio. Romano vicistis sanguine Mauri.
 ille diu miles populus, qui praefuit orbi,
 qui trabeas et sceptrum dabat, quem semper
 in armis
 horribilem gentes, placidum sensere
 subactae,

who boasts that he does not repay a debt but
 that he gives us of his own, and rejoices to
 apportion out my daily food to me, as though I
 were his slave; with a barbarian's pride he
 weighs me life or death by hunger, triumphs in
 a people's tears, and holds above our heads an
 universal destruction. He sells Rome's crops
 and possesses land won by my wounds. Was it
 for this that I waged lamentable war with proud
 Carthage for so many years? For this that
 Regulus reckoned his life as naught and would
 fain return to his captors? Is this my reward,
 father, for my losses on Cannae's field? Have
 the Spanish and Sicilian seas resounded so
 often to our navies' clarion for naught? For
 naught my lands been laid waste, so many of
 my generals slain, the Carthaginian invader
 broken his way through the Alps, Hannibal
 approached my affrighted capital? Have I kept
 the foe at bay with my walls and spent nights of
 slaughter before the Colline gate to enable a
 barbarian to reap the fruits of conquered
 Africa? Has thrice-conquered Carthage fallen
 for Gildo's benefit? Was this the object of
 mourning Italy's thousand disasters, of
 centuries spent in war, of Fabius' and
 Marcellus' deeds of daring—that Gildo should
 heap him up riches? We forced cruel Syphax to
 drink poison, drove fierce Iugurtha, whose
 power Metellus had broken, beneath Marius'
 yoke—and shall Africa be Gildo's? Alas for our
 toil and those many deaths: the two Scipios
 have laboured, it seems, to further Bocchus'^[65]
 native rule; Roman blood has given victory to
 the Moors. That long warlike race, lord of the
 world, that appointed consuls and kings, whom
 foreign nations found ever formidable in war,
 though gentle once they had

[65] Bocchus, properly a king of Mauritania, stands here typically for any native monarch.

nunc inhonorus egens perfert miserabile
 pacis
 supplicium nulloque palam circumdatus
 100 hoste
 obsessi discrimen habet. per singula letum
 impendet momenta mihi dubitandaque
 pauci
 praescribunt alimenta dies, heu prospera
 fata!
 quid mihi septenos montes turbamque
 dedistis,
 105 quae parvo non possit ali? felicior essem
 angustis opibus; malletm tolerare Sabinos
 et Veios; brevior duxi securius aevum.
 ipsa nocet moles. utinam remeare liceret
 ad veteres fines et moenia pauperis Anci.
 110 sufficerent Etrusca mihi Campanaque culta
 et Quincti Curiique seges, patriaeque
 petenti
 rusticus inferret proprias dictator aristas.
 "Nunc quid agam? Libyam Gildo tenet,
 altera Nilum.
 ast ego, quae terras umeris pontumque
 subegi,
 deseror: emeritae iam praemia nulla
 115 senectae.
 di, quibus iratis crevi, succurrite tandem,
 exorate patrem; tuque o si sponte per altum
 vecta Palatinis mutasti collibus Idam
 praelatoque lavas Phrygios Almone leones,
 maternis precibus natum iam flecte,
 120 Cybebe.
 sin prohibent Parcae falsisque elusa
 vetustas
 auspiciis, alio saltem prosternite casu
 et poenae mutatae genus. Porsenna reducat
 Tarquinius; renovet ferales Allia pugnas;
 125 me potius saevi manibus permittite Pyrrhi,

been subdued, dishonoured now and poverty-stricken, bends beneath the cruel lash of peace, and though not openly beleaguered by any foe yet has all the hazard of a siege. Destruction threatens me hourly; a few days will set a limit to my uncertain food-supply. Out upon thee, prosperity! Why hast thou given me seven hills and such a population as a small supply cannot nourish? Happier I, had my power been less. Better to have put up with the Sabines and Veii; in narrower bonds I passed securer days. My very magnitude undoes me; would that I could return to my former boundaries and the walls of poor Ancus. Enough for me then would be the ploughlands of Etruria and Campania, the farms of Cincinnatus and Curius, and at his country's prayer the rustic dictator^[66] would bring his home-grown wheat.

"What am I to do now? Gildo holds Libya, another^[67] Egypt; while I, who subdued land and sea with my strong arm, am left to perish. Veteran of so many wars, can I claim no reward in mine old age? Ye gods in whose despite, it seems, I increased, now aid me at the last; pray Jove for me. And thou, Cybele, if ever of thine own free will thou wert carried over the sea and in exchange for Mount Ida tookest the hills of Rome and didst bathe thy Phrygian lions in Almo's more favoured stream, move now thy son^[68] with a mother's entreaties. But if the fates forbid and our first founder was misled by augury untrue, o'erwhelm me at least in some different ruin, and change the nature of my punishment. Let Porsenna bring back the Tarquins; let Allia renew her bloody battle. Let me fall rather into the hands of cruel

[66] Doubtless a reference to Cincinnatus.

[67] Claudian means by "*altera*" the Eastern Empire.

[68] *i.e.* Jupiter.

me Senonum furiis, Brenni me reddite
flammis.
cuncta fame leviora mihi."

Sic fata refusis

obticuit lacrimis. mater Cytherea
parensque
flet Mavors sanctaeque memor Tritonia
Vestae,

- 130 nec Cybele sicco nec stabat lumine Iuno.
maerent indigetes et si quos Roma recepit
aut dedit ipsa deos. genitor iam corde
remitti
coeperat et sacrum dextra sedare
tumultum,
cum procul insanis quatiens ululatus
axem
- 135 et contusa genas mediis adparet in astris
Africa: rescissae vestes et spicea passim
serta iacent; lacero crinales vertice dentes
et fractum pendebat ebur, talique superbas
inrupit clamore fores:

"Quid magne moraris

- 140 Iuppiter avulso nexu pelagique solutis
legibus iratum populis inmittere fratrem?
mergi prima peto; veniant praerupta
Pachyno
aequora, laxatis subsidant Syrtibus urbes.
si mihi Gildonem nequeunt abducere fata,
- 145 me rape Gildoni. felicior illa perustae
pars Libyae, nimio quae se munita calore
defendit tantique vacat secunda tyranni.
crescat zona rubens; medius flagrantis
Olympi
me quoque limes agat; melius deserta
iacebo
vomere impatiens. pulsus dominantur
aristis
- 150 dipsades et sitiens attollat glaeba cerastas.
quid me temperies iuvat? quid mitior
aether?
Gildoni fecunda fui. iam solis habenae

Pyrrhus; abandon me to the fury of the Senones
or the flames of Brennus. Welcome all this
rather than to starve!"

So spake she, and upwelling tears choked her
voice. Venus, mother of Aeneas, wept, and
Mars, father of Romulus and Minerva, mindful
of Vesta's sacred charge.^[69] Nor Cybele nor
Juno stood with dry eyes. The heroes mourn
and all the gods whose worship Rome received
from without or herself inaugurated. And now
began the heart of Jove to soften. With hand
outstretched he was checking the murmurings
of the gods when, shaking heaven with
distraught cries, Africa, her cheeks torn,
appeared in the distance advancing amid the
stars. Torn was her raiment, scattered her
crown of corn. Her head was wounded and the
ivory comb that secured her hair hung loose
and broken. She rushed into Heaven's halls
shouting thus: "Great Jove, why delayest thou
to loose the bonds of sea, to break its decree
and hurl thy brother^[70] in wrath against the
land? May I be the first to be overwhelmed.
Welcome the broken waters from Pachynus'
cape; sink my cities in the freed Syrtes. If so be
fate cannot rid me of Gildo, rid Gildo of me.
Happier that region of Libya that defends itself
by means of its own excessive heat and thus
knows not the irksome rule of so savage a
tyrant. Let the torrid zone spread. Let the
midmost path of the scorching sky burn me
also. Better I lay a desert nor ever suffered the
plough. Let the dust-snake lord it in a cornless
land and the thirsty earth give birth to nought
but vipers. What avails me a healthy climate, a
milder air? My fruitfulness is but for

[69] *i.e.* the Palladium, the image of Pallas
(=Minerva), rescued by Metellus from the
burning temple of Vesta, 241 B.C.

[70] *i.e.* Neptune.

bis senas torquent hiemes, cervicibus ex
 quo
 haeret triste iugum. nostris iam luctibus ille
 155 consenuit regnumque sibi tot vindicat
 annos.
 atque utinam regnum! privato iure tenemur
 exigui specie fundi. quod Nilus et Atlas
 160 dissidet, occiduis quod Gadibus arida Barce
 quodque Paraetonio secedit litore Tingi,
 hoc sibi transcripsit proprium. pars tertia
 mundi
 unius praedonis ager.
 "Distantibus idem
 inter se vitiis cinctus: quodcumque
 profunda
 traxit avaritia, luxu peiore refundit.
 165 instat terribilis vivis, morientibus heres,
 virginibus raptor, thalamis obscaenus
 adulter.
 nulla quies: oritur praeda cessante libido,
 divitibusque dies et nox metuenda maritis.
 quisquis vel locuples pulchra vel coniuge
 notus,
 170 crimine pulsatur falso; si crimina desunt,
 accitus conviva perit. mors nulla refugit
 artificem: varios sucos spumasque requirit
 serpentum virides et adhuc ignota novercis
 gramina. si quisquam vultu praesentia
 damnet
 175 liberiusve gemat, dapibus crudelis in ipsis
 emicat ad nutum stricto mucrone minister.
 fixus quisque toro tacita formidine libat
 carnifices epulas incertaque pocula pallens
 haurit et intentos capiti circumspicit enses.
 180 splendet Tartareo furialis mensa paratu
 caede madens, atrox gladio, suspecta
 veneno.

Gildo. Twelve courses has the sun's chariot run since first I wore this sorry yoke. He has now grown old amid our miseries and these many years have set their seal upon his rule. Rule—would it were rule: a private owner possesses me, as it had been some pelting farm. From Nile to Atlas' mount, from scorched Barce to western Gades, from Tingi^[71] to Egypt's coast Gildo has appropriated the land as his own. A third of the world belongs to one robber-chief.

"He is a prey to the most diverse vices: whatsoever his bottomless greed has stolen, a yet more insatiable profligacy squanders. He is the terror of the living, the heir of the dead, the violator of the unwed, and the foul corrupter of the marriage-bed. He is never quiet; when greed is sated lust is rampant; day is a misery to the rich, night to the married. Is any wealthy or known to possess a beautiful wife, he is overwhelmed by some trumped-up charge. If no charge be brought against him, he is asked to a banquet and there murdered. No form of death but is known to this artist in crime. He investigates the properties of different poisons and serpents' livid venom and knows of deadly herbs unknown even to stepmothers. If any condemns what he sees by a look or sighs with too much freedom, at the very festal board out darts some henchman with drawn sword at a nod from his master. Each glued to his seat tastes in silent fear of the deadly banquet; drains, pale of face, the treacherous cup, and looks around at the weapons that threaten his life. The deadly board is decked in infernal splendour, wet with slaughter, dreadful with fear of sword and suspected poison. When wine has

[71] Tangiers.

ut vino calefacta Venus, tum saevior ardet
 luxuries, mixtis redolent unguenta coronis:
 crinitos inter famulos pubemque canoram
 orbatas iubet ire nurus nuperque peremptis
 185 adridere viris. Phalarim tormentaue
 flammae
 profuit et Siculi mugitus ferre iuveni
 quam tales audire choros. nec damna
 pudoris
 turpia sufficiunt: Mauris clarissima
 quaeque
 190 fastidita datur. media Carthagine ductae
 barbara Sidoniae subeunt conubia matres;
 Aethiopem nobis generum, Nasamona
 maritum
 ingerit; exterret cunabula discolor infans.
 his fretus sociis ipso iam principe maior
 incedit; peditum praecurrunt agmina longe;
 195 circumdant equitum turmae regesque
 clientes,
 quos nostris ditat spoliis. proturbat avita
 quemque domo; veteres detrudit rure
 colonos.
 exiliis dispersa feror. numquamne reverti
 fas erit errantesque solo iam reddere
 200 cives?"
 Iret adhuc in verba dolor, ni Iuppiter alto
 coepisset solio (voces adamante notabat
 Atropos et Lachesis iungebat stamina
 dictis):
 "nec te, Roma, diu nec te patiemur inultam,
 Africa. communem prosternet Honorius
 205 hostem.
 pergite securae. vestrum vis nulla tenorem
 separat et soli famulabitur Africa Romae."
 Dixit et adflavit Romam meliore iuventa.
 continuo redit ille vigor senique colorem
 mutavere comae. solidatam crista
 210 resurgens

inflamed the passions, his lust rages more
 savagely; 'midst the mingled smell of scents
 and flowers, 'midst curled minions and youthful
 choirs he bids go sport the widowed wives
 whose husbands he but a moment ago has
 murdered. Better Phalaris and the torments of
 his furnace, better to listen to the bellowings of
 the Sicilian bull than to such songs as these.
 Nor is the base sacrifice of their good name
 enough. When tired of each noblest matron
 Gildo hands her over to the Moors. Married in
 Carthage city these Sidonian mothers needs
 must mate with barbarians. He thrusts upon me
 an Ethiopian as a son-in-law, a Berber as a
 husband. The hideous half-breed child affrights
 its cradle. Thanks to those base allies his state
 is more regal than that of the emperor himself.
 Before him goes a body of foot-soldiers,
 squadrons of cavalry surround him and client
 kings whom he enriches with our spoils. He
 drives one and all from their ancestral houses
 and expels husbandmen from farms so long
 theirs. My people are scattered in exile. Are my
 citizens never to return from their wanderings
 to their native soil?"

She would have spoken further in her grief had
 not Jove begun from his lofty throne—Atropos
 wrote down his words in adamant and Lachesis
 spun them in with her thread—"Neither thou,
 Rome, nor yet thou, Africa, will we suffer to go
 long unavenged. Honorius shall disperse your
 common foe. Go in peace. No violence shall
 part your companionship; Africa shall serve
 Rome, and Rome alone."

He spake and breathed into Rome a youth
 renewed. Straightway her former strength
 returned, and her hair put off its grey of eld;
 her helmet grew solid,

erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis
et levis excussa micuit rubigine cornus.

Umentes iam noctis equos Lethaeaque
Somnus

frena regens tacito volvebat sidera curru.
iam duo divorum proceres, maiorque
215 minorque

Theodosii, pacem laturo gentibus ibant,
qui Iovis arcanos monitus mandataque
ferrent

fratribus et geminis sancirent foedera
regnis:

sic cum praecipites artem vicere procellae
adsiduoque gemens undarum verberere nutat
220 descensura ratis, caeca sub nocte vocati
naufraga Ladaei sustentant vela Lacones.
circulus ut patuit Lunae, secuere meatus
diversos: Italas senior tendebat in oras;
at pater, intrantem Pontum qua Bosphorus
artat,

226 Arcadii thalamis urbiq; inlapsus Eoae.
quem simulac vidit natus (nam clara nitebat
Cynthia), permixto tremuerunt gaudia fletu
complexuq; fovens, quos non speraverat,
artus

“O mihi post Alpes nunc primum reddite,”
230 dixit,

“unde tuis optatus ades? da tangere
dextram,

qua gentes cecidere ferae. quis tale removit
praesidium terris? ut te mortalia pridem
implorant longeque pium fortemque
requirunt!”

235 Cui pater in tales rupit suspiria voces:
“hoc erat? in fratres medio discordia Mauro
nascitur et mundus germanaque dissidet
aula?”

upright stood the plumes, the round shield
shone once more, and gone was every trace of
rust from her wingèd, gleaming spear.

Sleep was now driving the dew-drenched
steeds of night, guiding them with the reins of
Lethe and carrying round the stars in her silent
course, when the elder and the younger
Theodosius,^[72] chief among the heroes divine,
came to bring peace to men. They bore Jove's
secret message and mandate to the two
brothers and ratified the treaty between the
two empires. So when at dead of night the
driving tempest has brought the helmsman's
skill to nought and the sinking ship groans and
shudders at the waves' ceaseless shock, Leda's
Spartan-born sons sustain the foundering bark
in answer to the sailors' prayers. At the rise of
the full moon the twain parted. The elder
directed his steps towards the coasts of Italy,
the younger visited the couch of Arcadius,
gliding down to that Eastern city where
Bosphorus narrows the entrance to the Euxine.
As soon as the son saw his father (for the moon
was shining brightly), he wept, yet trembled for
joy, and embracing that form he had little
hoped ever to embrace again, said: “O thou
restored now to me for the first time since thy
triumphs in the Alps, whence comest thou to
thy loving son? Let me touch that hand that has
conquered so many barbarian races! Who hath
robbed the world of such a defender? How long
a while has mankind prayed thine aid, and
missed thy goodness and thy might!”

Sighing, the father made answer: “Was it for
this? Is a Moor become a cause of discord
between two brothers? Does the empire and
court of the

[72] Theodosius the younger is, of course,
Theodosius I., the Emperor (see
Introduction, p. vii). Theodosius the elder
was his father. He was an able and trusted
general of Valentinian I., who restored
quiet in Britain (368-370), defeated the
Alamanni (370), and crushed the revolt of
Firmus, Gildo's brother (see line 333 of this
poem) in Africa (? 372-374). His death was
brought about by Merobaudes, Gratian's
minister (*cf.* viii. 26-9).

Gildonisne salus tanti sit palma furoris?
 scilicet egregius morum magnoque tuendus
 240 et cuius meritis pietas in fratre recedat!
 invito^[73] genitore, vide, civile calebat
 discidium; dubio stabant Romana sub ictu;
 quis procul Armenius vel quis Maeotide
 ripa
 rex ignotus agit, qui me non iuvit euntem
 245 auxilio? fovere Getae, venere Geloni.
 solus at hic non puppe data, non milite
 misso
 subsedit fluitante fide. si signa petisset
 obvia, detecto summissius hoste dolerem:
 restitit in speculis fati turbaque reductus
 250 libravit geminas eventu iudice vires
 ad rerum momenta cliens seseque daturus
 victori; fortuna simul cum mente pependit.
 o si non cupidis essem praereptus ab astris,
 exemplum sequerer Tulli laniandaque
 dumis
 255 impia diversis aptarem membra quadrigis.
 germani nunc usque tui responsa colebat:
 en iterum calcat. tali te credere monstro
 post patrem fratremque paras? sed magna
 rependit
 inque tuam sortem numerosas transtulit
 urbes!
 260 ergo fas pretio cedet? mercede placebit
 proditio? taceo, laesi quod transfuga fratris,
 quod levis ingenio. quamvis discrimine
 summo
 proditor adportet suspensa morte salutem
 numquam gratus erit. damnamus luce
 reperta

[73] MSS. in primo; *Birt* suggests invito,
Koch infirmo.

East quarrel with those of the West? Can Gildo's salvation be fit guerdon for this mad rivalry? Great no doubt are his virtues, great should be the price paid to preserve them and such his merits as to banish affection in a brother. Look you, though I, thy sire, willed it not, civil war raged; the fortunes of Rome stood on a razor's edge. Was there a distant king of Armenia, an unknown monarch by Maeotis' shore but sent aid to mine enterprises? The Getae gave me succour, the Geloni came to my assistance. Gildo alone sent not a man, not a ship, but waited the issue in wavering loyalty. Had he sought the confronting host as an open foe my wrath had been less bitter. He stood apart on Fortune's watchtower and, withdrawn from the throng, weighed this side against that, meaning to let the event decide him, dependent upon the turn things might take and ready to embrace the side of the victor. His fortune hung in the balance as well as his intention. Had I not been hurried to heaven by the impatient stars I would have followed the example of Tullus Hostilius and dragged the impious wretch limb from limb fastened to chariots driven different ways through thorn bushes.^[74] Up to this time he has owed obedience to thy brother, now behold he spurns his commands. After thy father's and thy brother's fate art thou ready to trust thyself to such a villain? Is thine answer that he maketh great return and hath brought over many cities to thine allegiance? Shall honour, then, give place to utility? Can gain render treachery welcome? I make no mention of his cruel betrayal of thy brother; of his fickle nature; were a traitor to bring safety even when at peril's height death threatened, never shall he win gratitude. When our life is saved

[74] See note on viii. 401.

265 perfidiam nec nos patimur committere tali.
 hoc genus emptori cives cum moenibus
 offert,
 hoc vendit patriam. plerique in tempus
 abusi
 mox odere tamen: tenuit sic Graia Philippus
 oppida; Pellaeo libertas concidit auro.
 Romani scelerum semper sprevere
 270 ministros.
 noxia pollicitum domino miscere venena
 Fabricius regi nudata fraude remisit,
 infesto quem Marte petit, bellumque
 negavit
 per famuli patrare nefas, ductosque
 Camillus
 trans murum pueros obsessae reddidit urbi.
 275 "Traduntur poenis alii, cum proelia
 tollunt;
 hic manet ut moveat? quod respuit alter in
 hostem,
 suscipis in fratrem? longi pro dedecus aevi!
 cui placet, australes Gildo condonat
 habenas
 tantaque mutatos sequitur provincia mores.
 280 quaslibet ad partes animus nutaverit
 anceps,
 transfundit secum Libyam refluumque
 malignus
 commodat imperium. Mauri fuit Africa
 munus.
 tollite Massylas fraudes, removete bilingues
 285 insidias et verba soli spirantia virus.
 ne consanguineis certetur cominus armis,
 ne, precor. haec trucibus Thebis, haec
 digna Mycenis;
 in Mauros hoc crimen eat.
 "Quid noster iniquum
 molitur Stilicho? quando non ille iubenti
 paruit? an quisquam nobis devinctior extat?
 290

we condemn the treachery nor brook to entrust ourselves to such protection. 'Tis this sort that offers for purchase cities and their inhabitants, that sells its fatherland. Most make use of such for the moment but soon learn to hate them. 'Twas thus that Philip held the cities of Greece; liberty fell before the attack of Macedonian gold. Rome has ever despised the ministers of guilt. Fabricius, discovering the plot, sent back to King Pyrrhus the slave who had promised to mingle deadly poison for his lord; fierce war raged between them, but Fabricius refused to end it by means of the treachery of a slave. Camillus, too, gave back to the beleaguered city the boys brought to his camp from out the walls.

"These were consigned to punishment for seeking to put an end to wars. Is Gildo to live that he may kindle them? Takest thou such measures against thy brother as another would disdain to take against an enemy? O shame for unending ages! Gildo entrusts the governance of the south to whom he will; the great province of Africa obeys a tyrant's whim. To whichever side his fickle mind inclines, he carries Libya over with him and malignantly subjects it to a rule shifting as the tide. Africa was the gift of the Moor. Away with the trickery of the Massyli, their treacherous wiles and their words that breathe forth the poison of their land. Let not brother wage war on brother, I pray. That were worthy of cruel Thebes and Mycenae; let that accusation be levelled against the Moors.

"What wrong is Stilicho devising? when did he fail in his obedience? than him what more loyal

ut sileam varios mecum quos gesserit
 actus,
 quae vidi post fata, loquar. cum divus
 abirem,
 res incompositas (fateor) tumidasque
 reliqui.
 stringebat vetitos etiamnum exercitus
 enses
 295 Alpinis odiis, alternaque iurgia victi
 victoresque dabant. vix haec amentia
 nostris
 excubiis, nedum puero rectore quiesset.
 heu quantum timui vobis, quid libera tanti
 militis auderet moles, cum patre remoto
 300 ferveret iam laeta novis! dissensus acerbus
 et gravior consensus erat. tunc ipse
 paterna
 successit pietate mihi tenerumque
 rudemque
 fovit et in veros eduxit principis annos,
 Rufinumque tibi, quem tu tremuisse fateris,
 depulit. hunc solum memorem solumque
 305 fidelem
 experior. volui si quid, dum vita maneret,
 aut visus voluisse, gerit; venerabilis illi
 ceu praesens numenque vocor. si tanta
 recusas,
 at soceri reverere faces, at respice fratris
 310 conubium pignusque meae regale Serenae.
 debueras etiam fraternis obvius ire
 hostibus, ille tuis. quae gens, quis Rhenus
 et Hister
 vos opibus iunctos conspirantesque
 tulisset?
 sed tantum permitte, cadat. nil poscimus
 ultra.
 315 ille licet sese praetentis Syrtibus armet
 oppositoque Atlante tegat, licet arva referta
 anguibus et solis medios obiecerit aestus:

supporter have we? I will not mention the
 various brave deeds he did while yet with me;
 of those only I will tell which I saw after my
 death. When I was raised to heaven disorder—I
 admit it—and tumult did I leave behind me. The
 army was still drawing the forbidden sword in
 that Alpine war, and conquerors and conquered
 gave alternate cause for dissension. Scarce
 could this madness have been calmed by my
 vigilance, much less by a boy's rule. Ah, how I
 feared for you what the uncontrolled might of
 such vast armies might dare, when, your sire
 removed, there came the fevered delight in
 change! Dangerous was discord, more
 dangerous still unanimity. 'Twas then that
 Stilicho took my place in paternal love for thee,
 tended thine immature youth, and brought thee
 to the years and estate of an emperor. 'Twas he
 drove back Rufinus whom thou didst confess
 thou fearedst. Gratitude and loyalty I find in
 him alone. Did I want or seem to want aught,
 while yet I lived he accomplished it. Now I am
 dead he worships me as worthy of veneration
 and an ever present helper. If the thought of
 his goodness move thee not, at least show
 respect to thy brother's father-in-law: bethink
 thee of Honorius' marriage, the royal espousal
 of my niece Serena. Thou oughtest to face thy
 brother's foes, he thine. Could any nation,
 could the combined forces of Rhine and Danube
 have stood against you twain allied? Enough!
 bring about but the defeat of Gildo: I ask
 nought else. Though he entrench himself
 behind the protecting Syrtes and rely for safety
 on the intervening ocean; though he think to be
 defended by reason of his serpent-infested
 country and the fierce

novi consilium, novi Stilichonis in omnes
aequalem casus animum: penetrabit
harenas,
inveniet virtute viam."

- 320 Sic divus et inde
sic natus: "iussis, genitor, parebitur ultro.
amplector praecepta libens, nec carior alter
cognato Stilichone mihi. commissa profanus
ille luat; redeat iam tutior Africa fratri."
325 Talia dum longo secum sermone retexunt,
Hesperiam pervenit avus castumque cubile
ingreditur, Tyrio quo fusus Honorius ostro
carpebat teneros Maria cum coniuge
somnos.
adsistit capiti; tunc sic per somnia fatur:
330 "Tantane devictos tenuit fiducia Mauros,
care nepos? iterum post me coniurat in
arma
progenies vesana Iubae bellumque resumit
victoris cum stirpe sui? Firmumne iacentem
obliti Libyam nostro sudore receptam
rursus habent? ausus Latio contendere
335 Gildo
germani nec fata timet? nunc ire profecto,
nunc vellem notosque senex ostendere
vultus:
nonne meam fugiet Maurus cum viderit
umbram?
quid dubitas? exsurge toris, invade
rebellem,
captivum mihi redde meum. desiste morari.
340 hoc generi fatale tuo: dum sanguis in orbe
noster erit, semper pallebit regia Bocchi.
iungantur spoliis Firmi Gildonis opima;

sun's mid-day heat, yet well I know Stilicho's
ingenuity—that mind of his equal to any
emergency. He will force his way through the
desert, his own greatness will lead him."

Thus spake the dead emperor, whereon thus
the son answered: "Right willingly, father, will I
fulfil thy commands: ever ready am I to
welcome thy behests. None is dearer to me
than my kinsman Stilicho. Let the impious Gildo
atone for his wrongs, and Africa be restored to
my brother still safer than before."

While father and son thus debated in long
converse, Theodosius the grandfather made his
way to Italy and entered the chaste
bedchamber where on his couch of Tyrian
purple Honorius lay in sweet sleep by the side
of his wife Maria. At his head he stood and thus
spake to him in a dream. "What rash
confidence is this, dear grandson, that fills the
conquered Moors? Does the mad race
descended from Juba, the people whom I
subdued, once more conspire to oppose Rome's
power and recommence the war with its
conqueror's grandson? Have they forgotten the
defeat of Firmus^[75]? Do they think to repossess
Libya won back by the sweat of battle? Dares
Gildo strive with Rome? Does he not fear his
brother's fate. Fain would I go myself, old
though I be, and show him the face he knows
but too well. Will not the Moor flee my very
shade, should he behold it? Why delayest thou?
Up from thy bed; attack the rebel; give me back
my prisoner; waste no more time. 'Tis Fate's
gift to thy family. While yet the race of
Theodosius treads the earth the palace of
Bocchus shall go in fear. Let the spoils of Gildo
be added to those of Firmus;

[75] Firmus, brother of Gildo, had, during
the reign of Valentinian, risen against the
oppressive government of Romanus, count
of Africa, and had been defeated by
Theodosius the elder.

345 exornet geminos Maurusia laurea currus:
 una domus totiens una de gente triumphet.
 di bene, quod tantis interlabentibus annis
 servati Firmusque mihi fraterque nepoti."
 dixit et adflatus vicino sole refugit.
 At iuvenem stimulis inmanibus aemula
 virtus
 350 exacuit; iam puppe vehi, iam stagna secare
 fervet et absentes invadere cuspidē
 Mauros.
 tum iubet acciri socerum dextramque
 vocato
 conserit et, quae sit potior sententia,
 quaerit:
 "Per somnos mihi, sancte pater, iam
 saepe futura
 panduntur multaeque canunt praesagia
 355 noctes.
 namque procul Libycos venatu cingere
 saltus
 et iuga rimari canibus Gaetula videbar.
 maerebat regio saevi vastata leonis
 incursu; pecudum strages passimque
 iuveni
 360 semineces et adhuc infecta mapalia tabo
 sparsaque sanguineis pastorum funera
 campis.
 adgredior latebras monstri mirumque
 relatu
 conspicio: dilapsus honos, cervice minaces
 defluxere iubae; fractos inglorius armos
 supposuit, servile gemens; iniectaue
 365 vincla
 unguibus et subitae collo sonuere catenae.
 nunc etiam paribus secum certare tropaeis
 hortator me cogit avus. quonam usque
 remoti
 cunctamur? decuit pridem complere
 biremes
 et pelagi superare moras. transmittere
 370 primus
 ipse paro; quaecumque meo gens barbara
 nutu
 stringitur, adveniat: Germania cuncta
 feratur

let the bays of Mauretania deck chariots twain
 and one house triumph thus many times over
 one race. Thanks be to the gods who have
 interposed so many years between the sacrifice
 of Firmus to my arms and that of Firmus'
 brother to those of my grandson." He spake,
 then fled, as he felt the breath of the
 approaching dawn.

Then emulous courage roused the emperor
 with insistent goad. He burns to set sail, to
 cleave the main, to assail with the spear the
 distant Moors. So he summons his father-in-
 law^[76] and clasping his hand asks what course
 of action he advises. "Full often, reverend sire,
 is the future revealed to me in dreams; many a
 night brings prophecy. Methought I surrounded
 in hunting the distant glades of Africa and
 scoured the Gaetolian mountains with my
 hounds. The district was distressed by reason
 of the incursions of a ravaging lion. On all sides
 were slaughtered beasts and mangled heifers,
 and still their homesteads ran red with blood,
 and corpses of many a shepherd lay weltering
 in the bloody fields. I approached the beast's
 cave and saw a sight wonderful to relate. Gone
 was that noble form, drooping on the neck the
 threatening mane; there he crouched, defeated,
 humbled, with slavish moans; fetters were upon
 his paws and a chain clanked of a sudden on his
 neck. Now, too, my grandsire eagerly urges me
 to rival his triumphs with my own. Why, he
 asked, did I delay and hesitate so long? Already
 my ships should have been manned and the
 sea's threatened opposition overcome. I myself
 am ready to cross in the first vessel. Let every
 foreign nation that is bound beneath my rule
 come to our aid. Let all Germany be
 transported and

[76] *i.e.* Stilicho.

navibus et socia comitentur classe
 Sygambri.
 pallida translatum iam sentiat Africa
 374 Rhenum.
 an patiar tot probra sedens iuvenisque
 relinquam
 quae tenui rexique puer? bis noster ad
 Alpes
 alterius genitor defensum regna cucurrit.
 nos praedae faciles insultandique
 iacemus?"
 Finierat. Stilicho contra cui talia reddit:
 "adversine tubam princeps dignabere
 380 Mauri?
 auferet ignavus clari solacia leti.
 te bellante mori? decernet Honorius inde,
 hinc Gildo? prius astra Chaos miscebit
 Averno.
 vindictam mandasse sat est; plus nominis
 horror
 quam tuus ensis aget. minuit praesentia
 385 famam.
 qui stetit aequatur campo, collataque nescit
 maiestatem acies. sed quod magis utile
 factu
 atque hosti gravius (sensus adverte) docebo
 est illi patribus, sed non et moribus isdem
 390 Mascezel, fugiens qui dira piacula fratris
 spesque suas vitamque tuo commisit asylo.
 hunc ubi temptatis frustra mactare nequivit
 insidiis, patrias in pignora contulit iras
 et, quos ipse sinu parvos gestaverat, una
 395 occidit iuvenes inhumataque corpora vulgo
 dispulit et tumulo cognatas arcuit umbras
 naturamque simul fratremque hominemque
 cruentus
 exuit et tenuem caesis invidit harenam.
 hoc facinus refugo damnavit sole Mycenae
 avertitque diem; scelere sed reddidit Atreus
 400

the Sygambri come with allied fleet. Let
 trembling Africa now have experience of the
 dwellers on Rhine's banks. Or shall I sit here
 and submit to such disgrace? Shall I relinquish,
 now that I am a man, what I ruled and
 governed as a boy? Twice my father hurried to
 the Alps to defend another's realm. Am I to be
 an easy prey, an object of scorn?"

He ended and Stilicho thus made answer: "Wilt
 thou, an emperor, deign to challenge a Moor to
 fight? Is that coward to have the consolation of
 death in battle at thy hand? Shall Honorius
 fight on our side and Gildo on the other? Ere
 that, chaos shall plunge the stars into Hell. 'Tis
 enough to command his punishment. Thy name
 shall strike greater terror into him than thy
 sword. Presence will minish awe; he who
 stands in the lists admits equality, and
 struggling hosts regard not majesty. Listen and
 I will tell thee something at once more
 profitable for thyself and of more effect against
 the enemy. Gildo has a brother of like descent
 but unlike in character, Mascezel, who,
 avoiding the evil courses of his brother, has
 entrusted his hopes and his life to thy keeping.
 When Gildo, after many vain attempts, found no
 means to kill Mascezel, he turned his anger
 from the father to the children and slew those
 whom himself had nursed as infants in his
 arms; then cast aside their unburied bodies and
 refused sepulchre to the shades of those that
 had been his kin. The bloody tyrant stifled all
 natural feelings, forgot he was a brother, forgot
 he was a man, and begrudged the slain a
 handful of dust. 'Twas a like deed brought its ill
 repute upon Mycenae, that put the sun to rout
 and turned back the day. But while Atreus paid
 back crime for crime and had excuse

crimen et infandas excusat coniuge
 mensas.
 hic odium, non poena fuit. te perdita iura,
 te pater ultorem, te nudi pulvere manes,
 te pietas polluta rogat; si flentibus aram
 et proprium miseris numen statuistis,
 405 Athenae,
 si Pandionias planctu traxere phalanges
 Inachides belloque rogos meruere maritis,
 si maesto squalore comae lacrimisque
 senatum
 in Numidas pulsus solio commovit
 Adherbal:
 hunc quoque nunc Gildo, tanto quem funere
 mersit,
 hunc doleat venisse ducem seseque
 411 minorem
 supplicibus sciat esse tuis. quem sede
 fugavit,
 hunc praeceps fugiat, fregit quem clade,
 tremiscat
 agnoscatque suum, trahitur dum victima,
 fratrem.”
 Haec ubi sederunt genero, notissima
 415 Marti
 robora, praecipuos electa pube maniplos
 disponit portuque rates instaurat Etrusco.
 Herculeam suus Alcides Ioviamque
 cohortem
 rex ducit superum, premitur nec signifer
 ullo
 420 pondere: festinant adeo vexilla moveri.
 Nervius insequitur meritusque vocabula
 Felix
 dictaque ab Augusto legio nomenque
 probantes
 invicti clipeoque animosi teste Leones.
 Dictis ante tamen princeps confirmat
 ituros

for the bloody banquet in the unfaithfulness of his wife, Gildo's motive was hatred, not vengeance. Violated rights, the sorrowing father, the unburied dead, the unnatural crime all call upon thee as avenger. If thou, Athens, didst dedicate an altar to the sorrowing and ordain to those that mourn a special deity, if the women of Argos won to their aid the Athenian phalanx by their tears and bought burial for their slain lords at the price of war; [77] if Adherbal, driven from his throne, roused the Senate against the Numidians by the sad appeal of unkempt locks and by his tears, then let Gildo be sorry that now this man also whom he has crushed by so many murders is come into the field against him, and let him learn that he must bow before thy suppliants. Let Gildo flee headlong before him whom he put to flight and fear him whom he o'erwhelmed with the murder of his children. As he is being dragged off to the slaughter let him recognize his brother's hand."

When this advice had been accepted by his son-in-law, Stilicho made ready for war the most famous regiments in the army, selecting therefrom special companies of picked men; he further prepared the fleet in the harbours of Etruria. Alcides himself commands the Herculean cohort; the king of the gods leads the Jovian. No standard-bearer feels the weight of his eagle, so readily do the very standards press forward. The Nervian cohort follows and the Felix, well deserving its name, the legion, too, named after Augustus, that well called The Un-conquered, and the brave regiment of the Lion^[78] to whose name their shields bear witness.

But before they start the emperor, standing upon a platform of earth, heartens them with his words:

[77] A reference to the support given by Theseus, King of Athens, to Adrastus, King of Argos, when the Thebans had refused to allow the burial of the Argives slain at Thebes; *cf.* Eur. *Supplices*.

[78] Orosius (vii. 36. 6) says Mascezel only had 5000 men. The legion may have been leg. viii. Augusta. The other names are those of various *numeri* (the unit of the post-Diocletianic army).

425 aggere conspicuus; stat circumfusa
 iuventus
 nixa hastis pronasque ferox accommodat
 aures:
 "Gildonem domitura manus, promissa
 minasque
 tempus agi. si quid pro me doluistis, in
 armis
 ostentate mihi; iusto magnoque triumpho
 430 civiles abolete notas; sciat orbis Eous
 sitque palam Gallos causa, non robore
 vinci.
 nec vos, barbariem quamvis collegerit
 omnem,
 terreat. an Mauri fremitum raucosque
 repulsus
 umbonum et vestros passuri comminus
 enses?
 non contra clipeis tectos gladiisque
 435 micantes
 ibitis: in solis longe fiducia telis.
 exarmatus erit, cum missile torserit, hostis.
 dextra movet iaculum, praetentat pallia
 laeva;
 cetera nudus eques. sonipes ignarus
 habenae;
 virga regit. non ulla fides, non agminis
 440 ordo:
 arma oneri, fuga praesidio. conubia mille;
 non illis generis nexus, non pignora curae:
 sed numero languet pietas. haec copia
 vulgi.
 umbratus dux ipse rosis et marcidus ibit
 unguentis crudusque cibo titubansque
 445 Lyaeo,
 confectus senio, morbis stuprisque solutus.
 excitet incestos turmalis bucina somnos,
 imploret citharas cantatricesque choreas
 offensus stridore tubae discatque coactus,
 450 quas vigilat Veneri, castris impendere
 noctes.

leaning upon their spears the soldiers throng
 around him and attune their ready ears to his
 inspiring voice. "My men, so soon to bring
 defeat upon Gildo, now is the time to fulfil your
 promises and make good your threats. If you
 felt indignation on my behalf, now take up arms
 and prove it. Wash out the stain of civil war by
 means of a great and deserved triumph. Let the
 empire of the East know, let it be plain to all
 the world, that Gaul can only owe defeat to the
 badness of a cause, not to her enemies'
 strength.^[79] Let not Gildo affright you though
 he have all barbarity at his back. Shall Moors
 stand up against the shock of your clashing
 shields and the near threat of your swords? You
 shall not oppose men armed with shields or
 shining blades. These savages put their trust in
 javelins hurled from afar. Once he has
 discharged his missile the enemy will be
 disarmed. With his right hand he hurls his
 spear, with his left he holds his cloak before
 him; no other armour has the horseman. His
 steed knows not the rein; a whip controls it.
 Obedience and discipline are unknown in their
 ranks. Their arms are a burden to them, their
 salvation lies in flight. Though each has many
 wives, ties of family bind them not, nor have
 they any love for their children whose very
 number causes affection to fail. Such are the
 troops. The chief will come to battle crowned
 with roses, drenched with scents, his last feast
 still undigested; drunken with wine, foredone
 with eld, enervated with disease and venery.
 Let the war trumpet rouse him from a bed of
 incest, let him beg aid of lutes and choirs, for
 he likes not the clarion's note, and let him learn
 (all unwilling) to spend in war nights that he
 now dedicates to love.

[79] He appeals to the Gallic element of the
 army to atone for its previous support of
 Maximus and Eugenius.

“Nonne mori satius, vitae quam ferre
 pudorem?
 nam quae iam regio restat, si dedita Mauris
 regibus Illyricis accesserit Africa damnis?
 ins Latium, quod tunc Meroë Rubroque
 solebat
 455 Oceano cingi, Tyrrhena clauditur unda;
 et cui non Nilus, non intulit India metas,
 Romani iam finis erit Trinacria regni.
 ite recepturi, praedo quem sustulit, axem
 ereptumque Notum; caput insuperabile
 rerum
 460 aut ruet in vestris aut stabit Roma lacertis.
 tot mihi debetis populos, tot rura, tot urbes
 amissas. uno Libyam defendite bello.
 vestros imperium remos et vestra sequatur
 carbasa. despectas trans aequora ducite
 leges.
 465 tertia iam solito cervix mucrone rotetur
 tandem funereis finem positura tyrannis.”
 Omina conveniunt dicto fulvusque
 Tonantis
 armiger a liquida cunctis spectantibus
 aethra
 correptum pedibus curvis innexuit hydrum,
 dumque reluctantem morsu partitur
 470 obunco,
 haesit in ungue caput; truncatus decidit
 anguis.
 ilicet auguriis alacres per saxa citati
 torrentesque ruunt; nec mons aut silva
 retardat:
 pendula ceu parvis moturae bella colonis
 475 ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquunt
 Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona
 Nilo:
 ordinibus variis per nubila textur ales
 littera pennarumque notis conscribitur aër.
 Ut fluctus tetigere maris, tunc acrior arsit

“Is not death preferable to a life disgraced? If,
 in addition to the loss of Illyria, Africa is to be
 surrendered to Moorish kings, what lands still
 remain to us? The empire of Italy, once
 bounded by the Nile and the Red Sea, is limited
 to-day by the sea of Tuscany; shall Sicily now
 be the most distant province of Roman rule, to
 which in days of old neither Egypt nor India set
 an end? Go: win back that southern realm a
 rebel has reft from me. It depends on your
 arms whether Rome, the unconquerable
 mistress of the world, stands or falls. You owe
 me so many peoples, countries, cities lost.
 Fight but one battle in defence of Libya. Let
 empire restored attend on your oars and sails.
 Give back to Africa the laws of Rome she now
 disregards. Let history repeat itself, and the
 sword smite from its trunk the head of this
 third tyrant^[80] and so end at last the series of
 bloody usurpers.”

An omen confirms his word and before the eyes
 of all, the tawny bird, armour-bearer of Jove,
 swoops down from the open sky and seizes a
 snake in his curved talons; and while the eagle
 tears his struggling prey with his hooked beak,
 his claws are embedded in its head. The
 severed body falls to earth. Straightway the
 soldiers come hurrying up, crossing rocks and
 streams in their eagerness at the call of this
 portent. Neither mountains nor woods delay
 them. Even as the cranes leave their summer
 home of Thrace clamorously to join issue in
 doubtful war with the Pygmies, when they
 desert the Strymon for warm-watered Nile, the
 letter^[81] traced by the speeding line stands out
 against the clouds and the heaven is stamped
 with the figure of their flight.

When they reached the coast still fiercer blazed

[80] The other two being Maximus and Eugenius.

[81] *i.e.* the Greek Λ.

- 480 impetus; adripiunt naves ipsique rudentes
expediunt et vela legunt et cornua summis
adsociant malis; quatitur Tyrrhena tumultu
ora nec Alpheae capiunt navalia Pisae:
sic Agamemnoniam vindex cum Graecia
 classem
- 485 solveret, innumeris fervebat vocibus Aulis.
non illos strepitus impendentisque
 procellae
signa nec adventus dubii deterruit Austri.
"vellite" proclamant "socii, iam vellite
 funem.
per vada Gildonem quamvis adversa
 petamus.
ad bellum nos trudat hiems per devia ponti.
- 490 quassatis cupio tellurem figere rostris.
heu nimium segnes, cauta qui mente
 notatis,
si revolant mergi, graditur si litore cornix.
ora licet maculis adperserit occiduis sol
495 lunaque conceptis livescat turgida Cauris
et contusa vagos iaculentur sidera crines;
imbribus umescant Haedi nimbosaque
 Taurum
ducat Hyas totusque fretis descendat
 Orion:
certa fides caeli, sed maior Honorius
 auctor;
- 500 illius auspiciis immensa per aequora miles,
non Plaustris Arctove regor. contemne
 Booten,
navita, turbinibus mediis permitte carinas.
si mihi tempestas Libyam ventique
 negabunt,
Augusti Fortuna dabit."
 Iam classis in altum
- 505 provehitur; dextra Ligures, Etruria laeva
linquitur et caecis vitatur Corsica saxis.
humanae specie plantae se magna figurat
insula (Sardiniam veteres dixere coloni),
dives ager frugum, Poenos Italosve petenti

their enthusiasm. They seize upon the ships and themselves make ready the hawsers; furl the sails and fix the yards to the masts. Etruria's shore is shaken with their uproar and Arcadian-founded Pisa cannot contain so great a number of ships. So Aulis rang with countless voices what time avenging Greece loosed the cables of Agamemnon's fleet. No storm-blast deterred them nor threat of coming tempest nor the presence of the treacherous south wind. "Seize the rope, fellow-soldiers," they cry, "seize the rope: let us sail against Gildo though the very seas be against us. Let the storm drive us to battle by how crooked so ever a course. Fain would I seize upon that shore though my ships' beaks be shattered. Cowards ye, who cautiously observe whether or no the sea-gulls fly back or the crow pace the beach. What if clouds fleck the face of the setting sun or a stormy moon wear the halo that betokens hurricane? What if comets wave their spreading tails, or the constellation of the Kids threatens rain, or the cloudy Hyades lead forth the Bull and all Orion sink 'neath the waves? Put your trust in the sky, but put more in Honorius. Beneath his auspices I, his soldier, range the boundless seas nor look to the Plough or the Bear to guide me. Make no account of Boötes, sailor; launch your bark in mid tempest. If winds and storms deny me Libya, my emperor's fortune will grant it."

The fleet is launched. They pass Liguria on their right hand, Etruria on their left, avoiding the sunken reefs of Corsica. There lies an island formed like a human foot (Sardinia its former inhabitants called it), an island rich in the produce of its fields, and conveniently situated for them who sail either to

- 510 opportuna situ: quae pars vicinior Afris,
 plana solo, ratibus clemens; quae respicit
 Arcton,
 inmitis, scopulosa, procax subitisque
 sonora
 flatibus; insanos infamat navita montes.
 hic hominum pecudumque lues, sic^[82]
 pestifer aër
 saevit et exclusis regnant Aquilonibus
 515 Austri.
 Quos ubi luctatis procul effugere carinis,
 per diversa ruunt sinuosae litora terrae.
 pars adit antiqua ductos Carthagine Sulcos;
 partem litoreo complectitur Olbia muro.
 520 urbs Libyam contra Tyrio fundata potenti
 tenditur in longum Caralis tenuemque per
 undas
 obvia dimittit fracturum flamina collem;
 efficitur portus medium mare, tutaque
 ventis
 omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna
 recessu.
 525 hanc omni petiere manu prorisque reductis
 suspensa Zephyros expectant classe
 faventes.

[82] *Birt, following the mss., si. Older editions huic ... huic. I print sic.*

Africa or Italy. The part that faces Africa is flat and affords good anchorage for ships; the northern shore is inhospitable, rock-bound, stormy, and loud with sudden gales. The sailor curses these wild cliffs. Here the pestilence falls on men and beasts, so plague-ridden and deadly is the air, so omnipotent the South wind and the North winds banished.

When their much buffeted vessels had given a wide berth to these dangers, they came to land at different places on the broken coast-line. Some are beached at Sulci, a city founded by Carthage of old. The sea-wall of Olbia shelters others. The city of Caralis over against the coast of Libya, a colony of great Phoenician Carthage, juts out into the sea and extends into the waves, a little promontory that breaks the force of the opposing winds. Thus in the midst a harbour is found and in a huge bay the quiet waters lie safe from every wind. For this harbour they make with every effort, and reversing their vessels they await the favouring breezes of the west wind with fleet at anchor.

[83]

[83] This poem was never properly finished; see Introduction, p. xi.

IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER I

(XVIII.)

Semiferos partus metuendaque pignora
 matri
 moenibus et mediis auditum nocte luporum
 murmur et attonito pecudes pastore locutas
 et lapidum duras hiemes nimboque
 minacem
 5 sanguineo rubuisse Iovem puteosque
 cruore
 mutatos visasque polo concurrere lunas
 et geminos soles mirari desinat orbis:
 omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.
 heu terrae caelique pudor! trabeata per
 urbes
 10 ostentatur anus titulumque effeminat anni.
 pandite pontifices Cumanae carmina vatis,
 fulmineos sollers Etruria consulat ignes
 inmersumque nefas fibris exploret
 haruspex,
 quae nova portendant superi. Nilusne
 meatu
 15 devius et nostri temptat iam transfuga
 mundi
 se Rubro miscere mari? ruptone Niphate
 rursum barbaricis Oriens vastabitur armis?
 an morbi ventura lues? an nulla colono
 responsura seges? quae tantas expiet iras
 20 victima? quo diras iugulo placabimus aras?

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

BOOK I

(XVIII.)

Let the world cease to wonder at the births of
 creatures half human, half bestial, at
 monstrous babes that affright their own
 mothers, at the howling of wolves heard by
 night in the cities, at beasts that speak to their
 astonished herds, at stones falling like rain, at the
 blood-red threatening storm clouds, at wells of
 water changed to gore, at moons that clash in
 mid heaven and at twin suns. All portents pale
 before our eunuch consul. O shame to heaven
 and earth! Our cities behold an old woman
 decked in a consul's robe who gives a woman's
 name to the year.^[84] Open the pages of the
 Cumaean Sibyl, ye pontiffs; let wise Etrurian
 seers consult the lightning's flash, and the
 soothsayer search out the awful portent hidden
 in the entrails. What new dread warning is this
 the gods give? Does Nile desert his bed and
 leaving Roman soil seek to mix his waters with
 those of the Red Sea? Does cleft Niphates^[85]
 once more let through a host of eastern
 barbarians to ravage our lands? Does a
 pestilence threaten us? Or shall no harvest
 repay the farmer? What victim can expiate
 divine anger such as this? What offering
 appease the cruel altars? The consul's

[84] For the consulship of Eutropius see
 Introduction, p. xv.

[85] A mountain in Armenia.

consule lustrandi fasces ipsoque litandum
prodigio; quodcumque parant hoc omine
fata,

Eutropius cervice luat sic omnia nobis.^[86]

Hoc regni, Fortuna, tenes? quaenam ista
iocandi

25 saevitia? humanis quantum bacchabere
rebus?

si tibi servili placuit foedare curules
crimine, procedat laxata compede consul,
rupta Quirinales sumant ergastula cinctus;
da saltem quemcumque virum. discrimina
quaedam

sunt famulis splendorque suos,
maculamque minorem

31 condicionis habet, domino qui vixerit uno.
si pelagi fluctus, Libyae si discis harenas,
Eutropii numerabis eros. quot iura, quot ille
mutavit tabulas vel quanta vocabula vertit!
nudatus quotiens, medicum dum consulit

35 emptor,
ne qua per occultum lateat iactura
dolorem!

omnes paenituit pretii venumque redibat,
dum vendi potuit. postquam deforme
cadaver

40 mansit et in rugas totus defluxit aniles,
iam specie doni certatim limine pellunt
et foedum ignaris properant obtrudere
munus.

tot translata iugis summisit colla, vetustum
servitium semperque novum, nec destitit
umquam,
saepe tamen coepit.

45 debet supplicii; rapitur castrandus ab ipso

[86] *Birt begins the new paragraph at sic, printing a comma at nobis. Alternatively, read volvis for nobis (so Cuiacius' codd.).*

own blood must cleanse the consular insignia, the monster itself must be sacrificed. Whatever it be that fate prepares for us and shows forth by such an omen, let Eutropius' death, I pray, avert it all.

Fortune, is thy power so all-embracing? What is this savage humour of thine? To what lengths wilt thou sport with us poor mortals? If it was thy will to disgrace the consul's chair with a servile occupant let some "consul" come forward with broken chains, let an escaped jail-bird don the robes of Quirinus—but at least give us a man. There are grades even among slaves and a certain dignity; that slave who has served but one master holds a position of less infamy. Canst thou count the waves of the sea, the grains of Africa's sands, if so thou canst number Eutropius' masters. How many owners has he had, in how many sale-catalogues has he appeared, how often has he changed his name! How often has he been stripped while buyer consulted doctor whether there lurked any flaw by reason of some hidden disease! All repented having bought him and he always returned to the slave-market while he could yet fetch a price. When he became but a foul corpse-like body, a mass of senile pendulous flesh, his masters were anxious to rid their houses of him by giving him away as a present and made haste to foist the loathsome gift on an unsuspecting friend. To so many different yokes did he submit his neck, this slave, old in years but ever new to the house; there was no end to his servitude though many beginnings.

He is destined from his very cradle to bloody tortures; straight from his mother's womb he is hurried away to be made a eunuch; no sooner born

ubere; suscipiunt matris post viscera
 poenae.
 advolat Armenius certo mucrone recisos
 edoctus mollire mares damnoque nefandum
 aucturus pretium; fecundum corporis
 imbrem^[87]

- 50 sedibus exhaurit geminis unoque sub ictu
 eripit officium patris nomenque mariti.
 ambiguus vitae iacuit, penitusque
 supremum
 in cerebrum secti traxerunt frigora nervi.
 Laudemusne manum, quae vires abstulit
 hosti,
 55 an potius fato causam tribuisse queramur?
 profuerat mansisse virum; felicior extat
 opprobrio; serviret adhuc, si fortior esset.
 Inde per Assyriae trahitur commercia
 ripae;
 hinc fora venalis Galata ductore frequentat
 permutatque domos varias; quis nomina
 60 possit
 tanta sequi? miles stabuli Ptolomaeus in
 illis
 notior: hic longo lassatus paelicis usu
 donat Arinthaëo; neque enim iam dignus
 haberi
 nec maturus emi. cum fastiditus abiret,
 quam gemuit, quanto planxit divortia luctu!
 65 "haec erat, heu, Ptolomaeae, fides? hoc
 profuit aetas
 in gremio consumpta tuo lectusque iugalis
 et ducti totiens inter praesaepia somni?
 libertas promissa perit? viduumne relinquis
 Eutropium tantasque premunt oblivia
 70 noctes,
 crudelis? generis pro sors durissima nostri!
 femina, cum senuit, retinet conubia partu,

[87] *codd. ignem; Postgate imbrem.*

than he becomes a prey to suffering. Up
 hastens the Armenian, skilled by operating with
 unerring knife to make males womanish and to
 increase their loathly value by such loss. He
 drains the body's life-giving fluid from its
 double source and with one blow deprives his
 victim of a father's function and the name of
 husband. Eutropius lay doubtful of life, and the
 severed sinews drew a numbness deep down
 into his furthest brain.

Are we to praise the hand that robbed an
 enemy of his strength? Or shall we rather
 blame the fates? It would have been better had
 he remained a man; his very disgrace has
 proved a blessing to him. Had he had his full
 manly vigour he would still have been a slave.

After this he is dragged from one Assyrian mart
 to another; next in the train of a Galatian slave-
 merchant he stands for sale in many a market
 and knows many diverse houses. Who could tell
 the names of all his buyers? Among these
 Ptolemy, servant of the post-house,^[88] was one
 of the better known. Then Ptolemy, tired of
 Eutropius' long service to his lusts, gives him to
 Arinthaëus;—gives, for he is no longer worth
 keeping nor old enough to be bought. How the
 scorned minion wept at his departure, with
 what grief did he lament that divorce! "Was
 this thy fidelity, Ptolemy? Is this my reward for
 a youth lived in thine arms, for the bed of
 marriage and those many nights spent together
 in the inn? Must I lose my promised liberty?
 Leav'st thou Eutropius a widow, cruel wretch,
 forgetful of such wonderful nights of love? How
 hard is the lot of my kind! When a woman
 grows old her children cement the marriage tie
 and

[88] I take Ptolemy to have been a
stationarius, i.e. a servant in a public post-
 house, but there is possibly some covert
 allusion to *stabulum* in the sense of
prostibulum, a brothel.

uxorisque decus matris reverentia pensat.
 nos Lucina fugit, nec pignore nitimur ullo.
 75 cum forma dilapsus amor; defloruit oris
 gratia: qua miseri scapulas tutabimur arte?
 qua placeam ratione senex?"
 Sic fatus acutum
 adgreditur lenonis opus, nec segnīs ad
 artem
 mens erat officiique capax omnesque
 pudoris
 80 hauserat insidias. custodia nulla tuendo
 fida toro; nulli poterant excludere vectes:
 ille vel aerata Danaë in turre latentem
 eliceret. fletus domini fingebat amantis,
 indomitasque mora, pretio lenibat avaras
 85 lascivasque iocis; non blandior ullus euntis
 ancillae tetigisse latus leviterque reductis
 vestibis occulto crimen mandasse susurro
 nec furtis quaesisse locum nec fraude
 reperta
 cautior elusi fremitus vitare mariti.
 90 haud aliter iuvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
 e gemino ditata mari; cumserta refudit
 canities, iam turba procax noctisque recedit
 ambitus et raro pulsatur ianua tactu,
 seque reformidat speculo damnante
 senectus;
 stat tamen atque alias succingit lena
 95 ministras
 dilectumque diu quamvis longaeva lupanar
 circuit et retinent mores, quod perdidit
 aetas.

a mother's dignity compensates for the lost
 charms of a wife. Me Lucina, goddess of
 childbirth, will not come near; I have no
 children on whom to rely. Love perishes with
 my beauty; the roses of my cheeks are faded.
 What wits can save my wretched back from
 blows? How can I, an old man, please?"

So saying he entered upon the skilled
 profession of a pander. His whole heart was in
 his work; he knew his business well and was
 master of every stratagem for the undoing of
 chastity. No amount of vigilance could protect
 the marriage-bed from his attack; no bars could
 shut him out. He would have haled even Danaë
 from her refuge in the brazen tower. He would
 represent his patron as dying of love. Was the
 lady stubborn, he would win her by his
 patience; was she greedy, by a gift; flighty, he
 would corrupt her with a jest. None could
 arrest the attention of a maidservant with so
 neat a touch as he, none twitch aside a dress so
 lightly and whisper his shameful message in
 her ear. Never was any so skilled to choose a
 scene for the criminal meeting, or so clever at
 avoiding the wrath of the cuckold husband
 should the plot be discovered. One thought of
 Lais of Corinth, to whom the enamoured youth
 of that city brought wealth from its twin seas,
 who, when her grey hair could no longer go
 crowned with roses, when the emulous crowd
 of her admirers ceased nightly to haunt her
 doors and but few were left to knock thereat,
 when before the mirror's verdict age shrank
 back in horror from itself, yet stood, still
 faithful to her calling, and as a pander dressed
 others for the part, haunting still the brothel
 she had loved so well and so long, and still
 pandering to the tastes old age forbade her.

Hinc honor Eutropio; cumque omnibus
 unica virtus
 100 esset in eunuchis thalamos servare pudicos,
 solus adulteriis crevit. nec verbera tergo
 cessavere tamen, quotiens decepta libido
 irati caluisset eri, frustra roganter
 iactantemque suos tot iam per lustra
 labores
 dotalem genero nutritoremque puellae
 105 tradidit. Eous rector consulque futurus
 pectebat dominae crines et saepe lavanti
 nudus in argento lympham gestabat
 alumnae.
 et cum se rapido fessam proiecerat aestu,
 patricius roseis pavonum ventilat alis.
 110 Iamque aevo laxata cutis, sulcisque
 genarum
 corruerat passa facies rugosior uva:
 flava minus presso finduntur vomere rura,
 nec vento sic vela tremunt. miserabile
 turpes
 115 exedere caput tineae; deserta patebant
 intervalla comae: qualis sitientibus arvis
 arida ieiunae seges interlucet aristae
 vel qualis gelidis pluma labente pruinis
 arboris inmoritur trunco brumalis hirundo.
 scilicet ut trabeis iniuria cresceret olim,
 has in fronte notas, hoc dedecus addidit
 120 oris
 luxuriae Fortuna suae: cum pallida nudis
 ossibus horrorem dominis praeberet imago
 decolor et macies occursu laederet omnes,

Hence sprang Eutropius' fame; for, though a
 eunuch's one virtue be to guard the chastity of
 the marriage-chamber, here was one (and one
 only) who grew great through adulteries. But
 the lash fell as before on his back whenever his
 master's criminal passion was through him
 frustrated. Then it was in vain that he prayed
 for forgiveness and reminded his lord of all
 those years of faithful service; he would find
 himself handed over to a son-in-law as part of
 the bride's dowry. Thus he would become a
 lady's-maid, and so the future consul and
 governor of the East would comb his mistress'
 locks or stand naked holding a silver vessel of
 water wherein his charge could wash herself.
 And when overcome by the heat she threw
 herself upon her couch, there would stand this
 patrician fanning her with bright peacock
 feathers.

And now his skin had grown loose with age; his
 face, more wrinkled than a raisin, had fallen in
 by reason of the lines in his cheeks. Less deep
 the furrows cloven in the cornfield by the
 plough, the folds wrought in the sails by the
 wind. Loathsome grubs ate away his head and
 bare patches appeared amid his hair. It was as
 though clumps of dry barren corn dotted a sun-
 parched field, or as if a swallow were dying in
 winter sitting on a branch, moulting in the
 frosty weather. Truly, that the outrage to the
 consul's office might one day be the greater,
 Fortune added to her gift of wealth this brand
 upon his brow, this deformity of face. When his
 pallor and fleshless bones had roused feelings
 of revulsion in his masters' hearts, and his foul
 complexion and lean body offended all who
 came

aut pueris latura metus aut taedia mensis
 aut crimen famulis aut procedentibus
 125 omen,
 et nihil exhausto caperent in stipite lucri:
 (sternere quippe toros vel caedere ligna
 culinae
 membra negant; aurum, vestes, arcana
 tueri
 mens infida vetat; quis enim committere
 vellet
 lenoni thalamum?): tandem ceu funus
 130 acerbum
 infaustamque suis trusere penatibus
 umbram.
 contemptu iam liber erat: sic pastor
 obesum
 lacte canem ferroque ligat pascitque
 revinctum,
 dum validus servare gregem vigilique
 rapaces
 135 latratu terrere lupos; cum tardior idem
 iam scabie laceras deiecit sordidus aures,
 solvit et exuto lucratur vincula collo.
 Est ubi despectus nimius iuvat. undique
 pulso
 per cunctas licuit fraudes impune vagari
 140 et fatis aperire viam. pro quisquis Olympi
 summa tenes, tanto libuit mortalia risu
 vertere? qui servi non est admissus in
 usum,
 suscipitur regnis, et quem privata
 ministrum
 dedignata domus, moderantem sustinet
 aula.
 145 ut primum vetulam texere palatia vulpem,
 quis non ingemuit? quis non inrepere sacris
 obsequiis doluit totiens venale cadaver?
 ipsi quin etiam tali consorte fremebant
 regales famuli, quibus est inlustrior ordo
 150 servitii, sociumque diu sprevere superbi.

in contact with him, scaring children,
 disgusting those that sat at meat, disgracing
 his fellow-slaves, or terrifying as with an evil
 omen those that met him; when his masters
 ceased to derive any advantage from that
 withered trunk (for his wasted limbs refused
 even to make the beds or cut wood for the
 kitchen fire, while his faithless nature forbade
 their entrusting him with the charge of gold or
 vesture or the secrets of the house—who could
 bring him to entrust his marriage-chamber to a
 pander?), then at last they thrust him from
 their houses like a troublesome corpse or an ill-
 omened ghost. He was now free—for everyone
 despised him. So a shepherd chains up a dog
 and fattens him with milk while yet his strength
 avails to guard the flock and, ever watchful, to
 scare away wolves with his barking. But when
 later this same dog grows old and dirty and
 droops his mangy ears he looses him, and,
 taking off his collar, at least saves that.

Universal contempt is sometimes a boon.
 Driven out by all, he could freely range amid
 every sort of crime, and open a way for destiny.
 Oh thou, whoso'er thou art, that holdest sway
 in Olympus, was it thy humour to make such
 mockery of mankind? He who was not suffered
 to perform the duties of a slave is admitted to
 the administration of an empire; him whom a
 private house scorned as a servant, a palace
 tolerates as its lord. When first the consular
 residence received this old vixen, who did not
 lament? Who grieved not to see an oft-sold
 corpse worm itself into the sacred service of
 the emperor? Nay, the very palace-servants,
 holding a prouder rank in slavery, murmured at
 such a colleague and long haughtily scorned his
 company.

Cernite, quem Latiis poscant adnectere
fastis:
cuius et eunuchos puduit! sed vilior ante
obscurae latuit pars ignotissima turbae,
donec Abundanti furiis—qui rebus Eois
155 exitium primumque sibi produxit—ab imis
evectus thalamis summos invasit honores.
quam bene dispositum terris, ut dignus
iniqui
fructus consilii primis auctoribus instet.
sic multos fluvio vates arente per annos
hospite qui caeso monuit placare
160 Tonantem,
inventas primus Busiridis imbuit aras
et cecidit saevi, quod dixerat, hostia sacri.
sic opifex tauri tormentorumque repertor,
qui funesta novo fabricaverat aera dolori,
165 primus inexpertum Siculo cogente tyranno
sensit opus docuitque suum mugire
iuvencum.
nullius Eutropius, quam qui se protulit,
ante
direptas possedit opes nullumque priorem
perculit exilio solumque hoc rite peregit,
auctorem damnare suum.
170 Postquam obsitus aevo
semivir excelsam rerum sublatus in arcem,
quod nec vota pati nec fingere somnia
possunt,
vidit sub pedibus leges subiectaque colla
nobilium tantumque sibi permittere fata,
175 qui nihil optasset plus libertate mereri,

See what manner of man they seek to connect with the annals of Rome: the very eunuchs were ashamed of him. At first of no account, he lay hid, the most unknown unit of an unregarded throng, till thanks to the mad folly of Abundantius^[89] (who brought ruin on the empire of the East and, ere that, upon himself) he was advanced from the most menial office to the highest honours. What a happy dispensation of providence it is that in this world the results of ill counsel fall first upon its instigators! Thus the seer who advised Busiris to placate the Thunderer's wrath, what time Nile's flood had long run dry, with a stranger's blood himself first stained that tyrant's altar with his own and fell a victim of the horrid sacrifice he had advised. Thus he who made the brazen bull and devised that new form of torture, casting the deadly bronze as an instrument of torment, was (at the bidding of the Sicilian tyrant) the first to make trial of the unhanselled image, and to teach his own bull to roar. So with Eutropius: on no man's goods did he sooner seize than on those of him by whom he had been raised to power; none did he drive sooner into exile and thus, by the condemnation of his patron, was to thank for one righteous action.

When this half-man, worn out with age, had been raised to that pinnacle of glory for which he never would have dared to pray, of which never to dream; when he had seen law at his feet, the heads of the nobility inclined before him, and fortune heaping such gifts upon one whose only hope and prayer had been to gain his freedom, he straightway forgot

[89] By birth a Scythian. Entered the Roman army under Gratian and reached the position of *magister utriusque militiae* under Theodosius. Consul in 393 (Zosim. v. 10. 5) and banished three years later to Pityus, thanks to the machinations of Eutropius.

iamiam dissimulat dominos alteque
 tumescunt
 serviles animi. procerum squalore repletus
 carcer et exulibus Meroë campique
 gemescunt
 Aethiopum; poenis hominum plaga
 personat ardens;
 Marmaricus claris violatur caedibus
 180 Hammon.
 Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in
 altum:
 cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet, desaevit in
 omnes
 ut se posse putent, nec belua taetrius ulla
 quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis;
 185 agnoscit gemitus et poenae parcere nescit,
 quam subiit, dominique memor, quem
 verberat, odit.
 adde, quod eunuchus nulla pietate movetur
 nec generi natisve cavet. clementia cunctis
 in similes, animosque ligant consortia
 damni;
 iste nec eunuchis placidus.
 190 Sed peius in aurum
 aestuat; hoc uno fruitur succisa libido.
 quid nervos secuisse iuvat? vis nulla
 cruentam
 castrat avaritiam. parvis exercita furtis
 quae vastare penum neglectaque sueverat
 arcae
 195 claustra remoliri, nunc uberiore rapina
 peccat in orbe manus. quidquid se Tigris ab
 Haemo
 dividit, hoc certa proponit merce locandum
 institor imperii, caupo famosus honorum.
 hic Asiam villa pactus regit; ille redemit
 200 coniugis ornatu Syriam; dolet ille paterna
 Bithynos mutasse domo. subfixa patenti
 vestibulo pretiis distinguit regula gentes:

his former masters, and his slave's mind
 swelled high within him. The prisons were filled
 with degraded nobles, Meroë and the plains of
 Ethiopia re-echoed to the weeping of exiles; the
 desert rang with the punishment of men; the
 temple of Jupiter Ammon in Africa was stained
 with gentle blood.

Nothing is so cruel as a man raised from lowly
 station to prosperity; he strikes everything, for
 he fears everything; he vents his rage on all,
 that all may deem he has the power. No beast
 so fearful as the rage of a slave let loose on
 free-born backs; their groans are familiar to
 him, and he cannot be sparing of punishment
 that he himself has undergone; remembering
 his own master he hates the man he lashes.
 Being a eunuch also he is moved by no natural
 affection and has no care for family or children.
 All are moved to pity by those whose
 circumstances are like their own; similitude of
 ills is a close bond. Yet he is kind not even to
 eunuchs.

His passion for gold increases—the only
 passion his mutilated body can indulge. Of what
 use was emasculation? The knife is powerless
 against reckless avarice. That hand so well
 practised in petty thefts, accustomed to rifle a
 cupboard or remove the bolt from the
 unwatched coffer, now finds richer spoils and
 the whole world to rob. All the country between
 the Tigris and Mount Haemus he exposes for
 sale at a fixed price, this huckster of empire,
 this infamous dealer in honours. This man
 governs Asia for the which his villa has paid.
 That man buys Syria with his wife's jewels.
 Another repents of having taken Bithynia in
 exchange for his paternal mansion. Fixed above
 the open doors of his hall is a list giving the
 provinces and their

tot Galatae, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia
 nummis;
 si Lyciam tenuisse velis, tot millia ponas,
 si Phrygas, adde; parum! propriae solacia
 205 sorti
 communes vult esse notas et venditus ipse
 vendere cuncta cupit. certantum saepe
 duorum
 diversum suspendit onus; cum pondere
 index
 vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.
 Non pudet heu, superi, populos venire
 sub hasta?
 vendentis certe pudeat, quod iure sepultum
 211 mancipium tot regna tenet, tot distrahit
 urbes.
 pollentem solio Croesum victoria Cyri
 fregit, ut eunucho flueret Pactolus et
 Hermus?
 215 Attalus heredem voluit te, Roma, relinqui,
 restitit Antiochus praescripto margine
 Tauri,
 indomitos curru Servilius egit Isauros
 et Pharos Augusto iacuit vel Creta Metello,
 ne non Eutropio quaestus numerosior
 esset?
 in mercem veniunt Cilices, Iudaea, Sophene
 220 Romanusque labor Pompeianique triumphi.
 Quo struis hos auri cumulos? quae
 pignora tantis
 succedent opibus? nugas ducasve licebit:
 numquam mater eris, numquam pater; hoc
 tibi ferrum,
 hoc natura negat. te grandibus India
 225 gemmis,
 te foliis Arabes ditent, te vellere Seres:
 nullus inops adeo, nullum sic urget egestas,
 ut velit Eutropii fortunam et membra
 pacisci.
 Iamque oblita sui nec sobria divitiis mens

prices: so much for Galatia, for Pontus so
 much, so much will buy one Lydia. Would you
 govern Lycia? Then lay down so many
 thousands. Phrygia? A little more. He wishes
 everything to be marked with its price to
 console him for his own fortune and, himself so
 often sold, he wants to sell everything. When
 two are rivals he suspends in the balance their
 opposed payment; along with the weight the
 judge inclines, and a province hangs wavering
 in a pair of scales.

Ye gods, are ye not ashamed that whole
 peoples are sold beneath the hammer? At least
 let it shame you of the seller, when a slave, a
 chattel the law counts dead, possesses so many
 kingdoms and retails so many cities. Did Cyrus'
 victory oust mighty Croesus from his throne
 that Pactolus and Hermus should roll their
 waves for a eunuch? Did Attalus make you,
 Rome, his heir, was Antiochus confined within
 the appointed bounds of Taurus, did Servilius
 enjoy a triumph over the hitherto unconquered
 Isaurians, did Egypt fall before Augustus, and
 Crete before Metellus, to ensure Eutropius a
 sufficient income?^[90] Cilicia, Judaea, Sophene,
 all Rome's labours and Pompey's triumphs, are
 there to sell.

Why heap up these riches? Hast thou children
 to succeed to them? Marry or be married, thou
 canst never be a mother or a father: the former
 nature hath denied thee, the latter the
 surgeon's knife. India may enrich thee with
 enormous jewels, Arabia with her spices, China
 with her silks; none so needy, none so poverty-
 stricken as to wish to have Eutropius' fortune
 and therewith Eutropius' body.

And now his mind, forgetful of its true nature
 and

^[90] Attalus, King of Pergamum, left his
 kingdom by will to Rome, 133 B.C. It
 became the province of Asia. The terms
 mentioned here were imposed on
 Antiochus, King of Syria, in 189 B.C. P.
 Servilius crossed the Taurus and subdued
 the Isauri 78 B.C.; Crete was conquered by
 Q. Metellus between 68 and 66 B.C.

in miseris leges hominumque negotia ludit.
 230 iudicat eunuchus; quid iam de consule
 miror?
 prodigium, quodcumque gerit. quae pagina
 lites
 sic actas meminit? quibus umquam saecula
 terris
 eunuchi videre forum? sed ne qua vacaret
 235 pars ignominia neu quid restaret inausum,
 arma etiam violare parat portentaque
 monstris
 aggerat et secum petulans amentia certat.
 erubuit Mavors aversaque risit Enyo
 dedecus Eoum, quotiens intenta sagittis
 240 et pharetra fulgens anus exercetur Amazon
 arbiter aut quotiens belli pacisque recurrit
 adloquiturque Getas. gaudet cum viderit
 hostis
 et sentit iam deesse viros. incendia fumant,
 muris nulla fides, squalent populatibus agri
 et medio spes sola mari. trans Phasin
 245 aguntur
 Cappadocum matres, stabulisque abducta
 paternis
 Caucasias captiva bibunt armenta pruinas
 et Scythicis mutant Argaei pabula silvis.
 extra Cimmericas, Taurorum claustra,
 paludes
 250 flos Syriae servit. spoliis nec sufficit atrox
 barbarus: in caedem vertunt fastidia
 praedae.
 Ille tamen (quid enim servum mollemque
 pudebit?
 aut quid in hoc poterit vultu flagrare
 ruboris?)
 pro victore redit: peditum vexilla sequuntur
 255 et turmae similes eunuchorumque manipuli,
 Hellespontiacis legio dignissima signis.
 obvisus ire cliens defensoremque reversum
 complecti. placet ipse sibi laxisque laborat

drunken with riches, makes sport of wretched
 law and the affairs of men. A eunuch is judge.
 Why now wonder that he is consul? Whatever
 he does is a prodigy. Can the annals of the law
 show cases so mishandled? What age or what
 country has ever witnessed a eunuch's
 jurisdiction? That nought might remain
 undisgraced, nought unattempted, he even
 makes him ready to outrage arms, heaps
 portent on portent and wanton folly seeks to
 outdo itself. Mars blushed, Bellona scoffed and
 turned her from the disgrace of the East
 when'er with arrows strung and flashing
 quiver the aged Amazon practises battle or
 hurries back as arbiter of peace and war to
 hold parley with the Getae. Our enemies
 rejoiced at the sight and felt that at last we
 were lacking in *men*. Towns were set ablaze;
 walls offered no security. The countryside was
 ravaged and brought to ruin. Mid-ocean alone
 gave hope. Women of Cappadocia were driven
 into captivity across the river Phasis; stolen
 from the stalls of their homesteads, the captive
 herds drink the snowy streams of Caucasus,
 and the flocks exchange the pastures of Mount
 Argaeus^[91] for the woods of Scythia. Beyond
 the Cimmerician marshes, defence of the Tauric
 tribes, the youth of Syria are slaves. Too vast
 for the fierce barbarians are the spoils; gluttoned
 with booty they turn to slaughter.

Yet Eutropius (can a slave, an effeminate, feel
 shame? Could a blush grace such a
 countenance?), Eutropius returns in triumph.
 There follow companies of foot, squadrons like
 their general, maniples of eunuchs, an army
 worthy Priapus' standards. His creatures meet
 him and embrace their saviour on his return.

^[92] Great is his self-esteem; he struggles

^[91] A mountain in Cappadocia.

^[92] Claudian is scarcely fair to Eutropius.
 The reference here is to the campaign of
 398 in which Eutropius succeeded in
 driving the Huns back behind the
 Caucasus.

distendisse genas fictumque inflatus
 anhelat,
 260 pulvere respersus tineas et solibus ora
 pallidior, verbisque sonat plorabile
 quiddam
 ultra nequitiam fractis et proelia narrat:
 perque suam tremula testatur voce
 sororem,
 defecisse vagas ad publica commoda vires;
 265 cedere livori nec sustentare procellas
 invidiae; mergique fretis spumantibus orat.
 exoretque utinam! dum talia fatur ineptas
 deterget lacrimas atque inter singula dicta
 flebile suspirat: qualis venit arida socrus
 270 longinquam visura nurum; vix lassa resedit
 et iam vina petit.
 Quid te, turpissime, bellis
 inseris aut saevi pertemptas Pallada campi?
 tu potes alterius studiis haerere Minervae
 et telas, non tela pati, tu stamina nosse,
 275 tu segnes operum sollers urgere puellas
 et niveam dominae pensis involvere lanam.
 vel, si sacra placent, habeas pro Marte
 Cybeben;
 rauca Celaenaeos ad tympana disce
 furores.
 cymbala ferre licet pectusque inlidere pinu
 inguinis et reliquum Phrygiis abscidere
 280 cultris.
 arma relinque viris. geminam quid dividis
 aulam
 conarisque pios odiis committere fratres?
 te magis, ah demens, veterem si respicis
 artem,
 conciliare decet.
 Gestis pro talibus annum

to swell out his pendulous cheeks and feigns a
 heavy panting; his lousy head dust-sprinkled
 and his face bleached whiter by the sun, he
 sobs out some pitiful complaint with voice more
 effeminate than effeminacy's self and tells of
 battles. In tremulous tones he calls his sister to
 witness that he has spent his strength for his
 country's need; that he yields to envy and
 cannot stand up against the storms of jealousy
 and prays to be drowned in the foaming seas.
 Would God his prayer had been granted! Thus
 speaking, he wipes away the silly tears, sighing
 and sobbing between each word; like a
 withered old dame travelled far to visit her
 son's daughter—scarce seated aweary and
 already she asks for wine.

Why busy thy foul self with wars? Why attempt
 battle on the bloody field? 'Tis to the arts of
 that other Minerva thou shouldst apply thyself.
 The distaff, not the dart should be thine; thine
 to spin the thread, and, cunning craftsman that
 thou art, to urge on the spinning-maids when
 lazy; thine to wind the snowy wool for thy
 mistress' weaving. Or, wouldst thou be a
 devotee, let Cybele, not Mars, be the object of
 thy worship. Learn to imitate the madness of
 the Corybantes to the accompaniment of rolling
 drums. Thou mayest carry cymbals, pierce thy
 breast with the sacred pine, and with Phrygian
 knife destroy what yet is left of thy virility.
 Leave arms to men. Why seek to divide the two
 empires and embroil loving brothers in strife?
 Madman, remember thy former trade; 'twere
 more fitting thou shouldst endeavour to
 reconcile them.

It is for deeds like this that Eutropius demands

285 flagitet Eutropius, ne quid non polluat
 unus,
 dux acies, iudex praetoria, tempora consul!
 Nil adeo foedum, quod non exacta
 vetustas
 ediderit longique labor commiserit aevi.
 290 Oedipodes matrem, natam duxisse Thyestes
 cantatur, peperit fratres Iocasta marito
 et Pelopea sibi. Thebas ac funera Troiae
 tristis Erechthei deplorat scaena theatri.
 in volucrem Tereus, Cadmus se vertit in
 anguem.
 Scylla novos mirata canes. hunc arbore
 figit,
 elevat hunc pluma, squamis hunc fabula
 295 vestit,
 hunc solvit fluvio. numquam spado consul
 in orbe
 nec iudex ductorve fuit! quodcumque
 virorum
 est decus, eunuchi scelus est. exempla
 creantur
 quae socci superent risus luctusque
 cothurni.
 Quam pulcher conspectus erat, cum
 tenderet artus
 exangues onerante toga cinctuque gravatus
 301 indutoque senex obscaenior iret in auro:
 humani qualis simulator simius oris,
 quem puer adridens pretioso stamine
 Serum
 305 velavit nudasque nates ac terga reliquit,
 ludibrium mensis; erecto pectore dives
 ambulat et claro sese deformat amictu.
 candida pollutos comitatur curia fasces,
 forsitan et dominus. praebet miracula lictor

this year of office, to ensure that by his efforts
 alone he leaves nothing not dishonoured,
 ruining the army as its general, the courts as
 their judge, the imperial fasti as a consul.

No portent so monstrous but time past has
 given it birth and the labour of bygone
 centuries produced it. Legend tells us that
 Oedipus married his mother and Thyestes his
 daughter; Jocasta bare brothers to her
 husband, Thyestes's daughter gave birth to her
 own brother. Athenian tragedy tells the sad tale
 of Thebes and the baneful war of Troy. Tereus
 was changed into a bird, Cadmus into a snake;
 Scylla looked in amaze on the dogs that girt her
 waist. Ancient story relates how one was
 transformed into a tree and thus attached to
 earth, how another grew wings and flew, how a
 third was clothed with scales and yet another
 melted into a river. But no country has ever
 had a eunuch for a consul or judge or general.
 What in a man is honourable is disgraceful in
 an emasculate. Here is an example to surpass
 all that is most laughable in comedy, most
 lamentable in tragedy.

A pleasant sight in truth to see him strain his
 sapless limbs beneath the weight of the toga,
 borne down by the wearing of his consular
 dress; the gold of his raiment rendered his
 decrepitude even more hideous. 'Twas as
 though an ape, man's imitator, had been
 decked out in sport with precious silken
 garments by a boy who had left his back and
 quarters uncovered to amuse the guests at
 supper. Thus richly dressed he walks upright
 and seems the more loathsome by reason of his
 brilliant trappings. Dressed in white the senate,
 perhaps even his master,^[93] accompanies the
 dishonoured fasces. Behold a portent! A lictor
 more noble than the

[93] *i.e.* the Emperor.

310 consule nobilior libertatemque daturus,
 quam necdum meruit. scandit sublime
 tribunal
 atque inter proprias laudes Aegyptia iactat
 somnia prostratosque canit se vate
 tyrannos.
 scilicet in dubio vindex Bellona pependit,
 dum spado Tiresias enervatusque
 315 Melampus
 reptat ab extremo referens oracula Nilo.
 Obstrepere avium voces, exhorruit
 annus
 nomen, et insanum gemino proclamat ab
 ore
 eunuchumque vetat fastis accedere Ianus:
 320 sumeret illicitos etenim si femina fasces,
 esset turpe minus. Medis levibusque
 Sabaeis
 imperat hic sexus, reginarumque sub armis
 barbariae pars magna iacet: gens nulla
 probatur,
 eunuchi quae sceptrata ferat. Tritonia,
 Phoebae,
 Terra, Ceres, Cybele, Iuno, Latona
 325 coluntur:
 eunuchi quae templa dei, quas vidimus
 aras?
 inde sacerdotes; haec intrat pectora
 Phoebus;
 inde canunt Delphi; Troianam sola
 Minervam
 virginitas Vestalis adit flammasque tuetur:
 330 hi nullas meriti vittas semperque profani.
 nascitur ad fructum mulier prolemque
 futuram:
 hoc genus inventum est ut serviat. Herculis
 arcu
 concidit Hippolyte; Danaei fugere bipennem,
 Penthesilea, tuam; claras Carthaginis arces
 creditur et centum portis Babylona
 335 superbam
 femineus struxisse labor. quid nobile gessit

consul, and a man about to grant to others a liberty which he has not yet himself won. He mounts the lofty platform and amid a torrent of self-laudation boasts of a prophetic dream he had in Egypt^[94] and of the defeat of tyrants which he foretold. No doubt the goddess of war stayed her avenging hand and waited till that emasculate Tiresias, that unmanned Melampus, could crawl back with oracles culled from farthest Nile.

Loud sang the prophetic birds in warning. The year shuddered at the thought of bearing Eutropius' name, and Janus proclaimed the madness of the choice from his two mouths, forbidding a eunuch to have access to his annals. Had a woman assumed the fasces, though this were illegal it were nevertheless less disgraceful. Women bear sway among the Medes and swift Sabaeans; half barbary is governed by martial queens. We know of no people who endure a eunuch's rule. Worship is paid to Pallas, Phoebae, Vesta, Ceres, Cybele, Juno, and Latona; have we ever seen a temple built or altars raised to a eunuch god? From among women are priestesses chosen; Phoebus enters into their hearts; through their voices the Delphian oracle speaks; none but the Vestal Virgins approach the shrine of Trojan Minerva and tend her flame: eunuchs have never deserved the fillet and are always unholy. A woman is born that she may bear children and perpetuate the human race; the tribe of eunuchs was made for servitude. Hippolyte fell but by the arrow of Hercules; the Greeks fled before Penthesilea's axe; Carthage, far-famed citadel, proud Babylon with her hundred gates, are both said to have been built by a woman's hand. What noble deed did

[94] In 394 Arcadius had sent Eutropius to the Thebaid to consult a certain Christian prophet, John, upon the result of Eugenius' revolt (Sozom. vii. 22. 7, 8).

eunuchus? quae bella tulit? quas condidit
urbes?

illas praeterea rerum natura creavit,
hos fecere manus: seu prima Semiramis
astu

340 Assyriis mentita virum, ne vocis acutae
mollities levesve genae se prodere possent,
hos sibi coniunxit similes; seu Parthica
ferro

luxuries vetuit nasci lanuginis umbram
servatoque diu puerili flore coegit

345 arte retardatam Veneri servire iuventam.

Fama prius falso similis vanoque videri
ficta ioco; levior volitare per oppida rumor
riderique nefas: veluti nigrantibus alis
audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris.
atque aliquis gravior morum: "si talibus,

350 inquit,
creditur et nimiis turgent mendacia
monstris,

iam testudo volat, profert iam cornua
vultur;

prona petunt retro fluvii iuga; Gadibus
ortum

355 Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum
aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina videbo;
iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid
inane

nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis."

Subicit et mixtis salibus lascivior alter:
"miraris? nihil est, quod non in pectore
magnum

concipit Eutropius. semper nova, grandia
semper

361 diligit et celeri degustat singula sensu.
nil timet a tergo; vigilantibus undique curis
nocte dieque patet; lenis facilisque moveri
supplicibus mediaque tamen mollissimus
ira

nil negat et sese vel non poscentibus offert;

365

a eunuch ever do? What wars did such an one
fight, what cities did he found? Moreover,
nature created the former, the hand of man the
latter, whether it was from fear of being
betrayed by her shrill woman's voice and her
hairless cheeks that clever Semiramis, to
disguise her sex from the Assyrians, first
surrounded herself with beings like her, or the
Parthians employed the knife to stop the
growth of the first down of manhood and forced
their boys, kept boys by artifice, to serve their
lusts by thus lengthening the years of youthful
charm.

At first the rumour of Eutropius' consulship
seemed false and invented as a jest. A vague
story spread from city to city; the crime was
laughed at as one would laugh to hear of a
swan with black wings or a crow as white as
privet. Thus spake one of weighty character: "If
such things are believed and swollen lies tell of
unheard of monsters, then the tortoise can fly,
the vulture grow horns, rivers flow back and
mount the hills whence they spring, the sun
rise behind Gades and set amid the Carmanians
of India; I shall soon see ocean fit nursery for
plants and the dolphin a denizen of the woods;
beings half-men, half-snails and all the vain
imaginings of India depicted on Jewish
curtains."

Then another adds, jesting with a more wanton
wit: "Dost thou wonder? Nothing great is there
that Eutropius does not conceive in his heart.
He ever loves novelty, ever size, and is quick to
taste everything in turn. He fears no assault
from the rear; night and day he is ready with
watchful care; soft, easily moved by entreaty,
and, even in the midst of his passion, tenderest
of men, he never says 'no,' and is ever at the
disposal even of

quod libet ingenio, subigit traditque
 fruendum;
 quidquid amas, dabit ilia manus;
 communiter omni
 fungitur officio gaudetque potentia flecti.
 hoc quoque conciliis peperit meritoque
 laborum,
 accipit et trabeas argutae praemia
 370 dextrae.”
 Postquam vera fides facinus vulgavit
 Eoum
 gentibus et Romae iam certius impulit
 aures,
 “Eutropiumne etiam nostra dignabimur ira?
 hic quoque Romani meruit pars esse
 doloris?”
 375 sic effata rapit caeli per inania cursum
 diva potens unoque Padum translapsa
 volatu
 castra sui rectoris adit. tum forte decorus
 cum Stilichone gener pacem implorantibus
 ultro
 Germanis responsa dabat, legesque Caucis
 380 arduus et flavis signabat iura Suebis.
 his tribuit reges, his obside foedera sancit
 indicto; bellorum alios transcribit in usus,
 militet ut nostris detonsa Sygambria signis.
 laeta subit Romam pietas et gaudia paene
 moverunt lacrimas tantoque exultat
 385 alumno:
 sic armenta suo iam defensante iuvenco
 celsius adsurgunt erectae cornua matri,
 sic iam terribilem stabulis dominumque
 ferarum
 crescere miratur genetrix Massyla leonem.
 dimovit nebulam iuvenique adparuit ingens.
 390 tum sic orsa loqui:

those that solicit him not. Whatever the senses desire he cultivates and offers for another's enjoyment. That hand will give whatever thou wouldest have. He performs the functions of all alike; his dignity loves to unbend. His meetings^[95] and his deserving labours have won him this reward,^[96] and he receives the consul's robe in recompense for the work of his skilful hand.”

When the rumour concerning this disgrace of the eastern empire was known to be true and had impressed belief on Roman ears, Rome's goddess thus spake: “Is Eutropius worthy of mine ire? Is such an one fit cause for Roman grief?” So saying the mighty goddess winged her way through the heavens and with one stroke of her pinions passed beyond the Po and approached the camp of her emperor. It happened that even then the august Honorius, assisted by his father-in-law Stilicho, was making answer to the Germans who had come of their own accord to sue for peace. From his lofty throne he was dictating laws to the Cauca and giving a constitution to the flaxen-haired Suebi. Over these he sets a king, with those he signs a treaty now that hostages have been demanded; others he enters on the list as serviceable allies in war, so that in future the Sygambrians will cut off their flowing locks and serve beneath our banners. Joy and love so fill the goddess' heart that she well nigh weeps, so great is her happy pride in her illustrious foster-child. So when a bullock fights in defence of the herd his mother lifts her own horns more proudly; so the African lioness gazes with admiration on her cub as he grows to be the terror of the farmsteads and the future king of beasts. Rome lays aside her veil of cloud and towers above the youthful warrior, then thus begins.

[95] With a play upon the sexual meaning of the word: indeed the whole passage, from l. 358 is a mass of obscene innuendo.

[96] *i.e.* the consulship.

"Quantum te principe
 possim,
 non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone
 Tethys
 mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto;
 ante pedes humili Franco tristisque Suebo
 395 perfruor et nostrum video, Germanice,
 Rhenum.
 sed quid agam? discors Oriens felicibus
 actis
 invidet atque alio Phoebi de cardine
 surgunt
 crimina, ne toto conspiret corpore regnum.
 Gildonis taceo magna cum laude receptam
 400 perfidiam et fretos Eoo robore Mauros.
 quae suscepta fames, quantum discriminis
 urbi,
 ni tua vel soceri numquam non provida
 virtus
 australem Arctoio pensasset frugibus
 annum!
 invectae Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes
 405 Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis.
 Teutonicus vomer Pyrenaeique iuveni
 sudavere mihi; segetes mirantur Hiberas
 horrea; nec Libyae senserunt damna
 rebellis
 iam transalpina contenti messe Quirites.
 ille quidem solvit meritas (scit Tabraca)
 410 poenas,
 ut pereat quicumque tuis conflixerit armis.
 "Ecce repens isdem clades a partibus exit
 terrorisque minus, sed plus habitura
 pudoris
 Eutropius consul, pridem tolerare fatemur
 415 hoc genus, Arsacio postquam se regia fastu
 sustulit et nostros corrumpit Parthia mores,
 praefecti sed adhuc gemmis vestique
 dabantur
 custodes sacroque adhibere silentia somno;

"Examples near at hand testify to the extent of
 my power now thou art emperor. The Saxon is
 conquered and the seas safe; the Picts have
 been defeated and Britain is secure. I love to
 see at my feet the humbled Franks and broken
 Suebi, and I behold the Rhine mine own,
 Germanicus.^[97] Yet what am I to do? The
 discordant East envies our prosperity, and
 beneath that other sky, lo! wickedness
 flourishes to prevent our empire's breathing in
 harmony with one body. I make no mention of
 Gildo's treason, detected so gloriously in spite
 of the power of the East on which the rebel
 Moor relied. For what extremes of famine did
 we not then look? How dire a danger overhung
 our city, had not thy valour or the ever-
 provident diligence of thy father-in-law
 supplied corn from the north in place of that
 from the south! Up Tiber's estuary there sailed
 ships from the Rhine, and the Saône's fertile
 banks made good the lost harvests of Africa.
 For me the Germans ploughed and the
 Spaniards' oxen sweated; my granaries marvel
 at Iberian corn, nor did my citizens, now
 satisfied with harvests from beyond the Alps,
 feel the defection of revolted Africa. Gildo,
 however, paid the penalty for his treason as
 Tabraca can witness. So perish all who take up
 arms against thee!

"Lo! on a sudden from that same clime comes
 another scourge, less terrible indeed but even
 more shameful, the consulship of Eutropius. I
 admit I have long learned to tolerate this
 unmanned tribe, ever since the court exalted
 itself with Arsacid pomp and the example of
 Parthia corrupted our morals. But till now they
 were but set to guard jewels and raiment, and
 to secure silence for the imperial slumber.
 Never beyond the sleeping-chamber

[97] She calls him *Germanicus* because of
 his pacification of Germany; see
 Introduction, p. x.

militia eunuchi numquam progressa cubili,
 non vita spondente fidem, sed inertia tutum
 420 mentis pignus erat. secreta monilia servant,
 ornatus curent Tyrios: a fronte recedant
 imperii. tenero tractari pectore nescit
 publica maiestas. numquam vel in aequore
 puppim
 425 vidimus eunuchi clavo parere magistri.
 nos adeo sperni faciles? orbisque carina
 vilior? auroram sane, quae talia ferre
 gaudet, et adsuetas sceptris muliebribus
 urbes
 possideant; quid belliferam communibus
 urunt
 430 Italiam maculis nocituraque probra severis
 ammiscent populis? peregrina piacula forti
 pellantur longe Latio nec transeat Alpes
 dedecus; in solis, quibus extitit, haereat
 arvis.
 scribat Halys, scribat famae contemptor
 Orontes:
 per te perque tuos obtestor Roma
 435 triumphos,
 nesciat hoc Thybris, numquam poscentibus
 olim
 qui dare Dentatis annos Fabiisque solebat.
 Martius eunuchi repetet suffragia campus?
 Aemilios inter servatoresque Camillos
 Eutropius? iam Chrysogonis tua, Brute,
 440 potestas
 Narcissisque datur? natos hoc dedere
 poenae
 profuit et misero civem praeponere patri?
 hoc mihi Ianiculo positis Etruria castris
 quaesiit et tantum fluvio Porsenna
 remotus?
 hoc meruit vel ponte Cocles vel Mucius
 445 igne?
 visceribus frustra castum Lucretia ferrum

did the eunuch's service pass; not their lives
 gave guarantee of loyalty but their dull wits
 were a sure pledge. Let them guard hidden
 store of pearls and Tyrian-dyed vestments; they
 must quit high offices of state. The majesty of
 Rome cannot devolve upon an effeminate.
 Never have we seen so much as a ship at sea
 obey the helm in the hands of a eunuch-captain.
 Are we then so despicable? Is the whole world
 of less account than a ship? Let eunuchs govern
 the East by all means, for the East rejoices in
 such rulers, let them lord it over cities
 accustomed to a woman's sway: why disfigure
 warlike Italy with the general brand and defile
 her austere peoples with their deadly
 profligacy? Drive this foreign pollution from out
 the boundaries of manly Latium; suffer not this
 thing of shame to cross the Alps; let it remain
 fixed in the country of its birth. Let the river
 Halys or Orontes, careless of its reputation, add
 such a name to its annals: I, Rome, beg thee by
 thy life and triumphs, let not Tiber suffer this
 disgrace—Tiber whose way was to give the
 consulship to such men as Dentatus and Fabius
 though they asked not for it. Shall the Field of
 Mars witness the canvassing of an eunuch? Is
 Eutropius to stand with Aemilii and Camilli,
 saviours of their country? Is thy office, Brutus,
 now to be given to a Chrysogonus or a
 Narcissus^[98]? Is this the reward for giving up
 thy sons to punishment and setting the citizen's
 duty before the father's grief? Was it for this
 that the Tuscans made their camp on the
 Janiculum and Porsenna was but the river's
 span from our gates? For this that Horatius
 kept the bridge and Mucius braved the flames?
 Was it all to no purpose that

[98] Notorious freedmen and tools respectively of Sulla and the Emperor Claudius.

mersit et attonitum tranavit Cloelia
Thybrim?

Eutropio fasces adservabantur adempti
Tarquiniis? quemcumque meae vexere
curules,

450 laxato veniat socium aversatus Averno.
impensi sacris Decii prorumpite bustis
Torquatique truces animosaque pauperis
umbra

Fabricii tuque o, si forte inferna piorum
iugera et Elysias scindis, Serrane, novales.

455 Poeno Scipiadae, Poeno praeclare Lutati,
Sicania Marcelle ferox, gens Claudia
surgas^[99]

et Curii veteres; et, qui sub iure negasti
vivere Caesareo, parvo procede sepulcro
Eutropium passure Cato; remcate tenebris,
agmina Brutorum Corvinorumque catervae.

460 eunuchi vestros habitus, insignia sumunt
ambigui Romana mares; rapuere tremendas
Hannibali Pyrrhoque togas; flabella perosi
adspirant trabeis; iam non umbracula
gestant

465 virginibus, Latias ausi vibrare secures!
“Liquite femineas infelix turba latebras,
alter quos pepulit sexus nec suscipit alter,
execti Veneris stimulos et vulnere casti
(mixta duplex aetas; inter puerumque
senemque

470 nil medium): falsi complete sedilia patres;
ite novi proceres infecundoque senatu
Eutropium stipate ducem; celebrate
tribunal

pro thalamis, verso iam discite more
curules,
non matrum pilenta sequi.

[99] mss. *have* surgat.

chaste Lucretia plunged the dagger into her
bosom and Cloelia swam the astonished Tiber?
Were the fasces reft from Tarquin to be given
to Eutropius? Let Hell ope her jaws and all who
have sat in my curule chair come and turn their
backs upon their colleague. Decii, self-
sacrificed for your country's good, come forth
from your graves; and you, fierce Torquati; and
thou, too, great-hearted shade of poor
Fabricius. Serranus, come thou hither, if now
thou plougest the acres of the holy dead and
cleavest the fallow lands of Elysium. Come
Scipios, Lutatius, famed for your victories over
Carthage, Marcellus, conqueror of Sicily, rise
from the dead, thou Claudian race, you progeny
of Curius. Cato, thou who wouldst not live
beneath Caesar's rule, come thou forth from
thy simple tomb and brave the sight of
Eutropius. Immortal bands of Bruti and Corvini,
return to earth. Eunuchs don your robes of
office, sexless beings assume the insignia of
Rome. They have laid hands on the toga that
inspired Hannibal and Pyrrhus with terror.
They now despise the fan and aspire to the
consul's cloak. No longer do they carry the
maidenly parasol for they have dared to wield
the axes of Latium.

“Unhappy band, leave your womanly
fastnesses, you whom the male sex has
discarded and the female will not adopt. The
knife has cut out the stings of love and by that
wounding you are pure. A mixture are you of
two ages—child and greybeard and nought
between. Take your seats, fathers in name
alone. Come new lords, come sterile senate,
throng your leader Eutropius. Fill the
judgement-seat, not the bedchamber. Change
your habits and learn to follow the consul's
chair, not the woman's litter.

"Ne prisca revolvam
 neu numerem, quantis iniuria mille per
 475 annos
 sit retro ducibus, quanti foedabitur aevi
 canities, unam subeant quot saecula
 culpam:
 inter Arinthaevi fastos et nomen erile
 servus erit dominoque suos aequalis
 honores
 inseret! heu semper Ptolomaei noxia mundo
 480 mancipia! en alio laedor graviore Pothino
 et patior maius Phario scelus. ille cruorem
 consulis unius Pellaeis ensibus hausit;
 inquinat hic omnes.
 "Si nil privata movebunt,
 at tu principibus, vestrae tu prospice
 485 causae
 regalesque averte notas. hunc accipit unum
 aula magistratum: vobis patribusque
 recurrit
 hic alternus honos. in crimen euntibus
 annis
 parce, quater consul! contagia fascibus,
 oro,
 490 defendas ignava tuis neu tradita libris
 omina vestitusque meos, quibus omne,
 quod ambit
 oceanus, domui, tanta caligine mergi
 calcarique sinas. nam quae iam bella
 geramus
 mollibus auspiciis? quae iam conubia
 prolem
 495 vel frugem latura seges? quid fertile terris,
 quid plenum sterili possit sub consule
 nasci?
 eunuchi si iura dabunt legesque tenebunt,
 ducant pensa viri mutatoque ordine rerum
 vivat Amazonio confusa licentia ritu.

"I would not cite examples from remote
 antiquity nor count the countless magistrates of
 past history whom he thus outrages. But think
 how the reverence due to all past ages will be
 impaired, on how many centuries one man's
 shame will set its mark. Amid the annals that
 record the name of Arinthaevus,^[100] his master,
 will be found the slave, and he will enter his
 own honours as equal to those of his owner.
 The slaves of Egypt's kings have ever been a
 curse to the world; behold I suffer from a worse
 than Pothinus and bear a wrong more flagrant
 than that of which Egypt was once the scene.
 Pothinus' sword at Alexandria spilled the blood
 of a single consul;^[101] Eutropius brings
 dishonour on all.

"If the fate of subjects cannot move thee, yet
 have thou regard for princes, for your common
 cause, and remove this stain on royalty. The
 consulship is the sole office the emperor deigns
 to accept; alternately the honour passes to
 Court and Senate. Thou who hast thyself been
 four times consul spare succeeding consuls this
 infamy. I pray thee, protect the fasces, so often
 thine, from the pollution of a eunuch's hand; let
 not the omens handed down in our sacred
 books, let not those robes of mine wherewith I
 have subdued everything within Ocean's
 stream, be plunged in so great darkness and
 trodden under foot. What kind of wars can we
 wage now that a eunuch takes the auspices?
 What marriage, what harvest will be fruitful?
 What fertility, what abundance is possible
 beneath a consul stricken with sterility? If
 eunuchs shall give judgement and determine
 laws, then let men card wool and live like the
 Amazons, confusion and licence dispossessing
 the order of nature.

[100] Arinthaevus had held the high position of *magister peditum*. He died in 379.

[101] Pothinus, the creature of Ptolemy Dionysius, was instrumental in killing Pompey in Egypt in 48 B.C.

“Quid trahor ulterius? Stilicho, quid
 vincere differs,
 501 dum certare pudet? nescis quod turpior
 hostis
 laetitia maiore cadit? piratica Magnum
 erigit, inlustrat servilis laurea Crassum.
 adnuis. agnosco fremitum, quo palluit
 Eurus,
 505 quo Mauri Gildoque ruit. quid Martia signa
 sollicitas? non est iaculis hastisve petendus:
 conscia succumbent audito verberare terga,
 ut Scythia post multos rediens exercitus
 annos,
 510 cum sibi servilis pro finibus obvia pubes
 iret et arceret dominos tellure reversos,
 armatam ostensis aciem fudere flagellis:
 notus ab inceptis ignobile reppulit horror
 vulgus et addictus sub verberare torpuit
 ensis.”

“What need of further words? Why, Stilicho,
 dost thou delay to conquer because ashamed to
 fight? Knowest thou not that the viler a foe the
 greater the rejoicing at his overthrow? His
 defeat of the pirates extended the fame of great
 Pompey; his victory in the Servile War gave an
 added glory to Crassus. Thou acceptest my
 charge: I recognize the clamour that terrified
 the East and drove Gildo and his Moors to their
 destruction. Why sound the trump of war? No
 need to attack him with javelin or spear. At the
 crack of the whip will be bowed the back that
 has felt its blows. Even so when after many
 years the Scythian army came back from the
 wars and was met on the confines of its native
 land by the usurping crowd of slaves who
 sought to keep their returning masters from
 their country; with displayed whips they routed
 the armed ranks; back from its enterprise the
 familiar terror drove the servile mob, and at
 threat of the lash the bondsman’s sword grew
 dull.”

IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER SECUNDUS. PRAEFATIO

(XIX.)

Qui modo sublimes rerum flectebat
 habenās
 patricius, rursum verbera nota timet
 et solitos tardae passurus compedis orbes
 in dominos vanas luget abisse minas.
 5 culmine deiectum vitae Fortuna priori
 reddidit, insano iam satiata ioco.
 scindere nunc alia meditatur ligna securi
 fascibus et tandem vapulat ipse suis.
 ille citas consul poenas se consule solvit:
 10 annus qui trabeas hic dedit exilium.
 infaustum populis in se quoque vertitur
 omen;
 saevit in auctorem prodigiosus honos.
 abluto penitus respirant nomine fasti
 maturamque luem sanior aula vomit.
 15 dissimulant socii coniuratique recedunt,
 procumbit pariter cum duce tota cohors;
 non acie victi, non seditione coacti;
 nec pereunt ritu quo periire viri.
 concidit exiguae dementia vulnere chartae;
 20 confecit saevum littera Martis opus.

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

BOOK II. PRAEFACE

(XIX.)

The nobly born Eutropius who but lately
 wielded the reins of supreme power once more
 fears the familiar blows; and, soon to feel the
 wonted shackles about his halting feet, he
 laments that his threats against his masters
 have idly vanished. Fortune, having had enough
 of her mad freak, has thrust him forth from his
 high office and restored him to his old way of
 life. He now prepares to hew wood with axe
 other than the consular and is at last scourged
 with the rods he once proudly carried. To the
 punishment set in motion by him when consul
 he himself as consul succumbed; the year that
 brought him his robe of office brought him his
 exile. That omen of evil augury for the people
 turns against itself, the portent of that
 consulship brings ruin to the consul. That name
 erased, our annals breathe once more, and
 better health is restored to the palace now that
 it has at last vomited forth its poison. His
 friends deny him, his accomplices abandon him;
 in his fall is involved all the eunuch band,
 overcome not in battle, subdued not by strife—
 they may not die a man's death. A mere stroke
 of the pen has wrought their undoing, a simple
 letter has fulfilled Mars' savage work.

Mollis feminea detruditur arce tyrannus
 et thalamo pulsus perdidit imperium:
 sic iuvenis nutante fide veterique reducta
 paelice defletam linquit arnica domum.
 25 canitiem raram largo iam pulvere turpat
 et lacrimis rugas implet anile gemens
 suppliciterque pias humilis prostratus ad
 aras
 mitigat iratas voce tremente nurus.
 innumeri glomerantur eri sibi quisque
 petentes
 30 mancipium solis utile suppliciiis.
 quamvis foedus enim mentemque
 obscaenior ore,
 ira dabit pretium; poena meretur emi.

 Quas, spado, nunc terras aut quem
 transibis in axem?
 cingeris hinc odiis, inde recessit amor,
 utraque te gemino sub sidere regia damnat:
 35 Hesperius numquam, iam nec Eous eris.
 miror cur, aliis qui pandere fata solebas,
 ad propriam cladem caeca Sibylla taces.
 iam tibi nulla videt fallax insomnia Nilus;
 40 pervigilant vates iam, miserande, tui.
 quid soror? audebit tecum conscendere
 puppim
 et veniet longum per mare fida comes?
 an fortasse toros eunuchi pauperis odit
 et te nunc inopem dives amare negat?
 45 eunuchi iugulum primus secuisse fateris;
 sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo.
 vive pudor fatis. en quem tremuere tot
 urbes,
 en cuius populi sustinuere iugum!

The unsexed tyrant has been routed from out
 his fastness in the women's quarters and,
 driven from the bedchamber, has lost his
 power. Thus sadly, when her lover's fidelity
 wavers and a former favourite has been
 recalled, does a mistress leave his house. With
 handfuls of dust he sprinkles his scanty hairs
 and floods his wrinkles with senile tears; as he
 lies in humble supplication before the altars of
 the gods his trembling voice seeks to soften the
 anger of the women. His countless masters
 gather around, each demanding back his slave,
 useless except for chastisement. For loathsome
 though he is and fouler in mind even than in
 face, yet the very anger they feel against him
 will make them pay; he is worth buying simply
 to punish.

What land or country wilt thou now visit,
 eunuch? Here hate surrounds thee, there thy
 popularity is fled; both courts have uttered thy
 condemnation in either half of the world; never
 wert thou of the West, now the East repudiates
 thee too. I marvel that thou, blind Sibyl,^[102]
 who foretold'st the fates of others, art silent
 about thine own. No longer does fallacious Nile
 interpret thy dreams; no longer, poor wretch,
 do thy prophets see visions. What doth thy
 sister? Will she dare to embark with thee and
 bear thee faithful company over the distant
 seas? Mayhap she scorns the couch of an
 impoverished eunuch, and now that she herself
 is rich will not love thee who now art poor.
 Thou dost confess thou wert the first to cut a
 eunuch's throat, but the example will not
 secure thine own death. Live on that destiny
 may blush. Lo! this is he whom so many cities
 have held in awe, whose yoke so many peoples
 have borne. Why lament the loss of that

[102] Claudian calls Eutropius the Sibyl
 because both were "old women." He is
 referring to Eutropius' consultation of the
 Egyptian oracle; cf. *In Eutrop.* i. 312 and
 note.

direptas quid plangis opes, quas natus
habebit?

50 non aliter poteris principis esse pater.
improbe, quid pulsas muliebribus astra
querellis,
quod tibi sub Cypri litore parta quies?
omnia barbarico per te concussa tumultu.
crede mihi, terra tutius aequor erit.

55 Iam non Armenios iaculis terrebis et arcu,
per campos volucrem non agitabis
equum;

dilecto caruit Byzantius ore senatus;
curia consiliis aestuat orba tuis:
emeritam suspende togam, suspende
pharetram;

60 ad Veneris partes ingeniumque redi.
non bene Gradivo lenonia dextera servit.
suscipiet famulum te Cytherea libens.
insula laeta choris, blandorum mater
Amorum:
nulla pudicitiae cura placere potest.
65 prospectant Paphiae celsa de rupe puellae
sollicitae, salvam dum ferat unda ratem.
sed vereor, teneant ne te Tritones in alto
lascivas doctum fallere Nereidas,
aut idem cupiant pelago te mergere venti,
70 Gildonis nuper qui tenuere fugam.
inclita captivo memoratur Tabraca Mauro,
naufragio Cyprus sit memoranda tuo.
vecturum moriens frustra delphina vocabis;
ad terram solos devehit ille viros.
75 quisquis adhuc similes eunuchus tendit in
actus,
respiciens Cyprum desinat esse feroc.

wealth thy son shall inherit? In no other way
couldst thou have been father to an emperor.

[103] Why insatiably weary heaven with a
woman's plaints? A haven of refuge is prepared
for thee on the shores of Cyprus. Thou hast
plunged the world in war with barbarity; the sea,
believe me, is safer than the land.

No longer wilt thou strike terror into the
Armenians with javelin and bow, no more scour
the plain on thy fleet charger. The senate of
Byzantium has been deprived of thy loved
voice; uncertainty holds the august assembly
that is now deprived of thy counsels. Hang up
thy toga, retired consul; hang up thy quiver,
veteran soldier; return to Venus' service; that is
thy true calling. The pander's hand knows not
to serve Mars featly; Cytherea will right gladly
take back her slave. Dancing fills the island of
Cyprus, home of the happy loves; there purity
commands no respect. Paphian maidens gaze
forth from the high cliffs, anxious till the wave
has brought thy bark safe to land. Yet fear I lest
the Tritons detain thee in the deep to teach
them how they may seduce the sportive
Nereids, or that those same winds which
hindered Gildo's flight may seek to drown thee
in the sea. Tabraca owes its fame to the
overthrow of the Moor; may Cyprus win
prestige from thy shipwreck. In vain will thy
last breath be spent in calling on the dolphin to
carry thee to shore: his back bears only men.

[104] Hereafter should any eunuch attempt to
emulate thine actions let him turn his eye
towards Cyprus and abate his pride.

[103] Eutropius had been raised by
Arcadius to the highest of all ranks, that of
Patrician. These *patricii* were called the
"fathers" of the Emperor. Hence Eutropius,
a patrician, left (*i.e.* forfeited) his property
on his banishment to Cyprus to his "son"
Arcadius.

[104] A reference to the rescue of Arion by
the dolphin.

IN EUTROPIUM

LIBER II.

(XX.)

Mygdonii cineres et si quid restat Eoi,
 quod pereat, regni: certe non augure falso
 prodigii patuere minae, frustraue peracto
 vulnere monstriferi praesagia discitis anni.
 cautior ante tamen violentum navita

5

Caurum
 prospicit et tumidae subducit vela
 procellae.

quid iuvat errorem mersa iam puppe fateri?
 quid lacrimae delicta levant? stant omina
 vestri

10

consulis: inmotis haesere piacula fati.
 tunc decuit sentire nefas, tunc ire recentes
 detersum maculas. veteri post obruta
 morbo
 corpora Paeonias nequiquam admoveris
 herbas.

15

ulcera possessis alte suffusa medullis
 non levio manu, ferro sanantur et igni,
 ne noceat frustra mox eruptura cicatrix.
 ad vivum penetrant flammae, quo funditus
 umor
 defluat et vacuis corrupto sanguine venis

AGAINST EUTROPIUS

BOOK II

(XX.)

Ashes of Phrygia and you last remnants of the
 ruined East (if any such remain), the augury
 was but too true, too clear the threats of
 heaven: now that the blow has fallen what use
 to learn the presagings of this year of portents?
 The sailor is more cautious; he foresees the
 violence of the North wind and hauls in his
 canvas before the swelling storm. Of what avail
 to acknowledge a mistake when his vessel is
 already sunk? Can tears extenuate a crime?
 The sinister auspices of your consul live on; the
 atonement due to unmoved fate remains fixed.
 Ere the deed was done you should have
 realized its horror; you should have erased the
 blot ere it had dried. When the body is
 overwhelmed by long-standing disease 'tis all in
 vain that thou makest use of healing medicines.
 When an ulcer has penetrated to the marrow of
 the bones the touch of a hand is useless, steel
 and fire must sane the place that the wound
 heal not on the surface, like any moment to re-
 open. The flame must penetrate to the quick to
 make a way for the foul humours to escape; in
 order that, once the veins are emptied of
 corrupted blood, the

arescat fons ipse mali; truncatur et artus,
 ut liceat reliquis securum degere membris.
 20 at vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam,
 Eutropium si Cyprus habet? vindictaque
 mundi
 semivir exul erit? qui vos lustrare valebit
 oceanus? tantum facinus quae diluet aetas?
 25 Induerat necdum trabeas: mugitus ab axe
 redditus inferno, rabies arcana cavernas
 vibrat et alterno confligunt culmina lapsu.
 bacchatus per operta tremor Calchedona
 movit
 pronus et in geminas nutavit Bosphorus
 urbes.
 concurrere freti fauces, radice revulsa
 vitant instabilem rursum Symplegada
 30 nautae.
 scilicet haec Stygiae praemittunt signa
 sorores
 et sibi iam tradi populos hoc consule
 gaudent.
 mox oritur diversa lues: hinc Mulciber
 ignes
 sparserat, hinc victa proruperat obice
 Nereus;
 haec flagrant, haec tecta natant. quam,
 numina,
 35 poenam
 servatis sceleri, cuius tot cladibus omen
 constitit? incumbas utinam, Neptune,
 tridenti
 pollutumque solum toto cum crimine
 mergas.
 unam pro mundo Furiis concedimus urbem.
 39 Utque semel patuit monstris iter, omnia
 tempus
 nacta suum properant: nasci tum decolor
 imber
 infantumque novi vultus et dissona partu
 semina, tum lapidum fletus armentaque
 vulgo
 ausa loqui mediisque ferae se credere
 muris;
 tum vates sine more rapi lymphataque
 45 passim

fountain-head of the evil may be dried up. Nay,
 even limbs are amputated to assure the healthy
 life of the rest of the body. Think you the Court
 fitly cleansed by Eutropius' exile in Cyprus?
 The world avenged by the banishment of a
 eunuch? Can any ocean wash away that stain?
 any age bring forgetfulness of so great a crime?

Ere yet he had donned the consul's robe there
 came a rumbling from the bowels of the earth;
 a hidden madness shook the subterranean
 caverns and buildings crashed one on another.
 Chalcedon, shaken to the foundations, tottered
 like a drunken man, and Bosphorus, straying
 from his course, flooded the cities on his either
 bank. The shores of the strait came together
 and the sailors once more had to avoid the
 Clashing Rocks, torn from their foundation and
 errant. Surely such presages were sent by the
 sister deities of Styx, rejoicing that under this
 consul at last all peoples were delivered into
 their hands. Soon arose divers forms of ruin:
 here the fire-god spread his flames; there
 Nereus, god of the sea, brake his bounds. Here
 men's homes were burned, there flooded. Ye
 gods, what punishment do ye hold in store for
 the scoundrel whose rise to power was marked
 by such portents? O'ercome us, Neptune, with
 thy trident and overwhelm our defiled soil
 along with all the guilt. One city we yield to the
 Furies, a scapegoat for the sins of the world.

Once the way was open for portents, prodigies
 of every sort hastened to disclose themselves.
 Rain of blood fell, children of weird form were
 born and offspring discordant with their breed.
 Statues wept, not seldom the herds dared to
 speak, and wild beasts braved an entrance into
 the city. Then seers raved

pectora terrifici stimulis ignescere Phoebi.
 fac nullos cecinisse deos: adeone retusi
 quisquam cordis erit, dubitet qui partibus
 illis
 adfore fatalem castrati consulis annum?
 sed quam caecus inest vitiis amor! omne
 50 futurum
 despicitur suadentque brevem praesentia
 fructum
 et ruit in vetitum damni segura libido,
 dum mora supplicii lucro serumque quod
 instat
 creditur, haud equidem contra tot signa
 Camillo
 55 detulerim fasces, nedum (pro sexus!) inerti
 mancipio, cui, cuncta licet responsa
 iuberent
 hortantesque licet sponderent prospera
 divi,
 turpe fuit cecis viris.
 Exquirite retro
 crimina continui lectis annalibus aevi,
 60 prisca recensitis evolvite saecula fastis:
 quid senis infandi Capreae, quid scaena
 Neronis
 tale ferunt? spado Romuleo succinctus
 amictu
 sedit in Augustis laribus. vulgata patebat
 aula salutantum studiis; huc plebe senatus
 permixta trepidique duces omnisque
 65 potestas
 confluit. advolvi genibus, contingere
 dextram
 ambitus et votis deformibus oscula rugis
 figere. praesidium legum genitorque
 vocatur
 principis et famulum dignatur regia
 patrem.
 posteritas, admitte fidem: monumenta
 70 petuntur
 dedecoris multisque gemunt incudibus aera
 formatura nefas. haec iudicis, ilia togati,

strangely and frenzied hearts were everywhere ablaze, stirred by the fires of the dread god Phoebus. Yet even had no god warned us, whose mind shall be so dull as to doubt that the year of an emasculate consul must be fatal to those lands? Blind folly ever accompanies crime; of the future no account is taken; sufficient for the day is its short-lived pleasure; heedless of loss passion plunges into forbidden joys, counting the postponement of punishment a gain and believing distant the retribution that even now o'erhangs. In face of such portents I would not have entrusted Camillus' self with the fasces, let alone a sexless slave (oh! the shame of it!), to yield it to whom were, for men, a disgrace, even though every oracle decreed it, and the insistent deities gave pledges of prosperity.

Look back in the annals of crime, read o'er all past history, unroll the volumes of Rome's story. What can the Capri of Tiberius' old age, what can Nero's theatre offer like to this?^[105] A eunuch, clad in the cloak of Romulus, sat within the house of the emperors; the staled palace lay open to the eager throng of visitors; hither hasten senators, mingling with the populace, anxious generals and magistrates of every degree; all are fain to be the first to fall at his feet and to touch his hand; the prayer of all is to set kisses on those hideous wrinkles. He is called defender of the laws, father of the emperor, and the court deigns to acknowledge a slave as its overlord. Ye who come after, acknowledge that it is true! Men must needs erect monuments to celebrate this infamy; on many an anvil groans the bronze that is to take upon it the form of this monster. Here gleams his statue as a judge,

[105] Suetonius draws a lurid (and probably exaggerated) picture of the debaucheries of Tiberius' old age at Capri. The same author describes the "scaena Neronis." The curious may find the account in Suet, *Nero*, xxix.

haec nitet armati species; numerosus
 ubique
 fulget eques: praefert eunuchi curia vultus.
 75 ac veluti caveant ne quo consistere virtus
 possit pura loco, cunctas hoc ore laborant
 incestare vias. maneant inmota precamur
 certaue perpetui sint argumenta pudoris.
 80 subter adulantes tituli nimiaeque leguntur
 vel maribus laudes: claro quod nobilis ortu
 (cum vivant domini!), quod maxima proelia
 solus
 impleat (et patitur miles!), quod tertius
 urbis
 conditor (hoc Byzas Constantinusque
 videbant!).
 inter quae tumidus leno producere cenas
 in lucem, foetere mero, dispergere plausum
 85 empturas in vulgus opes, totosque theatris
 indulgere dies, alieni prodigus auri.
 at soror et, si quid portentis creditur, uxor
 mulcebat matres epulis et more pudicae
 90 coniugis eunuchi celebrabat vota mariti.
 hanc amat, hanc summa de re vel pace vel
 armis
 consulit, huic curas et clausa palatia
 mandat
 ceu stabulum vacuumque domum. sic
 magna tueri
 regna nihil, patiensque iugi deluditur orbis?
 Mitior alternum Zephyri iam bruma
 95 teporem
 senserat et primi laxabant germina flores,
 iamque iter in gremio pacis sollemne
 parabant
 ad muros, Ancyra, tuos, auctore repertum
 Eutropio, pelagi ne taedia longa subirent,

there as a consul, there as a warrior. On every
 side one sees that figure of his mounted on his
 horse; before the very doors of the senate-
 house behold a eunuch's countenance. As
 though to rob virtue of any place where she
 might sojourn undefiled, men labour to befoul
 every street with this vile image. May they rest
 for ever undisturbed, indisputable proofs of our
 eternal shame; such is my prayer. Beneath the
 statues one reads flattering titles and praises
 too great even for *men*. Do they tell of his noble
 race and lineage while his owners are still
 alive? What soldier brooks to read that single-
 handed he, Eutropius, won great battles? Are
 Byzas^[106] and Constantine to be told that he is
 the third founder of Rome? Meanwhile the
 arrogant pander prolongs his revels till the
 dawn, stinking of wine and scattering money
 amid the crowd to buy their applause. He
 spends whole days of amusement in the
 theatres, prodigal of another's money. But his
 sister and spouse (if such a prodigy can be
 conceived) wins the favour of Rome's matrons
 by entertainments, and, like a chaste wife,
 sings the praises of her eunuch husband. 'Tis
 her he loves, her he consults on all matters of
 importance, be it of peace or war, to her care
 he entrusts the keys of the palace, as one would
 of a stable or empty house. Is the guardianship
 of a mighty empire thus naught? Is it thus he
 makes a mockery of a world's obedience?

Winter, passing into spring, had now felt the
 returning warmth of Zephyrus' breezes and the
 earliest flowers had oped their buds when, in
 the lap of peace, they were preparing the
 annual journey to thy walls, Ancyra. 'Twas
 Eutropius' device that weariness of the sea^[107]
 might not come upon him,

^[106] Mythical founder of Byzantium (= Constantinople): said to have been contemporaneous with the Argonauts (Diod. iv. 49. 1).

^[107] *i.e.* to prevent his being bored with the view of the Bosphorus.

- 100 sed vaga lascivis flueret discursibus aestas:
 unde tamen tanta sublimes mole redibant,
 ceu vinctos traherent Medos Indumque
 bibissent.
 ecce autem flavis Gradivus ab usque
 Gelonis
 arva cruentato repetebat Thracia curru:
 105 subsidunt Pangaea rotis altaeque sonoro
 stridunt axe nives. ut vertice constitit
 Haemi
 femineasque togas pressis conspexit
 habenis,
 subrisit cradele pater cristisque micantem
 quassavit galeam; tunc implacabile numen
 Bellonam adloquitur, quae sanguine
 sordida vestem
 111 Illyricis pingues pectebat stragibus hydros:
 "Necdum mollitiae, necdum, germana,
 mederi
 possumus Eoae? numquam corrupta
 rigescent
 saecula? Cappadocum tepidis Argaeus
 acervis
 115 aestuat; infelix etiamnum pallet Orontes.
 dum pereunt, meminere mali; si corda
 parumper
 respirare sinas, nullo tot funera sensu
 praetereunt: antiqua levis iactura cruoris!
 "Adspicis obscaenum facinus? quid
 crinibus ora
 120 protegis? en quales sese diffudit in actus
 parva quies, quantum nocuerunt otia ferri!
 qui caruit bellis, eunucho traditur annus.
 actum de trabeis esset, si partibus una
 mens foret Hesperii; rueret derisa
 vetustas
 125 nullaque calcati starent vestigia iuris,
 ni memor imperii Stilicho morumque
 priorum
 turpe relegasset defenso Thybride nomen

but a roaming summer might slide away in
 pleasure journeys. But so magnificent was their
 return, you would have imagined they brought
 conquered Persia in their train and had drunk
 of the waters of Indus. Look you! Mars,
 returning from the distant lands of the yellow-
 haired Geloni, was re-seeking the lands of
 Thrace in his bloody chariot. Pangaeus
 subsided beneath his wheels, the mountain
 snows cried out under his sounding axle.
 Scarce had the father stayed on Haemus'
 summit and, reining in his coursers, looked
 upon the toga-clad woman, when he smiled a
 cruel smile and shook his gleaming crested
 helm; then he addressed Bellona, implacable
 goddess, who, her raiment all stained with
 blood, was combing her snake-hair, fattened on
 the slaughter of Illyrians.

"Sister, shall we never succeed in curing the
 East of effeminacy? Will this corrupt age never
 learn true manliness? Argaeus yet reeks with
 those heaps of dead Cappadocians not yet cold;
 Orontes is still pale from misery. But they only
 remember evil while they suffer it; give them a
 moment's respite and all their slaughter fades
 from their minds unfelt; little they reckon of
 bloodshed that is past.

"Seest thou this foul deed? Why veil thy face
 with thine hair? See what crimes a short spell
 of peace has wrought! what a curse has the
 sheathed sword proved! The year that has
 known no war has had a eunuch for its consul.
 The consulship would have been at an end had
 a like spirit animated Italy; this age-long office
 had fallen amid mockery and no traces been
 left of its trampled rights, had not Stilicho,
 heedful of the empire and of the character and
 morals of a past age, banished from Tiber's city

intactamque novo servasset crimine
Romam.

130 ille dedit portum, quo se pulsata referret
maiestas Latii deformataeque secures;
ille dedit fastos, ad quos Oriente relicto
confugeret sparsum maculis servilibus
aevum.

“Quam similes haec aula viros! ad moenia
visus

dirige: num saltem tacita formidine
mussant?

135 num damnant animo? plaudentem cerne
senatum

et Byzantinos proceres Graiosque Quirites.
o patribus plebes, o digni consule patres!
quid? quod et armati cessant et nulla virilis
inter tot gladios sexum reminiscitur ira?

140 hucine nostrorum cinctus abiere nepotum?
sic Bruti despectus honos?

“Ignosce parenti,
Romule, quod serus temeratis fascibus
ultor

advenio: iamiam largis haec gaudia faxo
compensent lacrimis. quid dudum inflare
moraris

145 Tartaream, Bellona, tubam, quid stringere
falcem,

qua populos a stirpe metis? molire
tumultus,

excute delicias. Thracum Macetumque
ruinae

taedet et in gentes iterum saevire sepultas.
damna minus consueta move; trans
aequora saevas

150 verte faces; aliis exordia sume rapinis.
non tibi Riphaeis hostis quaerendus ab oris,
non per Caucasias accito turbine valles
est opus. Ostrogothis colitur mixtisque
Gruthungis

Phryx ager: hos parvae poterunt impellere
causae

this shameful name and kept Rome unsullied by
an unheard of crime. He has given us a harbour
to which the exiled majesty of Latium and the
disgraced fasces might retire; he has given us
annals wherein, abandoning the East, an age
polluted with servile stains might find a refuge.

“How like to its lord the inhabitants of the
palace! Turn your eyes to the city walls. Surely
they at least mutter disapprobation, though
fear forbids them speak out? Do they not
condemn him in their hearts? No: list the
plaudits of the senate, of the lords of
Byzantium, of the Grecian citizens of Rome. O
people worthy of such a senate, senate worthy
of such a consul! To think that all these bear
arms and use them not, that manly indignation
reminds not of their sex those many whose
thighs bear a sword! Has my descendants’ robe
of office sunk so low? Is Brutus’ renown thus
brought to scorn?

“Romulus, forgive thy sire for coming so tardy
an avenger of those outraged fasces. Right
soon will I make them pay for this joy with
liberal tears. Why delayest thou, Bellona, to
sound the trumpet of hell and to arm thyself
with the scythe wherewith thou mowest the
people to the ground? Foment discord, banish
pleasures. I am aweary of the devastation of
Thrace and Macedon, of vengeance twice
wreaked on races already buried. Arouse less
accustomed destruction; spread fire and sword
beyond the seas, make a beginning of new
devastation. Seek not now thy foe on Riphaeus’
heights: what boots it to rouse the storm of war
amid Caucasia’s ravines? Ostrogoths and
Gruthungi together inhabit the land of Phrygia;
’twill need but a touch

155 in scelus; ad mores facilis natura reverti.
 sic eat: in nostro quando iam milite robur
 torpuit et molli didicit parere magistro,
 vindicet Arctous violatas advena leges;
 barbara Romano succurrant arma pudori.”
 Sic fatus clipeo, quantum vix ipse deorum
 160 arbiter infesto cum percutit aegida nimbo,
 intonuit. responsat Athos Haemusque
 remugit;
 ingeminat raucum Rhodope concussa
 fragorem.
 cornua cana gelu mirantibus extulit undis
 Hebrus et exanguem glacie timor adligat
 165 Histrum.
 tunc, adamante gravem nodisque
 rigentibus hastam,
 telum ingens nullique deo iaculabile, torsit.
 fit late ruptis via nubibus; ilia per auras
 tot freta, tot montes uno contenta volatu
 170 transilit et Phrygiae mediis adfigitur arvis.
 sensit humus; gemuit Nysaeo palmite felix
 Hermus et aurata Pactolus inhorruit urna
 totaque summissis fleverunt Dindyma silvis.
 Nec dea praemissae stridorem segnius
 hastae
 consequitur, centumque vias meditata
 175 nocendi
 tandem Tarbigilum (Geticae dux improbus
 alae^[108]
 hic erat) adgreditur. viso tum forte redibat
 Eutropio vacuus donis, feritasque dolore
 creverat et, teneris etiam quae crimina
 suadet

[108] alae *Rubenus*; MSS. (followed by *Birt*)
 have aulae.

to precipitate them into revolt; readily does
 nature return to her old ways. So be it. Since
 our soldiers' valour is numbed and they have
 learned to obey an unmanned master, let a
 stranger from the north avenge our outraged
 laws and barbarian arms bring relief to
 disgraced Rome.”

So spake he and thundered with his shield nigh
 as loud as the ruler of the gods when he shakes
 his aegis from out the lowering cloud. Athos
 replies, Haemus re-echoes; again and again
 shaken Rhodope repeats the hoarse uproar.
 Hebrus raised from out the wondering waters
 his horns hoary with frost, and bloodless Ister
 froze in fear. Then the god cast his javelin,^[109]
 heavy with steel, and stiff with knotted shaft, a
 mighty weapon such as none other god could
 wield. The clouds part before its onset and give
 it free passage; through the air it speeds o'er
 seas and mountains by one mighty cast and
 comes to earth amid the plains of Phrygia. The
 ground felt the shock; Hermus blessed with
 Dionysus' vines groaned thereat, Pactolus'
 golden urn shuddered, all Dindymus bent his
 forest fleece and wept.

Bellona, too, hastens forth with speed no less
 than that of Mars' whistling spear; a hundred
 ways of hurt she pondered and at last
 approached Tarbigilus,^[110] fierce leader of the
 Getic squadron. It chanced he had but late
 returned with empty hands from a visit to
 Eutropius; disappointment and indignation
 aggravated his ferocity, and poverty, that can
 incite

[109] Alluding to the Roman custom of
 casting a spear as a sign of the declaration
 of war; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 207—

Hinc solet hasta manu belli praenuntia
 mitti
 In regem et gentes cum placet arma
 capi.

[110] Tarbigilus seems to have belonged to
 the nation of the Gruthungi. The exact form
 of his name is a matter of uncertainty. The
 MSS. vary: Zosimus (v. 13. 2) calls him
 Τριβίγιλδος. His revolt in Phrygia (cf. ll.
 274, etc.) took place in 399.

ingeniis, Scythicum pectus flammabat
 180 egestas.
 huic sese vultu simulatae coniugis offert
 mentitoque ferox incedit barbara gressu,
 carbaseos induta sinus: post terga reductas
 uberibus propior mordebat fibula vestes,
 185 inque orbem tereti mitra retinente capillum
 strinxerat et virides flavescere iusserat
 angues.
 advolat ac niveis reducem complectitur
 ulnis
 infunditque animo furiale per oscula virus.
 principe quam largo veniat, quas inde
 reportet
 190 divitias, astu rabiem motura requirit.
 ille iter ingratum, vanos deflere labores,
 quos super eunuchi fastus, quae probra
 tulisset.
 continuo secat ungue genas et tempore
 pandit
 adrepto gemitus:
 "I nunc, devotus aratris
 scinde solum positoque tuos mucrone
 195 sodales
 ad rastros sudare doce. bene rura
 Gruthungus
 excolet et certo disponet sidere vites.
 felices aliae, quas debellata maritis
 oppida, quas magnis quaesitae viribus
 ornant
 exuviae, quibus Argivae pulchraeque
 200 ministrant
 Thessalides, famulas et quae meruere
 Lacaenas.
 me nimium timido, nimium iunxere remisso
 fata viro, totum qui degener exuit Histrum,
 qui refugit patriae ritus, quem detinet
 aequi
 205 gloria concessoque cupit vixisse colonus
 quam dominus rapti. quid pulchra vocabula
 pigris

the gentlest heart to crime, inflamed his savage
 breast. Taking upon her the similitude of his
 wife she comes to meet him; proudly she steps
 forth like the barbarian queen, clothed in linen
 raiment. Close to her breast a brooch fastened
 her dress that trailed behind her; she had
 bound her locks into a coil that a polished
 circlet confined, and bidden her green snakes
 turn to gold. She hastens to greet him on his
 return and throws her snowy arms about his
 neck, instilling the poison of the furies into his
 soul by her kisses. Guilefully to stir his rage she
 asks if the great man has been generous to
 him; if he brings back rich presents. With tears
 he recounts his profitless journey, his useless
 toil, the pride and insults, moreover, which he
 had to bear at the eunuch's hands. At once she
 seized the favourable moment, and tearing her
 cheek with her nails, discloses her complaints.

"Go then, busy thyself with the plough, cleave
 the soil, bid thy followers lay aside their swords
 and sweat o'er the harrow. The Gruthungi will
 make good farmers and will plant their vines in
 due season. Happy those other women whose
 glory is seen in the towns their husbands have
 conquered, they whose adornment is the spoils
 so hardly won from an enemy, whose servants
 are fair captives of Argos or Thessaly, and who
 have won them slaves from Sparta. Fate has
 mated me with too timid, too indolent a
 husband, a degenerate who has forgotten the
 valour of Ister's tribes, who deserts his
 country's ways, whom a vain reputation for
 justice attracts, while he longs to live as a
 husbandman by favour rather than as a prince
 by plunder. Why give fair names to shameful
 weakness?

praetentas vitiis? probitatis inertia nomen,
iustitiae formido subit. tolerabis iniquam
pauperiem, cum tela geras? et flebis
inultus,
cum pateant tantae nullis custodibus
urbes?

210

“Quippe metus poenae. pridem mos ille
vigeat,

ut meritos colerent impacatisque rebelles
urgerent odiis; at nunc, qui foedera rumpit,
ditatur; qui servat, eget. vastator Achivae
gentis et Epirum nuper populates inultam
praesidet Illyrico; iam, quos obsedit, amicos
ingreditur muros illis responsa daturus,
quorum coniugibus potitur natosque
peremit.

215

sic hostes punire solent, haec praemia
solvunt

excidiis. cunctaris adhuc numerumque
tuorum

220

respicis exiguamque manum? tu rumpe
quietem;

bella dabunt socios. nec te tam prona
monerem,

si contra paterere viros: nunc alter in armis
sexus et eunuchis se defensoribus orbis
credidit; hos aquilae Romanaque signa
sequuntur.

226

incipi barbaricae tandem te reddere vitae,
te quoque iam timeant admirenturque
nocentem,

quem sprevere pium. spoliis praedaque
repletus

cum libeat Romanus eris.”

Sic fata repente

230

in diram se vertit avem rostroque recurvo
turpis et infernis tenebris obscurior alas
auspicium veteri sedit feralis sepulcro.

Ille, pavor postquam resoluta corde
quievit

Cowardice is called loyalty; fear, a sense of
justice. Wilt thou submit to humiliating poverty
though thou bearest arms? Wilt thou weep
unavenged, though so many cities open to thee
their undefended gates?

“Dost thou fear the consequences? Rome’s old
way was to reward merit and vent on rebels a
hate that knew no bound. Now he who breaks a
treaty wins riches, while he who observes one
lives in want. The ravager of Achaea and recent
devastator of defenceless Epirus is lord of
Illyria^[111]; he now enters as a friend within the
walls to which he was laying siege, and
administers justice to those whose wives he has
seduced and whose children he has murdered.
Such is the punishment meted out to an enemy,
such the vengeance exacted for wholesale
slaughter—and dost thou still hesitate? Hast
thou regard to the small numbers of thy
followers? Nay, have done with peace: war will
give thee allies. Nor would I urge thee so
instantly hadst thou to face men. It is another
sex that is in arms against thee; the world has
entrusted itself to the protection of eunuchs;
’tis such leaders the eagles and standards of
Rome follow. Time it is thou didst return to a
barbarian life; be thou in thy turn an object of
terror, and let men marvel at thy crimes who
despised thy virtues. Laden with booty and
plunder thou shalt be a Roman when it pleases
thee.”

So saying she suddenly changed into an ill-
omened bird, a loathsome sight with its hooked
beak and plumage blacker than Hell’s
darkness, and perched, a sinister augury, on an
old tomb.

So soon as repose from terror came to his freed

[111] Alaric was made *magister militum* in
Illyricum: see Introduction, p. x.

et rigidae sedere comae, non distulit atrox
 iussa deae; sociis, quae viderat, ordine
 235 pandit
 irritatque sequi. Coniurat barbara pubes
 nacta ducem Latiisque palam descivit ab
 armis.
 Pars Phrygiae, Scythicis quaecumque
 Trionibus alget
 proxima, Bithynos, solem quae condit,
 Ionas,
 quae levat, attingit Galatas. utrimque
 240 propinqui
 finibus obliquis Lydi Pisidaeque feroces
 continuant australe latus. gens una fuere
 tot quondam populi, priscum cognomen et
 unum
 appellata Phryges; sed (quid non longa
 valebit
 245 permutare dies?) dicti post Maeona regem
 Maeones. Aegaeos insedit Graecia portus;
 Thyni Thraces arant quae nunc Bithynia
 fertur;
 nuper ab Oceano Gallorum exercitus ingens
 illis ante vagus tandem regionibus haesit
 250 gaesaque deposuit, Graio iam mitis amictu,
 pro Rheno poturus Halyn. dat cuncta
 vetustas
 principium Phrygibus; nec rex Aegyptius
 ultra
 restitit, humani postquam puer uberis
 expers
 in Phrygiam primum laxavit murmura
 vocem.
 255 Hic cecidit Libycis iactata paludibus olim
 tibia, foedatam cum reddidit umbra
 Minervam,
 hic et Apollinea victus testudine pastor
 suspensa memores inlustrat pelle Celaenas.

heart, and his stiffened hair sank down again, he made all haste to carry out the commands of the goddess. He told his followers all that he had seen and urged them to follow him. Rebellious Barbary had found a champion and openly threw off the Latin yoke.

That part of Phrygia which lies towards the north beneath the cold constellation of the Wain borders on Bithynia; that towards the sunset on Ionia, and that towards the sunrise on Galatia. On two sides runs the transverse boundary of Lydia while the fierce Pisidians hem it in to the south. All these peoples once formed one nation and had one name: they were of old called the Phrygians, but (what changes does time not bring about?) after the reign of a king Maeon, were known as Maeones. Then the Greeks settled on the shores of the Aegean, and the Thyni from Thrace cultivated the region now called Bithynia. Not long since a vast army of Gauls, nomad hitherto, came at last to rest in the district; these laid by their spears, clothed them in the civilized robe of Greece and drank no longer from Rhine's, but from Halys' waters. All antiquity gives priority to the Phrygian, even Egypt's king had perforce to recognize it when the babe, nourished at no human breast, first opened his lips to lisp the Phrygian tongue.^[112]

Here fell the pipe once hurled into the marshes of Libya, what time the stream reflected Minerva's disfigured countenance.^[113] Here, too, there perished, conquered by Apollo's lyre, the shepherd Marsyas whose flayed skin brought renown to the city of

[112] The reference is to Herodotus ii. 2. Psammetichus, King of Egypt, wishing to find out which was the most ancient nation, had two children reared in complete silence. As the first word they uttered was "Becos," the Phrygian word for "bread," Phrygia was accorded the honour.

[113] Minerva is said to have thrown her pipe into the river when she observed in the reflection the facial contortions apparently necessary to play it; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 699.

quattuor hinc magnis procedunt fontibus
 amnes
 260 auriferi; nec miror aquas radiare metallo,
 quae totiens lavere Midan. diversus ad
 Austrum
 cursus et Arctoum fluviis mare. Dindyma
 fundunt
 Sangarium, vitrei puro qui gurgite Galli
 auctus Amazonii defertur ad ostia Ponti.
 265 Icarium pelagus Mycalaeaque litora iuncti
 Marsya Maeanderque petunt; sed Marsya
 velox,
 dum suus est, flexuque carens iam flumine
 mixtus
 mollitur, Maeandre, tuo; contraria passus,
 quam Rhodano stimulatus Arar: quos inter
 aprica
 270 planities Cererique favet densisque ligatur
 vitibus et glaucae fructus attollit olivae,
 dives equis, felix pecori pretiosaque picto
 marmore purpureis, caedit quod Synnada,
 venis.
 Talem tum Phrygiam Geticis populatibus
 uri
 275 permisere dei. securas barbarus urbes
 inrupit facilesque capi. spes nulla salutis,
 nulla fugae: putribus iam propugnacula
 saxis
 longo corruerant aevo pacisque senecta.
 Interea gelidae secretis rupibus Idae
 dum sedet et thiasos spectat de more
 280 Cybebe
 Curetumque alacres ad tympana suscitatur
 enses,
 aurea sanctarum decus immortale comarum
 defluxit capiti turris summoque volutus
 vertice crinalis violatur pulvere murus.
 285 obstipuerunt truces omen Corybantes et uno
 fixa metu tacitas presserunt orgia buxos.
 indoluit genetrix, tum sic commota
 profatur:

Celaenae. Hence flow four broad auriferous
 rivers. Small wonder that the waters in which
 King Midas bathed so often glitter with the rare
 metal. Two flow north, two southwards.
 Dindymus gives birth to the river Sangarius,
 which, swollen by the clear stream of the
 Gallus, hastens on to the Euxine, the sea of the
 Amazon. The conjoined streams of Marsyas and
 Meander make for the Icarian main and
 Mycale's strand. Marsyas flows fast and
 straight while his course is his own; mingled
 with thy waters, Meander, he goes slowly—
 unlike the Saône whose waters are hastened by
 the Rhone's inflowing. Between these rivers is
 a sun-kissed plain; kindly is it to the corn, thick-
 set with vines and displaying the fruit of the
 grey-green olive; rich, too, in horses, fertile in
 flocks, and wealthy with the purple-veined
 marble that Synnada quarries.

Such was Phrygia then when the gods allowed
 it to be ravaged by Getic brigands. The
 barbarian burst in upon those cities so
 peaceful, so easy of capture. There was no hope
 of safety, no chance of escape. Long and
 peaceful ages had made the crumbling stones
 of their battlements to fall.

Meanwhile Cybele was seated amid the
 hallowed rocks of cold Ida, watching, as is her
 wont, the dance, and inciting the joyous
 Curetes to brandish their swords at the sound
 of the drum, when, lo, the golden-turreted
 crown, the eternal glory of her blessed hair, fell
 from off her head and, rolling from her brow,
 the castellated diadem is profaned in the dust.
 The Corybantes stopped in amazement at this
 omen; general alarm checked their orgies and
 silenced their pipes. The mother of the gods
 wept; then spake thus in sorrow.

"Hoc mihi iam pridem Lachesis
 grandaeva canebat
 augurium: Phrygiae casus venisse
 supremos
 delapsus testatur apex, heu sanguine qualis
 290 ibit Sangarius quantasque cadavera lenti
 Maeandri passura moras! immobilis haeret
 terminus, haec dudum nato placuere
 Tonanti.
 par et finitimis luctus, frustraue Lyaei
 295 non defensuros implorat Lydia thyrsos.
 iamque vale Phrygiae tellus perituraque
 flammis
 moenia, conspicuas quae nunc attollitis
 arces,
 mox campi nudumque solum! dilecta valete
 flumina! non vestris ultra bacchabor in
 antris
 nec iuga sulcabit noster Berecynthia
 300 currus."
 dixit et ad tristes convertit tympana
 planctus.
 labentem patriam sacris ululatibus Attis
 personat et torvi lacrimis maduere leones.
 Eutropius, nequeat quamvis metuenda
 taceri
 305 clades et trepidus vulgaverit omnia rumor,
 ignorare tamen fingit regnique ruinas
 dissimulat: parvam latronum errare
 catervam,
 ad sontes tormenta magis quam tela parari
 nec duce frangendas iactat, sed iudice
 vires:
 310 vasta velut Libyae venantum vocibus ales
 cum premitur calidas cursu transmittit
 harenas
 inque modum veli sinuatis flamine pennis
 pulverulenta volat; si iam vestigia retro
 clara sonent, oblita fugae stat lumine
 clauso
 (ridendum!) revoluta caput creditque
 315 latere,
 quem non ipsa videt. furtim tamen ardua
 mittit

"This is the portent that agèd Lachesis foretold
 long years ago. My fallen crown assures me
 that Phrygia's final crisis is upon her. Alas for
 the blood that shall redden Sangarius' waves;
 for all the corpses that shall retard Meander's
 slow stream. The hour is fixed irrevocably;
 such, long since, was my son's, the
 Thunderer's, will. A like disaster awaits the
 neighbouring peoples; in vain does Lydia
 invoke the thyrsus of Bacchus in her defence.
 Now fare thee well, land of Phrygia, farewell,
 walls doomed to the flames, walls that now rear
 aloft proud towers but will soon be levelled
 with the ground and the bare earth. Farewell,
 dear rivers: never more shall I hold my inspired
 revels in your grottoes; no more shall my
 chariot leave the traces of its wheels on
 Berecynthus' heights." So spake she, and
 turned her drums to strains of mourning. Attis
 filled his devoted country with holy
 lamentations and Cybele's tawny lions burst
 into tears.

Eutropius, although this terrible revolt could
 not be hid and although rumour had spread
 everywhere the dread news, none the less
 affects to ignore it and shuts his eyes to the
 empire's peril. 'Twas some poor troop of
 wandering brigands; such wretches call for
 punishment not war; a judge—so he brags—not
 a general should crush their strength. Even so
 the great Libyan bird, hard pressed by the cries
 of its pursuers, runs o'er the burning sands and
 flies through the dust, curving its wings like
 sails to catch the breeze; but when it clearly
 hears the footsteps close behind it, it forgets its
 flight, standing with closed eyes and hiding its
 head, believing, poor fool, it cannot be seen by
 those whom itself cannot see. None the less
 Eutropius

cum donis promissa novis, si forte rogatus
desinat. ille semel nota dulcedine praedae
se famulo servire negat, nec grata
timentum

munera; militiam nullam nec prima
320 superbus
cingula dignari; nam quis non consule tali
vilis honos?

Postquam precibus mitescere
nullis,
non auro cessisse videt creberque recurrit
nuntius incassum nec spes iam foederis
extat:

325 tandem consilium belli confessus agendi
ad sua tecta vocat. iuvenes venere protervi
lascivique senes, quibus est insignis edendi
gloria corruptasque dapes variasse
decorum,

qui ventrem invitant pretio traduntque
palato

330 sidereas Iunonis aves et si qua loquendi
gnara coloratis viridis defertur ab Indis,
quaesitos trans regna cibos, quorumque
profundam

ingluviem non Aegaeus, non alta Propontis,
non freta longinquis Maeotia piscibus
explet.

vestis odoratae studium; laus maxima risum

335 per vanos movisse sales minimeque viriles
munditiae; compta vultus; onerique vel ipsa
serica. si Chonus feriat, si Sarmata portas,
solliciti scaenae; Romam contemnere sueti
mirarique suas, quas Bosphorus obruat!

340 aedes;
saltandi dociles aurigarumque periti.

Pars humili de plebe duces; pars
compede suras

sends towering promises with new gifts, if
haply his foe may pause at his entreaty. But the
barbarian, in whose heart was once waked the
old love of plunder, refuses to submit to a slave;
for him the gifts of fear have no charm;
haughtily he disdains any rank,^[114] even the
highest, for under such a consul what honour
would not be disgrace?

When Eutropius saw that no prayers could
move him nor any gold win him over; when
messenger after messenger returned, his
mission unfulfilled, and all hopes of an alliance
were at an end, he at last recognized the
necessity for war and summoned the council to
his palace. Thither they came—wanton lads and
debauched greybeards whose greatest glory
was gluttony, and whose pride it was to
diversify the outraged banquet. Their hunger is
only aroused by costly meats, and they tickle
their palates with foods imported from
overseas, the flesh of the many-eyed fowl of
Juno,^[115] or of that coloured bird brought from
farthest Ind that knows how to speak. Not the
Aegean, not deep Propontis, not Maeotis' lake
afar can sate their appetites with fish.
Perfumed garments are their care, their pride
to move foolish laughter with their silly jests.
On their adornment and toilette they bestow a
woman's care and find even the silk they wear
too heavy a burden. Should the Hun, the
Sarmatian, strike at the city's gates yet trouble
they for nought but the theatre. Rome they
despise and reserve their admiration for their
own houses—may Bosphorus' waters overwhelm
them! Skilful dancers they and clever judges of
charioteers.

Some sprung from the dregs of the people are
generals; some magistrates—though their legs
and

[114] Claudian uses the word *cingulum* (= a soldier's belt) as = military service—a not uncommon late use, *cf.* Serv. *Aen.* viii. 724 and (frequently) *cingi* = to serve, in the Digests.

[115] *i.e.* the peacock.

cruraque signati nigro liventia ferro
 iura regunt, facies quamvis inscripta
 repugnet
 345 seque suo prodat titulo. sed prima potestas
 Eutropium praefert Hosio subnixa secundo.
 dulcior hic sane cunctis prudensque
 movendi
 iuris et admoto qui temperet omnia fumo,
 fervidus, accensam sed qui bene decoquat
 iram.
 350 considunt apices gemini dicionis Eoae,
 hic cocus, hic leno, defossi verbere terga,
 servitio, non arte pares, hic saepius
 emptus,
 alter ad Hispanos nutritus verna penates.
 Ergo ubi collecti proceres, qui rebus in
 artis
 consulerent tantisque darent solacia
 355 morbis,
 obliti subito Phrygiae bellisque relictis
 ad solitos coepere iocos et iurgia circi
 tendere. nequiquam magna confligitur ira,
 quis melius vibrata puer vertigine molli
 membra rotet, verrat quis marmora crine
 360 supino?
 quis magis enodes laterum detorqueat
 arcus, [116]
 quis voci digitos, oculos quis moribus
 aptet?
 hi tragicos meminere modos; his fabula
 Tereus,
 his necdum commissa choro cantatur
 Agave.
 Increpat Eutropius: non haec spectacula
 tempus
 366 poscere; nunc alias armorum incumbere
 curas;
 se satis Armenio fessum pro limite cingi

[116] *Birt artus; I return to the vulg. arcus.*

ankles are still scarred and livid with their
 wearing of the fetters of servitude and though
 their branded foreheads deny their owners'
 right to office and disclose their true title.
 Among them Eutropius holds the first place;
 Hosius, on whom he relies, comes next. He of a
 truth is more popular, a cunning artificer of
 justice who knows well how to steam his cases;
 at times boiling with anger, yet well able to
 render down that anger when aroused. [117]
 These sit enthroned, joint rulers of the eastern
 empire, the one a cook the other a pander. The
 backs of both are scarred with the whip, each
 was a slave though of a different kind. The one
 had been bought and sold a hundred times, the
 other brought up a dependant in a Spanish
 household.

When, therefore, the chief men were gathered
 together for consultation in this strait and to
 comfort the sickness of the state, forthwith they
 forget Phrygia and, setting aside the question
 of war, start their accustomed fooling and
 engage in disputes about the Circus. With heat
 as fierce as it is pointless they wrangle what
 boy can best whirl quivering limbs in an easy
 somersault or sweep the marble floor with his
 drooping locks; who can most twist his flanks
 into a boneless arch; who can best suit his
 gestures to his words and his eyes to his
 character. Some recite speeches from tragedy,
 others chant the play of Tereus, others again
 that of Agave, never before staged.

Eutropius chides them; the present moment,
 says he, demands other spectacles than these;
 it is war which now should claim all their care.
 For his part (for he is an old man and a weary)
 it is enough to defend the frontiers of Armenia;
 single-handed

[117] Hosius, by birth a Spaniard, had been a slave and a cook—whence these various double meanings. He rose to be *magister officiorum* at the court of Arcadius (*circa* 396-8).

nec tantis unum subsistere posse periclis;
ignoscant senio, iuvenes ad proelia mittant:

- 370 qualis pauperibus nutrix invisā puellis
adsidet et tela communem quaerere victum
rauca monet; festis illae luisse diebus
orant et positis aequaevas visere pensis,
irataeque operi iam lasso pollice fila
turbant et teneros detergent stamine fletus.
375 Emicat extemplo cunctis trepidantibus
audax
crassa mole Leo, quem vix Cyclopia solum
aequatura famas, quem non ieiuna Celaeno
vinceret; hinc nomen fertur meruisse
Leonis.
acer in absentes linguae iactator, abundans
380 corporis exiguusque animi, doctissimus
artis
quondam lanificae, moderator pectinis unci.
non alius lanam purgatis sordibus aequae
praebuerit calathis, similis nec pinguis
quisquam
385 vellera per tenues ferri producere rimas.
tunc Ajax erat Eutropii lateque fremebat,
non septem vasto quatiens umbone
iuuencos,
sed, quam perpetuis dapibus pigroque
sedili
inter anus interque colos oneraverat,
alvum.
adsurgit tandem vocemque expromit
390 anhelam:
“Quis novus hic torpor, socii? quonam
usque sedemus
femineis clausi thalamis patimurque
periculum
gliscere desidia? graviorum turba malorum
textitur, ignavis trahimus dum tempora
votis.
me petit hic sudor. numquam mea dextera
segnis
396 ad ferrum. faveat tantum Tritonia coeptis,

he cannot cope with all these perils. They must pardon his age and send younger men to the war:—it is as though a hated forewoman were sitting among a crowd of poor working-girls and bidding them in her raucous voice ply the loom and gain their livelihood, while they beg to be allowed the enjoyment of a holiday, to lay aside their tasks and visit their friends; angered at her refusal and wearied of their work they crush the threads in their hands and wipe away their gentle tears with the cloth.

Sudden from out that trembling throng upheaps bold Leo^[118] with his vast bulk, he whose single prowess Cyclopean hunger could scarce match, whom starving Celaeno could not outvie. 'Tis to this fact that he is said to have owed his name. Bold (when his foe was absent), brave (as a speaker), great in bulk but small of heart, once a highly skilled spinner of thread and a cunning carder, none other could so well cleanse the dirt from out the fleece and fill the baskets, none other pull the thick wool over the iron teeth of the comb as could he. He was then Eutropius' Ajax and far and near he raged, shaking not a huge shield compact of seven layers of ox-hide, but that belly of his, laden with continuous feasting, as he sat lazily among old dames and distaffs. At length he arose and, panting, said, “What unwonted sluggishness is this, my friends? How long must we sit closeted in the women's apartments and suffer our perils to increase by reason of our sloth? Fate weaves for us a network of ill while we waste our time in useless vows. This difficult task demands my action; never was my hand slow to use iron. Let but Minerva favour

[118] Gainas and Leo were sent by Eutropius to put down the revolt of Tarbigilus. Gainas, however, never left the Hellespont and Leo, advancing into Pamphylia, there met, and was defeated by, Tarbigilus (Zosim. v. 16. 5). We gather from Claudian that he had once been a weaver.

inceptum peragetur opus. iam cuncta
 furorem
 qui gravat, efficiam leviolem pondere lanae
 Tarbigilum tumidum, desertoresque
 Gruthungos
 400 ut miseris populabor oves et pace relata
 pristina restituam Phrygias ad stamina
 matres."
 His dictis iterum sedit; fit plausus et
 ingens
 concilii clamor, qualis resonantibus olim
 exoritur caveis, quotiens crinitus ephebus
 aut rigidam Nioben aut flentem Troada
 405 fingit.
 protinus excitis iter inremeabile signis
 adripit infaustoque iubet bubone moveri
 agmina Mygdonias mox impletura volucres.
 Pulcher et urbanae cupiens exercitus
 umbrae,
 410 adsiduus ludis, avidus splendere lavacris
 nec soles imbresve pati, multumque priori
 dispar, sub clipeo Thracum qui ferre
 pruinas,
 dum Stilicho reget, nudoque hiemare sub
 axe
 sueverat et duris haurire bipennibus
 Hebrum.
 415 cum duce mutatae vires. Byzantia robur
 fregit luxuries Ancyranique triumphi.
 non peditem praecedat eques; non
 commoda castris
 eligitur regio; vicibus custodia nullis
 advigilat vallo; non explorantur eundae
 420 vitandaeque viae; nullo se cornua flectunt
 ordine: confusi passim per opaca vagantur
 lustra, per ignotas angusto tramite valles.

mine attempts and the work begun will be the
 work completed. Now will I render proud
 Tarbigilus, whose madness has caused all this
 turmoil, of less weight than a ball of wool, the
 faithless Gruthungi I will drive before me like a
 flock of wretched sheep; and when I have
 restored peace I will set the women of Phrygia
 once more beside their ancient spinning."

So saying he sat down again. Great clamour
 and applause filled the council-chamber,
 applause such as rises from the rows of
 spectators in the theatre when some curled
 youth impersonates Niobe turned to stone, or
 Hecuba in tears. Straightway Leo unfolds his
 banners and starts on the journey whence there
 is to be no return. To the accompaniment of the
 screech-owl's ill-omened cry he bids march the
 host destined so soon to feed the vultures of
 Mygdonia.

'Tis a well-favoured army, enamoured of the
 city's shade, ever present at the games, anxious
 to shine in the baths, not to bear sun-scorch
 and rain, and oh! how different to that former
 army who, 'neath the leadership of Stilicho,
 endured under arms the frosts of Thrace and
 were wont to winter in the open air and break
 with their axes the frozen waters of Hebrus for
 a draught. Changed is the leader and changed
 their character. Byzantium's luxury and
 Ancyra's pomp^[119] have destroyed their vigour.
 No longer does the cavalry ride ahead of the
 foot; suitable ground is not chosen for camps;
 no constant change of sentries safeguards the
 ramparts, no scouts are sent forward to
 discover which roads to take or which to avoid;
 their evolutions are performed without drill or
 discipline, in confusion they stray hither and
 thither amid dark forests, along narrow

^[119] *Triumph* is ironical. Claudian refers
 to Eutropius' pleasure journey to Ancyra;
cf. l. 98 of this poem.

sic vacui rectoris equi, sic orba magistro
 fertur in abruptum casu, non sidere,
 puppis;
 425 sic ruit in rupes amisso pisce sodali
 belua, sulcandas qui praevius edocet undas
 inmensumque pecus parvae moderamine
 caudae
 temperat et tanto coniungit foedera
 monstro;
 illa natat rationis inops et caeca profundi;
 430 iam brevibus deprensa vadis ignara reverti
 palpitat et vanos scopulis inlidit hiatus.
 Tarbigilus simulare fugam flatusque
 Leonis
 spe nutrire leves improvisusque repente,
 dum gravibus marcent epulis hostique
 catenas
 435 inter vina erepant, largo sopita Lyaeo
 castra subit. pereunt alii, dum membra
 cubili
 tarda levant; alii leto iunxere soporem;
 ast alios vicina palus sine more ruentes
 excipit et cumulis inmanibus aggerat
 undas.
 440 ipse Leo damma cervoque fugacior ibat
 sudanti tremebundus equo: qui pondere
 postquam
 decidit, implicitus limo cunctantia pronus
 per vada reptabat. caeno subnixa tenaci
 mergitur et pingui suspirat corpore moles
 445 more suis, dapibus quae iam devota futuris
 turpe gemit, quotiens Hosius mucrone
 corusco
 armatur cingitque sinus secumque volutat,
 quas figat veribus partes, quae frusta
 calenti

paths in unexplored valleys. So goes a horse
 that has lost his rider, thus a ship whose
 helmsman has been drowned is swept to the
 abyss, chance guiding her and not the stars. So
 too the sea monster^[120] is dashed to pieces
 against the rocks when it has lost the comrade
 fish that swam before it and guided its course
 through the waves, piloting the great beast
 with the motion of its tiny tail according to the
 compact which is between it and its huge
 companion. Aimlessly the monster swims all
 unguided through the deep; then, surprised in
 the shallow water and knowing not how to
 return to the sea, pants and to no purpose
 dashes its gaping jaws against the rocks.

Tarbigilus feigns retreat and raises the
 presumptuous hopes of Leo, then suddenly he
 bursts all unexpected upon the wine-sodden
 army, as, overcome by the heavy feast, they
 brag over their cups of leading the foe in
 chains. Some are slain as they lift their sluggish
 limbs from the couch, others know not any
 break between sleep and death. Others rush
 pell-mell into a neighbouring swamp and heap
 the marsh high with their dead bodies. Leo
 himself, swifter than deer or antelope, fled
 trembling on his foam-flecked horse, and it
 falling under his weight Leo sank in the mire
 and on all fours fought his way through the
 clinging slime. Held up at first by the thick
 mud, his fat body gradually settles down
 panting like a common pig, which, destined to
 grace the coming feast, squeals when Hosius
 arms him with flashing knife, and gathers up
 his garments, pondering the while what
 portions he will transfix with spits, which
 pieces of the flesh he will boil and how much
 sea-urchin

[120] The *balaena* or whale. According to
 ancient naturalists the *balaena* entered into
 an alliance with the *musculus* or sea-mouse
 which, in Pliny's words, "vada praenatans
 demonstrat oculorumque vice fungitur"
 (Pliny, *H.N.* ix. 186).

mandet aquae quantoque cutem distendat
echino.

450 flagrat opus; crebro pulsatus perstrepsit
ictu; [121]

contexit varius penetrans Calchedona
nidor.

Ecce levis frondes a tergo concutit aura:
credit tela Leo; valuit pro vulnere terror
implevitque vicem iaculi, vitamque
nocentem

455 integer et sola formidine saucius efflat.
quis tibi tractandos pro pectine, degener,
enses,
quis solio campum praeponere suasit avito?
quam bene textentum laudabas carmina
tutus

et matutinis pellebas frigora mensis!
hic miserande iaces; hic, dum tua vellera
460 vitas,

tandem fila tibi neverunt ultima Parcae.

Iam vaga pallentem densis terroribus
aulam

fama quatit; stratas acies, deleta canebat
agmina, Maeonios foedari caedibus agros,
Pamphylos Pisidasque rapi. metuendus ab
465 omni

Tarbigilus regione tonat; modo tendere
cursum

in Galatas, modo Bithynis incumbere fertur.
sunt qui per Cilicas rupto descendere

Tauro,

470 sunt qui correptis ratibus terraque marique
adventare ferant; geminantur vera pavoris
ingenio: longe spectari puppibus urbes
accensas, lucere fretum ventoque citatas
omnibus in pelago velis haerere favillas.

Hos inter strepitus funestior advolat alter

[121] *I print Birt's text; but unless pulsatus be taken as a substantive (Baehrens' suggestion, cf. P. Lat. Min. v. p. 120 l. 169) it is untranslatable. Emendations proposed are pulsu Cos ... icta Barthius; pulsatus aper strepsit Buecheler; cultri sus or pulpae ius Birt. The sense demands, however, some such word as Bosphorus to make a parallelism with Calchedona. Possibly the line ended pulsatur Bosphorus ictu, perstrepsit being a gloss on pulsatur and eventually ousting Bosphorus.*

stuffing will be needed to fill the empty skin. The work of preparation goes on apace, Bosphorus echoes to many a blow and the savoury smell envelops Chalcedon.

Suddenly a gentle breeze stirs the foliage behind Leo's back. He thinks it an arrow, and terror, taking a missile's place, does duty for a wound. Untouched and stricken only by fear he breathes his last. Degenerate Roman, by whose advice didst thou exchange the comb for the sword, thine ancestral calling for the field of battle? How much better to praise in safety the work of the weavers at their looms and keep out the cold by means of morning feasts. Here thou hast suffered a wretched death; here, while thou soughtest to shirk thy spinning, the Fates have at last spun for thee the final thread.

Now spreading rumour shakes the palace, pale with terror upon terror. It told how that the army was destroyed, the troops butchered, the plain of Maeonia red with slaughter, Pamphylia and Pisidia o'errun by the enemy. On all sides rings the dread name of Tarbigilus. He is now said to be bearing down upon Galatia, now to be meditating an attack on Bithynia. Some say he has crossed the Taurus and is descending upon Cilicia, others that he has possessed himself of a fleet and is advancing both by land and sea. Truth is doubled by panic's fancy; they say that from the ships far cities are seen ablaze, that the straits are aglow and that ashes driven by the wind catch in the sails of every ship at sea.

Amid all this confusion comes a yet more terrible

475 nuntius: armatam rursus Babylona minari
 rege novo; resides Parthos ignava perosos
 otia Romanae finem iam quaerere paci.
 rarus apud Medos regum cruor; unaque
 cuncto
 poena manet generi: quamvis crudelibus
 aequae
 paretur dominis. sed quid non audeat annus
 480 Eutropii? socium nobis fidumque Saporem
 perculit et Persas in regia vulnera movit
 rupturasque fidem, leto pars ne qua
 vacaret,
 Eumenidum taedas trans flumina Tigridis
 egit.
 Tum vero cecidere animi tantisque
 485 procellis
 deficient. saepti latrantibus undique bellis
 infensos tandem superos et consulis omen
 agnovere sui, nec iam revocabile damnum
 eventu stolido serum didicere magistro.
 namque ferunt geminos uno de semine
 490 fratres
 Iapetionidas generis primordia nostri
 dissimili finxisse manu: quoscumque
 Prometheus
 excoluit multumque innexuit aethera limo,
 hi longe ventura notant dubiisque parati
 495 casibus occurrunt fabro meliore politi.
 deteriore luto pravus quos edidit auctor,
 quem merito Grai perhibent Epimethea
 vates,
 et nihil aetherii sparsit per membra vigoris,
 hi pecudum ritu non impendentia vitant
 nec res ante vident; accepta clade
 500 queruntur
 et seri transacta gemunt.

rumour—that Babylon is again in arms and, under a new monarch,^[122] threatens our Empire; the Parthians, long inactive, and now scorning slothful ease, seek to put an end to the peace imposed by Rome. Rare among the Medes is the murder of a king, for punishment falls on the regicide's whole family. Thus equal obedience is offered to their overlords, cruel as well as kind. But what would not the year of Eutropius' consulship dare? 'Tis that has stricken down our faithful ally Sapor and roused the Persians' swords against their own king; that has cast the torch of the Furies across the Euphrates, there to kindle rebellion, that no quarter of the globe may escape carnage.

Then indeed men's hearts failed them, their courage ebbed away amid all these storms; surrounded as they were on every side by the din of war, at last they recognized the wrath of heaven and their consul's evil omen, learning too late—schooled by the stubborn issue—their now irrevocable doom. They say that the twin sons of Iapetus formed our first parents of the same materials but with unequal skill. Those whom Prometheus fashioned, and with whose clay he mingled abundant ether, foresee the distant future and, thanks to their more careful making by a better workman, are thus prepared to meet what fate has in store for them. Those framed of baser clay by the sorry artificer the Greek poets so well call Epimetheus, men through whose limbs no ethereal vigour spreads—these, like sheep, cannot avoid the dangers that o'erhang them, nor foresee aught. Not till the blow has fallen do they protest and weep too late the accomplished deed.

[122] Varanes IV., who, like his three predecessors, Artaxerxes, Sapor III., and Varanes III., had observed a truce with Rome, died in 399 and was succeeded by Isdigerdes. For all Claudian's real or simulated anxiety this monarch was as peaceably disposed as the previous ones (see *Oros.* vii. 34). Claudian seems to have made an error in calling him Sapor (l. 481).

Iam sola renidet
 in Stilichone salus, et cuius semper
 acerbum
 ingratumque sibi factorum conscius horror
 credit adventum, quem si procedere
 tantum
 Alpibus audissent, mortem poenasque
 tremebant,
 iam cuncti venisse volunt, scelerumque
 506 priorum
 paenitet; hoc tantis bellorum sidus in undis
 sperant, hoc pariter iusti sontesque
 precantur:
 ceu pueri, quibus alta pater trans aequora
 merces
 510 devehit, intenti ludo studiisque soluti
 latius amoto passim custode vagantur;
 si gravis auxilio vacuas invaserit aedes
 vicinus laribusque suis proturbet inultos,
 tum demum patrem implorant et nomen
 inani
 voce cient frustra que oculos ad litora
 515 tendunt.
 Omnes supplicio dignos letoque fatentur,
 qui se tradiderint famulis Stilichone relicto.
 mutati stupere diu sensuque reducto
 paulatim proprii mirantur monstra furoris
 avertuntque oculos: proiectis fascibus
 520 horret
 lictor et infames labuntur sponte secures:
 quales Aonio Thebas de monte reversae
 Maenades infectis Pentheo sanguine
 thyrsis,
 cum patuit venatus atrox matrique rotatum
 525 conspexere caput, gressus caligine figunt
 et rabiem desisse dolent. quin protinus ipsa
 tendit ad Italiam supplex Aurora potentem

There now shone forth but one hope of
 salvation—Stilicho. Him the expectation of
 whose visits the consciousness of deeds ill-done
 had ever rendered bitter and unpleasant, him
 whose approach even as far as the Alps
 afflicted the Byzantines with fear of death and
 punishment, all now wish to come, repentant of
 their former wrongdoing. To him they look as
 to a star amid this universal shipwreck of war;
 to him innocent and guilty alike address their
 prayers. So children whose sire carries
 merchandise across the sea, wrapt up in their
 amusements and heedless of their studies,
 wander afield more joyfully now that their
 guardian is absent, yet, should a dangerous
 neighbour invade their defenceless home and
 seek to drive them forth unprotected as they
 are from their fireside, *then* they beg their
 father's help, call upon his name with useless
 cries and all to no purpose direct their gaze
 towards the shore.

All admit that they deserve punishment and
 death for deserting Stilicho and entrusting
 themselves to the governance of slaves. Long
 they stood dazed with altered thoughts, and as
 their senses slowly return they marvel at the
 results of their own madness and turn away
 their eyes; flinging down his rods the lictor
 shudders, and the dishonoured axes fall of their
 own accord. Even so the Maenads returning to
 Thebes from the Aonian mount, their thyrses
 dripping with Pentheus' blood, learning the
 true character of their dreadful hunting and
 seeing the head cast by the mother herself,
 hide them in the darkness and lament the end
 of their madness. Thereupon suppliant Aurora
 turned her flight towards powerful Italy, her
 hair no

non radiis redimita comam, non flammea
 vultu
 nec croceum vestita diem; stat livida luctu,
 qualis erat Phrygio tegeret cum Memnona
 busto.
 quam simul agnovit Stilicho nec causa
 531 latebat,
 restitit; illa manum victricem amplexa
 moratur
 altaque vix lacrimans inter suspiria fatur:
 "Tantanc te nostri ceperunt taedia
 mundi?
 sic me ludibrium famulis risumque relinquis
 535 dux quondam rectorque meus? solamque
 tueris
 Hesperiam? domiti nec te post bella tyranni
 cernere iam licuit? sic te victoria nobis
 eripuit Gallisque dedit? Rufinus origo
 540 prima mali: geminas inter discordia partes
 hoc auctore fuit. sed iam maiora moventi
 occurrit iusta rediens exercitus ira,
 fortis adhuc ferrique memor. brevis inde
 reluxit
 falsaque libertas; rursum Stilichonis
 habenis
 545 sperabam me posse regi. pro caeca futuri
 gaudia! fraterno coniungi coeperat orbis
 imperio (quis enim tanto terrore recentis
 exempli paribus sese committeret ausis?),
 cum subito (monstrosa mihi turpisque
 relatu
 550 fabula) Rufini castratus prosilit heres,
 et similes iterum luctus Fortuna reduxit,
 ut solum domini sexum mutasse viderer.
 "Hic primum thalami claustris delicta
 tegebat
 clam timideque iubens; erat invidiosa
 potestas,
 sed tamen eunuchi, necdum sibi publica
 555 iura

longer aureole-crowned and she no more bright
 of countenance nor clothed with the saffron of
 the dawn. She stands wan with woe, even as
 when she buried Memnon in his Phrygian
 grave. Stilicho recognized her and stayed, well
 knowing the reason of her visit. Long time she
 clasped his victorious hand and at length amid
 tears and sighs addressed him.

"Why art thou so wearied of the world whereon
 I shine? Leavest thou me thus to be the sport
 and laughing-stock of slaves and carest only for
 Italy, thou that wert once my guide and my
 leader? Since thy victory over the tyrant
 Eugenius I have not seen thee. Has victory thus
 robbed me of thee and given thee to Gaul?
 Rufinus was the prime cause of the trouble;
 'twas he who wrought disunion between the
 two empires. But when he aimed at more there
 met him an army returning in righteous wrath,
 an army still strong, still mindful of its former
 prowess. For a moment I was dazzled by the
 mirage of liberty: I hoped that Stilicho would
 once more hold the reins of our empire. Alas
 for my short-sighted happiness! The world had
 begun to form one single empire under the rule
 of the two brothers (for who, with the awful
 example^[123] so fresh in his mind, would dare
 embark upon a like venture?) when suddenly (it
 is a monstrous story which scarce bears the
 telling) a eunuch came forward as Rufinus'
 heir. Thus fortune brought back my former
 miseries with this one difference—that of
 changing my master's sex.

At first he kept his crimes hidden behind the
 doors of his chamber, an unseen and timid
 ruler; power was his that all envied, yet only a
 eunuch's, nor dared he yet arrogate to himself
 the right of

[123] *i.e.* that of Rufinus.

sumere nec totas audebat vertere leges.
 at postquam pulsisque bonis et faece
 retenta
 peiores legit socios dignisque satelles
 hinc Hosius stetit, inde Leo, fiducia crevit
 560 regnandique palam flagravat aperta libido.
 patricius, consul maculat quos vendit
 honores,
 plus maculat quos ipse gerit. iam signa
 tubaeque
 mollescunt, ipsos ignavia fluxit in enses.
 exultant merito gentes facilisque volenti
 praeda sumus. iam Bistoniis Haemoque
 565 nivali
 vastior expulsis Oriens squalescit aratris.
 ei mihi, quas urbes et quanto tempore
 Martis
 ignaras uno rapuerunt proelia cursu!
 nuper ab extremo veniens equitatus Araxe
 570 terruit Antiochi muros, ipsumque decorae
 paene caput Syriae flammis hostilibus arsit.
 utque gravis spoliis nulloque obstante
 profunda
 lactus caede redit, sequitur mucrone
 secundo
 continuum vulnus; nec iam mihi Caucasus
 hostes
 575 nec mittit gelidus Phasis; nascuntur in ipso
 bella sinu. legio pridem Romana Gruthungi,
 iura quibus victis dedimus, quibus arva
 domusque
 praebuimus, Lydos Asiaeque uberrima
 vastant
 ignibus et si quid tempestas prima reliquit.
 580 nec vi nec numero freti; sed inertia nutrit
 proditioque ducum, quorum per crimina
 miles

governing the state or of trampling on the laws.
 But when he had banished the good and,
 retaining the dregs of the people, had chosen
 therefrom advisers of no worth; when his
 creature Hosius stood on his one side and Leo
 on the other, then indeed his self-confidence
 waxed and his lust for power broke forth into
 open flame. Patrician and consul he brought
 defilement on the honours he sold; even
 greater defilement on those he carried himself.
 The very standards and trumpets of war grew
 feeble; a palsy seized upon our swords. What
 wonder the nations rejoiced and we became the
 easy prey of any who would subdue us? Gone
 are ploughs and ploughmen; the East is more a
 desert than Thrace and snowy Haemus. Alas!
 how many cities, how long unused to war's
 alarms, have perished in a single invasion! Not
 long since a mounted band coming from
 Araxes' farthest banks threatened the walls of
 Antioch and all but set fire to the chief city of
 the fair province of Syria. Laden with spoil and
 rejoicing in the vast carnage it had wrought the
 band returned with none to bar its passage;
 now it pursues its victorious career inflicting on
 me wound upon wound. 'Tis not now Caucasus
 nor cold Phasis that send forces against me;
 wars arise in the very centre of my empire.
 Time was when the Gruthungi formed a Roman
 legion; conquered we gave them laws; fields
 and dwelling-places we apportioned them. Now
 they lay waste with fire Lydia and the richest
 cities of Asia, ay, and everything that escaped
 the earlier storm. 'Tis neither on their own
 valour or numbers that they rely; it is our
 cowardice urges them on, cowardice and the
 treason of generals, through whose guilt our
 soldiers now

captivis dat terga suis, quos teste subegit
Danuvio partemque timet qui reppulit
omnes.

“Aula choris epulisque vacat nec perdita
curat,
dum superest aliquid. ne quid tamen orbe
reciso

586 venditor amittat, provincia quaeque
superstes

dividitur geminumque duplex passura
tribunal

cogitur alterius pretium sarcire peremptae.
sic mihi restituunt populos; hac arte
reperta

590 rectorum numerum terris pereuntibus
augent.

“In te iam spes una mihi. pro fronde
Minervae

has tibi protendo lacrimas: succurre ruenti,
eripe me tandem, servilibus eripe regnis.
neve adeo cunctos paucorum crimine
damnes

595 nec nova tot meritis offensa prioribus
obstet.

iamiam flecte animum. suprema pericula
semper

dant veniam culpae. quamvis iratus et exul
pro patriae flammis non distulit arma
Camillus.

600 nec te subtrahimus Latio; defensor utrique
sufficis. armorum liceat splendore tuorum
in commune frui; clipeus nos protegat idem
unaque pro gemino desudet cardine virtus.”

flee before their own captives, whom, as
Danube's stream well knows, they once
subdued; and those now fear a handful who
once could drive back all.

Meanwhile the palace devotes its attention to
dances and feastings, and cares not what be
lost so something remain. But lest our salesman
lose ought by this dismemberment of the
empire he has divided each remaining province
into two, and forces the two halves, each under
its own governor, to compensate him for the
loss of other provinces. 'Tis thus they give me
back my lost peoples: by this ingenious device
they increase the number of my rulers while
the lands they should rule are lost.

In thee is now my only hope; in place of
Minerva's supplicating branch I offer thee my
tears. Help me in my distress. Save me from
this tyranny of a slave master; do not condemn
all for the fault of a few, and let not a recent
offence cancel former merits. Grant me now my
request; extreme danger ever exonerates from
blame. Camillus, though justly angered at his
banishment, forebore not to succour his
country when in flames. I seek not to draw thee
away from Italy; thou art enough defence for
both empires. Let both have the benefit of thine
illustrious arms; let the same shield defend us
and one hero work the salvation of a twofold
world”

**FESCENNINA DE NUPTIIS
HONORII AUGUSTI**

I. (XI.)

Princeps corusco sidere pulchrrior,
Parthis sagittas tendere doctior,
eques Gelonis imperiosior,
5 quae digna mentis laus erit arduae?
quae digna formae laus erit igneae?
te Leda mallet quam dare Castorem;
praefert Achilli te proprio Thetis;
victum fatetur Delos Apollinem;
10 credit minorem Lydia Liberum.
tu cum per altas impiger ilices
praedo citatum cornipedem reges
ludentque ventis instabiles comae,
telis iacebunt sponte tuis ferae
15 gaudensque sacris vulneribus leo
admittet hastam morte superbior.
Venus reversum spernit Adonidem,
damnat reductum Cynthia Virbium.
Cum post labores sub platani voles
20 virentis umbra vel gelido specu
torrentiorem fallere Sirium
et membra somno fessa resolveris:
o quantus uret tum Dryadas calor!
quot aestuantes ancipiti gradu
furtiva carpent oscula Naides!

**FESCENNINE VERSES IN HONOUR
OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE
EMPEROR HONORIUS^[124]**

I. (XI.)

Prince, fairer than the day-star, who shootest
thine arrows with an aim more sure than the
Parthian's, rider more daring than the Geloni,
what praise shall match thy lofty mind, what
praise thy brilliant beauty? Leda would rather
have thee her son than Castor; Thetis counts
thee dearer than her own Achilles; Delos' isle
admits thee Apollo's victor; Lydia puts Bacchus
second to thee. When in the heat of the chase
thou guidest thy coursing steed amid the
towering holm-oaks and thy tossing locks
stream out upon the wind, the beasts of their
own accord will fall before thine arrows and the
lion, right gladly wounded by a prince's sacred
hand, will welcome thy spear and be proud so
to die. Venus scorns Adonis returned from the
dead, Diana disapproves Hippolytus recalled to
life.

When after thy toils thou seekest the shade of a
green plane-tree or shunnest Sirius' extreme
heat in some cool grot and freest thy wearied
limbs in sleep, what a passion of love will
inflamm the Dryads' hearts! how many a Naiad
will steal up with trembling foot and snatch an
unmarked kiss! Who,

[124] The marriage of Honorius and Maria,
daughter of Stilicho, took place at Milan,
Feb. 398.

25 quis vero acerbis horridior Scythis,
 quis beluarum corde furentior,
 qui, cum micantem te prope viderit,
 non optet ultro servitium pati,
 qui non catenas adripiat libens
 colloque poscat vincula libero?
 30 tu si nivalis per iuga Caucasi
 saevas petisses pulcher Amazonas,
 peltata pugnas desereret cohors
 sexu recepto; patris et inmemor
 inter frementes Hippolyte tubas
 35 strictam securim languida poneret
 et seminudo pectore cingulum
 forti negatum solveret Herculi,
 bellumque solus conficeret decor.
 40 Beata, quae te mox faciet virum
 primisque sese iunget amoribus.

II. (XII.)

Age cuncta nuptiali
 redimita vere tellus
 celebra toros eriles;
 omne nemus cum fluviis,
 omne canat profundum
 5 Ligures favete campi,
 Veneti favete montes,
 subitisque se rosetis
 vestiat Alpinus apex
 et rubeant pruinae.
 10 Athesis strepat choreis
 calamisque flexuosus
 leve Mincius susurret

though he be more uncivilized than the wild
 Scythians and more cruel even than the beasts,
 but will, when he has seen near at hand thy
 transcendent loveliness, offer thee a ready
 servitude? Who will not willingly seize the
 chains of slavery and demand the yoke for a
 neck as yet free? Hadst thou o'er the heights of
 snowy Caucasus gone against the cruel
 Amazons in all thy beauty, that warrior band
 had fled the fight and called to mind again their
 proper sex; Hippolyte, amid the trumpets' din,
 forgetful of her sire, had weakly laid aside her
 drawn battle-axe, and with half-bared breast
 loosed the girdle all Hercules' strength availed
 not to loose. Thy beauty alone would have
 ended the war.

Blessed is she who will soon call thee husband
 and unite herself to thee with the bonds of first
 love.

II. (XII.)

Come, earth, wreathed about with nuptial
 spring, do honour to thy master's marriage-
 feast. Sing, woods and rivers all, sing, deep of
 ocean. Give your blessing, too, Ligurian plains
 and yours, Venetian hills. Let Alpine heights on
 a sudden clothe themselves with rose-bushes
 and the fields of ice grow red. Let the Adige re-
 echo the sound of choric lays and meandering
 Mincius whisper gently through his

15 et Padus electriferis
 admoduletur alnis;
 epulisque iam repleto
 resonet Quirite Thybris
 dominique laeta votis
 aurea septemgeminas
 20 Roma coronet arces.
 procul audiant Hiberi,
 fluit unde semen aulae,
 ubi plena laurearum
 imperio feta domus
 25 vix numerat triumphos.
 habet hinc patrem maritus,
 habet hinc puella matrem
 geminaque parte ductum
 Caesareum flumineo
 30 stemma recurrit ortu.
 decorent virecta Bactim,
 Tagus intumescat auro
 generisque procreator
 sub vitreis Oceanus
 35 luxurietur antris.
 Oriensque regna fratrum
 simul Occidensque plaudat;
 placide iocentur urbes,
 quaeque novo quaeque nitent
 40 deficiente Phoebō.
 Aquiloniae procellae,
 rabidi tacete Cauri,
 taceat sonorus Auster.
 solus ovanthem Zephyrus
 45 perdominetur annum.

reeds and Padus make answer with his amber-dripping alders. Let Tiber's banks now ring with the voices of Rome's full-fed citizens and the golden city, rejoicing in her lord's marriage, crown her seven hills with flowers.

Let Spain hear afar, Spain the cradle of the imperial race, where is a house that is mother of emperors, rich in crowns of laurel, whose triumphs can scarce be numbered. Hence came the bridegroom's sire, hence the bride's mother; from either branch flows the blood of the Caesars, like twin streams reunited. Let rich herbage clothe Baetis' banks and Tagus swell his golden flood; may Ocean, ancestor of the imperial race, make merry in his crystal caves. Let East and West, the two brothers' realms, join in their applause, and peace and joy fill the cities illumined by the sun at his rising and at his setting. Be still, ye storms of the north and ye mad blasts of Caurus; sounding Auster, sink to rest. Let Zephyrus have sole rule over this year of triumph.

III. (XIII.)

Solitas galea fulgere comas,
 Stilicho, molli necte corona.
 cessent litui saevumque procul
 Martem felix taeda releget.
 5 tractus ab aula rursus in aulam
 redeat sanguis. patris officiis
 iunge potenti pignora dextra.
 gener Augusti pridem fueras,
 nunc rursus eris socer Augusti.
 10 quae iam rabies livoris erit?
 vel quis dabitur color invidiae?
 Stilicho socer est, pater est Stilicho.

IV. (XIV.)

Attollens thalamis Idalium iubar
 dilectus Veneri nascitur Hesperus.
 iam nuptae trepidat sollicitus pudor,
 iam produnt lacrimas flammea simplices.
 5 ne cessa, iuvenis, comminus adgredi,
 impacata licet saeviat unguibus.
 non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus
 Hyblaeos latebris nec spoliat favos,
 si fronti caveat, si timeat rubos;
 10 armat spina rosas, mella tegunt apes.
 crescunt difficili gaudia iurgio
 accenditque magis, quae refugit, Venus.
 quod flenti tuleris, plus sapit osculum.
 dices "o!" quotiens, "hoc mihi dulcius
 15 quam flavos deciens vincere Sarmatas!"

III. (XIII.)

Twine with a soft garland, Stilicho, the locks
 whereon a helmet is wont to shine. Let the
 trumpets of war cease and the propitious torch
 of marriage banish savage Mars afar. Let regal
 blood unite once more with regal blood.
 Perform a father's office and unite these
 children with thine illustrious hand. Thou didst
 marry an emperor's daughter, now, in turn, thy
 daughter shall marry an emperor. What room is
 here for the madness of jealousy? What excuse
 for envy? Stilicho is father both of bride and
 bridegroom.

IV. (XIV.)

Hesperus, loved of Venus, rises and shines for
 the marriage with his Idalian^[125] rays. Maiden
 shame now overcomes the anxious bride; her
 veil now shows traces of innocent tears.
 Hesitate not to be close in thine attacks, young
 lover, e'en though she oppose thee savagely
 with cruel finger-nail. None can enjoy the
 scents of spring nor steal the honey of Hybla
 from its fastnesses if he fears that thorns may
 scratch his face. Thorns arm the rose and bees
 find a defence for their honey. The refusals of
 coyness do but increase the joy; the desire for
 that which flies us is the more inflamed;
 sweeter is the kiss snatched through tears.
 How oft wilt thou say: "Better this than ten
 victories over the yellow-haired Sarmatae"!

[125] Idalian: from Idalium, a mountain in Cyprus, sacred to Venus.

Adspirate novam pectoribus fidem
 mansuramque facem tradite sensibus.
 tam iunctis manibus nectite vincula,
 quam frondens hedera stringitur aesculus,
 20 quam lento premitur palmite populus,
 et murmur querula blandius alite
 linguis adsiduo reddite mutuis.
 et labris animum conciliantibus
 alternum rapiat somnus anhelitum.
 25 amplexu caleat purpura regio
 et vestes Tyrio sanguine fulgidas
 alter virgineus nobilitet cruor.
 tum victor madido prosilias toro
 nocturni referens vulnera proelii.
 30 Ducant pervigiles carmina tibiae
 permissisque iocis turba licentior
 exultet tetricis libera legibus.
 passim cum ducibus ludite milites,
 passim cum pueris ludite virgines.
 35 haec vox aetheriis insonet axibus,
 haec vox per populos, per mare transeat:
 "formosus Mariam ducit Honorius."

Breathe a new loyalty into your breasts and let
 your senses kindle a flame that shall never be
 extinguished. May your clasped hands form a
 bond more close than that betwixt ivy and leafy
 oak tree or poplar and pliant vine. Be the
 frequent kisses that ye give and receive
 breathed more softly than those of plaintive
 doves, and when lips have united soul to soul
 let sleep still your throbbing breath. Be the
 purple couch warm with your princely wooing,
 and a new stain ennobled coverlets ruddy with
 Tyrian dye. Then leap victorious from the
 marriage-bed, scarred with the night's
 encounter.

All night long let the music of the flute resound
 and the crowd, set free from law's harsh
 restraints, with larger licence indulge the
 permitted jest. Soldiers, make merry with your
 leaders, girls with boys. Be this the cry that re-
 echoes from pole to pole, among the peoples,
 over the seas: "Fair Honorius weds with
 Maria."

**EPITHALAMIUM DE NUPTIIS
HONORII AUGUSTI**

PRAEFATIO

(IX.)

Surgeret in thalamum ducto cum Pelion
 arcu
 nec caperet tantos hospita terra deos,
 cum socer aequoreus numerosaque turba
 sororum
 certarent epulis continuare dies
 praeberetque Iovi communia pocula Chiron,
 5 molliter obliqua parte refusus equi,
 Peneus gelidos mutaret nectare fontes,
 Oetaeis fluerent spumea vina iugis:
 Terpsichore facilem lascivo pollice movit
 10 barbiton et molles duxit in antra choros.
 carmina nec superis nec displicuere
 Tonanti,
 cum teneris nossent congrua vota modis.
 Centauri Faunisque negant. quae flectere
 Rhoeton,
 quae rigidum poterant plectra movere
 Pholum?

Septima lux aderat caelo totiensque
 15 renato
 viderat exactos Hesperus igne choros:
 tum Phoebus, quo saxa domat, quo
 pertrahit ornos,
 pectine temptavit nobiliore lyram
 venturumque sacris fidibus iam spondet
 Achillem,
 iam Phrygias caedes, iam Simoënta canit.
 20 frondoso strepuit felix Hymenaeus Olympo;
 reginam resonant Othrys et Ossa Thetim.

**EPITHALAMIUM OF HONORIUS
AND MARIA**

PREFACE

(IX.)

When Pelion reared his height to form a bridal chamber with long-drawn arches, and his hospitable land could not contain so many gods; when Nereus, sire of the bride, and all the throng of her sisters strove to link day to day with feastings; when Chiron, lying at ease with his horse-flanks curled under him, offered the loving-cup to Jove; when Peneus turned his cold waters to nectar and frothing wine flowed down from Oeta's summit, Terpsichore struck her ready lyre with festive hand and led the girlish bands into the caves. The gods, the Thunderer himself, disdained not these songs, for they knew that lovers' vows ever harmonized with tender strains. Centaurs and Fauns would have none of it: what lyre could touch Rhoetus or move inhuman Pholus?

The seventh day had flamed in heaven, seven times had Hesperus relumed his lamp and seen the dances completed; then Phoebus touched his lyre with that nobler quill, wherewith he leads captive rocks and mountain-ashes, and sang to his sacred strings now the promised birth of Achilles, now the slaughter of the Trojans and the river Simois. The happy marriage-cry re-echoed o'er leafy Olympus, and Othrys and Ossa gave back their mistress Thetis' name.

EPITHALAMIUM

(X.)

Hauserat insolitos promissae virginis
 ignes
 Augustus primoque rudis flagraverat aestu;
 nec novus unde calor nec quid suspiria
 vellent,
 5 noverat incipiens et adhuc ignarus amandi.
 non illi venator equus, non spicula curae,
 non iaculum torquere libet; mens omnis
 aberrat
 in vulnus, quod fixit Amor. quam saepe
 medullis
 erupit gemitus! quotiens incanduit ore
 confessus secreta rubor nomenque beatum
 iniussae scripsere manus! iam munera
 10 nuptae
 praeparat et pulchros Mariae sed luce
 minores
 eligit ornatus, quidquid venerabilis olim
 Livia divorumque nurus gessere superbae.
 incusat spes aegra moras longique videntur
 stare dies segnemque rotam non flectere
 15 Phoebe.
 Scyria sic tenerum virgo flammabat
 Achillem
 fraudis adhuc expers bellatricesque
 docebat
 ducere fila manus et, mox quos horruit Ide,
 Thessalicos roseo nectebat pollice crines.
 Haec etiam queritur secum: "quonam
 20 usque verendus

EPITHALAMIUM

(X.)

Unfelt before was the fire the Emperor
 Honorius had conceived for his promised bride,
 and he burned, all unexperienced, with
 passion's first fever, nor knew whence came
 the heat, what meant the sighs—a tyro and as
 yet ignorant of love. Hunting, horses, javelins—
 for none of these he now cares nor yet to fling
 the spear; Love's wound occupies all his
 thoughts. How often he groaned from the very
 heart; how often a blush, mantling to his
 cheeks, betrayed his secret; how often,
 unbidden of himself, his hand would write the
 loved one's name. Already he prepares gifts for
 his betrothed and selects to adorn her (though
 their beauty is less than hers) the jewels once
 worn by noble Livia of old and all the proud
 women of the imperial house. The impatient
 lover chafes at the delay; the long days seem as
 though they stood still and the moon as though
 she moved not her slow wheel. Thus Deidamia,
 girl of Scyros, e'er yet she sees through his
 disguise, inflamed with love the young Achilles,
 and taught his warrior hands to draw the
 slender thread and passed her rosy fingers
 through the locks of that Thessalian of whom
 all Ida was soon to stand in awe.

Thus too he communed with himself: "How long

cunctatur mea vota socer? quid iungere
differt,
quam pepigit, castasque preces implere
recusat?
non ego luxuriam regum moremque secutus
quaesivi vultum tabulis^[126] ut nuntia
formae
25 lena per innumeros iret pictura penates,
nec variis dubium thalamis lecturus^[127]
amorem
ardua commisi falsae conubia cerae.
non rapio praeceps alienae foedera taedae,
sed quae sponsa mihi pridem patrisque
relicta
30 mandatis uno materni sanguinis ortu
communem partitur avum. fastidia supplex
deposui gessique procum; de limine sacro
oratum misi proceres, qui proxima nobis
iura tenent. fateor, Stilicho, non parva
poposci,
35 sed certe mereor princeps, hoc principe
natus
qui sibi te generum fraterna prole revinxit,
cui Mariam debes. faenus mihi solve
paternum,
redde suos aulae. mater fortasse rogari
mollior. o patrum germen, cui nominis heres
40 successi, sublime decus torrentis Hiberi,
stirpe soror, pietate parens, tibi creditus
infans
inque tuo crevi gremio, partuque remoto
tu potius Flaccilla mihi. quid dividis ergo

[126] tabulis *vulg.*; *Birt* reads thalamis with the better MSS.

[127] *Birt* reads laturus with *P*; other MSS. lecturus.

will honoured Stilicho forbear to grant my prayers? Why postpones he the union of those whose love he has approved? Why should he refuse to fulfil my chaste desires? I follow not the example of luxurious princes in seeking the beauties of a pictured countenance, whereby the pander canvass may pass from house to house to make known the charms demanded; nor yet have I sought to choose the uncertain object of my love from this house or from that, and thus entrusted to deceptive wax the difficult selection of a bride. I sever not in violence the bonds that unite a wedded woman to her lord; her I seek who hath long been betrothed to me, who by a father's orders was left my affianced bride and who through her mother shares with me a common grandsire. A suppliant I have laid aside my rank and acted the suitor. Princes, second only to myself in rank, have I sent from my imperial palace to present my petition. 'Tis no small thing I ask, Stilicho; that I admit; yet surely to me, an emperor, son of that other emperor who, by giving thee his brother's adopted daughter to wife, made thee his son-in-law,—to me thou dost owe Maria. Pay back to the son the interest due to his sire; restore to the palace those who are its own. Mayhap her mother^[128] will be less inexorable. Daughter of mine uncle Honorius, whence I derive my name, chief glory of the land of swift-flowing Ebro, cousin by birth, by mother's love a mother, to thy care was mine infancy entrusted, in thine arms I grew to boyhood; save for my birth thou, rather than Flacilla, art my mother. Why dost thou separate thy two

[128] Serena, daughter of Honorius, the elder, the brother of Theodosius the Great. Theodosius adopted Serena so that by adoption Honorius and Serena were brother and sister, by birth cousins. Serena was probably born in 376; Honorius not till Sept. 9, 384.

pignora? quid iuveni natam non reddis
alumno?

45 optatusne dies aderit? dabiturne iugalis
nox umquam?"

Tali solatur vulnera questu.
risit Amor placidaeque volat trans aequora
matri

nuntius et totas iactantior explicat alas.
Mons latus Ionium Cypri praeruptus
obumbrat,

50 inuius humano gressu, Phariumque cubile
Proteos et septem despectat cornua Nili.
hunc neque candentes audent vestire
pruinae,
hunc venti pulsare timent, hunc laedere
nimbi.

luxuriae Venerique vacat. pars acrior anni
55 exulat; aeterni patet indulgentia veris.
in campum se fundit apex; hunc aurea
saepes

circuit et fulvo defendit prata metallo.
Mulciber, ut perhibent, his oscula coniugis
emit

moenibus et tales uxorius obtulit arces.
intus rura micant, manibus quae subdita
60 nullis

perpetuum florent, Zephyro contenta
colono,
umbrosumque nemus, quo non admittitur
ales,

ni probet ante suos diva sub iudice cantus:
quae placuit, fruitur ramis; quae victa,
recedit.

vivunt in Venerem frondes omnisque
65 vicissim
felix arbor amat; nutant ad mutua palmae
foedera, populeo suspirat populus ictu
et platani platanis alnoque adsibilat alnus.

Labuntur gemini fontes, hic dulcis,
amarus

70 alter, et infusis corrumpunt mella venenis,

children? Why not bestow a daughter born
upon an adopted son? Will the longed-for day
ever come; the marriage-night ever be
sanctioned?"

With such complaint he assuages the wounds of
love. Cupid laughed and speeding across the
deep bore the news to his gentle mother,
proudly spreading his wings to their full extent.

Where Cyprus looks out over the Ionian main a
craggy mountain overshadows it;
unapproachable by human foot it faces the isle
of Pharos, the home of Proteus and the seven
mouths of the Nile. The hoar frost dares not
clothe its sides, nor the rude winds buffet it nor
clouds obscure. It is consecrate to pleasure and
to Venus. The year's less clement seasons are
strangers to it, wherever ever brood the
blessings of eternal spring. The mountain's
height slopes down into a plain; that a golden
hedge encircles, guarding its meadows with
yellow metal. This demesne, men say, was the
price paid by Mulciber for the kisses of his
wife, these towers were the gift of a loving
husband. Fair is the enclosed country, ever
bright with flowers though touched with no
labouring hand, for Zephyr is husbandman
enough therefor. Into its shady groves no bird
may enter save such as has first won the
goddess' approval for its song. Those which
please her may flit among the branches; they
must quit who cannot pass the test. The very
leaves live for love and in his season every
happy tree experiences love's power: palm
bends down to mate with palm, poplar sighs its
passion for poplar, plane whispers to plane,
alder to alder.

Here spring two fountains, the one of sweet
water, the other of bitter, honey is mingled
with the first, poison with the second, and in
these streams 'tis said

unde Cupidineas armari fama sagittas.
mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,
ore pares, aevo similes, gens mollis
Amorum.

hos Nymphae pariunt, illum Venus aurea
solum

75 edidit. ille deos caelumque et sidera cornu
temperat et summos dignatur figere reges;
hi plebem feriunt. nec cetera numina
desunt:

hic habitat nullo constricta Licentia nodo
et flecti faciles Irae vinoque madentes
Excubiae Lacrimaeque rudes et gratus
80 amantum

Pallor et in primis titubans Audacia furtis
iucundique Metus et non secura Voluptas;
et lasciva volant levibus Periuria ventis.

85 quos inter petulans alta cervice Iuventas
excludit Senium luco.

Procul atria divae
permutant radios silvaeque obstante
virescunt.

Lemnius haec etiam gemmis extruxit et
auro

admiscens artem pretio trabibusque
smaragdi

supposuit caesas hyacinthi rupe columnas.
90 beryllo paries et iaspide lubrica surgunt
limina despectusque solo calcatur achates.
in medio glaebis redolentibus area dives
praebet odoratas messes; hic mitis amomi,
hic casiae matura seges, Panchaeaque
turgent

95 cinnama, nec sicco frondescunt vimina
costo

tardaue sudanti prorepunt balsama rivo.

Quo postquam delapsus Amor longasque
peregit
penna vias, alacer passuque superbior
intrat.

caesariem tunc forte Venus subnixa
corusco

100 fingebat solio. dextra laevaue sorores
stabant Idaliae: largos haec nectaris imbres

that Cupid dips his arrows. A thousand brother
Loves with quivers play all around upon the
banks, a tender company like to Cupid himself
in face and of equal age. The nymphs are their
mothers; Cupid is the only child of golden
Venus. He with his bow subdues the stars and
the gods and heaven, and disdains not to
wound mighty kings; of the others the common
people is the prey. Other deities, too, are here:
Licence bound by no fetters, easily moved
Anger, Wakes dripping with wine,
inexperienced Tears, Pallor that lovers ever
prize, Boldness trembling at his first thefts,
happy Fears, unstable Pleasure, and lovers'
Oaths, the sport of every lightest breeze. Amid
them all wanton Youth with haughty neck shuts
out Age from the grove.

Afar shines and glitters the goddess' many-
coloured palace, green gleaming by reason of
the encircling grove. Vulcan built this too of
precious stones and gold, wedding their
costliness to art. Columns cut from rock of
hyacinth support emerald beams; the walls are
of beryl, the high-builed thresholds of polished
jaspar, the floor of agate trodden as dirt
beneath the foot. In the midst is a courtyard
rich with fragrant turf that yields a harvest of
perfume; there grows sweet spikenard and ripe
cassia, Panchaeae cinnamon-flowers and
sprays of oozy balm, while balsam creeps forth
slowly in an exuding stream.

Hither Love glided down, winging his way o'er
the long journey. Joyfully and with prouder gait
than e'er his wont he enters. Venus was seated
on her glittering throne, tiring her hair. On her
right hand and on her left stood the Idalian
sisters. [129] Of these one pours a rich stream of
nectar over Venus'

[129] *i.e.* the Graces.

inrigat, haec morsu numerosi dentis eburno
 multifidum discrimen arat; sed tertia retro
 dat varios nexus et iusto dividit orbes
 ordine, neglectam partem studiosa
 105 relinquit:
 plus error decuit. speculi nec vultus egebat
 iudicio; similis tecto monstratur in omni
 et capitur^[130] quocumque videt. dum
 singula cernit,
 seque probat, nati venientis conspicit
 umbram
 ambrosioque sinu puerum complexa
 110 ferocem
 "quid tantum gavisus?" ait; "quae proelia
 sudas
 improbe? quis iacuit telis? iterumne
 Tonantem
 inter Sidonias cogis mugire iuvenca?
 an Titana domas? an pastoralia Lunam
 rursus in antra vocas? durum magnumque
 videris
 116 debellasse deum."
 Suspensus in oscula matris
 ille refert: "Laetare, parens; inmane
 tropaeum
 rettulimus, nostrum iam sensit Honorius
 arcum.
 scis Mariam patremque ducem, qui cuspidem
 Gallos
 120 Italiamque fovet, nec te praeclara Serenae
 fama latet. propera; regalibus adnue votis:
 iunge toros."
 Gremio natum Cytherea removit
 et crines festina ligat peplumque fluentem
 adlevat et blando spirantem numine ceston
 cingitur, impulsos pluviis quo mitigat
 125 amnes,
 quo mare, quo ventos irataque fulmina
 solvit.
 ut stetit ad litus, parvos adfatur alumnos:
 "Heus! quis erit, pueri, vitreas qui lapsus
 in undas
 huc rapidum Tritona vocet, quo vecta per
 altum

[130] *Birt, following the mss., rapitur; capitur was suggested by Conington, comparing Virg. Aen. viii. 311.*

head, another parts her hair with a fine ivory
 comb. A third, standing behind the goddess,
 braids her tresses and orders her ringlets in
 due array, yet carefully leaving a part
 untended; such negligence becomes her more.
 Nor did her face lack the mirror's verdict; her
 image is reflected over all the palace and she is
 charmed wheresoever she looks. While she
 surveys each detail and approves her beauty
 she notes the shadow of her son as he
 approaches and catches the fierce boy to her
 fragrant bosom. "Whence comes thy joy?" she
 asks; "cruel child, what battles hast thou
 fought? What victim has thine arrow pierced?
 Hast thou once more compelled the Thunderer
 to low among the heifers of Sidon? Hast thou
 overcome Apollo, or again summoned Diana to
 a shepherd's cave? Methinks thou hast
 triumphed over some fierce and potent god."

Hanging upon his mother's kisses he answered:
 "Mother, be thou glad; a great victory is ours.
 Now has Honorius felt our arrows. Thou
 knowest Maria and her sire, the general whose
 spear protects Gaul and Italy; the fame of noble
 Serena is not hidden from thee. Haste thee,
 assent to their princely prayers and seal this
 royal union."

Cytherea freed her from her son's embrace,
 hastily bound up her hair, gathered up her
 flowing dress and girt herself about with the
 divine girdle whose all-compelling charm can
 stay the rain-swollen torrent and appease the
 sea, the winds and angry thunderbolts. Soon as
 she stood on the shore she thus addressed her
 small foster-children. "Come, children, which of
 you will plunge beneath the glassy wave and
 summon me hither fleet Triton to bear me

- 130 deferar? haud umquam tanto mihi venerit
usu.
sacri, quos petimus, thalami. pernicious
omnes
quaerite, seu concha Libycum circumsonat
aequor,
Aegaeas seu frangit aquas. quicumque
reperit
duxerit, aurata donabitur ille pharetra.”
135 Dixerat et sparsa diversi plebe feruntur
exploratores. pelagi sub fluctibus ibat
Carpathiis Triton obluctantemque petebat
Cymothoën. timet illa ferum seseque
sequenti
subripit et duris elabatur uda lacertis.
“heus,” inquit speculatus Amor, “non vestra
sub imis
141 furta tegi potuere vadis. accingere nostram
vecturus dominam: pretium non vile laboris
Cymothoën facilem, quae nunc detrectat,
habebis.
hac mercede veni.”
Prorupit gurgite torvus
145 semifer; undosi verrebant brachia crines;
hispida tendebant bifido vestigia cornu,
qua pistris commissa viro. ter pectora
movit;
iam quarto Paphias tractu sulcabat
harenas.
umbratura deam retro sinuatur in arcum
150 belua; tum vivo squalentia murice terga
purpureis mollita toris^[131]: hoc navigat
antro^[132]
fulta Venus; niveae delibant aequora
plantae.
prosequitur volucer late comitatus Amorum
tranquillumque choris quatitur mare. sarta
per omnem
155 Neptuni dispersa domum. Cadmeia ludit
Leucothoë, frenatque rosis delphina
Palaemon;
alternas violis Nereus interserit algas;

[131] toris *A*, followed by *Birt*; but rosis *VP* is attractive.

[132] antro *P*¹; vulg. ostro.

quickly o'er the deep? Never will he have come to do us better service. Sacred is the marriage that I seek. Make all speed in your search; may be the Libyan sea rings to his conch, may be he cleaves the Aegean main. Whoso shall find and bring him hither shall have a golden quiver as a reward.”

She spake and, dividing into various bands, the scouts set out. Triton was swimming beneath the waves of the Carpathian sea, pursuing reluctant Cymothoë. She feared her rough lover and eluded his pursuit, her wet form gliding through the embraces of his strong arms. One of the Loves espied him and cried, “Stay! the deeps cannot hide your amours. Make ready to carry our mistress; as a reward for thy services (and 'tis no meagre one) thou shalt have Cymothoë, a complaisant mistress shall she be though she flout thee now. Come and win thy recompense.”

The dread monster arose from the abyss; his billowing hair swept his shoulders; hoofs of cloven horn grown round with bristles sprang from where his fishy tail joined his man's body. He swam three strokes and at the fourth stranded upon the shore of Cyprus. To shade the goddess the monster arched back his tail; then his back, rough with living purple, was bedded with scarlet coverlets; resting in such a retreat does Venus voyage, her snowy feet just dipping in the sea. A great company of winged Loves fly after her, troubling the calm surface of Ocean. Neptune's palace is all adorned with flowers. Leucothoë, daughter of Cadmus, sports on the water, and Palaemon drives his dolphin with a bridle of roses. Nereus sets violets here

canitiem Glaucus ligat immortalibus herbis.
 nec non et variis vectae Nereides ibant
 160 audito rumore feris (hanc pisce voluto
 sublevat Oceani monstrum Tartesia tigris;
 hanc timor Aegaei rupturus fronte carinas
 trux aries; haec caeruleae suspensa
 leaenae
 innatat; haec viridem trahitur complexa
 iuencum)
 165 certatimque novis onerant conubia donis.
 cingula Cymothoë, rarum Galatea monile
 et gravibus Psamathe bacis diadema
 ferebat
 intextum, Rubro quas legerat ipsa
 profundo.
 mergit se subito vellitque corallia Doto:
 vimen erat dum stagna subit; processerat
 170 undis:
 gemma fuit.
 Nudae Venerem cinxere catervae
 plaudentesque simul tali cum voce
 sequuntur:
 "hos Mariae cultus, haec munera nostra
 precamur
 reginae regina feras. dic talia numquam
 promeruisse Thetim nec cum soror
 175 Amphitrite
 nostro nupta Iovi. devotum sentiat aequor,
 agnoscat famulum virgo Stilichonia
 pontum.
 victrices nos saepe rates classemque
 paternam
 veximus, attritis cum tenderet ultor
 Achivis."
 Iam Ligurum terris spumantia pectora
 180 Triton
 adpulerat lassosque fretis extenderat orbis.
 continuo sublime volans ad moenia Gallis
 condita, lanigeri suis ostentantia pellem,
 pervenit. adventu Veneris pulsata recedunt
 185 nubila, clarescunt puris Aquilonibus Alpes.

and there among the seaweed and Glaucus
 wreathes his grey hair with deathless flowers.
 Hearing the tale the Nereids, too, came
 mounted on various beasts: one (maiden above
 but fish below) rides the dread sea-tiger of
 Tartessus; another is carried by that fierce ram,
 the terror of the Aegean, who shatters ships
 with his forehead; a third bestrides the neck of
 a sea-lion; another is borne along by the sea-
 calf to which she clings. They vie with one
 another in bringing gifts to the newly-wedded
 pair. Cymothoë presents a girdle, Galatea a
 precious necklace, Psamathe a diadem heavily
 encrusted with pearls gathered by herself from
 the depths of the Red Sea. Doto suddenly dives
 to gather coral, a plant so long as it is beneath
 the water, a jewel once it is brought forth from
 the waves.

The nude crowd of Nereids throng around
 Venus, following her and singing praises after
 this manner: "We beg thee, Venus, our queen,
 to bear these our gifts, these adornments, to
 queen Maria. Tell her that never did Thetis
 receive their like nor even our sister Amphitrite
 when she espoused our Jupiter.^[133] Let the
 daughter of Stilicho hereby realize the devotion
 of the sea and know that Ocean is her slave.
 'Tis we who bore up her father's fleet, the hope
 of his victorious land, what time he set out to
 avenge the ruined Greeks."

And now Triton's foam-flecked breast had
 touched the Ligurian shore and his wearied
 coils were extended over the surface of the
 water. Straightway Venus flew high in the air
 to the city founded by the Gauls, the city that
 shows as its device the fleece-covered pelt of a
 sow.^[134] At the coming of the goddess the
 routed clouds retire; bright shine the Alps
 beneath

[133] *i.e.* Neptune.

[134] Milan; *cf.* Isid. *Orig.* XV. 1 *vocatum
Mediolanum ab eo, quod ibi sus in medio
lanea perhibetur inventa*; Sidon. *Apol.* vii.
17 *et quae lanigero de sue nomen habent.*

laetitia causas ignorat dicere miles
 laetaturque tamen; Mavortia signa
 rubescunt
 floribus et subitis animantur frondibus
 hastae.
 illa suum dictis adfatur talibus agmen:
 "Gradivum, nostri comites, arcete
 190 parumper,
 ut soli vacet aula mihi. procul igneus horror
 thoracum, gladiosque tegat vagina
 minaces.
 stent bellatrices aquilae saevique dracones.
 fas sit castra meis hodie succumbere signis:
 195 tibia pro lituis et pro clangore tubarum
 molle lyrae festumque canant. epulentur ad
 ipsas
 excubias; mediis spirent crateres in armis.
 laxet terribiles maiestas regia fastus
 et sociam plebem non indignata potestas
 confundat turbae proceres. solvantur
 200 habenae
 gaudia nec leges pudeat ridere severas.
 "Tu festas, Hymenaeae, faces, tu, Gratia,
 flores
 elige, tu geminas, Concordia, necte
 coronas.
 vos, pennata cohors, quocumque vocaverit
 usus,
 205 divisa properate manu, neu marceat ulla
 segnitias: alii funalibus ordine ductis
 plurima venturae suspendite lumina nocti;
 hi nostra nitidos postes obducere myrto
 contentant; pars nectareis adspargite tecta
 210 fontibus et flamma lucos adolete Sabaeos;
 pars infecta croco velamina lutea Serum
 pandite Sidoniasque solo prosternite
 vestes.
 ast alii thalamum docto componite textu;
 stamine gemmato picturatisque columnis

the clear North wind. The soldier rejoices though he cannot tell why. The standards of war burgeon with red flowers and the spears on a sudden sprout with living leaves. Then Venus thus addresses her attendant throng. "Comrades mine, keep away for a while the god of war that the palace may be mine and mine alone. Banish afar the terror of the flashing breastplate; let its scabbard sheath the threatening sword. Advance not the standards of war, the eagles and savage dragons. This day the camp shall yield to my standards; the flute shall sound instead of the bugle, the soft strains of the happy lyre take the place of the trumpets' blare. Let the soldiers feast even when on guard and the beakers foam in the midst of arms. Let regal majesty lay by its awful pride and power, disdaining not to associate with the people, make one the nobles with the crowd. Let joy be unrestrained and sober Law herself be not ashamed to laugh.

"Hymen, choose thou the festal torches, and ye Graces gather flowers for the feast. Thou, Concord, weave two garlands. You, winged band, divide and hasten whithersoever you can be of use: let none be slothful or lazy. You others hang numberless lamps in order from their brackets against the coming of night. Let these haste to entwine the gleaming door-posts with my sacred myrtle. Do you sprinkle the palace with drops of nectar and kindle a whole grove of Sabaeian incense. Let others unfold yellow-dyed silks from China and spread tapestries of Sidon on the ground. Do you employ all your arts in decorating the marriage-bed. Woven with jewels and upborne on carved columns be its canopy, such

215 aedificetur apex, qualem non Lydia dives
 erexit Pelopi nec quem struxere Lyaeo
 Indorum spoliis et opaco palmite Bacchae.
 illic exuvias omnes cumulate parentum:
 quidquid avus senior Mauro vel Saxone
 victis,
 quidquid ab innumeris socio Stilichone
 220 tremendus
 quaesivit genitor bellis, quodcumque
 Gelonus
 Armeniusve dedit; quantum crinita sagittis
 attulit extremo Meroë circumflua Nilo;
 misit Achaemenio quidquid de Tigride
 Medus,
 cum supplex emeret Romanam Parthia
 225 pacem.
 nobilibus gazis opibusque cubilia surgant
 barbaricis; omnes thalamo conferte
 triumphos."
 Sic ait et sponsae petit improvisa
 penates.
 illa autem secreta tori taedasque parari
 230 nescia divinae fruitur sermone parentis
 maternosque bibit mores exempla discit
 prisca pudicitiae Latios nec volvere libros
 desinit aut Graios, ipsa genetrice magistra,
 Maeonius quaecumque senex aut Thracius
 Orpheus
 235 aut Mytilenaeo modulatur pectine Sappho
 (sic Triviam Latona monet; sic mitis in
 antro
 Mnemosyne docili tradit praecepta
 Thaliae):
 cum procul augeri nitor et iucundior aër
 attonitam lustrare domum fundique
 comarum
 gratus odor. mox vera fides numenque
 240 refulsit.
 cunctatur stupefacta Venus; nunc ora
 puellae,

as rich Lydia ne'er built for Pelops nor yet the
 Bacchae for Lyaeus, decked as his was with the
 spoils of Ind and the mantling vine. Heap up
 there all the gathered wealth of the family, all
 the spoil that Honorius the elder, our emperor's
 grandsire, won from Moor and Saxon, all that
 his dread father with Stilicho at his side gained
 from numberless wars, all that the Geloni and
 Armenians have contributed or Meroë added—
 Meroë encircled by furthest Nile whose
 people decorate their hair with arrows;
 whatever the Medes sent from the banks of
 Persian Tigris when suppliant Parthia bought
 peace of Rome. Let the lofty couch be adorned
 with the barbaric splendour of kings'
 treasures; be all the wealth of all our triumphs
 gathered in that marriage-chamber."

So spake she and all unannounced sought the
 bride's home. But Maria, with no thoughts of
 wedlock nor knowing that the torches were
 being got ready, was listening with rapt
 attention to the discourse of her saintly mother,
 drinking in that mother's nature and learning
 to follow the example of old-world chastity; nor
 does she cease under that mother's guidance to
 unroll the writers of Rome and Greece, all that
 old Homer sang, or Thracian Orpheus, or that
 Sappho set to music with Lesbian quill; (even
 so Latona taught Diana; so gentle Mnemosyne
 in her cave gave instruction to meek Thalia)—
 when the sky from afar grows more bright, a
 sweeter air breathes through the astonished
 palace and there is spread the happy fragrance
 of scented locks. Soon came the proof; in all
 her beauty the goddess bursts upon them. Yet
 Venus stands amazed, admiring now the
 daughter's

nunc flavam niveo miratur vertice matrem.
 haec modo crescenti, plenae par altera
 lunae:
 adsurgit ceu forte minor sub matre virenti
 245 laurus et ingentes ramos olimque futuras
 promittit iam parva comas; vel flore sub
 uno
 ceu geminae Paestana rosae per iugera
 regnant:
 haec largo matura die saturataque vernis
 roribus indulget spatio; latet altera nodo
 250 nec teneris audet foliis admittere soles.
 Adstitit et blande Mariam Cytherea
 salutat:
 "salve sidereae proles augusta Serenae,
 magnorum suboles regum parituraque
 reges.
 te propter Paphias sedes Cyprumque
 reliqui,
 255 te propter libuit tantos explere labores
 et tantum transnare maris, ne vilior ultra
 privatos paterere lares neu tempore longo
 dilatos iuvenis nutriret Honorius ignes.
 accipe fortunam generis, diadema resume,
 quod tribuas natis, et in haec penetralia
 260 rursus,
 unde parens progressa, redi. fac nulla
 subesse
 vincula cognatae: quamvis aliena fuisses
 principibus, regnum poteras hoc ore
 mereri.
 quae propior sceptris facies? qui dignior
 264 aula
 vultus erit? non labra rosae, non colla
 pruinae,
 non crines aequant violae, non lumina
 flammae.
 quam iuncti leviter sese discrimine confert
 umbra supercilii! miscet quam iusta
 pudorem
 temperies nimio nec sanguine candor
 abundat!

loveliness, now the snowy neck and golden hair
 of the mother. The one is like unto the crescent
 moon, the other to the full. So grows a young
 laurel beneath the shadow of its parent tree
 and, small as it now is, gives promise of great
 branches and thick foliage to come. Or as
 'twere two roses of Paestum on one stalk; the
 one day's fulness has brought to maturity;
 steeped in the dews of spring it spreads abroad
 its petals; the other yet nestles in its bud nor
 dares receive the sun's warmth within its
 tender heart.

Venus stood and addressed Maria with these
 gentle words: "All hail! revered daughter of
 divine Serena, scion of great kings and
 destined to be the mother of kings. For thy
 sake have I left my home in Paphos' isle and
 Cyprus; for thy sake was I pleased to face so
 many labours and cross so many seas lest thou
 shouldst continue to live a private life little
 befitting thy true worth and lest young
 Honorius should still feed in his heart the flame
 of unrequited love. Take the rank thy birth
 demands, resume the crown to bequeath it to
 thy children and re-enter the palace whence
 thy mother sprang. E'en though no ties of blood
 united thee to the royal house, though thou
 wert in no way related thereto, yet would thy
 beauty render thee worthy of a kingdom. What
 face could rather win a sceptre? What
 countenance better adorn a palace? Redder
 than roses thy lips, whiter than the hoar-frost
 thy neck, cowslips^[135] are not more yellow
 than thine hair, fire not more bright than thine
 eyes. With how fine an interspace do the
 delicate eyebrows meet upon thy forehead!
 How just the blend that makes thy blush, thy
 fairness not o'ermantled with too much

[135] The *viola* was probably a pansy or
 wallflower, Gk λευκόιον.

270 Aurorae vincis digitos umerosque Dianae;
 ipsam iam superas matrem. si Bacchus
 amator
 dotali potuit caelum signare corona,
 cur nullis virgo redimitur pulchrior astris?
 iam tibi molitur stellantia sarta Bootes
 inque decus Mariae iam sidera parturit
 275 aether.
 i, digno nectenda viro tantique per orbem
 consors imperii! iam te venerabitur Hister;
 nomen adorabunt populi; iam Rhenus et
 Albis
 serviet; in medios ibis regina Sygambros.
 quid numerem gentes Atlanteosque
 280 recessus
 Oceani? toto pariter donabere mundo.”
 Dixit et ornatus, dederant quos nuper
 ovantes
 Nereides, collo membrisque micantibus
 aptat.
 ipsa caput distinguit acu, substringit
 amictus;
 flammea virgineis accommodat ipsa
 285 capillis.
 ante fores iam pompa sonat, pilentaque
 sacra
 praeradiant ductura nurum. calet obvius ire
 iam princeps tardumque cupit discedere
 solem:
 nobilis haud aliter sonipes, quem primus
 amoris
 sollicitavit odor, tumidus quatiensque
 290 decoras
 curvata cervice iubas Pharsalia rura
 pervolat et notos hinnitu flagitat amnes
 naribus accensis; mulcet fecunda magistros
 spes gregis et pulchro gaudent armenta
 marito.
 295 Candidus interea positus exercitus armis
 exultat socerum circa; nec signifer ullus

red! Pinker thy fingers than Aurora's, firmer thy shoulders than Diana's; even thy mother dost thou surpass. If Bacchus, Ariadne's lover, could transform his mistress' garland into a constellation how comes it that a more beauteous maid has no crown of stars? Even now Boötes is weaving for thee a starry crown, even now heaven brings new stars to birth to do thee honour. Go, mate with one who is worthy of thee and share with him an empire co-extensive with the world. Ister now shall do thee homage; all nations shall adore thy name. Now Rhine and Elbe shall be thy slaves; thou shalt be queen among the Sygambri. Why should I number the peoples and the Atlantic's distant shores? The whole world alike shall be thy dowry.”

She spake and fitted to Maria's neck and shining limbs the rich gear which the happy Nereids had just given her. She parted her hair with the spear's point, girded up her dress, and with her own hands set the veil over the maiden's hair.^[136] The procession is halted singing at the door; brightly gleams the holy chariot in which the new bride is to fare. The prince burns to run and meet her and longs for the sun's tardy setting. Even so the noble steed when first the smell that stirs his passions smites upon him proudly shakes his thick, disordered mane and courses over Pharsalia's plains. His nostrils are aflame and with a neighing he greets the streams that saw his birth. His masters smile at the hope of their stud's increase, and the mares take pleasure in their handsome mate.

Meanwhile the army has laid aside its swords: the soldiers are dressed in white and throng around Stilicho, the bride's father. No standard-bearer nor

[136] Venus acts as *pronuba*. The parting of the hair with the spear was a relic of marriage by capture (*cf.* Catullus lxi.).

nec miles pluviae flores dispergere ritu
cessat purpureoque ducem perfundere
nimbo.

haec quoque velati lauro myrtoque
canebant:

“Dive parens, seu te complectitur axis
Olympi,

301 seu premis Elysias animarum praemia
valles,
en promissa tibi Stilicho iam vota peregit;
iam gratiae rediere vices; cunabula pensat;
acceptum reddit thalamum natoque
reponit,
quod dederat genitor. numquam te, sancte,
pigebit

306 iudicii nec te pietas suprema fefellit.
dignus cui leges, dignus cui pignora tanti
principis et rerum commendarentur
habenae.

dicere possemus, quae proelia gesta sub
Haemo
quaeque cruentarint fumantem Strymona
pugnae,

311 quam notus clipeo, quanta vi fulminet
hostem,
ni prohiberet Hymen, quae tempestiva
relatu,
nunc canimus. quis consilio, quis iuris et
aequi
nosse modum melior? quod semper dissilit,
in te

315 convenit, ingenio robur, prudentia forti.
fronte quis aequali? quem sic Romana
decerent
culmina? sufficerent tantis quae pectora
curis?
stes licet in populo, clamet quicumque
videbit:

‘hic est, hic Stilicho!’ sic se testatur et
offert

320 celsa potestatis species, non voce feroci,
non alto simulata gradu, non improba
gestu.
adfectant alii quidquid fingique laborant,
hoc donat natura tibi. pudor emicat una

common soldier fails to scatter flowers like rain
and to drench their leader in a mist of purple
blossoms. Crowned with laurel and myrtle they
sing: “Blessed father, whether the vault of
heaven is thy home, or thou walkest in Elysium,
the mansion of the blest, behold Stilicho hath
now fulfilled the promises he made thee. A
happy interchange has now been made: he
compensates thee for his upbringing, and
renders marriage in return for marriage, giving
back to a son what thou, that son’s father, gave
to him. Never needst thou repent of thy choice;
a dying father’s love misled thee not. Worthy is
he to be thine heir, worthy to be entrusted with
the child of so powerful a prince and to hold the
reins of government. Now could I tell of the
battles fought beneath the slopes of Mount
Haemus, the contests wherefrom Strymon
reeked red with blood; I could sing the fame of
his arms and how, like a thunderbolt, he falls
upon his foes, but the marriage-god says me
nay. Our song must be such as now befits the
singing. Who can surpass Stilicho in counsel?
who in knowledge of law and equity? In thee
are two opposed qualities reconciled, wisdom
and strength, prudence and fortitude. Was e’er
so noble a brow? Whom would Rome’s highest
place more befit? What heart but thine is
strong enough to bear so many troubles?
Shouldst thou stand amid the crowd whoe’er
shall see thee would exclaim, ‘That is Stilicho.’
It is thus that the aspect of supreme majesty
brings its own witness—not with arrogant
voice, or pompous walk, or haughty gesture.
The graces which others affect and strive to
seem to possess are thine by nature’s gift.
Modesty shines forth together with a noble
sternness,

formosusque rigor vultusque auctura
 verendos
 325 canities festina venit. cum sorte remota
 contingat senio gravitas viresque iuventae,
 utraque te cingit propriis insignibus aetas.
 ornatur Fortuna viro. non ulla nocendi
 tela nec infecti iugulis civilibus enses.
 330 non odium terrore moves nec frena resolvit
 gratia; diligimus pariter pariterque
 timemus.
 ipse metus te noster amat, iustissime legum
 arbiter, egregiae pacis fidissime custos,
 optime ductorum, fortunatissime patrum.
 plus iam, plus domino cuncti debere
 335 fatemur,
 quod gener est, invicte, tuus. vincere
 corona;
 insere te nostris contempto iure choreis.
 sic puer Eucherius superet virtute
 parentem;
 aurea sic videat similes Thermantia taedas;
 sic uterus crescat Mariae; sic natus in ostro
 340 parvus Honoriades genibus considat avitis."

and white hairs come hastening to increase the
 reverence of thy face. Though dignity be the
 crown of age and strength, by a far different
 lot, of youth, yet either season decks thee with
 its own peculiar honours. Thou art the
 ornament of fortune. Never tookst thou up the
 sword for hurt nor ever didst steep its blade in
 citizens' blood. No cruelties on thy part
 aroused men's hatred; favouritism never slacks
 the reins of justice. We love thee, yet we fear
 thee. Our very fear testifies to our love, O thou
 most righteous interpreter of Law, guardian
 most sure of peace with honour, greatest of our
 generals, most blessed among the fathers of
 our country. We all confess that now we owe
 our emperor an even firmer allegiance for that
 thou, hero invincible, art the father of his bride.
 Crown thy head with a garland, lay aside thy
 rank for a moment and join our dances. An thou
 dost this, so may thy son Eucherius^[137] surpass
 the virtues of his sire; so may the fair
 Thermantia, thy daughter, live to see a
 marriage such as this; so may Maria's womb
 grow big and a little Honorius, born in the
 purple, rest on his grandsire's lap."

[137] Eucherius (born about 388) was the
 son, and Thermantia the younger daughter,
 of Stilicho and Serena. After the death of
 Maria she became Honorius' second wife.

**PANEGYRICUS DE TERTIO
CONSULATU HONORII AUGUSTI**

PRAEFATIO

(VI.)

Parvos non aquilis fas est educere fetus
ante fidem solis iudiciumque poli.
nam pater, excusso saluit cum tegmine
proles
ovaque maternus rupit hiulca tepor,
protinus implumes convertit ad aethera
5 nidos
et recto flammis imperat ore pati.
consulit ardentis radios et luce magistra
natorum vires ingeniumque probat.
degenerem refugo torsit qui lumine visum,
10 unguibus hunc saevis ira paterna ferit.
exploratores oculis qui pertulit ignes
sustinuitque acie nobiliore diem,
nutritur volucrumque potens et fulminis
heres,
gesturus summo tela trisulca Iovi.
me quoque Pieriis temptatum saepius
15 antris
audet magna suo mittere Roma deo.
iam dominas aures, iam regia tecta
meremur
et chelys Augusto iudice nostra sonat.

**PANEGYRIC ON THE THIRD
CONSULSHIP OF THE EMPEROR
HONORIUS (A.D. 396)**

PREFACE

(VI.)

Eagles may not rear their young without the sun's permission and the goodwill of heaven. So soon as the chicks have shattered their shells and issued forth, after that the warmth of their mother's body has cracked the opening egg, the father bird makes haste to carry the unfledged nestlings aloft and bids them gaze at the sun's fires with unblinking eye. He takes counsel of those bright beams and under light's schooling makes trial of the strength and temper of his sons. The angry father strikes with pitiless talons the degenerate who turns away his glance, but he whose eye can bear the searching flame, who with bolder sight can outstare the noonday sun, is brought up a king of birds, heir to the thunderbolt, destined to carry Jove's three-forked weapon. 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.

PANEGYRICUS

(VII.)

Tertia Romulei sumant exordia fasces
 terque tuas ducat bellatrix pompa curules;
 festior annus eat cinctusque imitata
 Gabinos
 dives Hydaspeis augecat purpura gemmis;
 5 succedant armis trabeae, tentoria lictor
 ambiat et Latiae redeant ad signa secures.
 tuque o qui patrium curis aequalibus orbem
 Eoo cum fratre regis, procede secundis
 alitibus Phoebique novos ordire meatus,
 10 spes votumque poli, quem primo a limine
 vitae
 nutrix aula fovet, strictis quem fulgida telis
 inter laurigeros aluerunt castra triumphos.
 ardua privatos nescit Fortuna penates
 et regnum cum luce dedit. cognata potestas
 15 exceptit Tyrrio venerabile pignus in ostro
 lustravitque tuos aquilis victricibus ortus
 miles et in mediis cunabula praebuit hastis.
 te nascente ferox toto Germania Rheno

PANEGYRIC

(VII.)

Let the consular fasces of Romulus open a third
 year, and for the third time let the warlike
 procession accompany thy curule litter. More
 festal in array be the coming year, and let
 purple, folded in Gabine^[138] guise, be proudly
 enriched with gems of Hydaspes; let the cloak
 of peace succeed the arms of war; let the lictor
 guard the consul's tent and the Latin axes
 return to the standards.^[139] And do thou,
 Honorius, who with thy brother, lord of the
 East, governest with equal care a world that
 was once thy sire's, go thy way with favourable
 omens and order the sun's new course, thyself
 heaven's hope and desire, palace-nurtured even
 from life's threshold, to whom the camp,
 gleaming with drawn swords, gave schooling
 among the laurels of victory. Thy towering
 fortune has never known the condition of a
 private citizen; when thou wast born thou wast
 born a king. Power which was thine by birth
 received thee, a precious pledge, amid the
 purple; soldiers bearing victorious standards
 inaugurated thy birth and set thy cradle in the
 midst of arms. When thou wast born fierce
 Germany trembled along

[138] The *cinctus Gabinus* was one of the insignia of the consulship. It consisted in girding the toga tight round the body by means of one of its *lacinae* (= loose ends). Servius (on Virg. *Aen.* vii. 612) has a story that Gabii was invaded during the performance of a sacrifice and that the participants repulsed the enemy in their *cinctus*.

[139] Claudian suggests the uniting of civil and military power in the hands of Honorius.

intremuit movitque suas formidine silvas
 Caucasus et positis numen confessa
 20 pharetris
 ignavas Meroë traxit de crine sagittas.
 reptasti per scuta puer, regumque recentes
 exuviae tibi ludus erant, primusque solebas
 aspera complecti torvum post proelia
 patrem,
 25 signa triumphato quotiens flexisset ab
 Histro
 Arctoa de strage calens, et poscere partem
 de spoliis, Scythicos arcus aut rapta
 Gelonis
 cingula vel iaculum Daci vel frena Suebi.
 ille coruscanti clipeo te saepe volentem
 30 sustulit adridens et pectore pressit anhelò
 intrepidum ferri galeae nec triste timentem
 fulgur et ad summas tendentem brachia
 cristas.
 tum sic laetus ait: "rex o stellantis Olympi,
 talis perdomito redeat mihi filius hoste,
 Hyrcanas populatus opes aut caede
 35 superbus
 Assyria, sic ense rubens, sic flamine crebro
 turbidus et grato respersus pulvere belli,
 armaque gavisò referat captiva parenti."
 Mox ubi firmasti recto vestigia gressu,
 40 non tibi desidias molles nec marcida luxu
 otia nec somnos genitor permisit inertes,
 sed nova per duros instruxit membra
 labores
 et cruda teneras exercuit indole vires:
 frigora saeva pati, gravibus non cedere
 nimbis,
 45 aestivum tolerare iubar, transnare sonoras
 torrentum furias, ascensu vincere montes,

the Rhine's full course, Caucasus shook his
 forests in fear, and the people of Meroë,
 confessing thy divinity, laid aside their quivers
 and drew the useless arrows from their hair. As
 a child thou didst crawl among shields, fresh-
 won spoils of monarchs were thy playthings,
 and thou wert ever the first to embrace thy
 stern father on his return from rude battles,
 when that, reeking with the blood of northern
 savages, he came home victorious from his
 conquest over the tribes of the Danube. Then
 wouldst thou demand thy share of the spoils, a
 Scythian bow or a belt won from the Geloni, a
 Dacian spear or Suabian bridle. Often would he
 smile on thee and uplift thee, eager for the
 honour, on his shining shield, and clasp thee to
 his still panting bosom. Thou fearedst not his
 coat of mail nor the dread gleam of his helmet
 but stretchedst out thy hands to grasp its lofty
 plumes. Then in his joy thy father cried: "King
 of starry Olympus, may this my son return in
 like manner from the lands of conquered foes,
 rich with the spoils of Hyrcania or proud with
 the slaughter of the Assyrians; his sword thus
 red with blood, his countenance thus
 roughened by the constant blasts and stained
 with the welcome dust of heroic combat, may
 he bring back to his happy father the arms of
 his conquered foes."

Soon when thou couldst stand upright and walk
 with firm step thy sire forbade thee enervating
 sloth, luxurious ease, time-wasting slumbers.
 He strengthened thy young limbs with hard
 toils and rude was the training wherewith he
 exercised thy tender powers. Thou wert taught
 to bear winter's cruel cold, to shrink not before
 storm and tempest, to face the heat of summer,
 to swim across loud-roaring torrents, to

planitiem cursu, valles et concava saltu,
 nec non in clipeo vigiles producere noctes,
 in galea potare nives, nunc spicula cornu
 tendere, nunc glandes Baleari spargere
 50 funda.
 quoque magis nimium pugnae inflammaret
 amorem,
 facta tui numerabat avi, quem litus adustae
 horrescit Libyae ratibusque impervia Thule:
 ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
 edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus
 55 fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas
 et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe tropaeis
 Tethyos alternae refluxas calcavit harenas.
 hos tibi virtutum stimulos, haec semina
 laudum,
 haec exempla dabat. non ocius hausit
 60 Achilles
 semiferi praecepta senis, seu cuspidis artes
 sive lyrae cantus medicas seu disceret
 herbas.
 Interea turbata fides. civilia rursus
 bella tonant dubiumque quatit discordia
 mundum.
 pro crimen superum, longi pro dedecus
 65 aevi:
 barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes
 sceptraque deiecto dederat Romana clienti.
 iam princeps molitur iter gentesque
 remotas
 colligit Aurorae, tumidus quascumque
 69 pererrat
 Euphrates, quas lustrat Halys, quas ditat
 Orontes;
 turiferos Arabes saltus, vada Caspia Medi,
 Armenii Phasin, Parthi liquere Niphaten.
 Quae tibi tuna Martis rabies quantusque
 sequendi
 ardor erat? quanto flagrabant pectora voto

climb mountains, to run o'er the plain, to leap
 ravines and hollows, to spend sleepless nights
 of watching under arms, to drink melted snow
 from thy casque, to shoot the arrow from the
 bow or hurl the acorn-missiles with a Balearic
 sling. And the more to inflame thy heart with
 love of battle he would recount to thee the
 deeds of thy grandsire, object of dread to
 Libya's sun-scorched shores and Thule whither
 no ship can sail. He conquered the fleet Moors
 and the well-named^[140] Picts; his roaming
 sword pursued the flying Scot; his adventurous
 oars broke the surface of the northern seas.
 Crowned with the spoils of triumphs won
 beneath the northern and the southern sky he
 trod the wave-swept strand of either Ocean.
 Thus did he spur thy courage, thus sow the
 seeds of fame; these were the examples he
 gave. Not more avidly did Achilles himself drink
 in the Centaur's precepts when he learnt of him
 how to wield the spear or play the lyre or
 discern healing plants.

Meanwhile the world forgot its loyalty: the
 thunder of civil war sounded afresh and discord
 shook the tottering earth. O ye guilty gods! O
 shame everlasting!—a barbarian^[141] exile had
 possessed himself of the cities of Italy and had
 entrusted the government of Rome to some
 low-born dependent. But Theodosius was
 already afoot, rallying to his standard the
 distant nations of the East, the dwellers on the
 banks of flooding Euphrates, clear Halys, and
 rich Orontes. The Arabs left their spicy groves,
 the Medes the waters of the Caspian Sea, the
 Armenians the river Phasis, the Parthians the
 Niphates.

What lust of battle then filled thy heart, what
 longing to accompany thy father! What would
 not

^[140] Pict, to a Roman, means "painted." They were. "well-named Picts" because they painted themselves with woad or other stain.

^[141] Arbogast is the "barbarian," Eugenius (by trade a rhetorician) the "dependent." See Introduction, p. ix.

75 optatas audire tubas campique cruenta
 tempestate frui truncisque inmergere
 plantas?
 ut leo, quem fulvae matris spelunca tegebat
 uberibus solitum pasci, cum crescere sensit
 ungue pedes et terga iubis et dentibus ora,
 80 iam negat imbelles epulas et rupe relictas
 Gaetulo comes ire patri stabulisque minari
 aestuat et celsi tabo sordere iuveni.
 ille vetat rerumque tibi commendat
 habenas
 et sacro meritis ornat diademate crines.
 tantaque se rudibus pietas ostendit in
 85 annis,
 sic aetas animo cessit, quererentur ut
 omnes
 imperium tibi sero datum.
 Victoria velox
 auspiciis effecta tuis. Pugnastis uterque:
 tu fati genitorque manu. te propter et
 Alpes
 90 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
 95 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.
 Alpinae rubuere nives, et Frigidus amnis

thine eager spirit have given to hear the
 beloved clarion's note and to revel in the
 bloody storm of battle, trampling upon the
 slaughtered bodies of thy foes! Like a young
 lion in a cave, accustomed to look for
 nourishment to the teats of its tawny mother,
 who, so soon as he finds talons beginning to
 grow from out his paws and a mane sprout
 from his neck and teeth arm his jaws, will have
 none of this inglorious food but burns to leave
 his cavern home and accompany his Gaetulian
 sire, to bring death upon the herds and steep
 him in the gore of some tall steer. But
 Theodosius said thee nay, and put the reins of
 government into thy hands, crowning thy head
 with the sacred diadem it wore so meetly. And
 so did thy virtue show in earliest years, so did
 thy soul out-range thy youth that all
 complained that to thee empire was granted
 late.

Swiftly beneath thy auspices was victory
 achieved. Both fought for us—thou with thy
 happy influence, thy father with his strong
 right arm. Thanks to thee the Alps lay open to
 our armies, nor did it avail the careful foe to
 cling to fortified posts. Their ramparts, and the
 trust they put therein, fell; the rocks were torn
 away and their hiding-places exposed. Thanks
 to thine influence the wind of the frozen North
 overwhelmed the enemy's line with his
 mountain storms, hurled back their weapons
 upon the throwers and with the violence of his
 tempest drove back their spears. Verily God is
 with thee, when at thy behest Aeolus frees the
 armed tempests from his cave, when the very
 elements fight for thee and the allied winds
 come at the call of thy trumpets. The Alpine
 snows grew red with slaughter, the cold
 Frigidus, its waters turned to blood, ran hot
 and steaming, and would

100 mutatis fumavit aquis turbaque cadentum
 staret, ni rapidus iuvisset flumina sanguis.
 At ferus inventor scelerum traiecerat
 altum
 non uno mucrone latus, duplexque tepebat
 ensis, et ultrices in se converterat iras
 105 tandem iusta manus. iam libertate reducta,
 quamvis emeritum peteret natura reverti
 numen et auratas astrorum panderet arces
 nutaretque oneris venturi conscius Atlas,
 distulit Augustus cupido se credere caelo,
 dum tibi pacatum praesenti traderet orbem.
 110 nec mora: Bistoniis alacer consurgis ab
 oris,
 inter barbaricas ausus transire cohortes
 impavido vultu; linquis Rhodopeia saxa
 Orpheis animata modis; iuga deseris Oetes
 115 Herculeo damnata rogo; post Pelion intras
 Nereis inlustre toris; te pulcher Enipeus
 celsaque Dodone stupuit rursusque locutae
 in te Chaoniae moverunt carmina quercus.
 Illyrici legitur plaga litoris; arva teruntur
 Dalmatiae; Phrygii numerantur stagna
 120 Timavi.
 gaudent Italiae sublimibus oppida muris
 adventu sacrata tuo, summissus adorat
 Eridanus blandosque iubet mitescere
 fluctus
 et Phaëthontas solitae deflere ruinas
 125 roscida frondosae revocant electra sorores.
 Quanti tum iuvenes, quantae sprevere
 pudorem
 spectandi studio matres, puerisque severi

have been choked with the heaps of corpses
 had not their own fast-flowing gore helped on
 its course.

Meanwhile Arbogast, the cause of this wicked
 war, had pierced his side deep not with a single
 blade: two swords^[142] reeked with his blood,
 and his own hand, learning justice at last, had
 turned its savage fury against himself. Thus
 was liberty restored; but though Nature
 demanded the return to heaven of divine
 Theodosius whose work was now accomplished,
 though the sky threw open the golden palaces
 of its starry vault and Atlas staggered knowing
 the burden he was to bear, yet did the emperor
 forbear to entrust him to expectant Olympus
 until he could in thy presence hand over to thee
 a world at peace. Straightway didst thou,
 Honorius, leave the coasts of Thrace, and,
 braving the dangers of the journey, pass
 without a tremor through the hordes of
 barbarians. Thou leavest the rocks of Rhodope
 to which Orpheus' lyre gave life; thou quittest
 the heights of Oeta, scene of Hercules' ill-
 omened funeral pyre; next thou climbest Pelion,
 famed for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.
 Fair Enipeus and lofty Dodona look upon thee
 in amaze, and the oaks of Chaonia, finding
 tongues once more, utter oracles in thine
 honour. Thou skirtest the extreme coasts of
 Illyria and, passing over Dalmatia's fields, dost
 cross in turn the nine sources of Trojan
 Timavus.^[143] The high-walled cities of Italy
 rejoice in the blessings of thy presence.
 Eridanus bows his head and worships, bidding
 his waves flow gently to the sea; and
 Phaëthon's leafy sisters, that ever weep their
 brother's death, check the flow of their dewy
 amber.

How many youths, how many matrons set
 modesty aside in eagerness to behold thee!
 Austere greybeards

[142] This is obscure. Zosimus (iv. 58. 6)
 and Socrates (v. 25) merely mention
 suicide, but from Claudian's account it
 looks as though, like Nero, Arbogast's
 courage had failed him and an attendant
 had had to help him to his death.

[143] The Fons Timavi (near Aquileia and
 the river Frigidus) is called Trojan from the
 story of the colonization of Venetia by the
 Trojan Antenor (Livy i. 1. 3).

certavere senes, cum tu genitoris amico
exceptus gremio mediam veherere per
urbem
130 velaretque pios communis laurea currus!
quis non Luciferum roseo cum Sole videri
credidit aut iunctum Bromio radiare
Tonantem?
florete cristatis exercitus undique turmis,
quisque sua te voce canens. praestringit
aena
135 lux oculos, nudique seges Mavortia ferri
ingeminat splendore diem. pars nobilis
arcu,
pars longe iaculis, pars cominus horrida
contis;
hi volucres tollunt aquilas, hi picta
draconum
colla levant, multusque tumet per nubila
serpens
140 iratus stimulante Noto vivitque receptis
flatibus et vario mentitur sibila tractu.
Ut ventum ad sedes, cunctos discedere
tectis
dux iubet et generum compellat talibus
ultro:
"bellipotens Stilicho, cuius mihi robur in
armis,
pace probata fides: quid enim per proelia
145 gessi
te sine? quem merui te non sudante
triumphum?
Odrysium pariter Getico foedavimus
Hebrum
sanguine, Sarmaticas pariter prostravimus
alas
Riphaeaeque simul fessos porreximus artus
in glacie stantemque rota sulcavimus
150 Histrum:
ergo age, me quoniam caelestis regia
poscit,
tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus
nostra fove: geminos dextra tu protege
fratres.

struggle with boys for places whence to see
thee in the tender embraces of thy sire, borne
through the midst of Rome on a triumphal
chariot decked but with the shade of a simple
laurel branch. Who did not then think that he
beheld the morning-star together with the rosy
sun, or the Thunderer shine in concert with
Bacchus? On every side stretches the host of
plumed warriors, each hymning thy praises in
his own tongue; the brightness of bronze
dazzles the eye and the martial glint of a forest
of unsheathed swords redoubles the light of
day. Some are decked with bows, others bristle
with far-flung javelins or pikes for fighting at
close quarters. These raise standards adorned
with flying eagles, or with embroidered
dragons or writhing serpents, that in their
thousands seem to be roused to angry life by
the breath of the wind which, as it blows them
this way and that, causes them to rustle with a
sound like the hiss of a living snake.

When they reached the palace the emperor
bade all depart and thus unbidden addressed
his son-in-law: "Victorious Stilicho, of whose
courage in war, of whose loyalty in peace I
have made proof—what warlike feat have I
performed without thine aid? What triumph
have I won that thou helpedst me not in the
winning? Together we caused Thracian Hebrus
to run red with Getic blood, together overthrew
the squadrons of the Sarmatae, together rested
our weary limbs on the snows of Mount
Riphaeus and scarred the frozen Danube with
our chariot's wheel—come, therefore, since
heaven's halls claim me, do thou take up my
task; be thou sole guardian of my children, let
thy hand protect my two sons. I adjure thee by

per consanguineos thalamos noctemque
 beatam,
 155 per taedas, quas ipsa tuo regina levavit
 coniugio sociaque nurum produxit ab aula,
 indue mente patrem, crescentes dilige fetus
 ut ducis, ut soceri. Iamiam securus ad astra
 te custode ferar; rupta si mole Typhoeus
 160 prosiliat, vinculis Tityos si membra resolvat,
 si furor Enceladi proiecta mugiat Aetna,
 opposito Stilichone cadent.”
 Nec plura locutus,
 sicut erat, liquido signavit tramite nubes
 ingrediturque globum Lunae limenque
 relinquit
 165 Arcados et Veneris clementes advolat
 auras.
 hinc Phoebi permensus iter flammamque
 nocentem
 Gradivi placidumque Iovem; stetit arce
 suprema,
 argenti qua zona riget Saturnia tractu.
 machina laxatur caeli rutilaeque patescunt
 170 sponte fores. Arctoa parat convexa Bootes,
 australes reserat portas succinctus Orion
 invitantque novum sidus, pendentque
 vicissim
 quas partes velit ipse sequi, quibus esse
 sodalis
 dignetur stellis aut qua regione morari.
 o decus aetherium, terrarum gloria
 175 quondam,
 te tuus Oceanus natali gurgite lassum
 excipit et notis Hispania proluit undis.
 fortunate parens, primos cum detegis ortus,
 adspicis Arcadium; cum te proclivior urges,
 180 occiduum visus remoratur Honorius ignem;
 et quocumque vagos flectas sub cardine
 cursus,

that marriage that makes thee kin with me, by
 the night that saw its consummation, by the
 torch which at thy wedding-feast the queen
 carried in her own hand when she led thy
 bride-elect from out the imperial palace, take
 on thee a father's spirit, guard the years of
 their childhood. Was not their sire thy master
 and thy wife's father? Now, now I shall mount
 untroubled to the stars for thou wilt watch over
 them. Even should Typhoeus rend away the
 rocks and leap forth, should Tityus free his
 captive limbs, should Enceladus, hurling Etna
 from him, roar in rage—each and all will fall
 before Stilicho's attack.”

He spake no more but still in human form clove
 a furrow of light through the clouds; he passes
 to Luna's globe, leaves Mercury's threshold
 and hastens to the gentle airs of Venus. Hence
 he traverses Phoebus' path, Mars' baleful fires
 and Jupiter's quiet quarters, and stands upon
 the very crown of the sky, cold Saturn's frozen
 zone. Heaven's fabric opens, unbidden the
 shining doors swing back. Boötes prepares a
 place in the vault of the northern sky, sword-
 girt Orion unbars the portals of the south; they
 offer welcome to the new star, uncertain each
 in turn to what region he will betake himself,
 what constellation he will grace with his
 presence, or in what quarter he will elect to
 shine alone. O glory of heaven as once thou
 wert of earth, the ocean that laves the shores of
 the land of thy birth receives thee wearied with
 thy nightly course, Spain bathes thee in thy
 natal waves. Happy father, when first thou
 risest above the horizon thou lookest upon
 Arcadius, when thou dippest to thy setting the
 sight of Honorius delays thy westering fires.
 Through whichever hemisphere thou takest thy
 wandering

natorum per regna venis, qui mente serena
 maturoque regunt iunctas moderamine
 gentes,
 saecula qui rursus formant meliore metallo.
 185 luget Avarities Stygiis innexa catenis
 cumque suo demens expellitur Ambitus
 auro.
 non dominantur opes nec corrumpentia
 sensus
 dona valent: emitur sola virtute potestas.
 Unanimi fratres, quorum mare terraque
 fatis
 190 debetur, quodcumque manus evasit avitas,
 quod superest patri: vobis iam Mulciber
 arma
 praeparat et Sicala Cyclops incude laborat,
 Brontes innumeris exasperat aegida signis,
 altum fulminea crispate in casside conum
 195 festinat Steropes, nectit thoraca Pyragmon
 ignifluisque gemit Lipare fumosa cavernis.
 vobis Ionia virides Neptunus in alga
 nutrit equos, qui summa freti per caerula
 possint
 ferre viam segetemque levi percurrere
 motu,
 nesciat ut spumas nec proterat ungula
 200 culmos.
 iam video Babylona rapi Parthumque
 coactum
 non ficta trepidare fuga, iam Bactra teneri
 legibus et famulis Gangen pallescere ripis
 gemmatosque humilem dispergere Persida
 cultus.
 ite per extremum Tanaim pigrosque
 205 Triones,
 ite per ardentem Libyam, superate vapores
 solis et arcanos Nili deprendite fontes,
 Herculeum finem, Bacchi transcurrite
 metas:
 vestri iuris erit, quidquid complectitur axis,
 vobis Rubra dabunt pretiosas aequora
 210 conchas,
 Indus ebur, ramos Panchaia, vellera Seres.

journey, thou passest over the domains of sons
 who with tranquil mind and ripe control rule
 over allied peoples, who once again fashion the
 ages from a nobler ore. Avarice is left to weep
 in Stygian chains, mad Ambition and his gold
 banished afar. Wealth does not hold sway;
 sense-corrupting gifts are of no avail; virtue
 alone can purchase power.

Brothers twain, with the heart of one, brothers
 to whose rule fate has entrusted sea and land,
 if there is aught that has escaped your
 grandsire's conquering hand, aught your father
 has left unsubdued, even now Vulcan prepares
 the arms for their subjection and Cyclops
 labours on the Sicilian anvil. Brontes carves
 countless figures on the shield, Steropes hastes
 to bend the lofty peak of the flashing helmet,
 Pyragmon knits the coat of mail, smoky Lipare
 roars throughout its fire-belching caves. 'Tis for
 you that Neptune pastures in the seaweed
 meadows of the Ionian main green sea-horses
 who can fly o'er the surface of the blue waters
 with so light a step that their hoofs are
 unflecked with foam, and course o'er fields of
 corn so delicately that the ears do not bend
 beneath their weight. E'en now I see the sack
 of Babylon and the Parthian driven to flight
 that is not feigned, Bactria subjected to the
 Law, the fearful pallor of the Ganges' servile
 banks, the humbled Persian throwing off his
 gem-encrusted robes. Mount to Tanais' source,
 explore the frozen North, traverse sun-
 scorched Libya, o'ercome the fires of Titan and
 surprise Nile's hidden spring; pass the Pillars
 of Hercules, the bourne, too, whence Bacchus
 returned; whatever heaven enfolds shall own
 your dominion. To you the Red Sea shall give
 precious shells, India her ivory, Panchaia
 perfumes, and China silk.

**PANEGYRICUS DE QUARTO
CONSULATU HONORII AUGUSTI**

(VIII.)

Auspiciis iterum sese regalibus annus
induit et nota fruitur iactantior aula,
limina nec passi circum privata morari
exultant reduces Augusto consule fasces,
cernis ut armorum proceres legumque
5 potentes
patricios sumant^[144] habitus? et more
 Gabino
discolor incedit legio positisque parumper
bellorum signis sequitur vexilla Quirini.
lictori cedunt aquilae ridetque togatus
10 miles et in mediis effulget curia castris.
ipsa Palatino circumvallata senatu
iam trabeam Bellona gerit parmamque
 removit
et galeam sacras umeris vectura curules.
nec te laurigeras pudeat, Gradive, secures
15 pacata gestare manu Latiaque micantem
loricam mutare toga, dum ferreus haeret
currus et Eridani ludunt per prata iugales.
 Haud indigna coli nec nuper cognita
 Marti
Ulpia progenies et quae diademata mundo
sparsit Hibera domus. nec tantam vilior
20 unda

^[144] sumant *B*; *Birt* reads sumunt,
following the other MSS.

**PANEGYRIC ON THE FOURTH
CONSULSHIP OF THE EMPEROR
HONORIUS (A.D. 398)**

(VIII.)

Once more the year opens under royal auspices
and enjoys in fuller pride its famous prince; not
brooking to linger around private thresholds
the returning fasces rejoice in Caesar's
consulship. Seest thou how the armed chiefs
and mighty judges don the raiment of senators?
and the soldiers step forth in garb of peaceful
hue worn Gabine^[145] wise, and laying aside for
a season the standards of war follow the
banner of Quirinus. The eagles give way to the
lictors, the smiling soldier wears the toga of
peace and the senate-house casts its brilliance
in the midst of the camp. Bellona herself,
surrounded by a noble band of senators, puts
on the consul's gown and lays by her shield and
helmet in order to harness the sacred curule
chair to her shoulders. Think it no shame,
Gradivus, to bear the laurel-crowned axes in a
hand of peace and to exchange thy shining
breastplate for the Latin toga while thine iron
chariot remains unused and thy steeds disport
them in the pastures of Eridanus.

Not unworthy of reverence nor but newly
acquainted with war is the family of Trajan and
that Spanish house which has showered
diadems upon the world. No common stream
was held worthy

^[145] As marking a festival; see note on vii.
3.

promeruit gentis seriem: cunabula fovit
 Oceanus; terrae dominos pelagique futuros
 inmenso decuit rerum de principe nasci.
 hinc processit avus, cui post Arctoa
 frementi
 25 classica Massylas adnexuit Africa laurus,
 ille, Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
 qui medios Libyae sub casside pertulit
 aestus,
 terribilis Mauro debellatorque Britanni
 litoris ac pariter Boreae vastator et Austri.
 quid rigor aeternus, caeli quid frigora
 30 prosunt
 ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Saxone
 fuso
 Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thyle;
 Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiverne.
 quid calor obsistit forti? per vasta cucurrit
 Aethiopum cinxitque novis Atlanta manipulis,
 35 virgineum Tritona bibit sparsosque venenis
 Gorgoneos vidit thalamos et vile virentes
 Hesperidum risit, quos ditat fabula, ramos.
 arx incensa Iubae, rabies Maurusia ferro
 40 cessit et antiqui penetralia diruta Bocchi.
 Sed laudes genitor longe transgressus
 avitas
 subdidit Oceanum sceptris et margine caeli
 clausit opes, quantum distant a Tigride
 Gades,
 inter se Tanais quantum Nilusque
 relinquunt:
 haec tamen innumeris per se quaesita
 45 tropaeis,

to water the homeland of so illustrious a race;
 Ocean laved their cradle, for it befitted the
 future lords of earth and sea to have their
 origin in the great father^[146] of all things.
 Hence came Theodosius, grandfather of
 Honorius, for whom, exultant after his northern
 victories, Africa twined fresh laurels won from
 the Massylae. 'Twas he who pitched his camp
 amid the snows of Caledonia,^[147] who never
 doffed his helmet for all the heat of a Libyan
 summer, who struck terror into the Moors,
 brought into subjection the coasts of Britain
 and with equal success laid waste the north
 and the south. What avail against him the
 eternal snows, the frozen air, the uncharted
 sea? The Orcades ran red with Saxon
 slaughter; Thule was warm with the blood of
 Picts; ice-bound Hibernia wept for the heaps of
 slain Scots. Could heat stay the advance of a
 courageous general? No; he overran the
 deserts of Ethiopia, invested Atlas with troops
 strange to him, drank of lake Triton where was
 born the virgin goddess Minerva, beheld the
 Gorgon's empoisoned lair, and laughed to see
 the common verdure of those gardens of the
 Hesperides which story had clothed with gold.
 Juba's fortress was burned down, the frenzied
 valour of the Moor yielded to the sword and the
 palace of ancient Bocchus was razed to the
 ground.

But thy father's fame far surpassed that of thy
 grandsire: he subdued Ocean to his governance
 and set the sky for border to his kingdom,
 ruling from Gades to the Tigris, and all that lies
 'twixt Tanais and Nile; yet all these lands won
 by countless triumphs of his own, he gained
 them not by gift

[146] Claudian is thinking of such passages
 in Homer as *e.g.* *Il.* xiv. 245-246:

ῥέεθρα
 Ὠκεανοῦ, ὃς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι
 τέτυκται,

or perhaps Vergil's *Oceanumque patrem
 rerum* (*Virg. Georg.* iv. 382).

[147] *Cf.* note on xv. 216.

non generis dono, non ambitione potitus.
 digna legi virtus. ultro se purpura supplex
 obtulit et solus meruit regnare rogatus.
 nam cum barbaries penitus commota
 gementem
 50 inrueret Rhodopen et mixto turbine gentes
 jam deserta suas in nos transfunderet
 Arctos,
 Danuvii totae vomerent cum proelia ripae,
 cum Geticis ingens premeretur Mysia
 plaustris
 flavaque Bistonios operirent agmina
 campos,
 55 omnibus afflictis 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,
 60 ni pater ille tuus iamiam ruitura subisset
 pondera turbatamque ratem certaue
 levasset
 naufragium commune manu: velut ordine
 rupto
 cum procul insane traherent Phaëthonta
 quadrigae
 saeviretque dies terramque et stagna
 propinqui
 65 haurirent radii, solito cum murmure torvis
 sol occurrit equis; qui postquam rursus
 eriles
 agnovere sonos, rediit meliore magistro
 machina concentusque poli, currusque
 recepit
 imperium flammaeque modum.
 Sic traditus ille
 servatusque Oriens. at non pars altera
 70 rerum
 tradita: bis possessa manu, bis parta
 periclis.
 per varium gemini scelus erupere tyranni
 tractibus occiduis: hunc saeva Britannia
 fudit;

of birth or from lust of power. It was his own
 merit secured his election. Unsought the purple
 begged his acceptance of itself; he alone when
 asked to rule was worthy to do so. For when
 unrest at home drove barbarian hordes over
 unhappy Rhodope and the now deserted north
 had poured its tribes in wild confusion across
 our borders, when all the banks of Danube
 poured forth battles and broad Mysia rang
 beneath the chariots of the Getae, when flaxen-
 haired hordes covered the plains of Thrace and
 amid this universal ruin all was either prostrate
 or tottering to its fall, one man alone withstood
 the tide of disaster, quenched the flames,
 restored to the husbandmen their fields and
 snatched the cities from the very jaws of
 destruction. No shadow of Rome's name had
 survived had not thy sire borne up the tottering
 mass, succoured the storm-tossed bark and
 with sure hand averted universal shipwreck. As
 when the maddened coursers broke from their
 path and carried Phaëthon far astray, when
 day's heat grew fierce and the sun's rays,
 brought near to earth, dried up both land and
 sea, Phoebus checked his fierce horses with his
 wonted voice; for they knew once more their
 master's tones, and with a happier guide
 heaven's harmonious order was restored; for
 now the chariot again accepted government
 and its fires control.

Thus was the East entrusted to him and thus
 was its salvation assured; but the other half of
 the world was not so entrusted: twice was the
 West gained by valour, twice won by dangers.
 In those lands of the sunset by manifold crime
 there arose to power tyrants twain: wild Britain
 produced one (Maximus), the other (Eugenius)
 was chosen

hunc sibi Germanus famulum delegerat
 exul:
 ausus uterque nefas, domini respersus
 75 uterque
 insontis iugulo. novitas audere priori
 suadebat cautumque dabant exempla
 sequentem.
 hic nova moliri praeceps, hic quaerere tuta
 providus; hic fuis, collectis viribus ille;
 hic vagus excurrrens, hic intra claustra
 80 reductus.
 dissimiles, sed morte pares, evadere neutri
 dedecus aut mixtis licuit procumbere telis.
 amissa specie, raptis insignibus ambo
 in vultus rediere suos manibusque revinctis
 85 oblatis gladiis summittunt colla paratis
 et vitam veniamque rogant. pro damna
 pudoris!
 qui modo tam densas nutu movere
 cohortes,
 in quos iam dubius sese libraverat orbis,
 non hostes victore cadunt, sed iudice
 sontes;
 damnat voce reos, petiit quos Marte
 90 tyrannos.
 amborum periere duces: hic sponte carina
 decidit in fluctus, illum suus abstulit ensis;
 hunc Alpes, hunc pontus habet. solacia
 caesis
 fratribus haec ultor tribuit: necis auctor
 uterque
 labitur; Augustas par victima mitigat
 95 umbras.
 has dedit inferias tumulis, iuvenumque
 duorum
 purpureos merito placavit sanguine manes.
 Illi iustitiam confirmavere triumphi,

as a tool by a Frankish outlaw (Arbogast). Both
 dared monstrous guilt; both stained their hands
 with an innocent emperor's^[148] blood. Sudden
 elevation inspired Maximus with audacity, his
 failure taught his successor caution. Maximus
 was quick to arm rebellion, Eugenius careful to
 attempt only what was safe. The one o'erran
 the country, spreading his forces in all
 directions, the other kept his troops together
 and himself secure behind a rampart. Different
 were they, but in their deaths alike. To neither
 was it granted to escape an ignominious end
 and to fall in the thick of the fight. Gone was
 their glory, their weapons were reft from them
 and they reduced to their former state; their
 arms were bound behind their backs and they
 stretched forth their necks to the sword's
 imminent stroke, begging for pardon and for
 life. What a fall did pride there suffer! They
 who but lately had moved such countless
 cohorts with but a nod, into whose palm a
 wavering world had hung ready to drop, fall not
 as warriors at a victor's hand but as
 malefactors before a judge; he sentences with
 his voice as criminals those whom he assailed
 in war as tyrants. With both perished their
 lieutenants: Andragathius hurled himself from
 his ship into the waves, Arbogast took his life
 with his own sword; the Alps mark the tomb of
 the one, the sea of the other. This solace at
 least the avenger afforded to those murdered
 brothers that both the authors of their deaths
 themselves were slain; two victims went to
 appease those royal ghosts. Such was
 Theodosius' oblation at their tomb and with the
 blood of the guilty he appeased the shades of
 the two young emperors.

Those triumphs stablished Justice on her throne

[148] Maximus was responsible for the murder of the Emperor Gratian, Eugenius for that of Valentinian II. See Introduction, p. viii.

praesentes docuere deos. hinc saecula
 discant
 100 indomitum nihil esse pio tutumve nocenti:
 nuntius ipse sui longas incognitus egit
 praevento rumore vias, inopinus utrumque
 percudit et clausos montes, ut plana,
 reliquit.
 extruite inmanes scopulos, attollite turres,
 105 cingite vos fluviis, vastas opponite silvas,
 Garganum Alpinis Appenninumque nivalem
 permixtis sociate iugis et rupibus Haemum
 addite Caucasiis, involvite Pelion Ossae:
 non dabitur murum sceleri. qui vindicet,
 ibit:
 110 omnia subsident meliori pervia causae.
 Nec tamen oblitus civem cedentibus atrox
 partibus infremuit; non insultare iacenti
 malebat: mitis precibus, pietatis abundans,
 poenae parcus erat; paci non intulit iram;
 115 post acies odiis idem qui terminus armis.
 profuit hoc vincente capi, multosque
 subactos
 prospera^[149] laturae commendavere
 catenae.
 magnarum largitor opum, largitor honorum
 pronus et in melius gaudens convertere
 fata.
 hinc amor, hinc validum devoto milite
 120 robur.
 hinc natis mansura fides.
 Hoc nobilis ortu
 nasceris aequaeva cum maiestate creatus
 nullaque privatae passus contagia sortis.
 omnibus acceptis ultro te regia solum
 125 protulit et patrio felix adolescens in ostro,

[149] *Birt, with the MSS., aspera; I return to the prospera of the edit. princeps.*

and taught that heaven gives help. From them
 let the ages learn that righteousness need fear
 no foe and guilt expect no safety. Himself his
 own messenger, outstripping the rumour of his
 approach, Theodosius traversed those long
 journeys undetected by his enemies. Suddenly
 he fell on both, passing over entrenched
 mountains as if they were a plain. Build up
 monstrous rocks, raise towers, surround
 yourselves with rivers, set limitless forests to
 protect you, put Garganus and the snowy
 Apennines upon the summits of the Alps that all
 form one vast mountain barrier, plant Haemus
 on the crags of Caucasus, roll Pelion on Ossa,
 yet will ye not gain security for guilt. The
 avenger will come; for the better cause all
 things shall sink to make a path.

Yet never did Theodosius forget that he and the
 vanquished were fellow-citizens, nor was his
 anger implacable against those who yielded.
 Not his the choice to exult over the fallen. His
 ears were open to prayers, his clemency
 unbounded, his vengeance restrained. His
 anger did not survive the war to darken the
 days of peace; the day that set an end to the
 combat set an end to his wrath. Capture by
 such a victor was a gain; and many a
 conquered foe did their chains commend to
 future fortune.^[150] As liberal of money as of
 honours he was ever bent to redress the
 injuries of fate. Hence the love, the fortitude,
 the devotion of his troops; hence their abiding
 loyalty to his sons.

Child of so noble a sire, thy kingly state was
 coëval with thy birth nor ever knewest thou the
 soilure of a private lot. To thee all things came
 unsought; thee only^[151] did a palace rear; thy
 happy growth was in ancestral purple, and thy
 limbs, never

[150] *i.e.* by winning first the pity and then the favour of Theodosius.

[151] "Only," because Arcadius was born *before* Theodosius became emperor.

membraque vestitu numquam violata
 profano
 in sacros cecidere sinus. Hispania patrem
 auriferis eduxit aquis, te gaudet alumno
 Bosphorus. Hesperio de limine surgit origo,
 130 sed nutrix Aurora tibi; pro pignore tanto
 certatur, geminus civem te vindicat axis.
 Herculis et Bromii sustentat gloria Thebas,
 haesit Apollineo Delos Latonia partu
 Cretaque se iactat tenero reptata Tonanti;
 135 sed melior Delo, Dictaeis clarior oris
 quae dedit hoc numen regio; non litora
 nostro
 sufficerent angusta deo. nec inhospita
 Cynthi
 saxa tuos artus duro laesere cubili:
 adclinis genetrix auro, circumflua gemmis
 140 in Tyrios enixa toros; ululata verendis
 aula puerperiis. quae tunc documenta
 futuri?
 quae voces avium? quanti per inane
 volatus?
 qui vatam discursus erat? tibi corniger
 Hammon
 et dudum taciti rupere silentia Delphi,
 145 te Persae cecinere magi, te sensit Etruscus
 augur et inspectis Babylonius horruit astris,
 Chaldaei stupuere senes Cumanaque
 rursus
 intonuit rupes, rabidae delubra Sibyllae.
 nec te progenitum Cybeleius aere sonoro
 lustravit Corybas: exercitus undique
 150 fulgens
 adstitit; ambitur signis augustior infans,
 sentit adorantes galeas, redditque ferocem
 vagitum lituus.
 Vitam tibi contulit idem

outraged by garb profane, were laid upon a
 hallowed lap. Spain with its rivers of gold gave
 birth to thy sire; Bosphorus boasts thee among
 its children. The West is the cradle of thy race
 but the East was thine own nurse; rivals are
 they for so dear a pledge, either hemisphere
 claims thee as its citizen. The fame of Hercules
 and Bacchus has immortalized Thebes; when
 Latona gave birth to Apollo in Delos that island
 stayed its errant course; it is Crete's boast that
 over its fields the infant Thunderer crawled.
 But the land that brought divine Honorius to
 birth is a greater than Delos, a more famous
 than Crete. Such narrow shores would not
 suffice our god. Nor did the bleak rocks of
 Cynthus hurt thy body with their rough bed; on
 couch of gold, clothed in jewelled raiment, thy
 mother gave birth to thee amid Tyrian purples;
 a palace rang with joy at that royal deliverance.
 What presages were there not then of future
 prosperity? what songs of birds, what flights of
 good omen in the heavens? What was the
 hurrying to and fro of seers? Horned Ammon
 and Delphi so long dumb at length broke their
 silence; Persian magi prophesied thy triumphs;
 Tuscan augurs felt thine influence; seers of
 Babylon beheld the stars and trembled;
 amazement seized the Chaldaean priests; the
 rock of Cumae, shrine of raging Sibyl,
 thundered once again. Cybele's corybants
 surrounded not thy cradle with the clatter of
 their brazen shields; a shining host stood by
 thee on every side. Standards of war hedged in
 the royal babe who marked the bowed helmets
 of the worshipping soldiery while the trumpet's
 blare answered his warlike cries.

The day that gave thee birth gave thee a
 kingdom;

imperiumque dies; inter cunabula consul
 proveheris, signas posito modo nomine
 155 fastos
 donaturque tibi, qui te produxerat, annus.
 ipsa Quirinali parvum te cinxit amictu
 mater et ad primas docuit reptare curules.
 uberibus sanctis immortalique dearum
 160 crescis adoratus gremio: tibi saepe Diana
 Maenaios arcus venatricesque pharetras
 suspendit, puerile decus; tu saepe
 Minervae
 lusisti clipeo fulvamque impune pererrans
 aegida tractasti blandos interritus angues;
 165 saepe tuas etiam iam tum gaudente marito
 velavit regina comas festinaque voti
 praesumptum diadema dedit, tum lenibus
 ulnis
 sustulit et magno porrexit ad oscula patri.
 nec dilatus honos: mutatur principe Caesar;
 170 protinus aequaris fratri.
 Non certius umquam
 hortati superi, nullis praesentior aether
 adfuit ominibus. tenebris involverat atra
 lumen hiems densosque Notus collegerat
 imbres.
 sed mox, cum solita miles te voce levasset,
 nubila dissolvit Phoebus pariterque
 175 dabantur
 sceptrata tibi mundoque dies: caligine liber
 Bosphorus adversam patitur Calchedona
 cerni.
 nec tantum vicina nitent, sed tota repulsis
 nubibus exuitur Thrace, Pangaea reident
 180 insuetosque palus radios Maeotia vibrat.

in thy cradle thou wast raised to the
 consulship.^[152] With the name so recently
 bestowed upon thee thou dowerest the fasti
 and the year wherein thou wert born is
 consecrated to thee. Thy mother herself
 wrapped thy small form in the consular robe
 and directed thy first steps to the curule chair.
 Nourished at a goddess' breasts, honoured with
 the embraces of immortal arms thou grewest to
 maturity. Oft to grace thy boyish form Diana
 hung upon thy shoulders her Maenalian bow
 and huntress' quiver; oft thou didst sport with
 Minerva's shield and, crawling unharmed over
 her glittering aegis, didst caress its friendly
 serpents with fearless hand. Often even in
 those early days thy mother beneath thy sire's
 happy gaze crowned thy tender locks and,
 anticipating the answer to her prayers, gave
 thee the diadem that was to be thine hereafter;
 then raising thee in her gentle arms she held
 thee up to receive thy mighty father's kiss. Nor
 was that honour long in coming; thou, then
 Caesar, didst become emperor and wert
 straightway made equal with thy brother.^[153]

Never was the encouragement of the gods
 more sure, never did heaven attend with more
 favouring omens. Black tempest had shrouded
 the light in darkness and the south wind
 gathered thick rain-clouds, when of a sudden,
 so soon as the soldiers had borne thee aloft
 with customary shout, Phoebus scattered the
 clouds and at the same moment was given to
 thee the sceptre, to the world light. Bosphorus,
 freed from clouds, permits a sight of Chalcedon
 on the farther shore; nor is it only the vicinity
 of Byzantium that is bathed in brightness; the
 clouds are driven back and all Thrace is
 cleared; Pangaeus shows afar and lake Maeotis
 makes quiver the rays he

[152] Honorius, who was born Sept. 9, 384, was made consul for 386.

[153] Arcadius was made Augustus Jan. 16 (? 19), 383: Honorius not till Nov. 20, 393. Both succeeded to the throne Jan. 17, 395.

nec Boreas nimbos aut sol ardentior egit:
 imperii lux illa fuit; praesagus obibat
 cuncta nitor risitque tuo natura sereno.
 visa etiam medio populis mirantibus audax
 185 stella die, dubitanda nihil nec crine retuso
 languida, sed quantus numeratur nocte
 Bootes,
 emicuitque plagis alieni temporis hospes
 ignis et agnosci potuit, cum luna lateret:
 sive parens Augusta fuit, seu forte reluxit
 190 divi sidus avi, seu te properantibus astris
 cernere sol patiens caelum commune
 remisit.
 adparet quid signa ferant. ventura potestas
 claruit Ascanio, subita cum luce comarum
 innocuus flagraret apex Phrygioque volutus
 195 vertice fatalis redimiret tempora candor.
 at tua caelestes inlustrant omina flammae.
 talis ab Idaeis primaevus Iuppiter antris
 possessi stetit arce poli famulosque recepit
 natura tradente deos; lanugine nondum
 vernabant vultus nec adhuc per colla
 200 fluebant
 moturae convexa comae; tum scindere
 nubes
 discebat fulmenque rudi torquere lacerto.
 Laetior augurio genitor natisque
 superbus
 iam paribus duplici fultus consorte redibat
 splendebatque pio complexus pignora
 205 curru.
 haud aliter summo gemini cum patre
 Lacones,
 progenies Ledaea, sedent: in utroque
 relucet
 frater, utroque soror; simili chlamys effluit
 auro;

rarely sees. 'Tis not Boreas nor yet Phoebus'
 warmer breath that has put the mists to flight.
 That light was an emperor's star. A prophetic
 radiance was over all things, and with thy
 brightness Nature laughed. Even at mid-day
 did a wondering people gaze upon a bold star
 ('twas clear to behold)—no dulled nor stunted
 beams but bright as Boötes' nightly lamp. At a
 strange hour its brilliance lit up the sky and its
 fires could be clearly seen though the moon lay
 hid. May be it was the Queen mother's star or
 the return of thy grandsire's now become a
 god, or may be the generous sun agreed to
 share the heavens with all the stars that hasted
 to behold thee. The meaning of those signs is
 now unmistakable. Clear was the prophecy of
 Ascanius' coming power when an aureole
 crowned his locks, yet harmed them not, and
 when the fires of fate encircled his head and
 played about his temples.^[154] Thy future the
 very fires of heaven foretell. So the young Jove,
 issuing from the caves of Ida, stood upon the
 summit of the conquered sky and received the
 homage of the gods whom Nature handed to
 his charge. The bloom of youth had not yet
 clothed his cheeks nor flowed there o'er his
 neck the curls whose stirrings were to shake
 the world. He was yet learning how to cleave
 the clouds and hurl the thunderbolt with
 unpractised hand.

Gladdened by that augury and proud of his now
 equal sons the sire returned, upstayed on the
 two princes and lovingly embracing his
 children in glittering car. Even so the Spartan
 twins, the sons of Leda, sit with highest Jove; in
 each his brother is mirrored, in each their
 sister; round each alike flows a golden dress,
 and star-crowned are the

^[154] Virgil mentions the portent (*Aen.* ii.
 682).

stellati pariter crines. iuvat ipse Tonantem
 210 error et ambiguae placet ignorantia matri;
 Eurotas proprios discernere nescit
 alumnos.
 Ut domus exceptit reduces, ibi talia tecum
 pro rerum stabili fertur dicione locutus:
 "Si tibi Parthorum solium Fortuna
 dedisset,
 215 care puer, terrisque procul venerandus
 Eois
 barbarus Arsacio consurgeret ore tiaras:
 sufficeret sublime genus luxuque fluentem
 deside nobilitas posset te sola tueri.
 altera Romanae longe rectoribus aulae
 220 condicio. virtute decet, non sanguine niti.
 maior et utilior fato coniuncta potenti,
 vile latens virtus. quid enim? submersa
 tenebris
 proderit obscuro veluti sine remige puppis
 vel lyra quae reticet vel qui non tenditur
 arcus.
 "Hanc tamen haud quisquam, qui non
 225 agnoverit ante
 semet et incertos animi placaverit aestus,
 inveniet; longis illuc ambagibus itur.
 disce orbi, quod quisque sibi. cum conderet
 artus
 nostros, aetheriis miscens terrena,
 Prometheus,
 230 sinceram patri mentem furatus Olympo
 continuit claustris indignantemque revinxit
 et, cum non aliter possent mortalia fingi,
 adiunxit geminas. illae cum corpore lapsae
 intereunt, haec sola manet bustoque
 superstes
 235 evolat. hanc alta capitis fundavit in arce
 mandatricem operum prospecturamque
 labori;

locks of both. The Thunderer rejoices in his very uncertainty, and to their hesitating mother her ignorance brings delight; Eurotas cannot make distinction between his own nurslings.

When all had returned to the palace, Theodosius, anxious for the world's just governance, is said to have addressed thee in these terms:

"Had fortune, my dear son, given thee the throne of Parthia, hadst thou been a descendant of the Arsacid house and did the tiara, adored by Eastern lands afar, tower upon thy forehead, thy long lineage would be enough, and thy birth alone would protect thee, though wantoning in idle luxury. Very different is the state of Rome's emperor. 'Tis merit, not blood, must be his support. Virtue hidden hath no value, united with power 'tis both more effective and more useful. Nay, o'erwhelmed in darkness it will no more advantage its obscure possessor than a vessel with no oars, a silent lyre, an unstrung bow.

"Yet virtue none shall find that has not first learned to know himself and stilled the uncertain waves of passion within him. Long and winding is the path that leads thereto. What each man learns in his own interests learn thou in the interests of the world. When Prometheus mixed earthly and heavenly elements and so formed human kind, he stole man's spirit pure from his own heavenly home, held it imprisoned and bound despite its outcries, and since humanity could be formed in no other way he added two more souls.^[155] These fail and perish with the body; the first alone remains, survives the pyre and flies away. This soul he stationed in the lofty fastness of the brain to control and oversee the work and labours of the body. The other

[155] Claudian here follows the Platonic psychology which divides the soul into τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, the two ("geminas") baser elements, and τὸ λογιστικόν (the "haec" of l. 234).

illas inferius collo praeceptaque summae
 passuras dominae digna statione locavit.
 quippe opifex veritus confundere sacra
 profanis
 240 distribuit partes animae sedesque removit.
 iram sanguinei regio sub pectore cordis
 protegit imbutam flammis avidamque
 nocendi
 praecipitemque sui. rabie succensa
 tumescit,
 contrahitur tepefacta metu. cumque omnia
 secum
 duceret et requiem membris vesana
 245 negaret,
 invenit pulmonis opem madidumque furenti
 praebuit, ut tumidae ruerent in mollia
 fibrae.
 at sibi cuncta petens, nil conlatura cupido
 in iecur et tractus imos compulsa recessit,
 quae, velut inmanis reserat dum belua
 250 rictus,
 expleri pascique nequit: nunc verberare curas
 torquet avaritiae, stimulis nunc flagrat
 amorum,
 nunc gaudet, nunc maesta dolet satiataque
 rursus
 exoritur caesaque redit pollentius hydra.
 "Hos igitur potuit si quis sedare tumultus,
 255 inconcussa dabit purae sacraria menti.
 tu licet extremos late dominere per Indos,
 te Medus, te mollis Arabs, te Seres adorent:
 si metuis, si prava cupis, si duceres ira,
 260 servitii patiere iugum; tolerabis iniquas
 interius leges. tunc omnia iure tenebis,
 cum poteris rex esse tui. proclivior usus
 in peiora datur suadetque licentia luxum
 inlecebrisque effrena favet. tum vivere
 caste

two he set below the neck in a place befitting
 their functions, where it is their part to obey
 the commands of the directing soul. Doubtless
 our creator, fearing to mix the heavenly with
 the mortal, placed the different souls in
 different parts and kept their dwelling-places
 distinct. Near to the heart whence springs our
 blood there is within the breast a place where
 fiery anger lurks, eager to hurt and
 uncontrolled. This cavity swells when heated by
 rage and contracts when cooled by fear. 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. Lust, that asks for
 everything and gives nought, was driven down
 into the liver and of necessity occupied the
 lowest room. Like a beast, opening its
 capacious jaws, lust can never be full fed nor
 satisfied; it is a prey now to the cruel lash of
 sleepless avarice, now to the fiery goads of
 love; is swayed now by joy, now by misery, and
 is no sooner fed than fain to be fed again,
 returning with more insistence than the oft-
 beheaded hydra.

"Can any assuage this tumult he will assure an
 inviolable sanctuary for a spotless soul. Thou
 mayest hold sway o'er farthest India, be obeyed
 by Mede, unwarlike Arab or Chinese, yet, if
 thou fearest, hast evil desires, art swayed by
 anger, thou wilt bear the yoke of slavery; within
 thyself thou wilt be a slave to tyrannical rule.
 When thou canst be king over thyself then shalt
 thou hold rightful rule over the world. The
 easier way often trod leads to worse; liberty
 begets licence and, when uncontrolled, leads to
 vice. Then is a chaste

265 asperius, cum prompta Venus; tum durius
 irae
 consulitur, cum poena patet. sed comprime
 motus
 nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit
 occurrat, mentemque domet respectus
 honesti.
 "Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone
 monebo,
 270 ut te totius medio telluris in ore
 vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse
 facta palam nec posse dari regalibus
 usquam
 secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati
 occultum nihil esse sinit, latebrasque per
 omnes
 275 intrat et abstrusos explorat fama recessus.
 "Sis pius in primis; nam cum vincamur in
 omni
 munere, sola deos aequat clementia nobis.
 neu dubie suspectus agas neu falsus amicis
 rumorumve avidus: qui talia curat, inanes
 280 horrebit strepitus nulla non anxius hora.
 non sic excubiae, non circumstantia pila
 quam tutatur amor. non extorquebis amari;
 hoc alterna fides, hoc simplex gratia donat.
 nonne vides, operum quod se pulcherrimus
 ipse
 mundus amore liget, nec vi conexa per
 285 aevum
 conspirent elementa sibi? quod limite
 Phoebus
 contentus medio, contentus litore pontus
 et, qui perpetuo terras ambitque vehitque,
 nec premat incumbens oneri nec cesserit
 aër?
 qui terret, plus ipse timet; sors ista tyrannis
 290 convenit; invideant claris fortesque
 trucident,

life harder when love is at call; then is it a
 sterner task to govern anger when vengeance
 is to hand. Yet master thine emotions and
 ponder not what thou mightest do but what
 thou oughtest to do, and let regard for duty
 control thy mind.

"Of this too I cannot warn thee too often:
 remember that thou livest in the sight of the
 whole world, to all peoples are thy deeds
 known; the vices of monarchs cannot anywhere
 remain hid. The splendour of their lofty station
 allows nought to be concealed; fame penetrates
 every hiding-place and discovers the inmost
 secrets of the heart.

"Above all fail not in loving-kindness; for
 though we be surpassed in every virtue yet
 mercy alone makes us equal with the gods. Let
 thine actions be open and give no grounds for
 suspicion, be loyal to thy friends nor lend an
 ear to rumours. He who attends to such will
 quake at every idle whisper and know no
 moment's peace. Neither watch nor guard nor
 yet a hedge of spears can secure thee safety;
 only thy people's love can do that. Love thou
 canst not extort; it is the gift of mutual faith
 and honest goodwill. Seest thou not how the
 fair frame of the very universe binds itself
 together by love, and how the elements, not
 united by violence, are for ever at harmony
 among themselves? Dost thou not mark how
 that Phoebus is content not to outstep the
 limits of his path, nor the sea those of his
 kingdom, and how the air, which in its eternal
 embrace encircles and upholds the world,
 presses not upon us with too heavy a weight
 nor yet yields to the burden which itself
 sustains? Whoso causes terror is himself more
 fearful; such doom befits tyrants. Let them be
 jealous of another's fame, murder the

muniti gladiis vivant saeptique venenis,
ancipites habeant arces trepidique
minentur:

tu civem patremque geras, tu consule
cunctis,
non tibi, nec tua te moveant, sed publica
vota.

295

“In commune iubes si quid censesque
tenendum,
primus iussa subi: tunc observantior aequi
fit populus nec ferre negat, cum viderit
ipsum

auctorem parere sibi. componitur orbis
regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere
sensus

300

humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis:
mobile mutatur semper cum principe
vulgus.

“His tamen effectis neu fastidire minores
neu pete praescriptos homini transcendere
fines.

inquinat egregios adiuncta superbia mores.
non tibi tradidimus dociles servire Sabaeos,
Armeniae dominum non te praefecimus
orae,

305

nec damus Assyriam, tenuit quam femina,
gentem.

Romani, qui cuncta diu rexere, regendi,
qui nec Tarquinii fastus nec iura tulere
Caesaris. annales veterum delicta
loquuntur:

310

haerebunt maculae. quis non per saecula
damnat

Caesareae portenta domus? quem dira
Neronis

funera, quem rupes Caprearum taetra
latebit

315

incesto possessa seni? victura feretur
gloria Traiani, non tam quod Tigride victo
nostra triumphati fuerint provincia Parthi,
alta quod invectus fractis Capitolia Dacis,

brave, live hedged about with swords and
fenced with poisons, dwelling in a citadel that
is ever exposed to danger, and threaten to
conceal their fears. Do thou, my son, be at once
a citizen and a father, consider not thyself but
all men, nor let thine own desires stir thee but
thy people's.

“If thou make any law or establish any custom
for the general good, be the first to submit
thyself thereto; then does a people show more
regard for justice nor refuse submission when
it has seen their author obedient to his own
laws. The world shapes itself after its ruler's
pattern, nor can edicts sway men's minds so
much as their monarch's life; the unstable
crowd ever changes along with the prince.

“Nor is this all: show no scorn of thine inferiors
nor seek to overstep the limits established for
mankind. Pride joined thereto defaces the
fairest character. They are not submissive
Sabaeans whom I have handed over to thy rule,
nor have I made thee lord of Armenia; I give
thee not Assyria, accustomed to a woman's
rule. Thou must govern Romans who have long
governed the world, Romans who brooked not
Tarquin's pride nor Caesar's tyranny. History
still tells of our ancestors' ill deeds; the stain
will never be wiped away. So long as the world
lasts the monstrous excesses of the Julian
house will stand condemned. Will any not have
heard of Nero's murders or how Capri's foul
cliffs were owned by an agè lecher^[156]? The
fame of Trajan will never die, not so much
because, thanks to his victories on the Tigris,
conquered Parthia became a Roman province,
not because he brake the might of Dacia and
led their chiefs in triumph up the slope of the
Capitol, but because

[156] *i.e.* Tiberius.

quam patriae quod mitis erat. ne desine
tales,
nate, sequi.

“Si bella canant, prius agmina
duris

- 321 exerce studiis et saevo praestrue Marti.
non brumae requies, non hibernacula
segnes
enervent torpore manus. ponenda salubri
castra loco; praebenda vigil custodia vallo.
325 disce, ubi denseri cuneos, ubi cornua tendi
aequius aut iterum flecti; quae montibus
aptae,
quae campis acies, quae fraudi commoda
vallis,
quae via difficilis. fidit si moenibus hostis,
tum tibi murali libretur machina pulsu;
saxa rota; praeceps aries protectaque
330 portas
testudo feriat; ruat emersura iuventus
effossi per aperta soli. si longa moretur
obsidio, tum vota cave secreta remittas
inclusumve putes; multis damnosa fuere
335 gaudia; dispersi pereunt somnove soluti;
saepius incautae nocuit victoria turbae.
neu tibi regificis tentoria larga redundant
deliciis, neve imbelles ad signa ministros
luxuries armata trahat. neu flantibus
Austriis
340 neu pluviis cedas, neu defensura calorem
aurea summoveant rapidos umbracula
soles.
inventis utere cibis. solabere partes
aequali sudore tuas: si collis iniquus,

he was kindly to his country. Fail not to make
such as he thine example, my son.

“Should war threaten, see first that thy soldiers
are exercised in the practices of war and
prepare them for the rigours of service. The
ease of winter months spent in winter quarters
must not weaken nor unnerve their hands.
Establish thy camps in healthy places and see
that watchful sentries guard the ramparts.
Learn how to know when to mass your troops
and when it is better to extend them or face
them round; study the formations suitable for
mountain warfare and those for fighting on the
plain. Learn to recognize what valleys may
conceal an ambush and what routes will prove
difficult. If thine enemy trusts in his walls to
defend him then let thy catapults hurl stones at
his battlements; fling rocks thereat and let the
swinging ram and shield-protected *testudo*^[157]
shake his gates. Your troops should undermine
the walls and issuing from this tunnel should
rush into the town. Should a long siege delay
thee, then take care thou unbend not thy
purpose in security or count thine enemy thy
prisoner. Many ere this have found premature
triumph their undoing, scattered or asleep they
have been cut to pieces; indeed victory itself
has not seldom been the ruin of careless troops.
Not for thee let spacious tents o’erflow with
princely delights nor luxury don arms and drag
to the standards her unwarlike train. Though
the storm winds blow and the rain descends
yield not to them and use not cloth of gold to
guard thee from the sun’s fierce rays. Eat such
food as thou canst find. It will be a solace to thy
soldiers that thy toil is as heavy as theirs; be
the first to mount the arduous hill and, should

[157] A well-known Roman method of
attack by which the troops advanced to the
point of attack in close formation, each
man holding his shield above his head. The
protection thus afforded to the assaulting
band was likened to the shell of the tortoise
(*testudo*).

primus ini; silvam si caedere provocat usus,
 sumpta ne pudeat quercum stravisse
 345 bipenni.
 calcatur si pigra palus, tuus ante
 profundum
 pertemptet sonipes. fluvios tu protere cursu
 haerentes glacie, liquidos tu scinde natatu.
 nunc eques in medias equitum te consere
 turmas;
 nunc pedes adsistas pediti. tum promptius
 ibunt
 351 te socio, tum conspicuus gratusque geretur
 sub te teste labor."

Dicturum plura
 parentem
 voce subis: "equidem, faveant modo numina
 coeptis,
 haec effecta dabo, nec me fratrique tibi que
 dissimilem populi commissaque regna
 355 videbunt.
 sed cur non potius, verbis quae disseris,
 usu
 experior? gelidas certe nunc tendis in
 Alpes.
 duc tecum comitem; figant sine nostra
 tyrannum
 spicula; pallescat nostro sine barbarus
 arcu.
 360 Italiamne feram furiis praedonis acerbi
 subiectam? patiar Romam servire clienti?
 usque adeone puer? nec me polluta
 potestas
 nec pia cognati tanget vindicta cruoris?
 per strages equitare libet. da protinus
 arma.
 cur annos obicis? pugnae cur arguor
 impar?
 aequalis mihi Pyrrhus erat, cum Pergama
 365 solus
 verteret et patri non degeneraret Achilli.
 denique si princeps castris haerere
 nequibo,
 vel miles veniam."

Delibat dulcia nati
 oscula miratusque refert: "laudanda petisti;
 370 sed festinus amor, veniet robustior aetas;
 ne propera. necdum decimas emensus
 aristas
 adgrederis metuenda viris: vestigia magna

necessity demand the felling of a forest, be not
 ashamed to grasp the axe and hew down the
 oak. If a stagnant marsh must be crossed let
 thy horse be the first to test the depth of it.
 Boldly tread the frozen river; swim the flood.
 Mounted thyself, ride amid thy squadrons of
 horse or again stand foot to foot with the
 infantry. They will advance the bolder for thy
 presence, and with thee to witness glorious and
 glad shall be the fulfilment of their task."

More would he have spoken but Honorius
 broke in and said: "All this will I do, so God
 favour my attempts. The peoples and kingdoms
 committed to my care shall find me not
 unworthy of thee nor of my brother. But why
 should I not experience in action what thou has
 taught in words? Thou goest to the wintry Alps:
 take me with thee. Let mine arrows pierce the
 tyrant's body, and the barbarians pale at my
 bow. Shall I allow Italy to become the prey of a
 ruthless bandit? Rome to serve one who is
 himself but a servant? Am I still such a child
 that neither power profaned nor just revenge
 for an uncle's blood shall move me? Fain would
 I ride through blood. Quick, give me arms. Why
 castest thou my youth in my teeth? Why
 thinkest me unequal to the combat? I am as old
 as was Pyrrhus when alone he o'erthrew Troy
 and proved himself no degenerate from his
 father Achilles. If I may not remain in thy camp
 as a prince I will come even as a soldier."

Theodosius kissed his son's sweet lips and
 answered him wondering: "Nought have I but
 praise for thy petition, but this love of glory has
 bloomed too early. Thy strength will increase
 with years; till then be patient. Though thou
 hast not yet completed ten summers thou
 wouldst hance dangers that a man

indolis agnosco, fertur Pellaeus, Eoim
 qui domuit Porum, cum prospera saepe
 375 Philippi
 audiret, laetos inter flevisse sodales
 nil sibi vincendum patris virtute relinqui.
 hos video motus. fas sit promittere patri:
 tantus eris. nostro nec debes regna favori,
 380 quae tibi iam natura dedit. sic mollibus olim
 stridula ducturum pratis examina regem
 nascentem venerantur apes et publica
 mellis
 iura petunt traduntque favos; sic pascua
 parvus
 vindicat et necdum firmatis cornibus audax
 iam regit armentum vitulus. sed proelia
 385 differ
 in iuvenem patiensque meum cum fratre
 tuere
 me bellante locum, vos impacatus Araxes,
 vos celer Euphrates timeat, sit Nilus ubique
 vester et emisso quidquid sol imbuit ortu.
 390 si pateant Alpes, habeat si causa secundos
 iustior eventus, aderis partesque receptas
 suscipies, animosa tuas ut Gallia leges
 audiat et nostros aequus modereris
 Hiberos.
 tunc ego securus fati laetusque laborum
 discedam, vobis utrumque regentibus
 395 axem.
 "Interea Mosis animus, dum mollior,
 instet
 et quae mox imitere legat; nec desinat
 umquam
 tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas.
 antiquos evolve duces, adsuesce futurae

might fear: I mark the tokens of a noble nature.
 It is said that Alexander, conqueror of eastern
 Porus, wept at the constant news of Philip's
 fortune, telling his companions who rejoiced
 thereat that his sire's valour left him nought to
 conquer. In thee I see like spirit. May a father
 be allowed this prophecy—"thou shalt be as
 great"! It is not to my goodwill thou owest the
 kingdom, for nature has already made it thine.
 So even from his birth bees reverence the
 king^[158] who is to lead their buzzing swarms
 through the soft meadows, ask his public laws
 for the gathering of the honey and entrust to
 him their combs. So the spirited young bull-calf
 claims sovereignty over the grazing-grounds
 and, though as yet his horns are not grown
 strong, lords it over the herd. Nay: postpone
 thy campaigns till thou art a man and while I do
 battle patiently help thy brother to fulfil my
 office. Be you two the terror of untamed Araxes
 and of swift Euphrates; may Nile throughout all
 his length belong to you and all the lands upon
 which the morning sun lets fall his beam.
 Should I force a passage over the Alps, should
 success crown the juster cause, thou shalt
 come and govern the recovered provinces,
 whereby fierce Gaul shall obey thy laws and my
 native Spain be guided by thy just rule. Then,
 careless of doom and rejoicing in my labours, I
 shall quit this mortal life, while you, my sons,
 rule either hemisphere.

"Meanwhile cultivate the Muses whilst thou art
 yet young; read of deeds thou soon mayest
 rival; never may Greece's story, never may
 Rome's, cease to speak with thee. Study the
 lives of the heroes of old to accustom thee for
 wars that are to be.

^[158] As is well known, the ancients
 mistook the sex of the queen bee.

400 militiae, Latium retro te confer in aevum.
 libertas quaesita placet? mirabere Brutum.
 perfidiam damnas? Metti satiabere poenis.
 triste rigor nimius? Torquati despice mores.
 mors impensa bonum? Decios venerare
 ruentes.
 405 vel solus quid fortis agat, te ponte soluto
 oppositus Cocles, Muci te flamma docebit;
 quid mora perfringat, Fabius; quid rebus in
 artis
 dux gerat, ostendet Gallorum strage
 Camillus.
 discitur hinc nullos meritis obsistere casus:
 prorogat aeternam feritas tibi Punica
 410 famam,
 Regule; successus superant adversa
 Catonis.
 discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria
 possit:
 pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret
 armis,
 pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret
 aurum;
 415 sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra:
 lustratae lictore casae fascesque salignis
 postibus adfixi; collectae consule messes
 et sulcata diu trabeato rura colono."
 Haec genitor praecepta dabat: velut ille
 carinae
 longaevus rector, variis quem saepe
 420 procellis
 exploravit hiems, ponto iam fessus et annis
 aequoreas alni nato commendat habenas
 et casus artesque docet: quo dextra regatur
 sidere; quo fluctus possit moderamine falli;
 quae nota nimborum; quae fraus infida
 425 sereni;

Go back to the Latin age. Admirest thou a fight for liberty? Thou wilt admire Brutus. Does treachery rouse thine indignation? The punishment of Mettius^[159] will fill thee with satisfaction. Dost thou hate undue severity? Abominate Torquatus' savagery. Is it a virtue to die for one's country? Honour the self-devotion of the Decii. Horatius Cocles, facing the foe on the broken bridge, Mucius holding his arm in the flames,^[160] these shall show thee what, single-handed, brave men can do. Fabius will show thee what overthrow delay can cause; Camillus and his slaughter of the Gauls what in face of odds a leader can effect. From history thou mayest learn that no ill fortune can master worth; Punic savagery extends thy fame, Regulus, to eternity; the failure of Cato outdoes success. From history thou mayest learn the power of frugal poverty; Curius was a poor man when he conquered kings in battle; Fabricius was poor when he spurned the gold of Pyrrhus; Serranus, for all he was dictator, drove the muddy plough. In those days the lictors kept watch at a cottage door, the fasces were hung upon a gateway of wood; consuls helped to gather in the harvest, and for long years the fields were ploughed by husbandmen who wore the consular robe."

Such were the precepts of the sire. Even so an aged helmsman oft proved by winter's various storms, weary now of the sea and his weight of years, commends to his son the rudder of his bark, tells him of dangers and devices—by what art the helmsman's hand is guided; what steerage may elude the wave; what is a sign of storms; what the treachery of a cloudless sky, the promise of the

[159] The story of the punishment of Mettius Fufetius, the Alban dictator, by the Roman king Tullus Hostilius for his treachery in the war against Fidenae is told by Livy (i. 28. 10) and referred to by Claudian (xv. 254).

[160] For Mucius (Scaevola) holding his arm in the flame to show Lars Porsenna how little he, a Roman, minded bodily pain see Livy ii. 12.

quid sol occiduus prodat; quo saucia vento
 decolor iratos attollat Cynthia vultus.
 adspice nunc, quacumque micas, seu
 circulus Austri,
 magne parens, gelidi seu te meruere
 Triones,
 adspice: completur votum. iam natus
 430 adaequat
 te meritis et, quod magis est optabile, vincit
 subnixus Stilichone tuo, quem fratribus
 ipse
 discedens clipeum defensoremque dedisti.
 pro nobis nihil ille pati nullumque recusat
 435 discrimen temptare sui, non dura viarum,
 non incerta maris, Libyae squalentis
 harenas
 audebit superare pedes madidaque cadente
 Pleiade Gaetulas intrabit navita Syrtes.
 Hunc tamen in primis populos lenire
 feroces
 440 et Rhenum pacare iubes. volat ille citatis
 vectus equis nullaque latus stipante
 caterva,
 aspera nubiferas qua Raetia porrigit Alpes,
 pergit et hostiles (tanta est fiducia) ripas
 incommitatus adit. totum properare per
 amnem
 445 attonitos reges humili cervice videres.
 ante ducem nostrum flavam sparsere
 Sygambri
 caesariem pavidoque orantes murmure
 Franci
 procubuere solo: iuratur Honorius absens
 imploratque tuum supplex Alamannia
 nomen.
 Bastarnae venere truces, venit accola silvae
 450 Bructerus Hercyniae latisque paludibus exit
 Cimber et ingentes Albim liquere Cherusci.

setting sun; what storm-wind frets the Moon so
 that discoloured she uplifts an angry face.
 Behold now, great father, in whatsoever part of
 heaven thou shinest, be it the southern arch or
 the cold constellation of the Plough that has
 won the honour of thy presence; see, thy prayer
 has been answered; thy son now equals thee in
 merit, nay, a consummation still more to be
 desired, he surpasseth thee, thanks to the
 support of thy dear Stilicho whom thou thyself
 at thy death didst leave to guard and defend
 the brothers twain. For us there is nought that
 Stilicho is not ready to suffer, no danger to
 himself he is not willing to face, neither
 hardships of the land nor hazards of the sea.
 His courage will carry him on foot across the
 deserts of Libya, at the setting of the rainy
 Pleiads his ship will penetrate the Gaetolian
 Syrtes.

To him, however, thy first command is to calm
 fierce nations and bring peace to the Rhine. On
 wind-swift steed, no escort clinging to his side,
 he crosses the cloud-capped summits of the
 Raetian Alps, and, so great is his trust in
 himself, approaches the river unattended. Then
 mightest thou have seen from source to mouth
 come hastening up Rhine's princes, bending
 their heads in fearful submission. Before our
 general the Sygambri abased their flaxen locks
 and the Franks cast themselves upon the
 ground and sued with trembling voice for
 pardon. Germany swears allegiance to the
 absent Honorius and addresses her suppliant
 prayers to him. Fierce Bastarnae were there
 and the Bructeri who dwell in the Hercynian
 forest. The Cimbrians left their broad marsh-
 lands, the tall Cherusci came from the river
 Elbe. Stilicho listens

accipit ille preces varias tardeque rogatus
 adnuit et magno pacem pro munere donat.
 nobilitant veteres Germanica foedera
 455 Drusus,
 Marte sed ancipiti, sed multis cladibus
 empta—quis
 victum meminit sola formidine Rhenum?
 quod longis alii bellis potuere mereri,
 hoc tibi dat Stilichonis iter.

Post otia Galli

460 limitis hortaris Graias fulcire ruinas.
 Ionium tegitur velis servaturasque Corinthum
 tot curvare sinus servaturasque Corinthum
 prosequitur facili Neptunus gurgite classes,
 et puer, Isthmiaci iam pridem litoris exul,
 segura repetit portus cum matre Palaemon.
 465 plaustra cruore natant: metitur pellita
 iuventus:
 pars morbo, pars ense perit. non lustra
 Lycaei,
 non Erymantheae iam copia sufficit umbrae
 innumeris exusta rogis, nudataque ferro
 470 sic flagrasse suas laetantur Maenala silvas.
 excutiat cineres Ephyre, Spartanus et Arcas
 tutior exanguis pedibus proculcet acervos
 fessaque pensatis respiret Graecia poenis!
 gens, qua non Scythicos diffusior ulla
 Triones
 incoluit, cui parvus Athos angustaque
 475 Thrace,
 cum transiret, erat, per te viresque tuorum
 fracta ducum lugetque sibi iam rara
 superstes,
 et, quorum turbae spatium vix praebuit
 orbis,
 uno colle latent. sitiens inclusaque vallo

to their various prayers, gives tardy assent to
 their entreaties and of his great bounty bestows
 upon them peace. A covenant with Germany
 gave glory to the Drusi of old, but purchased by
 what uncertain warfare, by how many
 disasters! Who can recall the Rhine conquered
 by terror alone? That which others were
 enabled to win by long wars—this, Honorius,
 Stilicho's mere march gives thee.

Thou biddest Stilicho after restoring peace in
 Gaul save Greece from ruin. Vessels cover the
 Ionian sea; scarce can the wind fill out so many
 sails. Neptune with favouring currents attends
 the fleet that is to save Corinth, and young
 Palaemon, so long an exile from the shores of
 his isthmus, returns in safety with his mother to
 the harbour. The blood of barbarians washes
 their wagons; the ranks of skin-clad warriors
 are mowed down, some by disease, some by the
 sword. The glades of Lycaeus, the dark and
 boundless forests of Erymanthus, are not
 enough to furnish such countless funeral pyres;
 Maenalus rejoices that the axe has stripped her
 of her woods to provide fuel for such a
 holocaust. Let Ephyre^[161] rise from her ashes
 while Spartan and Arcadian, now safe, tread
 under foot the heaps of slain; let Greece's
 sufferings be made good and her weary land be
 allowed to breathe once more. That nation,
 wider spread than any that dwells in northern
 Scythia, that found Athos too small and Thrace
 too narrow when it crossed them, that nation, I
 say, was conquered by thee and thy captains,
 and now, in the persons of the few that survive,
 laments its own overthrow. One hill now
 shelters a people whose hordes scarce the
 whole world could once contain. Athirst and
 hemmed within their rampart they

[161] = Corinth.

480 ereptas quaesivit aquas, quas hostibus ante
contiguas alio Stilicho deflexerat actu
mirantemque novas ignota per avia valles
iusserat averso fluvium migrare meatu.

Obvia quid mirum vinci, cum barbarus
ultra

485 iam cupiat servire tibi? tua Sarmata discors
sacramenta petit; proiecta pelle Gelonus
militat; in Latios ritus transistis Alani.

ut fortes in Marte viros animisque paratos,
sic iustos in pace legis longumque tueris

490 electos crebris nec succedentibus urges.
iudicibus notis regimur, fruimurque quietis
militiaeque bonis, ceu bellatore Quirino,
ceu placido moderante Numa. non imminet
ensis,

495 nullae nobilium caedes; non crimina vulgo
texuntur; patria maestus non truditur exul;

impia continui cessant augmenta tributi;
non infelices tabulae; non hasta refixas
vendit opes; avida sector non voce citatur,
nec tua privatis crescunt aeraria damnis.

500 munificus largi, sed non et prodigus, auri.
perdurat non empta fides nec pectora

merces

adligat; ipsa suo pro pignore castra
laborant;

te miles nutritor amat.

Quae denique Romae

sought in vain for the stolen waters, that, once
within our foemen's reach, Stilicho had turned
aside in another course, and commanded the
stream, that marvelled at its strange channel
amid unknown ways, to shift its altered track.

What wonder that the nations barring thy path
should fall before thee, since the barbarian of
his own choice now seeks to serve thee? The
Sarmatae, ever a prey to internal strife, beg to
swear allegiance to thee; the Geloni cast off
their cloaks of hide and fight for thee; you, O
Alans, have adopted the customs of Latium. As
thou choosest for war men that are brave and
eager for the fray, so thou choosest for the
offices of peace men that are just, and once
chosen keepest them long in their charge, not
ousting them by ever new successors. We know
the magistrates who govern us, and we enjoy
the blessings of peace while we reap the
advantages of war, as though we lived at one
and the same time in the reign of warlike
Romulus and peace-loving Numa. A sword is no
longer hung over our heads; there are no
massacres of the great; gone is the mob of false
accusers; no melancholy exiles are driven from
their fatherland. Unholy increase of perpetual
taxes is at an end; there are no accursed lists,
[162] no auctions of plundered wealth; the voice
of greed summons not the salesman, nor is thy
treasury increased by private losses. Thou art
liberal with thy money, yet not wasteful of it.
The loyalty of thy soldiers is a lasting loyalty,
for it is not bought, nor is it gifts that win their
love; the army is anxious for the success of its
own child and loves thee who wast its nursling.

And how deep is thy devotion to Rome herself!

[162] *i.e.* lists of the proscribed and of their
properties put up for sale.

cura tibi! quam fixa manet reverentia
 patrum!
 firmatur senium iuris priscamque resumunt
 505 canitiem leges emendanturque vetustae
 acceduntque novae. talem sensere Solonem
 res Pandioniae; sic armipotens Lacedaemon
 despexit muros rigido munita Lycurgo.
 quae sub te vel causa brevis vel iudicis
 510 error
 negligitur? dubiis quis litibus addere finem
 iustior et mersum latebris educere verum?
 quae pietas quantusque rigor tranquillaque
 magni
 vis animi nulloque levis terrore moveri
 nec nova mirari facilis! quam docta facultas
 515 ingenii linguaeque modus! responsa
 verentur
 legati, gravibusque latet sub moribus aetas.
 Quantus in ore pater radiat! quam torva
 voluptas
 frontis et augusti maiestas grata pudoris!
 520 iam patrias impleas galeas; iam cornus avita
 temptatur vibranda tibi; promittitur ingens
 dextra rudimentis Romanaque vota
 moratur.
 quis decor, incedis quotiens clipeatus et
 auro
 squameus et rutilus cristis et casside
 maior!
 525 sic, cum Threïcia primum sudaret in hasta,
 flumina laverunt puerum Rhodopeia
 Martem.
 quae vires iaculis vel, cum Gortynia tendis
 spicula, quam felix arcus certique petitor
 vulneris et iussum mentiri nescius ictum!
 530 scis, quo more Cydon, qua dirigat arte
 sagittas

How fixed abides thy reverence for the Senate!
 Old customs are preserved, law has recovered
 its ancient sanctity in the amendment of former
 statutes and by the addition of new ones. Such
 an one as thee Pandion's city^[163] found in
 Solon; even so did warrior Lacedaemon disdain
 walls, for unyielding Lycurgus gave it defence.
 What case so petty, what judicial error so slight
 that it escapes thy notice? Who with truer
 justice put an end to dishonest suits and
 brought forth lurking truth from her hiding-
 place? What mercy, yet what firmness; thine is
 the quiet strength of a great soul, too firm to be
 stirred by fear, too stable to be swayed by the
 attraction of novelty. How stored with learning
 thy ready wit, how controlled thy speech;
 ambassadors are awe-stricken at thine
 answers, and thy grave manners make them
 forget thy years.

How thy father's nobility shines in thy face!
 How awful is thy winning brow, how charming
 the majesty of a blushing emperor! Boy though
 thou art, thou canst wear thy sire's helmet and
 brandish thy grandsire's spear. These exercises
 of thy youth foreshadow vast strength in
 manhood and convince Rome that the ruler of
 her prayers is come. How fair art thou in shield
 and golden armour girt, with waving plumes
 and taller by the altitude of a helmet! So looked
 the youthful Mars when after the toil and sweat
 of his first battle he bathed him in Thracian
 Rhodope's mountain stream. With what vigour
 thou hurlest the javelin, and, when thou
 stretchest the Cretan bow, what success
 attends thy shaft! Sure is the wound it seeks; it
 knows not how to fail the appointed stroke.
 Thou knowest in what fashion the Cretan,

[163] *i.e.* Athens.

Armenius, refugo quae sit fiducia Partho:
 sic Amphioniae pulcher sudore palaestrae
 Alcides pharetras Dircaeaque tela solebat
 535 et pacem latura polo, semperque cruentus
 ibat et Alcmenae praedam referebat ovanti;
 caeruleus tali prostratus Apolline Python
 implicuit fractis moritura volumina silvis.
 Cum vectaris equo simulacraque Martia
 ludis,
 540 quis mollis sinuare fugas, quis tendere
 contum
 acrior aut subitos melior flexisse recursus?
 non te Massagetae, non gens exercita
 campo
 Thessala, non ipsi poterunt aequare
 bimembres;
 vix comites alae, vix te suspensa sequuntur
 agmina ferventesque tument post terga
 545 dracones.
 utque tuis primum sonipes calcaribus arsit,
 ignescunt patulae nares, non sentit harenas
 ungula discussaeque iubae sparguntur in
 armos;
 turbantur phalerae, spumosis morsibus
 aurum
 fumat, anhelantes exundant sanguine
 550 gemmae.
 ipse labor pulvisque decet confusaque motu
 caesaries; vestis radiato murice solem
 combibit, ingesto crispatur purpura vento.
 si dominus legeretur equis, tua posceret
 ultro
 555 verbera Nereidum stabulis nutritus Arion
 serviretque tuis contempto Castore frenis

with what skill the Armenian, directs his
 arrows; in what the retreating Parthian puts his
 trust. Thus was Alcides, graced with the sweat
 of the wrestling-ground at Thebes, wont to try
 his bow and Boeotian arrows on the beasts of
 the forest ere he turned them against the
 Giants and so secured peace for heaven. Stains
 of blood were ever upon him and proud was his
 mother Alcmena of the spoils he brought back
 home. Such was Apollo when he slew the livid
 serpent that enfolded and brake down forests
 in his dying coils.

When mounted on thy horse thou playest the
 mimicry of war, who is quicker smoothly to
 wheel in flight, who to hurl the spear, or more
 skilled to sweep round in swift return? There
 the Massagetae are not thy peers nor the tribes
 of Thessaly, well versed though they be in
 riding, no, nor the very Centaurs themselves.
 Scarce can the squadrons and flying bands that
 accompany thee keep pace, while the wind
 behind thee bellies the fierce dragons on the
 flags. So soon as the touch of thy spur has fired
 thy steed, flames start from his swelling
 nostrils; his hoof scarce touches the ground
 and his mane is outspread over his shoulders.
 His harness rattles and the golden bit grows
 warm in his foam-flecked mouth. The jewels
 that stud his quivering bridle are red with
 blood. The signs of toil, the dust stains, the
 disorder of thy hair all do but increase thy
 beauty. Thy brilliant scarlet cloak drinks in the
 sunlight as the wind blows its gay surface into
 folds. Could horses choose their riders then
 surely would Arion, full fed in the stables of the
 Nereids, have prayed for the very whip of such
 a master, Cyllarus would have had none of
 Castor, but would have looked

Cyllarus et flavum Xanthus sprevisset
 Achillem.
 ipse tibi famulas praeberet Pegasus alas
 portaretque libens melioraque pondera
 passus
 560 Bellerophontes indignaretur habenas.
 quin etiam velox Aurorae nuntius Aethon,
 qui fugat hinnitu stellas roseoque domatur
 Lucifero, quotiens equitem te cernit ab
 astris,
 invidet inque tuis mavult spumare lupatis.
 Nunc quoque quos habitus, quantae
 565 miracula pompae
 vidimus, Ausonio cum iam succinctus
 amictu
 per Ligurum populos solito conspectior ires
 atque inter niveas alte veherere cohortes,
 obnixisque simul pubes electa lacertis
 sidereum gestaret onus. sic numina
 570 Memphis
 in vulgus proferre solet; penetralibus exit
 effigies, brevis illa quidem: sed plurimus
 infra
 liniger imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos
 testatus sudore deum; Nilotica sistris
 ripa sonat Phariosque modos Aegyptia ducit
 575 tibia; summissis admugit cornibus Apis.
 omnis nobilitas, omnis tua sacra frequentat
 Thybridis et Latii suboles; convenit in unum
 quidquid in orbe fuit procerum, quibus
 auctor honoris
 580 vel tu vel genitor. numeroso consule consul
 cingeris et socios gaudes admittere patres.
 inlustri te prole Tagus, te Gallia doctis
 civibus et toto stipavit Roma senatu.
 portatur iuvenum cervicibus aurea sedes
 ornataque novo gravior deus. asperat Indus
 585 velamenta lapis pretiosaque fila smaragdis

to thy reins for guidance and Xanthus have scorned to bear golden-haired Achilles. Pegasus himself had lent thee his subject wings and been glad to carry thee and, now that a mightier rider bestrode him, had turned in proud disdain from Bellerophon's bridle. Nay, Aethon, swift messenger of dawn, who routs the stars with his neigh and is driven by rosy Lucifer, seeing thee from heaven as thou ridest by, is filled with envy and would choose rather to hold thy bit in his foaming mouth.

What raiment, too, have we not seen, what miracles of splendour, when, girt with the robe of Italy, thou didst go, still more glorious than thou art wont, through the peoples of Liguria, borne aloft amid thy troops clad in triumphal white and carried upon the shoulders of chosen warriors who so proudly upheld their godlike burden! 'Tis thus that Egypt brings forth her gods to the public gaze. The image issues from its shrine; small it is, indeed, yet many a linen-clad priest pants beneath the pole, and by his sweat testifies that he bears a god; Nile's banks resound to the holy rattles, and Egypt's pipe drones its native measure; Apis abases his horns and lows in reply. All the nobles, all whom Tiber and Latium rear, throng thy festival; gathered in one are all the great ones of the earth that owe their rank either to thee or to thy sire. Many a consular surrounds thee, the consul whose good pleasure it is to associate the senate in thy triumph. The nobles of Spain, the wise men of Gaul, and the senators of Rome all throng round thee. On young men's necks is borne thy golden throne, and new adorning adds weight to deity. Jewels of India stud thy vestment, rows of green emeralds enrich

ducta virent; amethystus inest et fulgor
 Hiberus
 temperat arcanis hyacinthi caerulea flammis.
 nec rudis in tali suffecit gratia textu;
 auget acus meritum picturatumque metallis
 590 vivit opus: multa remorantur iaspide
 cultus^[164]
 et variis spirat Nereia baca figuris.
 quae tantum potuit digitis mollire rigorem
 ambitiosa colus? vel cuius pectinis arte
 traxerunt solidae gemmarum stamina
 595 telae?
 in via quis calidi scrutatus stagna profundi
 Tethyos invasit gremium? quis divitis algae
 germina flagrantis inter quaesivit harenas?
 quis iunxit lapides ostro? quis miscuit ignes
 600 Sidonii Rubrique maris? tribuere colorem
 Phoenices, Seres subtegmina, pondus
 Hydaspes.
 hoc si Maeonias cinctu graderere per
 urbes,
 in te pampineos transferret Lydia thyrsos,
 in te Nysa choros; dubitassent orgia Bacchi,
 cui furerent; irent blandae sub vincula
 605 tigres.
 talis Erythraeis intextus nebrida gemmis
 Liber agit currus et Caspia flectit eburnis
 colla iugis: Satyri circum crinemque solutae
 Maenades adstringunt hederis victricibus
 Indos;
 610 ebrius hostili velatur palmito Ganges.
 Auspice mox laetum sonuit clamore
 tribunal
 te fastos ineunte quater. sollemnia ludit
 omina libertas; deductum Vindice morem
 lex celebrat, famulusque iugo laxatus erili

[164] *Birt vultus; cod. Ambrosianus cultus.*

the seams; there gleams the amethyst and the
 glint of Spanish gold makes the dark-blue
 sapphire show duller with its hidden fires. Nor
 in the weaving of such a robe was unadorned
 beauty enough; the work of the needle
 increases its value, thread of gold and silver
 glows therefrom; many an agate adorns the
 embroidered robes, and pearls of Ocean
 breathe in varied pattern. What bold hand,
 what distaff had skill enough to make thus
 supple elements so hard? What loom so
 cunning as to weave jewels into close-textured
 cloth? Who, searching out the uncharted pools
 of hot Eastern seas, despoiled the bosom of
 Tethys? Who dared seek o'er burning sands
 rich growth of coral? Who could broider
 precious stones on scarlet and so mingle the
 shining glories of the Red Sea and of
 Phoenicia's waters? Tyre lent her dyes, China
 her silks, Hydaspes his jewels. Shouldst thou
 traverse Maeonian cities in such a garb, to thee
 would Lydia hand over her vine-wreathed
 thyrsus, to thee Nysa her dances; the revels of
 Bacchus would have doubted whence came
 their madness; tigers would pass fawning
 beneath thy yoke. Even such, his fawn-skin
 enwoven with orient gems, doth the Wine-god
 drive his car, guiding the necks of Hyrcanian
 tigers with ivory yoke; around him satyrs and
 wild-haired Maenads fetter Indians with
 triumphant ivy, while drunken Ganges twines
 his hair with the vine tendril.

Already shouts of joy and of good omen
 resound about the consul's throne to welcome
 this thy fourth opening of Rome's year. Liberty
 enacts her wonted ceremonies; Law observes
 the custom dating back to Vindex^[165] whereby
 a slave freed from his master's service is
 introduced into thy presence and thence

[165] Vindex (or Vindicus) was the name of
 the slave who was granted his liberty by
 Brutus for giving information of the royalist
 plot in which Brutus' own sons were
 implicated. For the story (probably an
 aetiological myth to explain *vindicta*,
 another word for *festuca*) see Livy ii. 5.

- 615 ducitur et grato remeat securior ictu.
tristis condicio pulsata fronte recedit;
in civem rubuere genae, tergoque removit
verbera permissi felix iniuria voti.
Prospera Romuleis sperantur tempora
rebus
- 620 in nomen ventura tuum. praemissa futuris
dant exempla fidem: quotiens te cursibus
aevi
praefecit, totiens accessit laurea patri.
ausi Danuvium quondam transnare
Gruthungi
in lintres fregere nemus; ter mille ruebant
- 625 per fluvium plenae cuneis inmanibus alni.
dux Odothaeus erat. tantae conamina
classis
incipiens aetas et primus contudit annus:
summersae sedere rates; fluitantia
numquam
largius Arctos pavere cadavera pisces;
corporibus premitur Peuce; per quinque
recurrens
- 631 ostia barbaricos vix egerit unda cruores,
confessusque parens Odothaei regis opima
rettulit exuviasque tibi. civile secundis
conficis auspiciis bellum. tibi debeat orbis
fata Gruthungorum debellatumque
- 635 tyrannum:
Hister sanguineos egit te consule fluctus;
Alpinos genitor rupit te consule montes.
Sed patriis olim fueras successibus
auctor,
nunc eris ipse tuis. semper venere triumphi
cum trabeis sequiturque tuos victoria
- 640 fasces.

dismissed—a freeman thanks to that envied stroke.^[166] A blow upon the brow and his base condition is gone; reddened cheeks have made him a citizen, and with the granting of his prayer a happy insult has given his back freedom from the lash.

Prosperity awaits our empire; thy name is earnest for the fulfilment of our hopes. The past guarantees the future; each time that thy sire made thee chief magistrate of the year the laurels of victory crowned his arms. Once the Gruthungi, hewing down a forest to make them boats, dared to pass beyond the Danube. Three thousand vessels, each crowded with a barbarous crew, made a dash across the river. Odothaeus was their leader. Thy youth, nay, the first year of thy life, crushed the attempt of that formidable fleet. Its boats filled and sank; never did the fish of that northern river feed more lavishly on the bodies of men. The island of Peuce was heaped high with corpses. Scarce even through five mouths could the river rid itself of barbarian blood, and thy sire, owning thine influence, gave thanks to thee for the spoils won in person from King Odothaeus. Consul a second time thou didst end civil war by thine auspices. Let the world thank thee for the overthrow of the Gruthungi and the defeat of their king; thou wast consul when the Danube ran red with their blood, thou wast consul, too, when thy sire crossed the Alps to victory.^[167]

But thou, once author of thy father's successes, shalt now be author of thine own. Triumph has ever attended thy consulship and victory thy fasces.

[166] A reference to the Roman method of manumitting a slave *alapa et festuca*, i.e. by giving him a slight blow (*alapa*) with a rod (*festuca*). See Gaius on *vindicatio* (iv. 16) and on the whole question R. G. Nisbet in *Journal of Roman Studies*, viii. Pt. 1.

[167] The campaign of Theodosius against Odothaeus, King of the Gruthungi (Zosimus iv. 35 calls him Ὀδόθεος) is thus dated as 386, the year of Honorius' first consulship (see note on viii. 153). Honorius' second consulship (394) saw the defeat of Eugenius.

sis, precor, adsiduus consul Mariique
 relinquo
 et senis Augusti numerum. quae gaudia
 mundo,
 per tua lanugo cum serpere coeperit ora,
 cum tibi protulerit festas nox pronuba
 taedas!

- 645 quae tali devota toro, quae murice fulgens
 ibit in amplexus tanti regina mariti?
 quaenam tot divis veniet nurus, omnibus
 arvis
 et toto donanda mari? quantusque feretur
 idem per Zephyri metas Hymenaeus et
 Euri!
- 650 o mihi si liceat thalamis intendere carmen
 conubiale tuis, si te iam dicere patrem!
 tempus erit, cum tu trans Rheni cornua
 victor,
 Arcadius captae spoliis Babylonis onustus
 communem maiore toga signabitur annum;
 655 crinitusque tuo sudabit fasce Suebus,
 ultima fraternal horrebunt Bactra securae.

Heaven grant thou mayest be our perpetual
 consul and outnumber Marius^[168] and old
 Augustus. Happy universe that shall see the
 first down creep over thy cheeks, and the
 wedding-night that shall lead forth for thee the
 festal torches. Who shall be consecrated to
 such a couch; who, glorious in purple, shall
 pass, a queen, to the embraces of such a
 husband? What bride shall come to be the
 daughter of so many gods, dowered with every
 land and the whole sea? How gloriously shall
 the nuptial song be borne at once to farthest
 East and West! O may it be mine to sing thy
 marriage-hymn, mine presently to hail thee
 father! The time will come when, thou
 victorious beyond the mouths of the Rhine, and
 thy brother Arcadius laden with the spoil of
 captured Babylon, ye shall endow the year with
 yet more glorious majesty; when the long-
 haired Suebian shall bear the arms of Rome
 and the distant Bactrian tremble beneath the
 rule of thyself and thy brother.

[168] Marius was consul seven, Augustus
 thirteen, times.

**PANEGYRICUS DICTUS MANLIO
THEODORO CONSULI**

PRAEFATIO

(XVI.)

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?
 5 an tibi continuis crevit fiducia castris
 totaque iam vatis pectora miles habet?
 culmina Romani maiestatemque senatus
 et, quibus exultat Gallia, cerne viros.
 omnibus audimur terris mundique per
 aures
 10 ibimus. ah nimius consulis urget amor!
 Iuppiter, ut perhibent, spatium cum discere
 vellet
 naturae regni nescius ipse sui,
 armigeros utrimque duos aequalibus alis
 misit ab Eois Occiduisque plagis.
 15 Parnasus geminos fertur iunxisse volatus;
 contulit alternas Pythius axis aves.
 Princeps non aquilis terras cognoscere
 curat;
 certius in vobis aestimat imperium.
 20 hoc ego concilio collectum metior orbem;
 hoc video coetu quidquid ubique micat.

**PANEGYRIC ON THE CONSULSHIP
OF FL. MANLIUS THEODORUS^[169]**

(A.D. 399)

PREFACE

(XVI.)

Wilt dare to sing, my Muse, when so great, so august an assembly shall be thy critic? Does not thine own renown forbid thee? 'Tis greater now than thou deservest; how hard then to enhance, how disgraceful to diminish it! Or has thine assurance grown through ever dwelling in the camp, and does the soldier now wholly possess the poet's breast? Behold the flower of the Roman senate, the majesty, the pride, the heroes of Gaul. The whole earth is my audience, my song shall sound in the ears of all the world. Alack! Love for our consul constrains too strongly. Jove, 'tis said, when he would fain learn its extent (for he knew not the bounds of his own empire) sent forth two eagles of equal flight from the East and from the West. On Parnassus, as they tell, their twin flights met; the Delphic heaven brought together the one bird and the other. Our Emperor needs no eagles to teach him the magnitude of his domains; yourselves are preceptors more convincing. 'Tis this assembly that gives to me the measure of the universe; here I see gathered all the brilliance of the world.

[169] See Introduction, p. xv. Judging from this poem Manlius started by being an *advocatus* in the praetorian prefect's court, was then *praeses* of some district in Africa, then governor (*consularis*) of Macedonia, next recalled to Rome as Gratian's *magister epistularum*, then *comes sacrarum largitionum* (= ecclesiastical treasurer) and after that praetorian prefect of Gaul (ll. 50-53).

PANEGYRICUS

(XVII.)

Ipsa quidem Virtus pretium sibi, solaque
late
Fortunae secunda nitet nec fascibus ullis
erigitur plausuue petit clarescere vulgi.
5 nil opis externae cupiens, nil indiga laudis,
divitiis animosa suis innotaque cunctis
casibus ex alta mortalia despicit arce.
attamen invitam blande vestigat et ultro
ambit honor: docuit totiens a rure profectus
lictor et in mediis consul quaesitus aratris.
10 te quoque naturae sacris mundique
vacantem,
emeritum pridem desudatisque remotum
iudiciis eadem rursus complexa potestas
evehit et reducem notis imponit habenis.
accedunt trabeae: nil iam, Theodore,
relictum,
15 quo virtus animo crescat vel splendor
honori.^[170]
culmen utrumque tenes: talem te protinus
anni
formavere rudes, et dignum vita curuli
traxit iter primaeque senes cessere
iuventae.
iam tum canities animi, iam dulce loquendi

[170] honori *conject. Birt*; honore *codd.*

PANEGYRIC

(XVII.)

Virtue is its own reward; alone with its far-
flung splendour it mocks at Fortune; no
honours raise it higher nor does it seek glory
from the mob's applause. External wealth
cannot arouse its desires, it asks no praise but
makes its boast of self-contained riches, and
unmoved by all chances it looks down upon the
world from a lofty citadel. Yet in its own despite
importunate honours pursue it, and offer
themselves unsought; that the lictor coming
from the farm hath oftentimes proved and a
consul sought for even at the plough. Thou, too,
who wert at leisure to study the mysteries of
nature and the heavens, thou who hadst served
thy time and retired from the law courts where
thou hadst toiled so long, art once more
enfolded by a like dignity, which, raising thee
aloft, sets in thy returning hands the familiar
rein. The consulship now is thine, Theodorus,
nor is there now aught left to add to thy virtues
or to the glory of thy name. Thou art now at the
summit of both; from thine earliest years thy
character was thus formed, the whole course of
thy life was worthy of the curule chair; thy
earliest youth outrivalled age. Even then thy
mind was hoar, thy pleasant talk weighty, thy

20 pondus et attonitas sermo qui duceret
 aures.
 mox undare foro victrix opulenta linguae
 tutarique reos. ipsa haec amplissima sedes
 orantem stupuit, bis laudatura regentem.
 hinc te pars Libyae moderantem iura
 probavit,
 25 quae nunc tota probat; longi sed pignus
 amoris
 exiguae peperere morae populumque
 clientem
 publica mansuris testantur vocibus aera.
 inde tibi Macetum tellus et credita Pellae
 moenia, quae famulus quondam ditavit
 Hydaspes;
 30 tantaque commissae revocasti gaudia genti
 mitibus arbitriis, quantum bellante Philippo
 floruit aut nigri cecidit cum regia Pori.
 Sed non ulterius te praebuit urbibus aula:
 maluit esse suum; terris edicta daturus,
 35 supplicibus responsa venis. oracula regis
 eloquio crevere tuo, nec dignius umquam
 maiestas meminit sese Romana locutam.
 hinc sacrae mandantur opes orbisque
 tributa
 possessi, quidquid fluviis evolvitur auri,
 quidquid luce procul venas rimata sequaces
 40 abdita pallentis fodit sollertia Bessi.
 Ac velut expertus^[171] lentandis navita
 tonsis
 praeficitur lateri custos; hinc ardua prorae
 temperat et fluctus tempestatesque futuras
 45 edocet; adsiduo cum Dorida vicerit usu,
 iam clavum totamque subit torquere
 carinam:

[171] expertus *Barthius*; *Birt keeps* MSS. exertus.

converse the admiration and delight of all that
 heard it. The wealth of thy triumphant
 eloquence soon overflowed the forum and
 brought safety to the accused. Yea, this most
 august assembly was astonished at thy pleading,
 as it was twice to applaud thy governance.
 Next, a part of Libya approved the
 administration which it now in its entirety
 enjoys; but thy brief stay won for thee a pledge
 of perpetual love, and public statues bear
 witness with enduring eloquence that thou wert
 a nation's guardian. Macedonia was next
 committed to thy care and the walls of Pella,
 enriched once by conquered Hydaspes. The
 mildness of thy rule brought to the country
 entrusted to thee such joy as it once knew
 under warlike Philip or when the empire of
 Indian Porus fell to Alexander's arms.

But Rome could not spare thy services longer
 to the provinces; she chose rather to have thee
 for her own; thou comest to give edicts to the
 world, to make reply to suppliants. A monarch's
 utterance has won dignity from thine
 eloquence, never can the majesty of Rome
 recall when she spoke more worthily. After this
 the offerings and wealth of the world, the
 tribute of the empire, is entrusted to thy care;
 the gold washed down by the rivers and that
 dug out of deep Thracian mines by the skill of
 pale-faced Bessi who track the hidden seams—
 all is thine.

As a sailor skilled in wielding the oar is at first
 set in charge of but a side of the vessel, then,
 when he can manage the lofty prow and is able,
 thanks to his long experience of the sea, to
 know beforehand what storms and tempests
 the vessel is like to encounter, he has charge of
 the helm and is entrusted with the

sic cum clara diu mentis documenta
 dedisses,
 non te parte sui, sed in omni corpore
 sumpsit
 imperium cunctaque dedit tellure regendos
 50 rectores. Hispana tibi Germanaque Tethys
 paruit et nostro diducta Britannia mundo,
 diversoque tuas coluerunt gurgite voces
 lentus Arar Rhodanusque ferox et dives
 Hiberus.
 o quotiens doluit Rhenus, qua barbarus
 ibat,
 55 quod te non geminis frueretur iudice ripis!
 unius fit cura viri, quodcumque rubescit
 occasu, quodcumque dies devexior ambit.
 Tam celer adsiduos explevit cursus
 honores;
 una potestatum spatiis interfuit aetas
 60 totque gradus fati iuvenilibus intulit annis.
 Postquam parta quies et summum nacta
 cacumen
 iam secura petit privatum gloria portum,
 ingenii redeunt fructus aliique labores,
 et vitae pars nulla perit: quodcumque
 recedit
 65 litibus, incumbit studiis, animusque
 vicissim
 aut curam imponit populis aut otia Musis.
 omnia Cecropiae relegis secreta senectae
 discutiens, quid quisque novum mandaverit
 aevo
 quantaque diversae producant agmina
 sectae.
 Namque aliis princeps rerum disponitur
 70 aër;
 hic confidit aquis; hic procreat omnia
 flammis.

direction of the entire ship; so when thou hadst
 long given illustrious proofs of thy character,
 the empire of Rome summoned thee to govern
 not a part but the whole of itself, and set thee
 as ruler over all the rulers of the world. The
 seas of Spain, the German ocean obeyed thee
 and Britain, so far removed from our continent.
 Rivers of all lands observed thy statutes, slow-
 flowing Saône, swift Rhone, and Ebro rich in
 gold. How often did the Rhine, in those districts
 where the barbarians dwell, lament that the
 blessings of thy rule extended not to both
 banks! All the lands the setting sun bathes in
 its rays, all that its last brilliance illumines are
 entrusted to the charge of one man.

So swiftly did thy career fill office after office; a
 single period of life was enough for the round
 of dignities and gave to thy youthful years
 every step on fortune's ladder.

When repose was earned and now, after
 reaching the highest place, glory, laying care
 aside, seeks refuge in a private life, genius
 again wins reward from other tasks. No part of
 life is lost: all that is withdrawn from the law
 courts is devoted to the study, and thy mind in
 turn either bestows its efforts on the State or
 its leisure on the Muses. Once more thou
 readest the secrets of ancient Athens,
 examining the discoveries with which each
 sage has enriched posterity and noting what
 hosts of disciples the varying schools produce.

For some hold that air^[172] is the first beginning
 of all things, others that water is, others again
 derive the sum of things from fire. Another,
 destined to

[172] Claudian refers to the early Ionian
 philosophers. Anaximenes believed that air
 was the first principle of all things, Thales
 said water, Heraclitus fire. l. 72 refers to
 Empedocles who postulated the four
 elements and two principles, love and hate,
 which respectively made and unmade the
 universe out of the elements. The "*hic*" of l.
 75 may be Democritus or it may refer to
 the Sceptic, Pyrrho. The "*hic*" of l. 76 is
 Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles. "*Ille*"
 (79) may be taken to refer to Leucippus,
 the first of the atomic philosophers; he
 postulated infinite space. "*Hi*" (82) =
 Democritus, Epicurus, and other atomists.
 "*Alii*" (83) are the Platonists.

alter in Aetnaeas casurus sponte favillas
 dispergit revocatque deum rursusque
 receptis
 nectit amicitii quidquid discordia solvit.
 corporis hic damnat sensus verumque
 75 videri
 pernegat. hic semper lapsurae pondera
 terrae
 conatur rapido caeli fulcire rotatu
 accenditque diem praerupti turbine saxi.
 ille ferrox unoque tegi non passus Olympo
 inmensum per inane volat finemque
 80 perosus
 parturit innumeros angusto pectore
 mundos.
 hi vaga collidunt caecis primordia plagis.
 numina constituunt alii casusque relegant.
 Graiorum obscuras Romanis floribus
 artes
 85 inradius, vicibus gratis formare loquentes
 suetus et alterno verum contexere nodo.
 quidquid Socratico manavit ab ordine,
 quidquid
 docta Cleanthae sonuerunt atria turbae,
 inventum quodcumque tuo, Chrysippe,
 recessu,
 90 quidquid Democritus risit dixitque tacendo
 Pythagoras, uno se pectore cuncta vetustas
 condidit et maior collectis viribus exit.
 ornantur veteres et nobiliore magistro
 in Latium spretis Academia migrat Athenis,
 95 ut tandem propius discat, quo fine beatum
 dirigitur, quae norma boni, qui limes
 honesti;
 quaenam membra sui virtus divisa
 domandis
 obiectet vitiis; quae pars iniusta recidat,
 quae vincat ratione metus, quae frenet
 amores;
 aut quotiens elementa doces semperque
 100 fluentis

fall self-immolated into Etna's fiery crater, reduces God to principles of dispersion and recollection and binds again in resumed friendship all that discord separates. This philosopher allows no authority to the senses and denies that the truth can be perceived. Another seeks to explain the suspension of the world in space by the rapid revolution of the sky (whence else the world would fall) and kindles day's fires by the whirl of a rushing rock. That fearless spirit, not content with the covering of but one sky, flies through the limitless void and, scorning a limit, conceives in one small brain a thousand worlds. Others make wandering atoms clash with blind blows, while others again set up deities and banish chance.

Thou dost adorn the obscure learning of Greece with Roman flowers,^[173] skilled to shape speech in happy interchange and weave truth's garland with alternate knots. All the lore of Socrates' school, the learning that echoed in Cleanthes' lecture-room, the thoughts of the stoic Chrysippus in his retreat, all the laughter of Democritus, all that Pythagoras spoke by silence—all the wisdom of the ancients is stored in that one brain whence it issues forth the stronger for its concentration. The ancients gain fresh lustre and, scorning Athens, the Academy migrates to Latium under a nobler master, the more exactly at last to learn by what end happiness guides its path, what is the rule of the good, the goal of the right; what division of virtue should be set to combat and overthrow each separate vice, and what part of virtue it is that curbs injustice, that causes reason to triumph over fear, that holds lust in check. How often hast thou taught us the nature

[173] Claudian's way of saying that Manlius translates Greek philosophy into clear and elegant Latin, throwing his translation into the form of a dialogue.

materiae causas: quae vis animaverit astra
impuleritque choros; quo vivat machina
motu;

sidera cur septem retro nitantur in ortus
obluctata polo; variisne meatibus idem
arbiter an geminae convertant aethera
mentes;

106 sitne color proprius rerum, lucisne repulsu
eludant aciem; tumidos quae luna recursus
nutriat Oceani; quo fracta tonitrua vento,
quis trahat imbriferas nubes, quo saxa
creentur

110 grandinis; unde rigor nivibus; quae flamma
per auras

excutiat rutilos tractus aut fulmina velox
torqueat aut tristem figat crinita cometem.

Iam tibi compositam fundaverat ancora
puppim,

115 telluris iam certus eras; fecunda placebant
otia; nascentes ibant in saecula libri:
cum subito liquida cessantem vidit ab
aethra

Iustitia et tanto viduatas iudice leges.
continuo frontem limbo velata pudicam
deserit Autumnus portas, qua vergit in
Austrum

Signifer et noctis reparant dispendia
Chelae.

120 pax avibus, quacumque volat, rabiemque
frementes

deposuere ferae; laetatur terra reverso
numine, quod prisca post tempora perdidit
auri.

illa per occultum Ligurum se moenibus
infert

125 et castos levibus plantis ingressa penates
invenit aethrios signantem pulvere cursus,
quos pia sollicito deprendit pollice
Memphis:

of the elements and the causes of matter's
ceaseless change; what influence has given life
to the stars, moving them in their courses; what
quickens with movement the universal frame.
Thou tellest why the seven planets strive
backward towards the East, doing battle with
the firmament; whether there is one lawgiver
to different movements or two minds govern
heaven's revolution; whether colour is a
property of matter or whether objects deceive
our sight and owe their colours to reflected
light; how the moon causes the ebb and flow of
the tide; which wind brings about the thunder's
crash, which collects the rain clouds and by
which the hail-stones are formed; what causes
the coldness of snow and what is that flame
that ploughs its shining furrow through the sky,
hurls the swift thunderbolt, or sets in heaven's
dome the tail of the baleful comet.

Already had the anchor stayed thy restful bark,
already thou wert minded to go ashore; fruitful
leisure charmed and books were being born for
immortality, when, of a sudden, Justice looked
down from the shining heaven and saw thee at
thine ease, saw Law, too, deprived of her great
interpreter. She stayed not but, wreathing her
chaste forehead with a band, left the gates of
Autumn where the Standard-bearer dips
towards the south and the Scorpion makes
good the losses of the night. Where'er she flies
a peace fell upon the birds and howling beasts
laid aside their rage. Earth rejoices in the
return of a deity lost to her since the waning of
the age of gold. Secretly Justice enters the
walls of Milan, Liguria's city, and penetrating
with light step the holy palace finds Theodorus
marking in the sand those heavenly movements
which reverent Memphis discovered by

quae moveant momenta polum, quam
 certus in astris
 error, quis tenebras solis causisque
 meantem
 defectum indicat numerus, quae linea
 130 Phoeben
 damnet et excluso pallentem fratre
 relinquat.
 ut procul adspexit fulgentia Virginis ora
 cognovitque deam, vultus veneratus amicos
 occurrit scriptaeque notas confundit
 harenae.
 Tum sic diva prior: "Manli, sincera
 135 bonorum
 congeries, in quo veteris vestigia recti
 et ductos video mores meliore metallo:
 iam satis indultum studiis, Musaeque tot
 annos
 eripueri mihi. pridem te iura reposcunt:
 140 adgrederi et nostro rursum te redde labori
 nec tibi sufficiat transmissae gloria vitae.
 humanum curare genus quis terminus
 umquam
 praescrisit? nullas recipit prudentia
 metas.
 adde quod haec multis potuit contingere
 sedes,
 sed meriti tantum redeunt actusque priores
 145 commendat repetitus honos, virtusque
 reducit
 quos fortuna legit.^[174] melius magnoque
 petendum
 credis in abstrusa rerum ratione morari?
 scilicet illa tui patriam praecepta Platonis
 150 erexere magis, quam qui responsa secutus
 obruit Eoas classes urbemque carinis
 vexit et arsuras Medo subduxit Athenas?
 Spartanis potuit robur praestare Lycurgus
 matribus et sexum leges vicere severae

[174] *Birt* regit with the MSS. (*he suggests nequit*); *Heinsius* legit.

anxious reckoning. He sought the forces that
 move the heavens, the fixed (though errant)
 path of the planets, the calculation which
 predicts the over-shadowing of the sun and its
 surely-fixed eclipse, and the line that sentences
 the moon to be left in darkness by shutting out
 her brother. Soon as from afar he beheld the
 shining face of the Maiden^[175] and recognized
 the goddess, reverencing that dear
 countenance, he hurries to meet her, effacing
 from the sand the diagrams he had drawn.

The goddess was the first to speak. "Manlius, in
 whom are gathered all the virtues unalloyed, in
 whom I see traces of ancient justice and
 manners moulded of a purer metal, thou hast
 devoted time enough now to study; all these
 years have the Muses reft from me my pupil.
 Long has Law demanded thy return to her
 allegiance. Come, devote thyself once more to
 my service, and be not content with the glory of
 thy past. To the service of mankind what
 boundary ever set the limits? Wisdom accepts
 no ends for herself. Then, too, to many has this
 office fallen, as well it might, but only the
 worthy return thereto; reappointment to office
 is the best commendation of office well held,
 and virtue brings back him whom chance
 elects. Deemst thou it a better and a worthier
 aim to spend thy days in exploring Nature's
 secret laws? Dost thou think it was thy Plato's
 precepts raised his country to glory rather than
 he^[176] who, in obedience to the oracle, sank
 the Persian fleet, put his city on shipboard and
 saved from the Medes Athens destined for the
 flames? Lycurgus could dower the mothers of
 Sparta with a man's courage and by his austere
 laws correct the weakness of their sex; by
 forbidding

[175] Virgo (= Astraea) was a recognized
 synonym for the goddess Justice; see Virg.
Ec. iv. 6.

[176] *i.e.* Themistocles.

- 155 civibus et vetitis ignavo credere muro
tutius obiecit nudam Lacedaemona bellis:
at non Pythagorae monitus annique silentes
famosum Oebalii luxum pressere Tarenti.
"Quis vero insignem tanto sub principe
curam
respuat? aut quando meritis maiora
160 patebunt
praemia? quis demens adeo qui iungere
sensus
cum Stilichone neget? similem quae
protulit aetas
consilio vel Marte virum? nunc Brutus
amaret
vivere sub regno, tali succumberet aulae
165 Fabricius, cuperent ipsi servire Catones.
nonne vides, ut nostra soror Clementia
tristes
obtundat gladios fratresque amplexa
serenos
adsurgat Pietas, fractis ut lugeat armis
Perfidia et laceris morientes crinibus hydri
170 lambant invalido Furiarum vincla veneno?
exultat cum Pace Fides, iam sidera cunctae
liquimus et placidas inter discurrimus
urbes.
nobiscum, Theodore, redi."
Subit ille loquentem
talibus: "agrestem dudum me, diva, reverti
175 cogis et infectum longi rubigine ruris
ad tua signa vocas. nam quae mihi cura tot
annis
altera quam duras sulcis mollire novalis,
nosse soli vires, nemori quae commoda
rupes,
quis felix oleae tractus, quae glaeba faveret
180 frugibus et quales tegeter vindemia colles?
terribiles rursum lituos veteranus adibo
et desueta vetus temptabo caerula vector?

his fellow-citizens to put a coward's trust in walls, he set Lacedemon to face wars more securely in her nakedness; but all the teaching of Pythagoras and his years of silence never crushed the infamous licentiousness of Sparta's colony Tarentum.

"Besides, beneath such an emperor, who could refuse office? Was ever merit more richly rewarded? Who is so insensate as not to wish to meet Stilicho in council? Has ever any age produced his equal in prudence or in bravery? Now would Brutus love to live under a king; to such a court Fabricius would yield, the Catos themselves long to give service. Seest thou not how my sister Mercy blunts the cruel sword of war; how Piety rises to embrace the two noble brothers; how Treason laments her broken weapons and the snakes, writhing in death upon the Furies' wounded heads, lick their chains with enfeebled venom? Peace and loyalty are triumphant. All the host of heaven leaves the stars and wanders from peaceful city to peaceful city. Return thou with us, Theodorus."

Then Theodorus made answer: "From my long accustomed fields, goddess, thou urgest me to return, summoning to thy standard one grown rusty in the distant countryside. What else has been my care all these years but to break up the stubborn fallow-land into furrows, to know the nature of the soil, the rocky land suitable to the growth of trees, the country where the olive will flourish, the fields that will yield rich harvests of grain or the hills which my vineyards may clothe? I have served my time; am I to hearken once more to the dreadful trumpet? Is the old helmsman again to brave the seas whose lore he has forgotten?"

collectamque diu et certis utcumque
 locatam
 sedibus in dubium patiar deponere famam?
 185 nec me, quid valeat natura fortior usus,
 praeterit aut quantum neglectae defluat
 arti.
 desidis aurigae non audit verbera currus,
 nec manus agnoscit quem non exercuit
 arcum.
 esse sed iniustum fateor quodcumque
 negatur
 iustitiae. tu prima hominem silvestribus
 190 antris
 elicis et foedo deterges saecula victu.
 te propter colimus leges animosque
 ferarum
 exuimus. nitidis quisquis te sensibus hausit,
 inruet intrepidus flammis, hiberna secabit
 aequora, confertos hostes superabit
 195 inermis.
 ille vel Aethiopum pluviis solabitur aestus;
 illum trans Scythiam vernus comitabitur
 aër.”
 Sic fatus tradente dea suscepit habenas
 quattuor ingenti iuris temone refusas.
 prima Padum Thybrimque ligat crebrisque
 micantem
 201 urbibus Italiam; Numidas^[177] Poenosque
 secunda
 temperat; Illyrico se tertia porrigit orbi;
 ultima Sardiniam, Cynnum trifidamque
 retentat
 Sicaniam et quidquid Tyrrhena tunditur
 unda
 205 vel gemit Ionia. nec te tot lumina rerum
 aut tantum turbavit onus; sed ut altus
 Olympi
 vertex, qui spatio ventos hiemesque
 relinquit,
 perpetuum nulla temeratus nube serenum
 celsior exurgit pluviis auditque ruentes

[177] Numidas *Heinsius*; *Birt* †*Lydos*.

My fame has long been gathered in and where
 it is 'tis in safe custody; am I to suffer its being
 put to the hazard? Full well do I realize that
 habit is a stronger force than nature, nor am I
 ignorant of the rapidity with which we forget
 an art that we have ceased to exercise. The
 whip of an unpractised charioteer is powerless
 to urge on his horses; the hand that is
 unaccustomed thereto cannot bend the bow.
 And yet it were unjust, I admit, to refuse aught
 to Justice. Thou first didst draw man from his
 woodland cave and free the human race from
 its foul manner of life. Thanks to thee we
 practise law and have put off the temper of wild
 beasts. Whosoever has drunk of thee with pure
 heart will rush fearless through flames, will sail
 the wintry seas, and overcome unarmed the
 densest company of foemen. Justice is to the
 just as rain to temper even the heat of Ethiopia,
 a breath of spring to journey with him across
 the deserts of Scythia.”

So spake he and took from the goddess' hand
 the four reins that lay stretched along the huge
 pole of Justice's car. The first harnesses the
 rivers Po and Tiber and Italy with all her
 glittering towns; the second guides Numidia
 and Carthage; the third runs out across the
 land of Illyria; the last holds Sardinia, Corsica,
 three-cornered Sicily and the coasts beaten by
 the Tyrrhenian wave or that echo to the Ionian.
 The splendour and magnitude of the
 undertaking troubled thee not one whit; but as
 the lofty summit of Olympus, far removed from
 the winds and tempests of the lower air, its
 eternal bright serene untroubled by any cloud,
 is lifted above the rain storms and hears the
 hurricane rushing

210 sub pedibus nimbos et rauca tonitrua
 calcat:
 sic patiens animus per tanta negotia liber
 emergit similisque sui, iustique tenorem
 flectere non odium cogit, non gratia suadet.
 nam spretas quis opes intactaque pectora
 lucro
 commemoret? fuerint aliis haec forte
 215 decora:
 nulla potest laus esse tibi, quae crimina
 purget.
 servat inoffensam divina modestia vocem:
 temperiem servant oculi; nec lumina fervor
 asperat aut rabidas suffundit sanguine
 venas,
 220 nullaque mutati tempestas proditur oris.
 quin etiam sontes expulsa corrigis ira
 et placidus delicta domas; nec dentibus
 umquam
 instrepis horrendum, fremitu nec verbera
 poscis.
 Qui fruitur poena, feros est, legumque
 videtur
 225 vindictam praestare sibi; cum viscera felle
 canduerint, ardet stimulis ferturque
 nocendi
 prodigus, ignarus causae: dis proximus ille,
 quem ratio, non ira movet, qui facta
 rependens
 consilio punire potest. mucrone cruento
 230 se iactent alii, studeant feritate timeri
 addictoque hominum cumulent aëria
 censu.
 lene fluit Nilus, sed cunctis amnibus extat
 utilior nullo confessus murmure vires;
 acrior ac rapidus tacitas praetermeat
 ingens
 235 Danuvius ripas; eadem dementia sani
 gurgitis inmensum deducit in ostia Gangen.
 torrentes inmane fremant lassisque
 minentur

beneath its feet while it treads upon the
 thunder's roar; so thy patient mind, unfettered
 by cares so manifold, rises high above them;
 thou art ever the same, no hatred can compel
 thee, no affection induce thee, to swerve from
 the path of justice. For why should any speak of
 riches scorned and a heart unallured by gain?
 These might perhaps be virtues in others:
 absence of vice is no praise to bestow on thee.
 The calm of a god banishes anger from thy
 voice; the spirit of moderation shines from
 thine eyes; passion never inflames that glance
 or fills with blood the angry veins; never is a
 tempest heralded on thy changed countenance.
 Nay, thou punishest the very criminals without
 show of anger and checkest their evil-doing
 with unruffled calm. Never dost thou gnash
 with thy teeth upon them nor shout orders for
 them to be chastised.

He is a savage who delights in punishment and
 seems to make the vengeance of the laws his
 own; when his heart is inflamed with the poison
 of wrath he is goaded by fury and rushes on
 knowing nothing of the cause and eager only to
 do hurt. But he whom reason, not anger,
 animates is a peer of the gods, he who,
 weighing the guilt, can with deliberation
 balance the punishment. Let others boast them
 of their bloody swords and wish to be feared for
 their ferocity, while they fill their treasuries
 with the goods of the condemned. Gently flows
 the Nile, yet is it more beneficent than all
 rivers for all that no sound reveals its power.
 More swiftly the broad Danube glides between
 its quiet banks. Huge Ganges flows down to its
 mouths with gently moving current. Let
 torrents roar horribly, threaten weary

pontibus et volvant spumoso vertice silvas:
 pax maiora decet; peragit tranquilla
 potestas,
 quod violenta nequit, mandataque fortius
 240 urget
 imperiosa quies.
 Idem praedurus iniquas
 accepisse preces, rursus, quae digna petitu,
 largior et facilis; nec quae comitatur
 honores,
 ausa tuam leviter temptare superbia
 mentem.
 245 frons privata manet nec se meruisse
 fatetur,
 quae crevisse putat; rigidi sed plena
 pudoris
 elucet gravitas fastu iucunda remoto.
 quae non seditio, quae non insania vulgi
 te viso lenita cadat? quae dissona ritu
 barbaries, medii quam non reverentia
 250 frangat?
 vel quis non sitiens sermonis mella politi
 deserat Orpheos blanda testudine cantus?
 qualem te legimus teneri primordia mundi
 scribentem aut partes animae, per singula
 talem
 255 cernimus et similes agnoscit pagina mores.
 Nec dilata tuis Augusto iudice merces
 officiis, illumque habitum, quo iungitur
 aulae
 curia, qui socio proceres cum principe
 nectit,
 quem quater ipse gerit, perfecto detulit
 anno
 260 deposuitque suas te succedente curules.
 crescant virtutes fecundaque floreat aetas.
 ingeniis patuit campus certusque merenti
 stat favor: ornatur propriis industria donis.
 surgite sopitae, quas obruit ambitus, artes.
 nil licet invidiae, Stilicho dum prospicit orbi
 265

bridges, and sweep down forests in their
 foaming whirl; 'tis repose, befits the greater;
 quiet authority accomplishes what violence
 cannot, and that mandate compels more which
 comes from a commanding calm.

"Thou art as deaf to the prayers of injustice as
 thou art generous and attentive where the
 demand is just. Pride, that ever accompanies
 office, has not so much as dared to touch thy
 mind. Thy look is a private citizen's nor allows
 that it has deserved what it thinks to have but
 grown^[178]; but full of stately modesty shines
 forth a gravity that charms because pride is
 banished. What sedition, what madness of the
 crowd could see thee and not sink down
 appeased? What country so barbarous, so
 foreign in its customs, as not to bow in
 reverence before thy mediation? Who that
 desires the honied charm of polished eloquence
 would not desert the lyre-accompanied song of
 tuneful Orpheus? In every activity we see thee
 as we see thee in thy books, describing the
 creation of the newly-fashioned earth or the
 parts of the soul; we recognize thy character in
 thy pages.

The Emperor has not been slow in rewarding
 thy merit. The robe that links Senate-house and
 palace, that unites nobles with their prince—
 the robe that he himself has four times worn,
 he hath at the year's end handed on to thee,
 and left his own curule chair that thou mightest
 follow him. Grow, ye virtues; be this an age of
 prosperity! The path of glory lies open to the
 wise; merit is sure of its reward; industry
 dowered with the gifts it deserves. Arts, rise
 from the slumber into which depraved ambition
 had forced you! Envy cannot hold up her head
 while Stilicho and his godlike

^[178] *i.e.* Manlius modestly regards his
 honours as a natural growth, not as the
 reward of merit.

sidereusque gener. non hic violata curulis,
 turpia non Latios incestant nomina fastos;
 fortibus haec concessa viris solisque
 gerenda
 patribus et Romae numquam latura
 pudorem.

- 270 Nuntia votorum celeri iam Fama volatu
 moverat Aonios audito consule lucos.
 concinuit felix Helicon fluxitque Aganippe
 largior et docti riserunt floribus amnes.
 Uranie redimita comas, qua saepe magistra
 275 Manlius igniferos radio descriperat axes,
 sic alias hortata deas: "patimurne, sorores,
 optato procul esse die nec limina nostri
 consulis et semper dilectas visimus aedes?
 notior est Helicone^[179] domus. gestare
 curules
 280 et fasces subiisse libet. miracula plebi
 colligite et claris nomen celebrate theatris.
 "Tu Iovis aequorei summersam fluctibus
 aulam
 oratum volucres, Erato, iam perge
 quadrigas,
 a quibus haud umquam palmam rapturus
 Arion.
 inlustret circum sonipes, quicumque
 285 superbo
 perstrepit hinnitu Bactin, qui splendida
 potat
 stagna Tagi madidoque iubas adspergitur
 auro.
 "Calliope, liquidas Alciden posce
 palaestras:
 cuncta Palaemoniis manus explorata
 coronis
 290 adsit et Eleo pubes laudata Tonanti.
 "Tu iuga Taygeti frondosaque Maenala,
 Clio,
 i Triviae supplex; non aspernata rogamem
 amphitheatrali faveat Latonia pompae.

[179] *codd. have Stilichone; Birt obelizes the line; it is only found in V; Helicone Gevartius.*

son-in-law direct the state. Here is no pollution of the consul's office, no shameful names disgrace the Latin fasti; here the consulship is an honour reserved for the brave, given only to senators, never a source of scandal to Rome's city.^[180]

Now had Fame, announcing our good fortune, winged her way to Aonia whose groves she stirred with the tidings of the new consul. Helicon raised a hymn of praise, Aganippe flowed with waters more abundant, the streams of song laughed with flowers. Then Urania, her hair wreath-crowned, Urania whose hand had oft directed Manlius' compass in marking out the starry spheres, thus addressed the other Muses: "Sisters, can we bear to be absent this longed-for day? Shall we not visit our consul's door and the house we have always loved? Better known to us is it than Helicon; gladly we draw the curule chair and bear the fasces. Bring marvels for the people's delight and make known his name in the famed theatres.

"Do thou, Erato, go visit the palace of Neptune beneath the sea and beg for four swift coursers such that even Arion could not snatch the prize from them. Let the Circus be graced by every steed to whose proud neighing Baetis re-echoes, who drinks of Tagus' shining pools and sprinkles his mane with its liquid gold.

"Calliope, ask thou of Alcides the oil of the wrestling-ground. Let all the company proved in the games at Elis follow thee and the athletes who have won fame with Olympian Jove.

"Fly, Clio, to Taygetus' heights and leafy Maenalus and beg Diana not to spurn thy petition but help the amphitheatre's pomp. Let the goddess herself

[180] Claudian is thinking of Eutropius, Manlius' eastern colleague.

audaces legat ipsa viros, qui colla ferarum
 arte ligent certoque premant venabula nisu.
 295 ipsa truces fetus captivaque ducat ab antris
 prodigia et caedis sitientem differat arcum.
 convenient ursi, magna quos mole ruentes
 300 torva Lycaoniis Helice miretur ab astris,
 perfossique rudant populo pallente leones,
 quales Mygdonio curru frenare Cybebe
 optet et Herculei mallent fregisse lacerti.
 obvia fulminei properent ad vulnera pardi
 semine permixto geniti, cum forte leaenae
 305 nobiliorem uterum viridis corruptit adulter;
 hi maculis patres referant et robore matres.
 quidquid monstiferis nutrit Gaetulia
 campis,
 Alpina quidquid tegitur nive, Gallica siquid
 silva tenet, iaceat; largo ditescat harena
 sanguine; consumant totos spectacula
 310 montes.
 "Nec molles egeant nostra dulcedine ludi:
 qui laetis risum salibus movisse facetus,
 qui nutu manibusque loquax, cui tibia flatu,
 cui plectro pulsanda chelys, qui pulpita
 socco
 315 personat aut alte graditur maiore cothurno,
 et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu
 innumeras voces segetis moderatus aenae
 intonet erranti digito penitusque trabali
 vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas,
 320 vel qui more avium sese iaculentur in auras

choose out brave hunters cunningly to lasso the
 necks of wild animals and to drive home the
 hunting-spear with unfailing stroke. With her
 own hand let her lead forth from their caverns
 fierce beasts and captive monsters, laying aside
 her bloodthirsty bow. Let bears be gathered
 together, whereat, as they charge with mighty
 bulk, Helice may gaze in wonder from Lycaon's
 stars.^[181] Let smitten lions roar till the people
 turn pale, lions such as Cybele would be fain to
 harness to her Mygdonian chariot or Hercules
 strangle in his mighty arms. May leopards,
 lightning-swift, hasten to meet the spear's
 wound, beasts that are born of an adulterous
 union what time the spotted sire did violence to
 the nobler lion's mate: of such beasts their
 markings recall the sire, their courage the dam.
 Whatsoever is nourished by the fields of
 Gaetulia rich in monsters, whatsoever lurks
 beneath Alpine snows or in Gallic woods, let it
 fall before the spear. Let large streams of blood
 enrich the arena and the spectacle leave whole
 mountains desolate.

"Nor let gentler games lack the delights we
 bring: let the clown be there to move the
 people's laughter with his happy wit, the mime
 whose language is in his nod and in the
 movements of his hands, the musician whose
 breath rouses the flute and whose finger stirs
 the lyre, the slippered comedian to whose voice
 the theatre re-echoes, the tragedian towering
 on his loftier buskin; him too whose light touch
 can elicit loud music from those pipes of bronze
 that sound a thousand diverse notes beneath
 his wandering fingers and who by means of a
 lever stirs to song the labouring water.^[182] Let
 us see acrobats who hurl themselves through
 the air like birds and build

^[181] Helice = the Great Bear; so does the
 phrase "Lycaon's stars," for Lycaon was
 the father of Callisto who was transformed
 by the jealous Juno into a bear and as such
 translated by Jupiter to the sky. Claudian
 means that he wants the Great Bear to
 observe this assemblage of earthly bears.

^[182] The *hydraulus* or water organ was
 known in Cicero's day (*Tusc.* iii. 18.43). It
 is illustrated by a piece of sculpture in the
 Museum at Arles (see Grove, *Dict. of*
Music, under "Organ").

corporaque aedificent celeri crescentia
 nexu,
 quorum compositam puer amentatus in
 arcem
 emicet et vinctu plantae vel cruribus
 hacrens
 pendula librato figat vestigia saltu.
 mobile ponderibus descendat pegma
 325 reductis
 inque chori speciem spargentes ardua
 flammas
 scaena rotet varios et fingat Mulciber orbis
 per tabulas impune vagus pictaeque citato
 ludant igne trabes et non permissa morari
 330 fida per innocuas errent incendia turre.
 lascivi subito confligant aequore lembi
 stagnaque remigibus spument inmissa
 canoris.
 "Consul per populos idemque gravissimus
 auctor
 eloquii, duplici vita subnixus in aevum
 335 procedat pariter libris fastisque legendus.
 accipiat patris exemplum tribuatque nepoti
 filius et coeptis ne desit fascibus heres.
 decurrat trabeata domus tradatque secures
 mutua postcritas servatoque ordine fati
 Manlia continuo numeretur consule
 340 proles."

pyramids that grow with swift entwining of
 their bodies, to the summit of which pyramid
 rushes a boy fastened by a thong, a boy who,
 attached there by the foot or leg, executes a
 step-dance suspended in the air. Let the
 counterweights be removed and the mobile
 crane descend, lowering on to the lofty stage
 men who, wheeling chorus-wise, scatter flames;
 let Vulcan forge balls of fire to roll innocuously
 across the boards, let the flames appear to play
 about the sham beams of the scenery and a
 tame conflagration, never allowed to rest,
 wander among the untouched towers. Let ships
 meet in mimic warfare on an improvised ocean
 and the flooded waters be lashed to foam by
 singing oarsmen.

"As consul at once and stateliest master,
 upborne by a twofold fame, let Manlius go forth
 among the peoples, read in his own books and
 in our calendars. May the sire's example be
 followed by the son^[183] and handed on to a
 grandson, nor these first fasces ever lack
 succession. May his race pass on purple-clad,
 may the generations, each to each, hand on the
 axes, and obedient to the ordinance of fate,
 Manlius after Manlius add one more consul to
 the tale."

^[183] We do not hear of Claudian's hopes
 coming true. This son was, however,
 proconsul of Africa (Augustine, *Contra*
Crescon. iii. 62).

DE CONSULATU STILICHONIS**LIBER I.**

(XXI.)

Continuant superi pleno Romana favore
 gaudia successusque novis successibus
 augent:
 conubii necdum festivos regia cantus
 sopierat, cecinit fuso Gildone triumphos,
 5 et calidis thalami successit laurea sertis,
 sumeret ut pariter princeps nomenque
 mariti
 victorisque decus; Libyae post proelia
 crimen
 concidit Eoum, rursusque Oriente subacto
 consule defensae surgunt Stilichone
 secures.
 10 ordine vota meant. equidem si carmen in
 unum
 tantarum sperem cumulos advolvere rerum,
 promptius imponam glaciali Pelion Ossae.
 si partem tacuisse velim, quodcumque
 relinquam
 maius erit. veteres actus primamque
 iuventam
 15 prosequar? ad sese mentem praesentia
 ducunt.
 narrem iustitiam? resplendet gloria Martis.
 armati referam vires? plus egit inermis.
 quod floret Latium, Latio quod reddita
 servit
 Africa, vicinum quod nescit Hiberia
 Maurum,

**ON STILICHIO'S CONSULSHIP (A.D.
400)****BOOK I**

(XXI.)

Ceaseless are the blessings the gods shower
 with full bounty upon Rome, crowning success
 with new successes. Scarce had the happy
 songs of marriage ceased to echo in the palace
 when the defeat of Gildo brought material for a
 hymn of triumph. Hard upon the garlands of
 passionate love followed the crown of laurel, so
 that the emperor won alike the name of
 husband and the fame of conqueror. After the
 war in Africa eastern sedition waned; the
 Orient once more was laid low and, guarded by
 the consul Stilicho, the axes rose in triumph. In
 due order are vows fulfilled. Should I hope to
 roll into one poem all my lofty themes, more
 easily should I pile Pelion on frozen Ossa. Were
 I silent anent a part, what I leave unsung will
 prove the greater. Am I to recall his deeds of
 old and earliest manhood? His present deeds
 lure away my mind. Am I to tell of his justice?
 His military glory outshines it. Shall I mention
 his prowess in war? He has done more in
 peace. Shall I relate how Latium flourishes,
 how Africa has returned to her allegiance and
 service, how Spain knows no more

20 tuta quod imbellem miratur Gallia Rhenum,
aut gelidam Thracen decertatosque labores
Hebro teste canam? magnum mihi panditur
aequor,
ipsaque Pierios lassant proclivia currus
laudibus innumeris.

Etenim mortalibus ex quo
tellus coepta coli, numquam sincera
25 bonorum
sors ulli concessa viro. quem vultus
honestat,
dedecorant mores; animus quem pulchrior
ornat,
corpus destituit. bellis insignior ille,
sed pacem foedat vitiis. hic publica felix,
sed privata minus, partitum; singula
30 quemque
nobilitant: hunc forma decens, hunc robur
in armis,
hunc rigor, hunc pietas, illum sollertia iuris,
hunc suboles castique tori. sparguntur in
omnes,
in te mixta fluunt; et quae divisa beatos
35 efficiunt, collecta tenes.

Ne facta revolvam
militiamque patris, cuius producere famam,
si nihil egisset clarum nec fida Valenti
dextera duxisset rutilantes crinibus alas,
sufficeret natus Stilicho: mens ardua
semper
40 a puero, tenerisque etiam fulgebat in annis
fortunae maioris honos. erectus et acer
nil breve moliri, nullis haerere potentum
liminibus fatisque loqui iam digna futuris.
iam tum conspicuus, iam tum venerabilis
ibas
45 spondebatque ducem celsi nitor igneus oris

the Moor as her neighbour, how Gaul has now
nought to fear from a disarmed Germany? Or
shall I sing of wintry Thrace and those fierce
struggles whereof Hebrus was witness?
Limitless is the expanse that opens before me
and even on the slopes of Helicon this weight of
praise retards my muse's chariot.

For truly since man inhabited this globe never
has one mortal been granted all earth's
blessings without alloy. This man's face is fair
but his character is evil; another has a
beauteous soul but an ugly body. One is
renowned in war but makes peace hideous with
his vices. This man is happy in his public but
unhappy in his private life. Each takes a part;
each owes his fame to some one gift, to bodily
beauty, to martial prowess, to strength, to
uprightness of life, to knowledge of law, to his
offspring and a virtuous wife. To all men else
blessings come scattered, to thee they flow
commingled, and gifts that separately make
happy are all together thine.

I will not unfold the tale of thy sire's^[184]
warlike deeds. Had he done nothing of note,
had he in loyalty to Valens never led to battle
those yellow-haired companies, yet to be the
father of Stilicho would have spread abroad his
fame. Ever from thy cradle did thy soul aspire,
and in the tender years of childhood shone
forth the signs of loftier estate. Lofty in spirit
and eager, nothing paltry didst thou essay;
never didst thou haunt any rich man's
doorstep; thy speech was such as to befit thy
future dignities. A mark wert thou even then
for all eyes, even then an object of reverence;
the fiery brightness of thy noble countenance,
the very mould

[184] We know really nothing of Stilicho's
parentage save that the family was a
Vandal one: *Vandalorum genere editus*,
Oros. vii. 38.

membraurumque modus, qualem nec
 carmina fingunt
 semideis. quacumque alte gradereris in
 urbe,
 cedentes spatiis adsurgentesque videbas
 quamvis miles adhuc. taciti suffragia vulgi
 iam tibi detulerant, quidquid mox debuit

50

aula.
 Vix primaevus eras, pacis cum mitteris
 auctor
 Assyriae; tanta foedus cum gente ferire
 commissum iuveni. Tigrim transgressus et
 altum
 Euphraten Babylona petis. stupuere severi
 Parthorum proceres, et plebs pharetrata
 videndi
 flagravit studio, defixaeque hospite pulchro
 Persides arcanum suspiravere calorem.
 turis odoratae cumulis et messe Sabaea
 pacem conciliant arae; penetralibus ignem
 sacratum rapuere adytis ritumque iuencos
 Chaldaeo stravere magi. rex ipse micantem
 inclinat dextra pateram secretaque Beli
 et vaga testatur volventem sidera Mithram.
 si quando sociis tecum venatibus ibant,
 quis Stilichone prior ferro penetrare leones
 comminus aut longe virgatas figere tigres?
 flectenti faciles cessit tibi Medus habenas;
 torquebas refugum Parthis mirantibus
 arcum.

55

60

65

70

Nubilis interea maturaev virginis aetas
 urgebat patrias suspenso principe curas,
 quem simul imperioque ducem nataeque
 maritum
 prospiceret; dubius toto quaerebat ab axe
 dignum coniugio generum thalamisque
 Serenae.

of thy limbs, greater even than poets feign of
 demi-gods, marked thee out for a leader of
 men. Whithersoever thy proud form went in the
 city thou didst see men rise and give place to
 thee; yet thou wast then but a soldier. The
 silent suffrage of the people had already
 offered thee all the honours the court was soon
 to owe.

Scarce hadst thou reached man's estate when
 thou wast sent to negotiate peace with
 Assyria^[185]; to make a treaty with so great a
 people was the charge entrusted to thy youth.
 Crossing the Tigris and the deep Euphrates
 thou cam'st to Babylon. The grave lords of
 Parthia looked at thee in amaze and the quiver-
 bearing mob burned with desire to behold,
 while the daughters of Persia gazing on their
 beauteous guest sighed out their hidden love.
 The peace is sworn at altars sweet with the
 fragrance of incense and the harvests of Saba.
 Fire is brought forth from the innermost
 sanctuary and the Magi sacrifice heifers
 according to the Chaldean ritual. The king
 himself dips the jewelled bowl of sacrifice and
 swears by the mysteries of Bel and by Mithras
 who guides the errant stars of heaven.
 Whenever they made thee sharer of their
 hunting, whose sword struck down the lion in
 close combat before that of Stilicho, whose
 arrow pierced the striped tiger afar before
 thine? When thou didst guide the easy rein the
 Mede gave way to thee, and the Parthian
 marvelled at the bow thou didst discharge in
 flight.

Meanwhile a maiden of years full ripe for
 marriage troubled a father's heart, and the
 emperor doubted whom to select as her
 husband and as future ruler of the world; right
 anxiously did he search east and west for a son-
 in-law worthy of being wedded

[185] By Assyria Claudian means Persia.
 He refers to the dispatch of Stilicho in 387
 as ambassador to the court of Sapor III.
 (383-388) to arrange about the partition of
 Armenia.

iudicium virtutis erat; per castra, per urbes,
 per populos animi cunctantis libra cucurrit.
 75 tu legeris tantosque viros, quos obtulit
 orbis,
 intra consilium vincis sensumque legentis,
 et gener Augustis olim socer ipse futurus
 80 accedis. radiis auri Tyriaque superbit
 maiestate torus; comitata parentibus exit
 purpureis virgo. stabat pater inde tropaeis
 inclitus; inde pium matris regina gerebat
 obsequium gravibus subnectens flammea
 gemmis.
 tunc et Solis equos, tunc exultasse choreis
 astra ferunt mellisque lacus et flumina
 85 lactis
 erupisse solo, cum floribus aequora vernis
 Bosphorus indueret roseisque evincta
 coronis
 certantes Asiae taedas Europa levaret.
 Felix arbitrii princeps, qui congrua
 mundo
 iudicat et primus censet, quod cernimus
 90 omnes.
 talem quippe virum natis adiunxit et aulae,
 cui neque luxuries bello nec blanda periclis
 otia nec lucis fructus pretiosior umquam
 laude fuit. quis enim Visos in plaustra
 feroces
 95 reppulit aut saeva Promoti caede tumentes
 Bastarnas una potuit delere ruina?
 Pallantis iugulum Turno moriente piavit
 Aeneas, tractusque rotis ultricibus Hector
 irato vindicta fuit vel quaestus Achilli.
 100 tu neque vesano raptas venalia curru
 funera nec vanam corpus meditaris in
 unum
 saevitiam; turmas equitum peditumque
 catervas

to Serena. Merit alone had to decide; through
 camps, through cities, through nations roamed
 his poised and hesitating thoughts. But thou
 wast chosen, thus in the opinion and judgement
 of him who selected thee surpassing all the
 candidates of the whole world and becoming a
 son-in-law in the imperial family where thou
 wast shortly to become a father-in-law. The
 marriage-bed was ablaze with flashing gold and
 regal purple. The maiden steps forth
 accompanied by her parents clad in scarlet. On
 one side stood her sire, famed for his triumphs,
 on the other was the queen, fulfilling a
 mother's loving office and ordering the bridal
 veil beneath a weight of jewels. Then, so men
 say, the horses of the sun and the stars of
 heaven danced for joy, pools of honey and
 rivers of milk welled forth from the earth.
 Bosphorus decked his banks with vernal flowers,
 and Europe, entwined with rosy garlands,
 uplifted the torches in rivalry with Asia.

Happy our emperor in his choice; he judges and
 the world agrees; he is the first to value what
 we all see. Ay, for he has allied to his children
 and to his palace one who never preferred ease
 to war nor the pleasures of peace to danger,
 nor yet his life to his honour. Who but he could
 have driven back the savage Visigoths to their
 wagons or overwhelmed in one huge slaughter
 the Bastarnae puffed up with the slaying of
 Promotus^[186]? Aeneas avenged the slaughter
 of Pallas with the death of Turnus, Hector,
 dragged behind the chariot-wheels, was to
 wrathful Achilles either revenge or gain; thou
 dost not carry off in mad chariot dead bodies
 for ransom nor plot idle savagery against a
 single corpse; thou slayest at thy friend's tomb
 whole

^[186] Promotus, who had rescued
 Theodosius from an ambush in his war
 against the Visigoths in 390, lost his life in
 the same war the year after. Stilicho
 succeeded to his command.

hostilesque globos tumulo prosternis amici;
 inferiis gens tota datur. nec Mulciber
 auctor
 105 mendacis clipei fabricataque vatibus arma
 conatus iuvere tuos: tot barbara solus
 milia iam pridem miseram vastantia
 Thracen
 finibus exiguae vallis conclusa tenebas.
 nec te terrisonus stridor venientis Alani
 nec vaga Chunorum feritas, non falce
 110 Gelonus,
 non arcu pepulere Getae, non Sarmata
 conto.
 extinctique forent penitus, ni more maligno
 falleret Augustas occultus proditor aures
 obstrueretque moras strictumque
 reconderet ensem,
 solveret obsessos, praeberet foedera captis.
 115 Adsiduus castris aderat, rarissimus urbi,
 si quando trepida princeps pietate vocaret;
 vixque salutatis Laribus, vix coniuge visa,
 detero necdum repetebat sanguine
 campum.
 nec stetit Eucherii dum carperet oscula
 120 saltem
 per galeam. patris stimulos ignisque mariti
 vicit cura ducis. quotiens sub pellibus egit
 Edonas hiemes et tardi flabra Bootae
 sub divo Riphaca tulit! cumque igne
 propinquo
 125 frigora vix ferrent alii, tunc iste rigentem
 Danuvium calcabat eques nivibusque
 profundum
 scandebat cristatus Athon lateque corusco
 curvatas glacie silvas umbone ruebat.
 nunc prope Cimmerii tendebat litora Ponti,

squadrons of horse, companies of foot, and hordes of enemies. To his ghost a whole nation is offered up. Neither Vulcan's fabulous shield nor such armour as that of which poets sing the forging assisted thine efforts. Single-handed thou didst succeed in penning within the narrow confines of a single valley the vast army of barbarians that were long since ravaging the land of Thrace. For thee the fearful shriek of the onrushing Alan had no terrors nor the fierceness of the nomad Hun nor the scimitar of the Geloni, nor the Getae's bow or Sarmatian's club. These nations would have been destroyed root and branch had not a traitor by a perfidious trick abused the emperor's ear and caused him to withhold his hand; hence the sheathing of the sword, the raising of the siege, and the granting of a treaty to the prisoners.

He was always with the army, seldom in Rome, and then only when the young emperor's anxious love summoned him thither. Scarce had he greeted the gods of his home, scarce seen his wife when, still stained with the blood of his enemies, he hastened back to the battle. He did not stay to catch at least a kiss from Eucherius through his vizor; the anxieties of a general o'ercame a father's yearning and a husband's love. How often has he bivouacked through the Thracian winter and endured beneath the open sky the blasts that slow Boötes sends from mount Rhiphaeus. When others, huddled over the fire, could scarce brook the cold, he would ride his horse across the frozen Danube and climb Athos deep in snow, his helmet on his head, thrusting aside the frozen branches of the ice-laden trees with his far gleaming targe. Now he pitched his tent by the shores of Cimmerian Pontus, now

130 nunc dabat hibernum Rhodope nimbosa
 cubile.
 vos Haemi gelidae valles, quas saepe
 cruentis
 stragibus aequavit Stilicho, vos Thracia
 testor
 flumina, quae largo mutastis sanguine
 fluctus;
 dicite, Bisaltae vel qui Pangaea iuvenis
 scinditis, offenso quantae sub vomere
 135 putres
 dissiliant glaebris galeae vel qualia rastris
 ossa peremptorum resonent inmania
 regum.
 Singula complecti cuperem; sed densior
 instat
 gestorum series laudumque sequentibus
 undis
 140 obruimur. genitor caesi post bella tyranni
 iam tibi commissis conscenderat aethera
 terris.
 ancipites rerum ruituro culmine lapsus
 aequali cervice subis: sic Hercule quondam
 sustentante polum melius librata pependit
 145 machina nec dubiis titubavit Signifer astris
 perpetuaque senex subductus mole
 parumper
 obstupuit proprii spectator ponderis Atlas.
 Nulli barbariae motus; nil turbida rupto
 ordine temptavit novitas, tantoque remoto
 150 principe mutatas orbis non sensit habenas.
 nil inter geminas acies, ceu libera frenis,
 ausa manus. certe nec tantis dissona linguis
 turba nec armorum cultu diversior umquam
 confluit populus: totam pater undique
 secum
 moverat Auroram; mixtis hic Colchus
 155 Hiberis,
 hic mitra velatus Arabs, hic crine decorus
 Armenius; hic picta Saces fucataque
 Medus,

misty Rhodope afforded him a winter's bed. I
 call you to witness, cold valleys of Haemus, that
 Stilicho has often filled with bloody slaughter;
 and you, rivers of Thrace, your waters turned
 to blood; say, ye Bisaltae, or you whose oxen
 plough Pangaeus' slopes, how many a rotting
 helm has not your share shattered neath the
 soil, how oft have not your mattocks rung
 against the giant bones of slaughtered kings.

Fain would I embrace each separate one; but
 thine exploits press on in too close array, and I
 am overwhelmed by the pursuing flood of
 glorious deeds. When Theodosius had warred
 against, and slain, the tyrant^[187] he ascended
 into heaven, leaving the governance of the
 world to thee. With a strength equal to his thou
 dost bear up the tottering structure of the
 empire that threatens each moment to collapse.
 Thus, when once Hercules upheld the world,
 the universal frame hung more surely poised,
 the Standard-bearer did not reel with tottering
 stars, and old Atlas, relieved for a moment of
 the eternal load, was confounded as he gazed
 upon his own burden.

Barbary was quiet, no revolution troubled the
 empire's peace and though so great a prince
 was dead the world knew not that the reins had
 passed into another's hands. No company in
 the two armies^[188] dared aught as though set
 loose from control. Yet surely never had such
 diversities of language and arms met together
 to form one united people. Theodosius had
 unified the whole East beneath his rule. Here
 were mingled Colchian and Iberian, mitred
 Arab, beautifully coifed Armenian; here the
 Sacian had pitched his painted tent, the Mede
 his

[187] *i.e.* Eugenius.

[188] *i.e.* of East and West.

hic gemmata niger tentoria fixerat Indus;
 hic Rhodani procera cohors, hic miles
 alumnus
 160 Oceani. ductor Stilicho tot gentibus unus,
 quot vel progrediens vel conspicit occiduus
 sol.
 in quo tam vario vocum generumque
 tumultu
 tanta quies iurisque metus servator honesti
 te moderante fuit, nullis ut vinea furtis
 165 vel seges erepta fraudaret messe colonum,
 ut nihil aut saevum rabies aut turpe libido
 suaderet, placidi servirent legibus enses.
 scilicet in vulgus manant exempla
 regentum,
 utque ducum lituos, sic mores castra
 sequuntur.
 Denique felices aquilas quocumque
 170 moveres,
 arebant tantis epoti milibus amnes.
 Illyricum peteres: campi montesque
 latebant.
 vexillum navale dares: sub puppibus ibat
 Ionium. nullas^[189] succincta Ceraunia
 nimbis
 175 nec iuga Leucatae feriens spumantia fluctu
 deterrebat hiems. tu si glaciale iuberis
 vestigare fretum, securo milite ducti
 stagna reluctantes quaterent Saturnia remi;
 si deserta Noti, fontem si quaerere Nili,
 Aethiopum medios penetrassent vela
 180 vapores.
 Te memor Eurotas, te rustica Musa
 Lycaei,
 te pastorali modulantur Maenala cantu
 Partheniumque nemus, quod te pugnante
 resurgens
 aegra caput mediis erexit Graecia flammis.
 plurima Parrhasius tunc inter corpora
 185 Ladon

[189] *ATI* nullum; *other* MSS. nullis, which *Birt* prints. But *deterrebat* needs an object (as *A* and *II* indicate). Possibly, then, nullas.

stained tent, the dusky Indian his embroidered
 tent: here were the tall company of warriors
 from the Rhone and the warlike children of
 Ocean. Stilicho and Stilicho alone commanded
 all the nations looked on by the rising and the
 setting sun. Amid this company so diverse in
 blood and speech such peace reigned beneath
 thy rule, so did fear of justice secure right, that
 not a single vineyard was robbed, nor did a
 single field cheat the husbandman of its
 plundered crop; rage incited to no violence,
 passion to no deeds of shame; the peaceful
 sword was obedient to law. Of a truth their
 leaders' pattern passes to the crowd, and the
 soldier follows not only the standards but also
 the example of his general.

Whithersoever thou didst lead thy victorious
 eagles there rivers grew dry, drunk up by so
 many thousands of men. Didst thou march
 towards Illyria, plain and mountain were
 hidden; didst thou give the signal to thy fleet,
 the Ionian main was lost beneath thy ships.
 Cloud-girt Ceraunia, the storms that dash the
 waves in foam on Leucas' promontory—these
 could not affright any. Shouldst thou bid them
 explore some frozen sea, thy untroubled
 soldiers would shatter the congealed waters
 with countervailing oar; had they to seek the
 deserts of the south, to search out the sources
 of the Nile, their sails would penetrate into
 Ethiopia's midmost heat.

Thee mindful Eurotas, thee Lycaeus' rustic
 muse, thee Maenalus celebrates in pastoral
 song, and therewith the woods of Parthenius,
 where, thanks to thy victorious arms, weary
 Greece has raised once more her head from
 amid the flames. Then did Ladon, river of
 Arcadia, stay his course amid the countless
 bodies,

haesit et Alpheus Geticis angustus acervis
tardior ad Siculos etiam nunc perguit
amores.

Miramur rapidis hostem succumbere
bellis,
cum solo terrore ruant? non classica
Francis
190 intulimus: iacuere tamen. non Marte
Suebos
contudimus, quis iura damus. quis credere
possit?
ante tubam nobis audax Germania servit.
cedant, Druse, tui, cedant, Traiane, labores:
vestra manus dubio quidquid discrimine
gessit,
195 transcurrens egit Stilicho totidemque
diebus
edomuit Rhenum, quot vos potuistis in
annis;
quem ferro, adloquiis; quem vos cum milite,
solus.
impiger a primo descendens fluminis ortu
ad bifidos tractus et iuncta paludibus ora
fulmineum perstrinxit iter; ducis impetus
200 undas
vincebat celeres, et pax a fonte profecta
cum Rheni crescebat aquis. ingentia
quondam
nomina, crinigero flaventes vertice reges,
qui nec principibus donis precibusque
vocati
paruerant, iussi properant segnique
205 verentur
offendisse mora; transvecti lintribus
amnem
occursant ubicumque velit. nec fama fefellit
iustitiae: videre pium, videre fidelem.
quem veniens timuit, rediens Germanus
amavit.
210 illi terribiles, quibus otia vendere semper
mos erat et foeda requiem mercede pacisci,
natis obsidibus pacem tam supplice vultu

and Alphaeus, choked with heaps of
slaughtered Getae, won his way more slowly to
his Sicilian love. [190]

Do we wonder that the foe so swiftly yields in
battle when they fall before the sole terror of
his name? We did not declare war on the
Franks; yet they were overthrown. We did not
crush in battle the Suebi on whom we now
impose our laws. Who could believe it? Fierce
Germany was our slave or ever the trumpets
rang out. Where are now thy wars, Drusus, or
thine, Trajan? All that your hands wrought after
doubtful conflict that Stilicho did as he passed
along, and o'ercame the Rhine in as many days
as you could do in years; you conquered with
the sword, he with a word; you with an army,
he single-handed. Descending from the river's
source to where it splits in twain and to the
marshes that connect its mouths he flashed his
lightning way. The speed of the general
outstripped the river's swift course, and Peace,
starting with him from Rhine's source, grew as
grew Rhine's waters. Chieftains whose names
were once so well known, flaxen-haired
warrior-kings whom neither gifts nor prayers
could win over to obedience to Rome's
emperors, hasten at his command and fear to
offend by dull delay. Crossing the river in boats
they meet him wheresoever he will. The fame
of his justice did not play them false: they found
him merciful, they found him trustworthy. Him
whom at his coming the German feared, at his
departure he loved. Those dread tribes whose
wont it was ever to set their price on peace and
let us purchase repose by shameful tribute,
offered their children as hostages and begged
for peace with such suppliant looks that one
would have thought them

[190] *i.e.* Arethusa.

captivoque rogant, quam si post terga
 revincti
 Tarpeias pressis subeant cervicibus arces.
 omne, quod Oceanum fontesque interiacet
 215 Histri,
 unius incursu tremuit; sine caede subactus
 servitio Boreas exarmatique Triones.
 Tempore tam parvo tot proelia sanguine
 nullo
 perficis et luna nuper nascente profectus
 ante redis, quam tota fuit, Rhenumque
 220 minacem
 cornibus infractis adeo mitescere cogis,
 ut Salius iam rura colat flexosque
 Sygambrus
 in falcem curvet gladios, geminasque viator
 cum videat ripas, quae sit Romana,
 requirat;
 ut iam trans fluvium non indignante Chauco
 225 pascat Belga pecus, mediumque ingressa
 per Albim
 Gallica Francorum montes armenta
 pererrent;
 ut procul Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae
 venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
 230 religione truces et robur numinis instar
 barbarici nostrae feriant impune bipennes.
 Ultro quin etiam devota mente tuentur
 victorique favent. quotiens sociare catervas
 oravit iungique tuis Alamannia signis!
 nec doluit contempta tamen, spretoque
 235 recessit
 auxilio laudata fides. provincia missos
 expellet citius fasces quam Francia reges,
 quos dederis. acie nec iam pulsare rebelles,
 sed vinclis punire licet; sub iudice nostro
 240 regia Romanus disquirat crimina carcer:

captives, their hands bound behind their backs,
 and they mounting the Tarpeian rock with the
 chains of slavery upon their necks. All those
 lands that lie between Ocean and the Danube
 trembled at the approach of one man. Boreas
 was brought into servitude without a blow; the
 Great Bear was disarmed.

In so short a time didst thou win so many
 battles without loss of blood, and, setting out
 with the moon yet new, thou didst return or
 ever it was full; so didst thou compel the
 threatening Rhine to learn gentleness with
 shattered horns, that the Salian now tills his
 fields, the Sygambrian beats his straight sword
 into a curved sickle, and the traveller, as he
 looks at the two banks, asks over which Rome
 rules. The Belgian, too, pastures his flock
 across the river and the Chauca heed it not;
 Gallic herds cross the middle Elbe and wander
 over the hills of the Franks. Safe it is to hunt
 amid the vast silence of the distant Hercynian
 forest, and in the woods that old-established
 superstition has rendered awful our axes fell
 the trees the barbarian once worshipped and
 nought is said.

Nay more, devoted to their conqueror this
 people offers its arms in his defence. How oft
 has Germany begged to add her troops to thine
 and to join her forces with those of Rome! Nor
 yet was she angered when her offer was
 rejected, for though her aid was refused her
 loyalty came off with praise. Provence will
 sooner drive out the governor thou sendest
 than will the land of the Franks expel the ruler
 thou hast given them. Not to rout rebels in the
 field but to punish them with chains is now the
 law; under our judge a Roman prison holds
 inquest

Marcomeres Sunnoque docet; quorum alter
 Etruscum
 pertulit exilium; cum se promitteret alter
 exulis ultorem, iacuit mucrone suorum:
 res avidi concire novas odioque furentes
 245 pacis et ingenio scelerumque cupidine
 fratres.
 Post domitas Arctos alio prorupit ab axe
 tempestas et, ne qua tuis intacta tropaeis
 pars foret, Australis sonuit tuba. moverat
 omnes
 Maurorum Gildo populos, quibus inminet
 Atlas
 250 et quos interior nimio plaga sole relegat:
 quos vagus umectat Cinyps et proximus
 hortis
 Hesperidum Triton et Gir notissimus amnis
 Aethiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum;
 venerat et parvis redimitus Nuba sagittis
 et velox Garamas, nec quamvis tristibus
 255 Hammon
 responsis alacrem potuit Nasamona morari.
 stipantur Numidae campi, stant pulvere
 Syrtes
 Gaetulae, Poenus iaculis obtexitur aër.
 hi virga moderantur equos; his fulva leones
 260 velamenta dabant ignotarumque ferarum
 exuviae, vastis Meroë quas nutrit harenis;
 serpentum patulos gestant pro casside
 rictus;
 pendent vipereae squamosa pelle
 pharetrae.
 non sic intremuit Simois, cum montibus
 Idae
 nigra coloratus produceret agmina
 265 Memnon,
 non Ganges, cum tela procul vibrantibus
 Indis
 inmanis medium vectaret belua Porum.

on the crimes of kings. Marcomeres and
 Sunno^[191] give proof: the one underwent exile
 in Etruria, the other, proclaiming himself the
 exile's avenger, fell beneath the swords of his
 own soldiers. Both were eager to arouse
 rebellion, both hated peace—true brothers in
 character and in a common love of crime.

After the conquest of the north arose a fresh
 storm in another quarter. The trumpets of war
 rang out in the south that there might be no
 part of the world untouched by thy victories.
 Gildo stirred up all the Moorish tribes living
 beneath mount Atlas and those whom the
 excessive heat of the sun cuts off from us in the
 interior of Africa, those too whom Cinyps'
 wandering stream waters, and Triton,
 neighbour of the garden of the Hesperides;
 those who dwell beside the waters of Gir, most
 famous of the rivers of Ethiopia, that overflows
 his banks as it had been another Nile. There
 came at his summons the Nubian with his head-
 dress of short arrows, the fleet Garamantian,
 the Nasamonian whose impetuous ardour not
 even the sinister predictions of Ammon could
 restrain. The plain of Numidia was overrun,
 their dust covered the Gaetolian Syrtes; the sky
 of Carthage was darkened with their arrows.
 Some, mounted, guide their horses with sticks,
 others are clad in tawny lion-skins and pelts of
 the nameless animals that range the vast
 deserts of Meroë. Severed heads of serpents
 with gaping jaws serve them for helmets, the
 bright scaly skin of the viper fashions their
 quivers. Simois trembled not so violently when
 swart Memnon led his dusky troops o'er Ida's
 summit. Not so fearful was Ganges when Porus
 approached, mounted on his towering elephant
 and surrounded with his far-shooting Indian
 soldiery.

[191] Marcomeres and Sunno, brother
 chiefs of the Ripuarian Franks, had (?in
 connexion with Maximus' revolt) invaded
 Roman territory near Cologne in 388 and
 been defeated by Arbogast. Stilicho's
 successful campaign against them, of
 which we read here, is to be dated 395 (?
 March).

Porus Alexandro, Memnon prostratus
Achilli,
Gildo nempe tibi.

Nec solum fervidus

Austrum,

- 270 sed partes etiam Mavors agitabat Eoas.
quamvis obstreperet pietas, his ille
regendae
transtulerat nomen Libyae scelerique
profano
fallax legitimam regni praetenderat
umbram.
surgebat geminum varia formidine bellum,
hoc armis, hoc triste dolis. hoc Africa saevis
275 cinxerat auxiliis, hoc coniuratus alebat
insidiis Oriens. illinc edicta meabant
corruptura duces; hinc frugibus atra
negatis
urgebat trepidamque fames obsederat
urbem.
280 exitiale palam Libycum; civile pudoris
obtentu tacitum.
Tales utrimque procellae
cum fremerent lacerumque alternis ictibus
anceps
imperium pulsaret hiems, nil fessa remisit
officii virtus contraque minantia fata
285 pervigil eventusque sibi latura secundos
maior in adversis micuit: velut arbiter alni,
nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion,
exiguo clavi flexu declinat aquarum
verbera, nunc recta, nunc obliquante carina
290 callidus, et pelagi caelique obnititur irae.
Quid primum, Stilicho, mirer? quod
cautus ad omnes
restiteris fraudes, ut te nec noxia furto
littera nec pretio manus inflammata
lateret?
quod nihil in tanto circum terrore locutus
indignum Latio? responsa quod ardua
295 semper
Eois dederis, quae mox effecta probasti—

Yet Porus was defeated by Alexander, Memnon by Achilles, and Gildo by thee.

It was not, however, only the South that fierce Mars aroused but also the East. Though loyalty cried out against it Gildo had transferred the nominal rule of Libya to the Eastern empire, cloaking his base treason under the name of legitimate government.^[192] Thus with diverse terror a twofold war arose; here were arms, there were wiles. Africa supported the one with her savage tribes, the other the conspiring East nurtured with treachery. From Byzantium came edicts to subvert the loyalty of governors; from Africa that refused her crops black famine pressed and had beleaguered trembling Rome. Libya openly meditated our destruction; over the civic strife shame had laid her veil of silence.

Though such storms raged on either hand, though the twofold tempest buffeted the torn empire on this side and on that, no whit did our consul's courage yield to weariness, but ever watchful against threatening doom and soon to win prosperous issue, shone greater amid dangers: as the ship's pilot, tossed in mid Aegean by the storms of rainy Orion, eludes the waves' buffeting by the least turn of the tiller, skilfully guiding his vessel now on straight, now on slanting course, and struggles successfully against the conjoint fury of sea and sky.

At what, Stilicho, shall I first marvel? At the providence that resisted all intrigues, whereby no treacherous missive, no bribe-fraught hand escaped thy notice? Or because that amid the general terror thou spakest no word unworthy of Latium? Or because thou didst ever give haughty answer to the East and later made that answer

[192] Africa belonged to the West. Gildo, in the words of Zosimus (v. 11. 2), ἀφίστησι τὴν χώραν τῆς Ὀνωρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῆ Ἀρκαδίου προστίθησιν.

securus, quamvis et opes et rura tenerent
 insignesque domos? levis haec iactura; nec
 umquam
 publica privatae cesserunt commoda
 causae.
 300 dividis ingentes curas teque omnibus unum
 obicis, inveniens animo quae mente
 gerenda,
 efficiens patranda manu, dictare paratus
 quae scriptis peragenda forent. quae
 brachia centum,
 quis Briareus aliis numero crescente
 lacertis
 305 tot simul obiectis posset conflagere rebus:
 evitare dolos; veteres firmare cohortes,
 explorare novas; duplices disponere
 classes,
 quae fruges aut bella ferant; aulaeque
 tumultum
 et Romae lenire famem? quot nube soporis
 310 immunes oculi per tot discurrere partes,
 tot loca sufficerent et tam longinqua tueri?
 Argum fama canit centeno lumine cinctum
 corporis excubiis unam servasse iuvencam!
 Unde tot adlatae segetes? quae silva
 carinas
 315 texuit? unde rudis tanto tirone iuventus
 emicuit senioque iterum vernante
 resumpsit
 Gallia bis fractas Alpino vulnere vires?
 non ego dilectu, Tyrii sed vomere Cadmi
 tam subitas acies concepto dente draconis
 320 exiluisse reor: Dircaeis qualis in arvis
 messis cum proprio mox bellatura colono
 cognatos strinxit gladios, cum semine iacto
 terrigenae galea matrem nascente ferirent

good? They held thy goods, thy lands, thy
 houses, yet wast thou unmoved. This thou didst
 account a trifling loss nor ever preferred
 private to public interest. Thy mighty task thou
 dost parcel out, yet dost thou face it all alone,
 debating the problems that must needs be
 thought out, acting where deeds are called for,
 ever ready to dictate where aught is to be
 accomplished by writing. What hundred-handed
 monster, what Briareus, whose arms ever grew
 more numerous as they were lopped off, could
 cope with all these things at once? To avoid the
 snares of treachery, to strengthen existing
 regiments and enroll new ones, to equip two
 fleets, one of corn-ships, one of men-of-war, to
 quell the tumult of the court and alleviate the
 hunger of the Roman populace—what eyes,
 never visited by the veil of sleep, have had the
 strength to turn their gaze in so many
 directions and over so many lands or to pierce
 so far? Fame tells how Argus girt with a
 hundred eyes could guard but one heifer with
 his body's watch.

Whence comes this mass of corn? What forest
 fashioned all those vessels? Whence has sprung
 this untutored army with all its young recruits?
 Whence has Gaul, its age once more at the
 spring, won back the strength that Alpine blows
 twice shattered^[193]? Methinks 'tis no levy but
 the ploughshare of the Phoenician Cadmus that
 has raised up thus suddenly a host sprung from
 the sowing of the dragon's teeth; 'tis like the
 crop that in the fields of Thebes drew the
 sword of kin in threatened battle with its own
 sower when, the seed once sown, the earth-
 born giants clave the earth, their mother's
 womb, with their springing helms and a harvest
 of

[193] In the wars against, respectively,
 Eugenius and the Goths.

armifer et viridi floreret milite sulcus.
 hoc quoque non parva fas est cum laude
 325 relinqui,
 quod non ante fretis exercitus adstitit ultor,
 ordine quam prisco censeret bella senatus.
 neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula
 morem
 rettulit, ut ducibus mandarent proelia
 patres
 330 decretoque togae felix legionibus iret
 tessera. Romuleas leges rediisse fatemur,
 cum procerum iussis famulantia cernimus
 arma.
 Tyrrhenum poteras cunctis transmitters
 signis
 et ratibus Syrtes, Libyam complere
 maniplus;
 335 consilio stetit ira minor, ne territus ille
 te duce suspecto Martis graviore paratu
 aut in harenosos aestus zonamque
 rubentem
 tenderet aut solis fugiens transiret in ortus
 missurusve sibi certae solacia mortis
 340 oppida dirueret flammis. res mira relatu:
 ne timeare times et, quem vindicta
 manebat,
 desperare vetas. quantum fiducia nobis
 profuit! hostilis salvae Carthaginis arces;
 inlaesis Tyrii gaudent cultoribus agri,
 345 quos potuit vastare fuga. spe captus inani
 nec se subripuit poenae nostrisque
 pepercit:
 demens, qui numero tantum, non robore
 mensus
 Romanos rapidis ibat ceu protinus omnes
 calcaturus equis et, quod iactare solebat,
 350 solibus effetos mersurus pulvere Gallos.

young soldiery burgeoned along the armèd
 furrows. This too must not be passed over
 without full meed of praise, that the avenging
 expedition did not embark until the senate had,
 in accordance with antique usage, declared
 war. Stilicho re-established this custom,
 neglected for so many ages, that the Fathers
 should give generals charge to fight, and by
 decree of the toga-clad Senate the battle-token
 pass auspiciously among the legions. We
 acknowledge that the laws of Romulus have
 now returned when we see arms obedient to
 our ministers.

Thou couldst have filled the Tyrrhene sea with
 all thy standards, the Syrtes with thy fleet and
 Libya with thy battalions, but wrath was stayed
 o'ercome by prudent fear lest Gildo, terrified at
 the thought that thou wast in arms against him
 and suspecting that thy forces were of
 overwhelming strength, might retire into the
 hot desert and the torrid zone, or travel east in
 flight or, to console him for the certainty of
 death, might destroy his cities with fire.
 Marvellous it is to tell: thou wast fearful of
 being feared and forbade him to despair whom
 thy vengeance awaited. How greatly was his
 confidence our gain! Safe are the towers of
 hostile Carthage, and the Phoenician fields
 rejoice in their unharmed husbandmen, fields
 he might have laid waste in his flight. Deluded
 by a vain hope he spared what was ours
 without escaping chastisement for himself.
 Madman, to measure Rome by the numbers
 instead of the valour of her soldiers! He
 advanced as though he would ride them all
 down by means of his fleet cavalry and, as he
 often boasted, would overwhelm in the dust the
 Gauls enervated by the sun's heat. But he soon
 learned that neither wounds

Sed didicit non Aethiopum geminata
 venenis
 vulnera, non fusum crebris hastilibus
 imbrem,
 non equitum nimbos Latiis obsistere pilis.
 sternitur ignavus Nasamon, nec spicula
 supplex
 iam torquet Garamas; repetunt deserta
 fugaces
 355 Autololes; pavidus proiecit missile Mazax.
 cornipedem Maurus nequiquam hortatur
 anhelum;
 praedonem lembo profugum ventisque
 repulsum
 suscepit merito fatalis Tabraca portu
 expertum quod nulla tuis elementa paterent
 360 hostibus, et laetae passurum iurgia plebis
 fracturumque reos humili sub iudice vultus.
 Nil tribuat Fortuna sibi. sit prospera
 semper
 illa quidem; sed non uni certamina pugnae
 365 credidimus totis nec constitit alea castris
 nutatura semel; si quid licuisset iniquis
 casibus, instabant aliae post terga biremes;
 venturus dux maior erat.
 Victoria nulla
 clarior aut hominum votis optatior umquam
 contigit. an quisquam Tigranen armaque
 370 Ponti
 vel Pyrrhum Antiochique fugam vel vincla
 Jugurthae
 conferat aut Persen debellatumque
 Philippum?
 hi propagandi ruerant pro limite regni;
 hic stabat Romana salus. ibi tempora tuto
 375 traxerunt dilata moras; hic vincere tarde
 vinci paene fuit. discrimine Roma supremo
 inter supplicium populi deforme pependit;
 et tantum Libyam fructu maiore recepit
 quam peperit, quantum graviorem amissa
 dolorem
 quam necdum quaesita movent. quis Punica
 gesta,

made more deadly by the poisoned arrow of
 Ethiopia nor thick hail of javelins nor clouds of
 horsemen can withstand Latin spears. The
 cowardly Nasamonian troops are scattered, the
 Garamantian hurls not his spears but begs for
 mercy, the swift-footed Autololes fly to the
 desert, the terror-stricken Mazacian flings
 away his arms, in vain the Moor urges on his
 flagging steed. The brigand flees in a small
 boat and driven back by the winds met with his
 just fate in the harbour of Tabraca, discovering
 that no element offered refuge, Stilicho, to
 thine enemies. There he was destined to
 undergo the insults of the overjoyed populace
 and to bow his guilty head before a lowly
 judgement-seat.

Let not Fortune claim aught for herself. Let her
 be ever favourable; but we trusted not the issue
 to a single fight, nor was the hazard set with all
 our force to be lost at a single throw. Had hard
 chance at all prevailed, a second fleet pressed
 on behind, a greater leader was yet to come.

Never was a more famous victory nor one that
 was the object of more heart-felt prayers. Will
 anyone compare with this the defeat of
 Tigranes, of the king of Pontus, the flight of
 Pyrrhus or Antiochus, the capture of Jugurtha,
 the overthrow of Perses or Philip? Their fall
 meant but the enlargement of the empire's
 bounds; on Gildo's depended the very existence
 of Rome. In those cases delay entailed no ill; in
 this a late-won victory was all but a defeat. On
 this supreme issue, while leanness racked her
 people, hung the fate of Rome; and to win back
 Libya was a greater gain than its first conquest,
 even as to lose a possession stirs a heavier pain
 than never to have had it. Who would

380 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,
 385 triumphos.

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.

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