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Pompa and Praise in Claudian's Panegyrics on the Third, Fourth and Sixth Consulship of Honorius

The paper deals with three representations of pompae (processions) within Claudian's Panegyrics on the Third, Fourth and Sixth Consulate of Honorius. The depictions of two adventus (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 125sq.; Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 543sq.) and one processus consularis (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 565sq.) are examined with regard to content, form, and function and subsequently compared. The comparison shows that all three pompa-passages share common features. These similarities form a design concept through which the passages are connected. At the same time, in terms of length, formal features as well as aspects of content a development can be observed in the adventus-passage in 6 cons. Hon. Honorius, here, outgrows the former versions of himself, represented in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. and Claud. 4 cons. Hon. Similarly, the poet Claudian surpasses himself on a poetic level.

Keywords: Claudian, panegyric, Honorius, glorification, *pompa*, procession; *adventus*, *processus consularis*

I.

[...] *quantae miracula pompae / vidimus [...]*! (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 565sq.)¹ – This exclamation is the beginning of the account of the *processus consularis* in Claud. 4 cons. Hon., the panegyric, which Claudian wrote on the occasion of Honorius' Fourth Consulate in 398. Literally, *pompa* can be translated as 'procession' in the given context. The exclamation as a whole then reads: 'What miracles of procession did we see!'²

¹ The Latin text is quoted after HALL (1985).

² *Quantae* does grammatically belong to *pompae*. I interpret *quantae* as an enallage, which is set for metrical reasons.

In Claudian's political poems *pompae* (processions) of different types are treated to varying degrees (*processus consularis*,³ *pompa nuptialis*,⁴ *pompa amphitheatralis*,⁵ *pompa triumphalis/triumpus*,⁶ *adventus*⁷ etc.). Repeatedly, these passages occupy a prominent position in the works with regard to their length, location and/or formal design, and represent an important tool for the praise of the addressees. This paper focuses on the *miracula* of the three *pompae* treated within the Panegyrics on the Third (396), Fourth (398), and Sixth (404) Consulate of Honorius. While research has already shown parallels between the depictions of the two *adventus* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 125sq; Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 543sq.) and the *processus consularis* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 565sq.), a systematic comparison of the three passages has yet to be made.⁸ The present paper aims to

³ E.g. Claud. *Prob.* 231–233.

⁴ Claud. *Epith.* 286–287b.

⁵ Claud. *Man.* 293; Claud. *Stil.* 3, 317–369.

⁶ Claud. *Eutrop.* 1, 251–270a.; Claud. *Stil.* 3, 17–25.

⁷ E.g. Claud. *Stil.* 2, 397–405; Claud. *Get.* 450–468. Of course, the *adventus* is a ceremony. However, with the *occursus* and the *introitus*, this ceremony also contains two types of *pompae* (cf. LEHNEN [1997: 105sq.] in detail for the structure of the *adventus*; MACCORMACK [1972: 723] offers a concise summary). The representations of *adventus* here dealt with are representations of *introitus* (in the broader sense). While LEHNEN rightly mentions the ‘Handlungen in der Stadt’ and the ‘Abschluss des *adventus*’ as individual steps of the *adventus* after the *occursus* and *introitus*, there is a procession until the ‘Einzug des Herrschers in den Palast’. That is why the passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* is examined to the extent given above. LEHNEN (1997: 159) also implies this when he says ‘Wie bereits festgestellt, bestand das Adventuszeremoniell im Grunde aus zwei Festzügen.’ For simplicity's sake, the term *adventus* is used in the paper referring to the *introitus* (in the broad sense).

⁸ MÜLLER (2011: 382sq.) briefly refers to the content-related connections between the *adventus*-passages in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* The comparison, however, is neither systematic/all-encompassing nor does it include the passage in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* Furthermore, MÜLLER (2011: 177sq.) considers the *pompa*-representation in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* a resumption of the *adventus* in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.*, but he does not show concrete points of connection on the level of content, form, or vocabulary, nor does he compare the two passages. ERNEST (1987: 62; 65; 107) looks at the *pompa*-passages within all three Consular Panegyrics, but he does not compare the text passages. DÖPP (1980: 236sq.) notes that there are scenes similar to the *adventus*-passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* without going into depth.

(1) examine systematically what (content) is represented in the three passages, how (form) and why (function) it is done.⁹ The findings are, then, (2) compared to reveal potential conceptual similarities.¹⁰ In this context, it will also be analyzed whether, with regard to content, form, and/or function, a development can be seen over the course of the three passages.¹¹ Through the exemplary analysis of the three representations of *pompae*, the paper also hopes to provide (3) an approach to the representations of processions within Claudian's political poems in general.¹²

II.

1. Content, Form and Function of the three *pompa*-Representations

Length, Position, Structure and Content of the Passages

In the *Panegyric on the Third Consulate of Honorius*, the *adventus* of Theodosius and Honorius in Milan in 394¹³ is depicted in 16 verses (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 126–141). The poem comprises a total of 211 verses, and the passage fits 13 times into the work. The text passage is positioned almost exactly at the end of the second third of the poem, following the account of Honorius' journey to Milan (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 111–125). It is divided into two parts: first, in seven verses (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 126–132), one reads how the crowd fights for the best spot as the godlike Theodosius rides through the city with Honorius on his lap. Then, the army accompanying the procession is described in nine verses (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 133–142).

In the *poem on the fourth consulate of Honorius*, the *processus consularis* is presented in 54 verses (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 565–618).¹⁴ The passage fits

⁹ See 2, 1.

¹⁰ See 2, 2a.

¹¹ See 2, 2c.

¹² See 2, 2b.

¹³ Cf. DÖPP (1980: 61sq.) for the historical background of the poem.

¹⁴ Not all scholars view the passage as a description of a *processus consularis*. BARR (1981: 23; 83; 89) postulates that the passage depicts an *adventus*, specifically the arrival of Honorius in Milan in 394, which is also treated in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 126sq. While Claudian marks the arrival in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 122 explicitly with the vocabulary *adventus* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 125 also contains such a marking), in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 565 one finds only the term *pompa*, which refers to a procession in general. Further-

about 12 times into the panegyric, which consists of 656 verses, and is located in the last fifth of the work. It follows the passage about Honorius' appearance and military skills (Claud. 4 cons. Hon 518–564). It is divided into four parts: the first twelve verses (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 565–576) describe the masses observing Honorius who is being carried, like a statue of an Egyptian god, by cohorts dressed in white. Then, seven verses address the aristocracy that gathers around Honorius (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 577–583). The third section comprises 27 verses and provides,

more, there are no indications in the text that hint at an *adventus*. Not only does Claudian remain vague about the time and place of the *pompa*, but the description of a journey in advance, which would lead one to expect an arrival in the following, is missing. Both *adventus*-passages in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. and Claud. 6 cons. Hon., however, are preceded by such a description. Parallels to the account in Claud. 3 cons. Hon., through which the *pompa* could be seen as a continuation or version of the preceding account, are also missing: neither the battle against Eugenius nor Theodosius is mentioned. While Honorius rides in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. in a chariot, he is carried in Claud. 4 cons. Hon., instead of a metallic sparkling army, in Claud. 4 cons. Hon. cohorts dressed in white are mentioned. MÜLLER (2011: 177sq.) also interprets the *pompa* as *adventus*, though the arguments brought fourth are not entirely convincing, either. While the text passage is not marked as *adventus*, it appears through intratextual references to the proem of the poem very well as a (continuation of the) *processus consularis*: immediately at the beginning of Claud. 4 cons. Hon. (5–17), the *processus consularis* is described in strong mythical exaggeration. This account is linked by the use of the same or related vocabulary to the later description of the *pompa*. Thus, the vocabulary *proceres* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 5) is found as *procerum* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 579), *habitus* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 6) and *senatu* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 11) appear identically in Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 583. In terms of content, *niveas [...] cohortes* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 568) corresponds to *togatus / miles* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 9), *trabeam* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 12) is taken up by *Ausonio [...] amictu* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 566) as well as by the detailed description of the garment (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 585sq.). The phrase *umeris vectura curules* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 13) is recalled by *portatur iuvenum cervicibus aurea sedes* (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 584). The *pompa*-description at the end of Claud. 4 cons. Hon. appears through these intratextual references as a description of a *processus consularis* and continues the account from the proem. CHARLET (2002: 43, n. c) also sees the account from the proem continued; MORONI (1993: 12); ERNEST (1987: 65sq.); CAMERON (1970: 201) and FARGUES (1933: 321) also consider the passage a *processus consularis*. Other scholars are not set: MACCORMACK (1972: 725, n. 24; 730sq.; n. 60; 737; 738) calls the account *adventus* and *processus consularis* and *consular adventus*. COOMBE (2018: 151) names the passage *processus* and *adventus*. DÖPP (1980: 117sq.) considers the verses 565–576 an *adventus*, the verses 577–618 as *processus consularis*.

in three subsections of nine verses each, a description of the consular robe and a comparison of Honorius with Bacchus (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 584–610).¹⁵ Lastly, acclamation and *manumissio* are treated in eight verses (Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 611–618).

Finally, the *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulate of Honorius* depicts the *adventus* of Honorius in Rome in 403¹⁶ in 68 verses (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 543–610).¹⁷ The poem consists of 660 verses, the *pompa*-depiction fits about 10 times in the work in its entirety and is also located at the end in the last fifth. It is preceded by the descriptions of Honorius' journey to Rome (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 494–522) and of the preparations for his arrival (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 523–542). The passage is divided into five parts. The first 17 verses (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 543–559) describe the crowd between the Milvian Bridge and the Palatine, who admire the incoming ruler for not letting the senators walk in front of his chariot. The second part depicts in 18 verses how the female spectators admire Honorius and his army (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 560–577), this section can be divided into two sections of nine verses each, the verses 569–577 are then devoted to the cataphracts. After this, Stilicho, who enters the city at Honorius' side, is addressed in nine verses (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 578–586). Subsequently, Honorius is described in 16 verses addressing the crowd and the Senate (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 587–602). Finally, the passage shows in eight verses how Honorius continues his way to the Palatine (Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 603–610).

The following table summarizes the observations made in regard to length, position, outline, and content of the three passages:

¹⁵ The verses 584–601 represent the description of the consular robe in 18 verses. It is divided into two parts of equal length by different textual designs, since the second section consists only of rhetorical questions. The last nine verses contain the comparison with Bacchus.

¹⁶ Cf. among others DÖPP (1980: 230) for the dating of the *adventus*.

¹⁷ Since the Games do not belong to the *pompa* anymore (see above n. 7), they are not taken into account.

Table 1: length, position, outline, content of the three pompa-passages

	Claud. 3 cons. Hon.	Claud. 4 cons. Hon.	Claud. 6 cons. Hon.
Length	16 verses fits about 13 times into the poem	54 verses fits about 12 times into the poem	68 verses fits about 10 times into the poem
Position	end of the second third	last fifth	last fifth
Outline	7 (vv.126–132) 9 (vv.133–141)	12 (vv.565–576) 7 (vv.577–583) 27 (vv.584–610) 9 (vv.584–592) 9 (vv.593–601) 9 (vv.602–610) 8 (vv.611–618)	17 (vv.543–559) 18 (vv.560–577) 9 (vv.560–568) 9 (vv.569–577) 9 (vv.578–586) 16 (vv.587–602) 9 (vv.603–610)
Content	crowd – Theodosius / Honorius army	crowd – Honorius Aristocracy consular robe + com- parison with Bacchus acclamation/ <i>manumissio</i>	crowd –Honorius female spectators– Honorius and army Stilicho Honorius in front of the people and the Senate way to the Palatine

Formal Design of the Passages

Let us now consider the formal design of the individual *pompa*-passages in more detail.¹⁸ At the beginning of the account in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. is depicted how the crowd fights for the best spot when Theodosius and Honorius enter Milan. Through the phrase *quantae tum iuvenes, quantae sprevere pudorem / spectandi studio matres* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 126sq.), it becomes clear that the visual perception of the emperor and his son is the goal of this group of persons. Although the crowd's perspective is not explicitly taken – there is no verb of seeing as a predicate – implicitly the *introitus* is very much being conveyed from their point of view. The

¹⁸ The following formal analysis is not exhaustive, but focuses on some main aspects.

recipient is invited to take the perspective of this group of secondary characters. If he accepts the offer, he can perceive what is being described more closely and vividly. Through the implicit internal focalization, the entire representation of the *adventus* thus gains vividness. Thereafter, the second outline section of the passage, which describes the army, appears to be especially vivid due to further recourses:

floret cristatis exercitus undique turmis,
 quisque sua te voce canens. praestringit aena
lux oculos, nudique seges Mavortia ferri 135
 ingeminat splendore diem. pars nobilis arcu,
 pars longe iaculis, pars comminus horrida contis;
 hi volucres tollunt aquilas, hi picta draconum
 colla levant, multusque tumet per nubila serpens
 iratus stimulante Noto vivitque receptis 140
 flatibus et vario mentitur sibila tractu.

Firstly, the verses 133–141 are separated from the text passage preceding: the positioning of the predicate *floret* at the beginning of the verse/sentence causes an incision,¹⁹ as does the rhetorical question in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 131, which interrupts the narrative in the narrow sense. Moreover, compared to the rest of the *adventus*, the army description shows a particularly high density of sensual details. The phrase *sua te voce canens* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 134), denoting the praise of Honorius articulated by the troops, refers to the auditory level of the moment. Subsequently, the phrase *praestringit aena / lux oculos* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 134) introduces a visual stimulus, the bronze glow of the army's armor. The glow is then alluded to through *splendore* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 136), which refers to the shine of the sword blades. In the description of the standards, *picta* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 138) evokes the colored painting of the dragon's banners. The fictional hissing of the serpent standards in Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 141 (*vario mentitur sibila tractu*) recurs again to the auditory level at the end of the army description.

¹⁹ When the predicate is positioned at the beginning of the verse and the sentence – as is the case only five times in the entire poem, including the present passage (Claud. 3 cons. Hon 5; 22; 121; 133; 205) – this results in the clear marking of a new beginning.

At the beginning of the account of the *processus consularis* in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* the crowd is addressed, which observes Honorius as he passes by: *nunc quoque quos habitus, quantae miracula pompae / vidimus* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 565). The exclamation, already cited at the beginning of this paper, contains an explicit internal focalization with *vidimus*. A group of secondary characters, who appear in the first person plural as *We*, again perceives on a sensory-visual level. The recipient can become part of that group and follow the description more closely and vividly from its perspective. Furthermore, the *pompa*-passage again contains a particularly vivid subsection, the description of Honorius and his robe in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 584–601. Through the positioning of the predicate *portatur* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 586) at the beginning of the verse/sentence the section, again, is separated from the preceding passage. Numerous references to the visual (including *aurea*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 586; *zmaragdis*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 588; *virent*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 589; *caerula*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 590) and tactile (*asperat*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 587; *mollire rigorem*, Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 593) sensory level also enhance its vividness:

portatur iuvenum cervicibus aurea sedes
ornatuque novo gravior deus. asperat Indus 585
velamenta lapis pretiosaque fila zmaragdis
ducta virent; amethystus inest et fulgor Hiberus
temperat arcanis hyacinthi caerula flammis.
nec rudis in tali suffecit gratia textu;
auget acus meritum picturatumque metallis. 590
vivit opus: multaque animantur iaspide cultus
et variis spirat Nereia baca figuris.
quae tantum potuit digitis mollire rigorem
ambitiosa colus? vel cuius pectinis arte
traxerunt solidae gemmarum stamina telae? 595
invia quis calidi scrutatus stagna profundi
Tethyos invasit gremium? quis divitis algae
germina flagrantes inter quaesivit harenas?
quis iunxit lapides ostro? quis miscuit ignes
Sidonii rubrique maris? tribuere colorem 600
Phoenices, Seres subtegmina, pondus Hydaspes.

Within the *adventus*-passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* there is also a particularly vivid subsection to be found: the part dedicated to the appearance of Honorius and the army (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 560–577).

conspicuas tum flore genas, diademate crinem 560
 membraque gemmato trabeae viridantia cinctu
 et fortes umeros et certatura Lyaeo inter
 Erythraeas surgentia colla zmaragdos
 mirari sine fine nurus; ignaraque virgo,
 cui simplex calet ore pudor, per singula cernens 565
 nutricem consultat anum, quid fixa draconum
 ora velint, ventis fluitent an vera minentur
sibila suspensum rapturi faucibus hostem.
 ut chalybem indutos equites et in aere latentes
 vidit cornipedes, ‘quanam de gente’ rogabat 570
 ‘ferrati venere viri? quae terra metallo
nascentes informat equos? num Lemnius auctor
indidit hinnitum ferro simulacraque belli
viva dedit?’ gaudet metuens et pollice monstrat,
 quod picturatas galeae Iunonia cristas 575
 ornet avis vel quod rigidos vibrata per armos
rubra sub aurato crispentur serica dorso.

The visual and auditory sensory levels are constantly emphasized in the passage. Colors and sparkle are, among others, evoked by the words *gemma*to (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 561), *viridantia* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 561), and *zmaragdos* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 564), which are used to illustrate Honorius' appearance. Words such as *chalybem* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 569), *aere* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 569), *metallo* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 571), *ferro* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 573), *rubra* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 577), and *aurato* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 577), which describe the armor of the cataphracts, also refer to visual stimuli. *Sibila*, then, directly refers to the sound produced by the serpent standards, *hinnitum* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 573) to the neighing of the horses. The speech in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 570–574 additionally evokes the auditory level in a particularly emphatic manner. Not only this density of sensory detail makes the passage vivid and separates it from its surroundings, but also the internal focalization that is

now included in the subsection. Successively, the perspective of two different female groups of persons is taken. The appearance of Honorius is conveyed from the point of view of the *nurus*, mentioned in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 564. Through *mirari*, the sensual-emotional perception of this group of people is explicitly marked. The description of the army follows from the perspective of a *virgo*, who also is mentioned in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 564. The sensual perception on the visual level is explicitly marked by the words *cernens* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 365) and *vidit* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 570), and the words *gaudet* and *metuens* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 574) also highlight the emotions. Once again, an offer of perspective is created, through which the recipient can perceive what is described more closely.

Functions of the Passages

The *adventus*-passage in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* represents the climax of Honorius' glorification on the level of content. There are two aspects that repeatedly play a role in his glorification in the panegyric, both reach their climax at the moment of the *adventus*: his quasi-divine status and his characterization as being close to the army/being a successful soldier/being victorious. The quasi-divinity is already addressed in the proem of the work with the words *spes votumque poli* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 10).²⁰ Then, in the treatment of the victory at the Frigidus in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 87sq., Honorius is characterized as a miracle worker whom the elements obey.²¹ Upon his arrival in Italy, the cities are described as *adventu sacrata tuo* in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 122, and the river god Eridanus bows respectfully (*summissusque adorat / Eridanus*, Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 122sq.), Honorius' arrival resembles an epiphany.²² Finally, in the description of the *adventus*, he is equated with his father Theodosius twice with a pair of gods, and the characterization as a quasi-god reaches its climax: *quis non Luciferum roseo cum Sole videri / credidit aut iunctum Bro-*

²⁰ Cf. also WARE (2012: 89); BARR (1952: 151).

²¹ Cf. SCHINDLER (2009: 80). HOFMANN (2012: 143sq.) discusses Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 87b–101, showing an example of a 'profanes Andachtsbild' for Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 96–98.

²² Cf. CHARLET (2000: 179); BARR (1952: 176).

mio radiare Tonantem? (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 131). Furthermore, the panegyric repeatedly refers to Honorius' closeness to the army, characterizing him as militarily adept and with an affinity for war. In the proem, the connection to the army is first shown in the treatment of his origin: *strictis quem fulgida telis / inter laurigeros aluerunt castra triumphos* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 11). Then the troops pay tribute to the infant Honorius after his birth (*lustravitque tuos aquilis victricibus ortus / miles et in mediis cunabula praebuit hastis*, Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 16), in his childhood he plays in the midst of his father's spoils of war and is fearless when the emperor clothed in his armor picks him up (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 22sq.). Later Honorius undergoes military training (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 39sq.) before he wants to take part in the battle against Eugenius (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 73sq.). For the outcome of the battle at the Frigidus, Honorius plays a passive but decisive role at the side of Theodosius through his *auspiciis* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 88) and *fatis* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 89): *pugnastis uterque* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 88). It is this victory that is thematized in the first part of the *adventus* by the phrase *velaretque pios communis laurea currus* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 130) and is attributed to Theodosius and Honorius. The term *laurea* refers to the phrase *laurigeros [...] triumphos* (Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 12): while Honorius was raised between triumphs, he now celebrates his own first military success. The second part of the *adventus* is the detailed description of the army that cheers during Honorius' triumphal entry. The characterization of Honorius as militarily adept/successful and close to the army reaches its climax at the moment of his triumphal *adventus*.

At the same time, the *adventus* is the end of Honorius' glorification in a narrow sense: it is followed by the speech of Theodosius, in which he transfers the care of his sons to Stilicho, the *katasterismos* and the praise of Theodosius, before the epilogue deals with the future military successes of the two sons Honorius and Arcadius. Müller²³ shows two strands of content for the composition of the panegyric: one that serves to glorify Honorius, a second that focuses on the Emperor Theodosius. The first strand (the glorification of Honorius) dominates at first, then meets the second strand from Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 63sq. on, before this

²³ Cf. MÜLLER (2011: 104sq.).

strand of content finally replaces the first and is devoted exclusively to the glorification of Theodosius. Thus, a division of the panegyrics into three blocks can be observed. The *adventus* is located before the point at which the second strand finally replaces the first, at the end of the second block of content. On a structural level, it marks the end of Honorius' glorification, the end of an argumentative strand.

The passage in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* forms, from a structural point of view, the end for the poem as a whole; only the epilogue follows. In addition, it is connected with Honorius' glorification, which reaches its climax. Honorius is clearly represented as a consul by the words *numero consul consul / cingeris* in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 580, as announced in the proem (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 1–17). At the same time, the characterization as quasi-divine, which occupies an important place in the panegyric, reaches its climax: already in the treatment of Honorius' birth, he is referred to as *deus* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 137). In the context of the interpretation of the *omina* that occur at Honorius' proclamation, he is then equated with the young Jupiter (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 197sq.). The first part of the description of the *processus consularis* contains a simile in which a statuette of a god being carried by priests in an Egyptian procession is equated with Honorius carried by soldiers in the *pompa* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 170bsqq.). *Effigies* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 572) refers to the statue, *numina* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 570) and *deus* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 574) indicate that it is a figure of a god. Honorius is here implicitly compared to the image of a god before he is again referred to as *deus* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 585) shortly thereafter. It is striking that Honorius is neither called by name nor addressed in the course of the entire description of the robe; in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 582, however, the *poeta* addresses his addressee twice with *te*.²⁴ Having equated Honorius with an image of the gods, he thus actually appears to be a statuette of a god carried by young men. Finally, at the end of the account, Honorius is being compared with Bacchus in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 606sq.²⁵ The elaboration of

²⁴ LEHNER (1984: 101) also notes the lack of apostrophe and interprets it, along with the passive *portatur*, as a recourse that highlights the remoteness of the *deus* Honorius.

²⁵ Cf. for an overview of the passages in which Honorius is deified in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* LEHNER (1984: 113sq.).

his quasi-divinity thus reaches its climax in the *pompa*-passage. Honorius appears in it as a consul with (quasi-)divine status.

The *adventus*-representation in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* is also located immediately at the end of the poem. The depiction structurally marks the end of the work in the broader sense. The passage, moreover, serves to glorify Honorius, his glorification reaches its climax again.²⁶ In the description of his appearance, the reference to the diadem (*diademate crinem*, Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 560) for one thing underlines Honorius' rank as emperor. Compared to Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 53sq., where Honorius appears at the side of Theodosius during another *adventus*,²⁷ a development can be observed: while earlier one reads *quamvis diademate necdum / cingebare comas* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 65) and Honorius merely is represented as a companion, he later is the protagonist of the *adventus* and also the emperor. In the *adventus*-passage right at the beginning of the proem, the words *cum pariter trabeis reparatur* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 4) emphasize that the entry into Rome is connected with the accession to the consulship. The word *trabae* also appears in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 561 within the description of Honorius. The intratextual reference to the beginning of the poem points to Honorius' function as consul, although the *processus consularis* is addressed only after the *adventus* in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 640sq.).²⁸ This is even more the case because the breve description of the robe in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* macrotextually²⁹ refers to the description of the consular robe in Claud. 4 *cons.*

²⁶ Of course, the passage also serves to glorify Stilicho, albeit to a lesser extent. Already in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 440bsq. his merits in the Gothic war are highlighted. In the *adventus*, he is characterized as Honorius' educator in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 578sq. and implicitly shares the success of the war.

²⁷ Probably in 389, following the victory over Maximus, cf. DEWAR (1996: 100sq.).

²⁸ I use the term 'macrotextual' to refer to connections between individual political poems of Claudian; 'intratextual', by contrast, means references within the same political poem.

²⁹ DEWAR (1996: 372) points out that *adventus* and consular ceremony are blurred here. Although KELLY (2016: 340sq.) has recently attempted to show, that the two ceremonies are separated both on the level of representation and historically, he concedes that some elements in the *adventus*-passage point ahead to the *processus consularis*. Among these elements he lists the word *trabea* (2016: 345), which cannot mean the consular garb in terms of content, but evokes the consulate through its parallel to the proem.

Hon. Once again, a development can be seen in comparison to the *adventus* at the beginning of the poem: not Theodosius (*trabeatus*, Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 74), but Honorius himself now carries the *trabea* (Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 561). Honorius is also characterized as powerful and triumphant/victorious by the detailed description of the army.³⁰ The intratextual reference to the young emperor's fictional triumph depicted in Roma's speech (Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 374–383a), underlines this quality since it makes the victory over Gildo resonate. In the *adventus*-passage, Honorius is characterized as a victorious ruler with an affinity for the military as well as a consul.

2. Comparison of Content, Form and Function of the three *pompa*-Representations

Similarities between the three Passages

Firstly, a comparison of the passages' structure shows that they all display a certain symmetry, i.e. regularity within the distribution of verses: the *adventus*-representation in Claud. 3 cons. *Hon.* consists of two parts, which are of almost equal length. They comprise seven (Claud. 3 cons. *Hon.* 126–132) and nine (Claud. 3 cons. *Hon.* 133–141) verses, respectively. The third outline section of the passage in Claud. 4 cons. *Hon.* (*peplopoiia* and comparison with Bacchus), then, consists of three subsections with a length of nine verses each (Claud. 4 cons. *Hon.* 584–592; 593–601; 602–610). Moreover, the second and fourth section of the same passage are also of similar length, seven (Claud. 4 cons. *Hon.* 577–582) and eight (Claud. 4 cons. *Hon.* 611–618) verses, respectively. Within the description of the *adventus* in Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.*, the first and second section again show a similar length, they consist of 17 (Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 543–559) and 18 verses (Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 560–577), respectively. Furthermore, the second section can be divided into two subunits of nine verses each (Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 560–568; 569–577). What proves to be striking is that the outline sections that form or contain the especially vivid passages

³⁰ The choice of the *ignara virgo* as focalizer makes the army seem especially masculine and strong; also, the girl's ignorance of the army – that she is not inexperienced/uneducated on a general level is shown in Claud. 6 cons. *Hon.* 572sq. – makes the cataphracts seem all the more impressive.

repeatedly break down into (groups of) nine verse(s): the army description in 3 *cons. Hon.* consists of nine verses (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 133–141). In Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* there is a sequence of three units with nine verses each; the vivid description of the garment comprises 18 verses of this sequence and can be subdivided into two subsections of nine verses each (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 584–592; 593–601). Also, in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* the vivid passage measures 18 verses and can be divided into two parts of equal length (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 560–568; 569–577).³¹ Moreover, the three passages show similarities in content: at their beginning, the crowd that witnesses Honorius' entry is mentioned. All passages also deal in some way with the appearance of the young ruler³² and the army. Although, Honorius is thereby staged as quasi-divine to varying degrees, the comparison with Bacchus can be found in all three text passages (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 132; Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 602sq.; Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 562). Finally, the formal analysis of the passages has shown that all representations share a form of internal focalization and a particularly vivid section, which is separated from the preceding text passage and is characterized by a high level of sensual detail – two sensory levels are present in each subsection. Looking at the functions of the three passages, it becomes clear that all of them structurally mark an end and, in terms of content, they represent the climax of Honorius' glorification. These similarities connect the three *pompa*-passages and represent a kind of common design concept.

In addition, there are further similarities between the individual representations. Firstly, in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* the internal focalization is located immediately at the beginning of both *pompa*-descriptions, and in both works the two particularly vivid passages are separated from the preceding passages by the position of the predicate at the beginning of the verse/sentence. Also, the characteriza-

³¹ While both vivid passages in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* are thus of equal length and are divided into two sections of nine verses each, the third section in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* also comprises nine verses (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 578–586). As in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.*, a sequence of three units with nine verses each is built. For easier comprehension see table 1.

³² Cf. also ERNEST (1987: 111).

tion of Honorius as quasi-divine is central in both poems and reaches its climax in the *pompa*. Secondly, the *pompa*-descriptions in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* are located at the same position within the respective poems, structurally both mark the end of the respective poem. Moreover, both passages contain, albeit to very different degrees, descriptions of Honorius' robe; there are parallels with regard to vocabulary: *gemmato* and *viridantia* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 561) refer to *gemmarum* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 595) and *virent* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 587), *zmaragdis* (Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* 586) is taken up by *zmaragdos* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 563). Likewise, both passages emphasize Honorius' role as consul, even though to different degrees. Thirdly, Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* are formally linked by the sensory levels (visual/auditive) the descriptive sections allude to. Moreover, they share similarities in content: both depict an *adventus*. Furthermore, the composition of the crowd is very similar in both passages.³³ In Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* the *iuvenes* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 126), *matres* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 127), *pueri* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 127), and *senes* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 128) make up the crowd. The audience of the *adventus* is divided into female, young³⁴ and old, and male, young and old. In Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* the crowd is composed of *vir*i (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 546), *matres* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 546), *iuvenes* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 547), *senes* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 548), *nurus* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 564), and *virgo* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 564). First, male and female parts of the population are distinguished, then each group is subdivided into young and old. Three of the words used (*iuvenes*, *matres*, *senes*) are identical in both passages and establish a connection between them. Both *adventus*-passages also contain a detailed army description. In each case soldiers with their armor (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 133–137; Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 569–577) and standards (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 139–141; Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 565–568) are described, only the order is inverted. In the description of the standards, there are particularly striking parallels in content and wording:³⁵ both times it is described how the serpent or

³³ Cf. also MÜLLER (2011: 382) and ERNEST (1987: 109).

³⁴ Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 126: *quantae* [...] *iuvenes*.

³⁵ The inter- and macrotextual references of the army description to Amm. Marc. 16, 10, 7; 8 and Claud. *Ruf.* 2, 351–365 cannot be discussed here.

dragon standards are filled with wind and thus, as if brought to life, produce a hissing sound; *draconum* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 138) and *sibila* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 141) reappear literally as *draconum* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 566) and *sibila* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 568).³⁶ In particular through these army descriptions, Honorius is characterized as close to the army and victorious in both passages.

Similarities with other pompa-Representations

The three *pompa*-passages discussed, of course, are particularly connected due to the topic of the three panegyrics. Nevertheless, an exemplary look at the other, longer *pompa*-passages in Claudian's political poems shows that the different elements of form and content reappear. The description of the fictional *adventus* in Claud. *Stil.* 2, 397–405 has also a symmetrical outline (3 verses–3 verses–3 verses); there, too, Stilicho is described in more detail upon his entry (Claud. *Stil.* 2, 402) and the crowd is mentioned (*milia vulgi*, Claud. *Stil.* 2, 397; *matres*, Claud. *Stil.* 2, 400). The perspective of the *matres* is explicitly taken, marked with *spectabant* (Claud. *Stil.* 2, 440). Also, the account of the fictional triumph in Claud. *Stil.* 3, 17–25 is structured regularly (3 verses–2 verses–2 verses–2 verses), the visual level is strongly present, and the appearance of Stilicho is described (Claud. *Stil.* 3, 20). The *pompa nemorum* (Claud. *Stil.* 3, 317) in Claud. *Stil.* 3, 317–369 is with 53 verses similarly extensive as the representations in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* and 6 *cons. Hon.* Moreover, it is located also at the end of the poem. It, too, is rather regularly structured (15 verses–29 verses–14 verses), a subsection proving moreover increasingly vivid through visual and auditory stimuli (Claud. *Stil.* 3, 345–355). Finally, a passage from Claud. *Get.* shows the clearest similarities to the three *pompa*-passages within Honorius' Consular Panegyrics. In Claud. *Get.* 450–468, Stilicho's return to Milan is depicted, the word *tuus adventus* in Claud. *Get.* 447 marking it as *adventus*:

³⁶ While all the observed similarities link the three *pompa*-passages and, on a macrotextual level, result to some extent in the evocation of preceding passage(s) in the reception of the later one(s), the similarities between Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* are particularly striking. There is a strong macrotextual connection; the *adventus* in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* is triggered by the *adventus* in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*

ipso Roma die (nec adhuc ostenditur auctor) 450
personuit venisse ducem, laetisque Quirites
vocibus auspiciū certi plausere triumphī,
 muniti Stilichone suo. quis gaudia vero
 principis, amplexus alacris quis disserat aulae?
pulveris ambigūam nubem speculamur ab altis 455
 turribus, incerti socios adportet an hostes
 ille globus. mentem suspensa silentia librant:
 donec pulvereo sub turbine sideris instar
emicuit Stilichonis apex et cognita fulsit
canities. gavisā repens per moenia clamor 460
 tollitur 'ipse venit'. portas secūra per omnes
 turba salutatis effunditur obvīa signis.
 non iam dilectus miseri nec falce per agros
 deposita iaculum vibrans ignobile messor
 nec temptans clipeum proiectis sumere rastris 465
 Bellona ridente Ceres humilisque novorum
 seditio clamosa ducum: sed vera iuventus,
 verus ductor adest et vivida Martis imago.

To begin with, the verses are also distributed rather regularly, the three outline sections consist of five (Claud. *Get.* 450–454), eight (Claud. *Get.* 455–462), and six (Claud. *Get.* 463–468) verses. The second outline section, moreover, is again particularly vivid. It contains references to the auditive level – there is even a small direct speech in Claud. *Get.* 46 – and to the visual sensory level. Again, there is an internal focalization – *speculamur* in Claud. *Get.* 455 explicitly marks the visual perception of a group of characters. Through the internal focalization – similar to Claud. *6 cons. Hon.* – and the rhetorical question in Claud. *Get.* 453bsq. – similar to Claud. *3 cons. Hon.* – the vivid subsection is separated from the preceding lines. The passage again addresses the crowd (Claud. *Get.* 455–457a; 462) witnessing the arrival, the appearance of the Stilicho (Claud. *Get.* 458–460a), and the army (Claud. *Get.* 463–468). With regard to function, the *adventus*-passage represents the climax of glorification, Stilicho is shown to be the ideal commander and quasi-divine savior of Rome. The quasi-divinity is constantly mentioned in the poem and reaches its

climax in the *adventus*-passage,³⁷ similar to Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.*

Certain elements of content, such as the treatment of the people, the person arriving, and the army, have of course topical character.³⁸ However, similarities can be recognized, which go beyond the commonplaces and do not appear accidental. For example, it would not be necessary to mention the crowd in the *pompa*-depictions of the Consular Panegyric on Honorius or in the account of the fictional *adventus* of Stilicho in Claud. *Stil.* 2 at the mere beginning of the passages. Formally, moreover, the internal focalization within these four accounts as well as within the *adventus*-passage in Claud. *Get.* represents a choice in design. The particularly vivid subunits of some and the outline symmetry of all the longer *pompa*-representations also prove to be striking. These are features of design that connect the other representations of *pompa* to those within the Panegyrics for Honorius.

Differences between the three Passages

Despite the similarities that link the *pompa*-representations within all three Consular Panegyrics for Honorius, there are also differences through which the passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* stands out. For example, the absolute and relative length is different in all three passages. While the account in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* with 16 verses is clearly shorter than the following two, the length also increases from Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* to Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*: the account of the *processus consularis* comprises 54 verses, that of the *adventus* 68 verses. The length of the individual passages thus augments constantly. Formally, the internal focalization in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* stands out from the two preceding passages in that it is the only explicit twofold internal focalization. Also, the way the sensory levels are alluded to in the vivid passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* is different, because the amount of stimuli referring to the visual

³⁷ In Claud. *Get.* 356b–358, for example, there is a brief ekphrasis describing the reverent reaction of a shepherd family to the appearance of Stilicho, whose face glimmers. Stilicho's appearance resembles the epiphany of a god. Cf. HOFMANN (2012: 145sqq.) who points out parallels in the design of the scene to the religious 'Andachtsbild'.

³⁸ Cf. REES (2013: especially 109sqq.) on the topos of the people admiring the ruler arriving in epideictic speech.

and auditory level is almost the same, the sensory levels are balanced. Both formal elements are increased in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* in relation to Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* Also, in terms of content, the third passage shows a development on various levels. On the one hand, there is a linear development over the three poems: Honorius appears in Claud 3. *cons. Hon.* at the side of Theodosius. In Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* he is represented alone.³⁹ In Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* Honorius is shown alone, then it becomes clear that Stilicho travels at his side. Stilicho now accompanies Honorius, the relationship from Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* is inverted.⁴⁰ As seen, the *adventus*-passages in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* are particularly strongly connected on a macrotextual level, the vocabulary *currus* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 130) / *curru* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 579), *vehere* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 129) / *vectus* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 579), *genitoris* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 128) / *genitor* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 583), *urbem* (Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 129) / *urbe* (Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 580) represent additional literal parallels. The passage in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* is thus evoked in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*, the inversion of the relationship (Theodosius ruler, Honorius companion – Honorius ruler, Stilicho companion) becomes particularly clear. Also, with regard to the qualities and roles attributed to Honorius in the course of his glorification an increase can be observed in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* While Honorius is explicitly depicted neither as consul nor ruler in the passage in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* – Honorius was, of course, designated heir at the moment of the *adventus*, as is also clear from Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* 89sq. but his *insignia* are not

³⁹ MÜLLER (2011: 177) considers the passage in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* a resumption of the passage in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and comments: ‘Als grandioses Finale des Porträts inszeniert, stellt er [Claudian] auf über fünfzig Versen nochmals exaltiert dar, welches festliches Ereignis es gewesen sei, als Honorius dort von seinem Vater als Augustus der westlichen Reichshälfte präsentiert wurde.’ He does not note, however, that Theodosius does not appear in the *pompa*-representation in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.*, Honorius is now alone!

⁴⁰ MÜLLER (2011: 383) also recognizes the reversal of the relationship: ‘Betrat Honorius in 3 *cons. Hon.* Mailand als kindlicher Begleiter seines Vaters, erscheint er in 6 *cons. Hon.* als Hauptprotagonist der Prozession durch Rom, dem sein Vormund und Betreuer nur mehr stolz zur Seite steht.’ Not only is there a development of the *adventus*-passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* intratextually compared to Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* 53sq., but also macrotextually to Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.*

emphasized in the depiction of the *adventus*, Theodosius is still emperor –, in the *processus consularis* in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* he is represented as consul. In the *adventus*-passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* he, finally, is characterized as ruler and subtly as consul, as well. Honorius thus explicitly appears as emperor only in the last work, where there is also a hint to his role as consul like in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* Both facets are combined. Also, Honorius appears as more military-adept and triumphant in the last poem than in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* due to both the length and content of the army description and the fact that the victory over Alaric was achieved under his reign and the victory over Gildo is intratextually evoked in the *adventus*-passage.⁴¹ Moreover, the treatment of Honorius' appearance increases in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* in comparison to both the depictions in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.*: while his appearance in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* is described in general terms, in Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* the clothing, the consular robe, is depicted. In Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* the appearance of Honorius is described in a more concrete manner⁴² including the garment. The passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* thus offers the most complete description of Honorius. Through the development in content in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*, the glorification of Honorius reaches a climax not only on an intratextual level, but also on a macrotextual one. The *adventus*-passage represents the climax of the glorification of Honorius in general: he outgrows the former versions of himself, represented in Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* Similarly, the poet Claudian surpasses himself on a poetic level with the *adventus*-passage in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*

III.

This paper has dealt with three representations of *pompae* within the Panegyrics on the Third, Fourth and Sixth Consulate of Honorius. The

⁴¹ The fact that Honorius is less clearly staged as quasi-divine can be explained with CAMERON (1970: 382) by the fact that rulers in Rome had to appear close to citizens. This facet nevertheless resonates through the macrotextual reference to Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* The less prominent position of this quality, therefore, does not contradict a development in Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.*

⁴² ERNEST (1987: 112) also notes the level of detail in this description compared to the previous *pompa*-passages.

passages were first examined with regard to content, form, and function (1). A subsequent comparison revealed (2) that they share common features on all levels. Formally, for example, they have in common a certain regularity in verse distribution, the presence of internal focalization and particularly vivid sections. In terms of content, population, Honorius, and army are addressed repeatedly. Moreover, the passages fulfill similar functions with regard to structure and content, they all mark an end and represent the climax of Honorius' glorification. These similarities form a kind of design concept through which the three *pompa*-passages are connected. Other similarities between individual passages reinforce these connections. At the same time, in terms of length, formal features such as implementation of internal focalization and sensual detail, as well as individual aspects of content – whether Honorius appears accompanied or alone, for example – a development for the *adventus*-passage in 6 *cons. Hon.* can be observed. In part, the development occurs successively from Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* to Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* to Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* (e.g. length), in part Claud. 6 *cons. Hon.* appears increased compared to Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* or both Claud. 3 *cons. Hon.* and Claud. 4 *cons. Hon.* (e.g. description of Honorius' appearance). It is precisely through the connection of the three *pompa*-passages created by the parallels in design that this development becomes apparent. An exemplary glance at other depictions of procession in Claudian's political poems also revealed (3) that the longer *pompa*-descriptions show some similarities to the three depictions treated. Here, a systematic study in order to confirm and deepen the findings is still necessary.

The results of the analysis show how elaborate the three *pompa*-passages in the Panegyrics for Honorius are on every level. It could be argued that the degree of refinement lends the representations a kind of splendor, in Latin *pompa*, on a poetic level.⁴³ I began the paper with a

⁴³ Especially the typical vivid subsections used by Claudian throughout his poems have this effect. Following MEHMEL (1940), ROBERTS (2014: 126sq.) uses the metaphor of the *pompa* to describe the late antique narrative style in general, which is characterized – not only for Claudian – by descriptions and speeches that follow each other almost unconnected. The various units, which MEHMEL (1940: 106) calls 'isolierte Bilder', form a *pompa*/procession, which is why ROBERTS calls the style 'pompatic poetics'.

quote from the *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulate of Honorius*, which I translated as 'What miracles of procession did we see!' Platnauer, the translator of the English Loeb edition, at the beginning of the 20th century decided to translate the word *pompa* more generally as 'splendor', here we read: 'What miracles of splendour [have we not seen]!'⁴⁴ I hope to have shown in this paper the *miracles of processions* within Claudian's political poems, as well as the *miracles of splendor* they encompass.

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⁴⁴ PLATNAUER (1922: 329).

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