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Allusion and Cultural Memory in Late Antiquity: Ausonius, Prudentius, and
Claudian

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the influence of poetry on the construction and perpetuation of culturally dominant narratives. I demonstrate that late antique poets were particularly sensitive to the effect that their work had on memory, and I focus on textual allusion as a mechanism that allowed poets to guide readers through negotiations of memory. My first chapter reveals an ancient understanding of cultural memory through a reading of a Republican, rather than a late antique work. My analysis of Cicero's *De Legibus* reveals that Cicero, easily the most influential Roman intellectual, intuited the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, a modern theory of cultural memory that conceives of both texts and sites as "places" where memory can be rehearsed and reinforced. Furthermore, I show that Cicero understood poetry as a force that constructs, transforms, and defends such *lieux* and the narratives they represent. After establishing that Roman intellectual traditions engaged cultural memory, I turn to the late antique

period, particularly to three case studies. Each of my subsequent chapters treats a widely-read poet of the late fourth century. I examine the negotiations of memory present in the works of the poets Ausonius, Prudentius, and Claudian in order to demonstrate a clear memory motivation in each author's work. I begin with Ausonius, whose work provides an important foundational example; the poet uses allusion not only to construct *lieux de mémoire* about Gaul, his home province, but also to navigate personal anxieties about memory, forgetting, and commemoration. In contrast to these regionalist *lieux de mémoire*, the third chapter focuses on the more universalizing narratives of Prudentius' *Contra Symmachum*. The poem's Christian perspective on Roman imperial history advances ideas contentious for its time, and I examine the role allusion plays in acknowledging and delegitimizing competing traditions while reinforcing the Christian traditions valued by the poet. The final chapter identifies allusive strategies Claudian deployed in order to construct narratives about the general Stilicho and reveals that critics relied on allusion to refute such constructions. I conclude by revealing how Claudian's allusions guided the recollection and self-reflection of his elite senatorial audience.

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alia omnia mea displicent mihi, hoc relegisse amo

Aus. Epiced. Praef.

DEDICATION

For my grandfather, Manuel Rosado, who made me remember a place I had never been

carae religio patriae

Abbreviations

Here follows a list of abbreviations used in this dissertation.

- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Theodor Mommsen et al. (Berlin 1863–)
CLE *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Buecheler (Stuttgart 1894–)
EDCS *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* <<http://www.manfredclaus.de/>>
OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1996.
PLRE *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. A. H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1971-1980.
TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900-present.

Abbreviations for journals follow *L'Année philologique*. Ancient authors have been abbreviated according to the Oxford Classical Dictionary (fourth revised edition) with the addition of the following works of Ausonius, Prudentius, and Claudian.

Aus.

<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitaphia Heroum qui Bello Troico Interfuerunt</i>
<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Mosella</i>
<i>Par.</i>	<i>Parentalia</i>
<i>Praef.</i>	<i>Praefationes Variae</i>
<i>Prof.</i>	<i>Professores</i>

Prud.

<i>CS</i>	<i>Contra Orationem Symmachi</i>
-----------	----------------------------------

Claud.

<i>c.m.</i>	<i>carmina minora</i>
<i>VI Cons</i>	<i>Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti</i>
<i>Get.</i>	<i>De bello Getico</i>
<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus</i>
<i>Ruf.</i>	<i>In Rufinum</i>

INTRODUCTION

Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum
et rudibus remis **sollicitavit** aquas
qui dubiis ausus committere flatibus alnum,
quas natura negat, praebuit arte vias
tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis 5
litora **seculo tramite** summa **legens**;
mox longos temptare sinus et linquere terras
et leni coepit pandere vela Noto.
ast ubi paulatim praeceps audacia crevit
cordaque languentem dedidicere metum, 10
iam vagus **inrumpit** pelagus caelumque secutus
Aegeas hiemes Ioniumque domat.

He who first cut the deep on his newfound ship
And who troubled the waters with his rough oars
Who dared to entrust his bark to the uncertain waves
And offered a path by art, where nature had denied a way
He first entrusted himself to still waters,
Browsing the tips of the shore in a safe path;
Soon he began to test the long bays and to leave land
And to spread his sails before the smooth South Wind.
But when gradually his headlong audacity grew
And his heart forgot its pale fear
Then wandering he bursts on the sea; and he follows heaven
And tames the Aegean storms and Ionian sea.¹

Claudian *Rapt. 1 Praefatio*

Claudian appends this prefatory text to his mythological epic *De Raptu Proserpinae*. The sea voyage had long been a metaphor for literary production, and it is strange to find Claudian invoking the *primus qui* motif as the introduction to a poem whose subject had already been treated by Ovid not once, but twice. Aaron Peltari presents a compelling solution to this

¹ Translation by Peltari 2014. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

apparent problem by suggesting that the poem does not refer to the material, but to the poetic tradition in which Claudian and his audience took part. According to Pelttari, the preface imagines Claudian's literary production as a transgressive act, and reinterprets the *legens* of line 6 as the act of reading (2014: 6-7). The Claudianic voice of the preface expresses no concern over being the first, but over being second. All literary production has become intrepid because it must negotiate the immensity of literary past; it can afford neither to be too original nor too derivative. The safest path lies in reading (6: *litorea securo tramite legens*; 2: *sollicitavit*; 11: *inrumpit*), and if that reading leads to writing, said writing constitutes a volatile disruption (The preface dramatizes "anxiety about working within and against the classical tradition", and perhaps demonstrates that it is possible to break away from the classical tradition by using it (Pelttari 2014: 7).

Pelttari's reading of the *Praefatio* represents one of many attempts to find some facet of late antique poetry that is idiosyncratically late antique. The period's polyvalence makes it impossible for one "Late Antique Aesthetic" to be discovered or theorized, but leading scholars have made some of the broader trends of the period clear.² The most important of these studies is Roberts' *The Jeweled Style*, which argued that elaborate ecphrasis and carefully composed descriptions stood out as defining features of late antique poetry. After Roberts' groundbreaking work, the way was clear for later scholars to elaborate further features of the late antique aesthetic.³ Pelttari continues Roberts' discussion by proposing that late antique poetry exhibits a self-contemplative tendency, that its aesthetics "are intimately conjoined to problems of interpretation, meaning, and communication" (2014: 7). Following another landmark study of

² For a discussion of late antique aesthetics that embraces the period's multivalence see Formisano 2007. Roberts also confronts the difficulty of late antique diversity at 1989: 6-7.

³ For a skeptical reception of Roberts' book, see Hall 1991.

late antique poetry, Pucci's *Full Knowing Reader* (1998), Pelttari develops the idea that the late antique reader was powerful, knowledgeable, and capable of constructing meaning. Pelttari's view responds to Marc Mastrangelo's investigation of the poet's role in late antiquity, which led him to observe that poets in late antiquity experienced diminished cultural authority (2008: 1-3, 2009). According to Mastrangelo, patristic prose became an increasingly dominant cultural force that relegated poetry to society's margins, preventing it from engaging in contemporary debates on political, ethical, and social issues. Therefore, a poet like Prudentius ought to be read as a reaction to this development; his work reasserts the validity of poetry as a space to contribute to cultural conversations.

My approach to late antique poetry does not claim that the late antique poet enjoyed the same role as his Augustan and high imperial predecessors, but reacts to Mastrangelo's suggestion that late antique poets sought to reinvigorate poetry as a culturally relevant medium.

Thucydides, Sallust, and Anna Komnene all demonstrate the almost proverbial notion that disenfranchised political actors write history – where do disenfranchised cultural actors, such as these late Latin poets, direct their frustrated energy? Mastrangelo observes that this thwarted creativity led to the development of an “exegetical poetry [which] interprets texts, proclaims truths, and asserts doctrines.” Mastrangelo identifies this as a fundamentally Christian phenomenon motivated by Christian investment in a textual canon, and thereby leaves out secular and pagan poets (2008: 7). In order to include the period's other great poets, such as Ausonius and Claudian, I prefer to focus on the mnemonic dimensions of poetry, but agree wholeheartedly with Mastrangelo's assessment of its changing function. If the poet of late antiquity is constrained, such that (s)he is inhibited from contributing meaningfully to contemporary intellectual, social, and cultural debates, I conceive of the late antique poet as a

kind of memorialist. Reading the Latin poetry of late antiquity is a dialogic process, where the poet and empowered reader engage one another in creation and negotiation of memory. I call such an interaction a “mnemonic negotiation,” and throughout this study I will use “mnemonic” in this broad sense, indicating anything that pertains to memory.⁴

MEMORY STUDIES AND CLASSICS

The study of memory has long fascinated scholars of ancient civilizations, including Classicists. The Greco-Roman concept of memory was highly theorized in antiquity, but these ancient models for memory can vary strikingly from modern constructions of memory. As Joseph Farrell observed in a 1997 article on memory, “the thing remembered was indeed a thing.” Ancient representations of memory make use of objects, e.g. wax tablets, signet rings, houses, and bird cages, because memory was itself an object (Farrell 1997: 373). Memory was somatic, closely related to vision, and, like this sensory counterpart, had a physical dimension. Memory retrieval was based on images and the literal impressions that these images could leave (Carruthers 1990: 49-50, 73-74; Yates 1966). This type of memory was highly valued in antiquity, and was the subject of considerable theorization and training. For instance, by associating memories with a number of ordered images, typically placed in a locality, the ancient mnemonist could recall a great deal of information in very precise detail.⁵ The now classic studies of both Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers have demonstrated the prevalence of this mnemotechnical training in ancient and medieval Europe and have revealed the importance of

⁴ A less frequent but documented use of the word, cf. OED s.v. mnemonic 2b.

⁵ The *locus classicus* for this strategy, also the account of its invention, is Cicero *De Or.* 2.86. While dining at the house of Scopas in Crannon, the poet Simonides was called away by mysterious visitors (the gods Castor and Pollux, saving him from a coming disaster). During Simonides’ absence, the dining hall collapsed, killing everyone inside. He was later able to identify the dead by remembering where they had been sitting while alive. This event allowed him to realize the importance of order and place for prompting recollection

memory for the intellectual life of these eras (1966, 2007).⁶ While I will occasionally make references to ancient thought on the function and operation of memory, I remain more interested in cultural memory.

The aspects of memory discussed by Yates and Carruthers, the *ars memorativa*, differ from cultural memory because they are not prescriptive. The mnemonic strategies of the *ars* can (and are designed to) be applied to any material that the user decides must be remembered. Cultural memory and the strategies deployed to engender it demand specificity, while the *ars memorativa* must remain general. The point of departure for the image-fixing strategy, for example, is “what must be remembered?” In contrast, cultural memory proceeds from the anxiety of forgetting – “what must we not forget?” (Assmann 2011: 16). Outside the realm of pure theorizing, the nuances of memory do not admit this strict dichotomy. Nevertheless, the distinction is worthy of elaboration. The *ars memorativa* is individual, and if an individual should fail to remember by using its strategies, the consequence will be individual and temporary. If there is a failure to remember within the constraints of cultural memory, the repercussions affect the group (the group identity is repudiated) and likely more permanent. “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten.” (*Psalms* 137:5).⁷ Forgetting within the domain of individual memory prompts a setback, but, in the domain of cultural memory, it triggers collapse.

The term “cultural memory” is a coinage of Jan and Aleida Assmann, but the theoretical basis for their ideas is heavily indebted to the work of the French sociologist Maurice

⁶ Carruthers’ study is noteworthy for its engagement with psychological inquiries that demonstrate the operation and efficacy of the ancient place-fixing mnemonic strategy. The work of the psychologist she cites, A. Luria, was conducted without knowledge of Greco-Roman mnemotechnics, providing a valuable control (Carruthers 1990: 94-99)

⁷ Translation taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible. For the place of Psalm 137 in ancient Israelite “cultural mnemotechnics,” see Assmann 2011: 191-192.

Halbwachs. Halbwachs' *La Mémoire Collective* is a sweeping study dedicated to analyzing memories transmitted within the family, within religions (particularly Christianity), and within social classes (1950, trans. 1992). Halbwachs' ambitious study proposes each of these as a system, describes how the system works generally, and then proceeds to explain memory's place within that system. Halbwachs' work is problematic for its seemingly post-Freudian reliance on the dream as an interpretative tool within sociology and psychology, and for a number of presumptions about sociological and psychological group dynamics.⁸ His work is clearly a product of the early twentieth century, but is nevertheless valuable and accurate in its ultimate conclusion that society conditions any individual recollection. Therefore, "as soon as we locate people in society it is no longer possible to distinguish two types of observations, one exterior, the other interior" (1992: 169). More recent studies, both sociological and psychological, have validated Halbwach's hypotheses and demonstrate further the impossibility of separating the individual from a greater societal context (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Schwartz 1978, esp. 422-424).

Halbwach's conclusion that recollection and memory cannot occur independent of social structures and strictures, finds further elaboration in the work of Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann, who drew a sharp distinction between two kinds of socially conditioned memory: communicative and cultural (Assmann & Assmann 1988; Assmann 2011: 34-36). According to this theory, communicative memory comprises the transmission of memories of the recent past, approximately the last 80 years, and the eventual codification of these memories, whereas true cultural memory resides in the absolute past, and is passed on particularly through ritual and

⁸ Consider Halbwach's chapter *Religious Collective Memory* (1992: 84-119), which features frequent references to "the Church" and presumes a great deal about its interaction with so-called "mystics." For the importance of the dream, see Halbwachs' first three chapters, especially Chapter 1, although it is heavily excerpted in Coser's 1992 translation.

performance (2011: 34-44). For Assmann, cultural memory is always instilled through the action of specific and highly specialized actors, such as “shamans, bards, griots, priests, teachers, artists, scribes, scholars, mandarins and others” (2011: 39). This distinction is not always a helpful one, however, and I shall go on to articulate a particular problem with it, both generally and as it applies to Classics.⁹ For this reason I shall continue to deploy “cultural memory” in the general sense according to which it is almost the same as collective memory.¹⁰

Some of the problems with Assmann’s division of memory into the cultural and the communicative are revealed by Pierre Nora’s treatment of “places of memory,” *lieux de memoire*. Nora proposes that societies create focal points, both physical and textual, that can concentrate and communicate memory. These *lieux* have the potential to strengthen identities provided that a will to remember still exists in the society that makes use of them (Nora 1989: 12,18-19). Nora characterizes “the most fundamental purpose” of these *lieux* as obstructing the process of forgetting. *Lieux de memoire* are somehow capable of arresting the progress of time (1989: 19). The majority of these sites must, however, remain products of the communicative memory according to the strictest application of Assmann’s terms. Since Assmann conceives of cultural memory as happening in the absolute, mythical past rather than the historical time that (he asserts) follows the creation of a textual canon, the memory of historical events cannot contribute to cultural memory (Assmann 2011: 27, 34-39). But as Nora observes, *lieux de memoire* provide a mechanism for exempting such events from the pressures attendant upon historical chronology and analysis. They “escape from history” (Nora 1989: 24). They arrest the progress of history and allow the memory to dominate the narrative instead. Thus, Nora contrasts true *lieux de memoire* with *lieux de histoire* (Nora 1989: 19):

⁹ Pace Hölkeskamp who explicitly references and upholds this distinction at 2014: 65

¹⁰ Consider Galinsky’s deployment of the terms as near synonyms at Galinsky 2014: 2.

Lieux de mémoire are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination. To begin with, there must be a will to remember. If we were to abandon this criterion, we would quickly drift into admitting virtually everything as worthy of remembrance. One is reminded of the prudent rules of old-fashioned historical criticism, which distinguished between “direct sources,” intentionally produced by a society with a view to their future reproduction – a law or a work of art, for example – and the indiscriminate mass of “indirect sources,” comprising all the testimony an epoch inadvertently leaves to historians. Without the intention to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be indistinguishable from *lieux de histoire*.

Nora’s concept of the *lieu de mémoire* is crucial for my investigation of cultural memory and Roman poetry. Yates and Carruthers have shown how significantly Roman society invested in the development of individual mnemotechnics and I will conclude this introduction by demonstrating that Nora’s *lieu de mémoire*, particularly in its textual instantiation, was known to the Romans and was the subject of philosophical theorizing.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to acknowledge the criticisms that have been levied against the notion of *lieux de mémoire* and against cultural memory generally. Notably, critics have arisen among scholars of Classics and Ancient History, as well as from historians generally. One of the most enduring criticisms has been that offered by Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam (1996).¹¹ Their critique responds to the Halbwachsian notion that truly “individual” memory is impossible since all recollection is subject to societal constraints and pressures. Their counter-argument concludes by claiming that the collective memory is simply individual memory that has been adjusted. “‘Collective memory’ is but a misleading new name for the old familiar ‘myth’ which can be identified, in its turn, with ‘collective’ or ‘social’ stereotypes” (Gedi and Elam 1996: 47). The example they adduce for this argument is highly problematic, especially in light of the fact that they specifically focus on the role and importance of the concept for historians. The

¹¹ Gedi and Yelam’s opposition to the idea of cultural memory has been cited by Gowing 2005 (15n44) and most recently by Galinsky 2014. Their critique is also included on Galinsky’s *Memoria Romana* website (<http://www.laits.utexas.edu/memoria/GGBasics/GGeschichteBasics.html>).

example is from Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, a passage in which the character Rostov recounts his first combat experience at the Battle of Schoen Graben.

Rostov was a truthful young man and would never have told a deliberate lie. He began his story with the intention of telling everything exactly as it happened, but imperceptibly, unconsciously and inevitably he passed into falsehood. If he had told the truth to his listeners who, like himself, had heard numerous descriptions of cavalry charges and had formed a definite idea of what a charge was like and were expecting a precisely similar account from him, either they would have not believed him or, worse still, would have thought Rostov himself to blame if what generally happens to those who describe cavalry charges had not happened to him.¹²

The problem with this passage is immediately obvious. Rostov *dehistoricizes* his account because the battle of Schoen Graben was just a battle among many. It is not the Milvian Bridge, the Battle of Zama, or Lake Regillus. I presume that my reader likely has already recalled what happened at those battles, precisely because there is a collective narrative to draw upon. Gedi and Elam's example prompts a return to Nora's point about *lieux de mémoire* versus *lieux de histoire* – there is no will to remember Schoen Graben as idiosyncratic, special or meaningful. It can become any cavalry battle because it is nothing more than a cavalry battle. But who could describe the Battle of Lake Regillus, during which the gods Castor and Pollux are said to have fought alongside Roman troops as horseman, as a typical cavalry engagement? Because Gedi and Elam collapse the distinction between stereotype and collective memory, it is difficult to regard their critique as useful.

A more useful critique of cultural memory has been voiced by T.P. Wiseman (2014). He has observed that cultural memory can only be a “historically helpful concept” if there is a means to investigate *how* the Romans came to an understanding of their own past (2014: 48). This observation provides a point of departure for Wiseman's critique of cultural memory, what he

¹² This translation is that of Rosemary Edmonds (1959, 1971: 279). The same translation is quoted by Gedi and Elam 1996 at page 45.

goes on to call “popular memory” as a textual phenomenon. He upholds the place of literature, however, since recitation and oral performance of literary works constituted important aspects of Roman literary culture.¹³ Wiseman goes on to minimize the importance of text and recitation by claiming that “the great majority of Romans did not read books, they learned what they needed to know at the *ludi scaenici* and the other festivals of their gods, where epic bards, hymnodists, dramatists, and dance librettists created that composite narrative of the past that we may define as popular memory.” (2014: 57). These performances undeniably contributed to the collective memory and Wiseman demonstrates their importance conclusively in his recent *Roman Audience* (2015). Wiseman’s suggestions are directed against the “grand theories” of Assmann and Nora, particularly against the notion that texts and monuments, especially the latter, can generate collective identity (2014: 62, 43).

Wiseman’s work reflects a disagreement with Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, who has argued for the continued relevance of elite cultural production, such as monuments and literary texts, in shaping cultural memory (2014: 63-70, esp. 69). While noting Wiseman’s sensitivity to the mnemonic value of monuments and his ability to read them, Hölkeskamp resists his suggestions by proposing that Roman cultural memory conforms to the model of a “web of significance... an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles” (2014:66). This dissertation subscribes to Hölkeskamp’s view, and offers further support through analysis of works of Roman literature and monuments. I cannot disagree with Wiseman’s claim that monuments represent a “reminder of stories the people knew,” but must also acknowledge the inverse statement that

¹³ Recitation remained important in late antiquity, as did stage shows. Claudian furnishes the most obvious example of late antique recitation, but he was not alone (Pelttari 2014:56-59, Matthews 1988: 8 and 15). For an overview of the culture of poetic performance in late antiquity, especially in the East, see Agosti 2012. For the prevalence of stage shows, see Wiseman 2015, esp. the concluding example from Augustine, a sermon that mentions the *Aeneid* performed as a stage show (2015: 182; *Serm.* 241.5).

stories could also remind people of monuments (2014: 62). Furthermore, while physical monuments represent important focal points for memory, there are texts that can explicitly act as *monumenta*.

The work that constitutes the most sustained treatment of cultural memory in the Roman world, including the construction of textual and physical *monumenta*, is Alain Gowing's *Empire and Memory* (2005). One of Gowing's most intriguing investigations, that of the "counter-memory" of Lucan in the *Bellum Civile*, explores the intersection of textual and physical monuments (2005: 82-96). Gowing's treatment of cultural memory does not engage the debate over the validity of ideas like cultural memory or *lieu de mémoire*. Written in 2005, *Empire and Memory* was chronologically closer to critiques like those of Gedi and Elam, but the concepts of cultural memory have since become widely accepted (see e.g. Galinsky 2014). The dispute between Wiseman and Hölkeskamp reflects conflicts over terminology and the mechanisms of cultural memory, but there is little disagreement over its existence. Because it provides a brief discussion of these concepts (2005: 7-15) and then proceeds immediately to case studies, e.g. Lucan's counter-memory, Gowing's work is valuable for its ability to convince sceptics of cultural memory's utility as a part of the classicist's (and historian's) theoretical toolset. Yet, Gowing's treatment of Lucan also makes it clear that his study leaves an entire realm of the Roman memory untouched – poetic memory. *Empire and Memory* remains indispensable for the study of cultural memory in the Roman world,¹⁴ but nowhere does it make mention of allusion.

¹⁴ It is no coincidence that first citation in Galinsky's introduction to *Memoria Romana* is of Gowing 2005.

ALLUSION AND MEMORY

The omission of allusion from these studies of cultural memory proceeds from differences of emphasis rather than pointed attempts at exclusion. Gian Biagio Conte's landmark study *The Rhetoric of Imitation* proceeds from the fact that allusion always comprises a negotiation of memory within a literary system (1986: 28-31). The value of these negotiations for cultural memory will become obvious with further explanation. For Conte, allusion functions like a feature of rhetoric. By shifting a term from its typical context to a new "improper" one, a gap is formed: "The gap between the letter and the sense... is the same as the gap produced between the immediate surface meaning of the word or phrase in the text and the thought evoked by the allusion" (1986: 23). This gap is then filled almost dialogically by the reader and by the author's assumption of the reader's response (1986: 30).

Conte's exploration of the relationship between author and reader is complemented by two studies that appeared in the same year, Stephen Hinds' *Allusion and Intertext* and Joseph Pucci's *Full-Knowing Reader* (1998). Hinds' work remains the *vade mecum* for any study of allusion, especially in later Latin. By encouraging Latinists to push the boundaries of allusive interpretability, Hinds makes a space for the study of allusion in polyvalent literatures of the imperial and late antique periods. The permeability of these texts, and their openness to multiple influences does not necessarily preclude interpretability. Pucci's study complements that of Hinds by demonstrating that the ancient literary critical toolset did not have a term for allusion, but that ancient authors were aware of and sensitive to the empowered reader. In the work of Demetrius of Phaleron, he finds the idea of a powerful reader invoked by a rhetorical mode called the δεινός style (1998: 53-64), and reads the second book of the *Georgics* as a treatment of allusion (imagery that convincingly reappears in Macrobius, suggesting that the later author

understood the metaliterary import of *Georgics* 2 (Pucci 1998: 99-108)). Pucci proposes that allusion as a term did not develop until the reading strategies of biblical exegetes (which encouraged allegorical and hermeneutic readings) empowered readers to create meaning, readers whom he refers to as "full-knowing" (1998: 51-53).

The concept of an empowered reader also plays a crucial role in the most recent monographic study of allusion in late antiquity, Pelttari's *The Space that Remains* (2014). The notion of an empowered reader is crucial for many of Pelttari's explorations of the late Latin literary aesthetic, such as the increased production of paratextual prefaces (2014: 45-72). These paratexts may have been deployed as reactions against increasingly powerful readers, as they permitted the author to exercise a greater degree of control over the reception of his text (2014: 47-48; 55-64). Pelttari also concludes that studying allusion in late antiquity is impossible without careful consideration of the more powerful readers who characterized the literary culture of the period. A powerful reader is more capable of reading and appreciating allusion that is manifestly nonreferential, and does not demand a relationship between the contexts of the allusive language (2014: 131-143). Pelttari's contribution finds support in Roberts' earlier comments about the so-called "Jeweled Style." While classical authors create well-integrated, seemingly whole narratives, their late antique successors are much more willing to allow the "seams" of a narrative to show (Roberts 2010: 3). According to Pelttari, then, late Latin authors deliberately allow allusion to rest on the surface, often incongruously, in a manner not dissimilar to the art of the centonist. Relying on this allusive strategy, late antique authors eschew *aemulatio* and imitation, and are able to deploy allusion for its own sake, or to pursue particularly late antique reading strategies (115-160, esp. 115-130; 154-160).

The work of Pucci and Pelttari showcases late antiquity as a period within which allusive dynamics were being theorized and reshaped, but their work, especially Pelttari's, focuses on the aesthetic dimensions of allusion. Before proceeding, it is worthwhile to discuss the benefits of Pelttari's approach. Consider the following lines of Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 13.31-34):

Sis bonus o felixque tuis dominumque potentem

exores, liceat placati munere Christi
post pelagi fluctus mundi quoque fluctibus actis
in statione tua placido consistere portu.

Be kind, yes and favorable to your own, and the lord powerful / do pray, that I, by the gift of Christ's satisfaction / and after the turbulence of the world's sea given surf, / may gain a calm harbor in your resting place.¹⁵

The italicized line is entirely Vergilian and combines *Ecl.* 5.65 with *Aen.* 6.621. Pelttari observes that an emulative approach to the first allusion is plausible. The prayer of the shepherd Menalcas has been transformed into Christian prayer, rendered all the more appropriate by the potential pun on the name of St. Felix (2014: 133-134). The second half demands interpretation as a nonreferential allusion, however, as the source text for the line ending *dominumque potentem*, refers to a tyrannical despot, ushered into power by traitors (*Aen.* 6.621). Whatever has motivated the first portion of the line, its existence as a Vergilian unit presents a centonic challenge to the composer. Paulinus has risen to the occasion, but the nuance of the allusion is not what readers of classical Latin poetry may expect. Instead of emulation, imitation, or Christianization, the reader gains insight into Paulinus' own readings of Vergil and his knowledge of the Vergilian corpus.

In spite of its utility, however, Pelttari's theory does not adequately explain certain instances of late antique allusion. This dissertation builds upon and supplements Pelttari's work, in that it describes an allusive tendency typical of late antique Latin poetry – that of mnemonic

¹⁵ Both this translation and the following are from Pelttari's *The Space that Remains* (2014).

negotiation, or even memory and identity formation. Ausonius' *Praef. Var. 4* provides a useful example (*Praef. 4.1-6*):

'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?'
Veronensis ait poeta quondam
inventoque dedit statim Nepoti.
at nos illepidum rudem libellum,
burras quisquiliis ineptiasque, 5
credemus gremio cui fovendum?

"To whom should I give my pretty new book?
the poet of Verona once said,
and he gave it to Nepos, whom he found on the spot.
But I have an ugly and rude book,
ridiculous, trash, absurdity,
to whom will I give it to be loved on their lap?"¹⁶

Pelttari, arguing against Conte's assessment of this reuse as citation, contends that the Catullan line that begins the poem should be considered an allusion (Pelttari 2014: 147-149; Conte 1986:60). Ultimately, the Ausonian allusion reveals more about that poet's reading of Catullus than it does his reflection on his own position in the canons of Roman poetry, or even self-evaluation of his poetic skills. Rather than Pelttari's suggestion that Ausonius effects a reinvigoration of Catullan poetry through further, novel incorporation into Ausonius' work, I interpret this allusive instance as a serious attempt to guide the reader mnemonically. The allusive negotiations of *Praef. 4* demonstrate how Ausonius read Catullus, but I suggest that his reading was a particularly mnemonic one. When I return to this passage in Chapter 2, I demonstrate that the Catullan line is deployed in order to create a kind of *lieu de mémoire* and to shape and perpetuate identities that were important to Ausonius and his contemporaries.

¹⁶ Translation taken from Pelttari 2014: 148.

Each chapter of this dissertation comprises an analysis of the strategies Roman poets deploy in order to secure mnemonic survival, with a particular emphasis on allusion. Allusion is of particular importance since it is so frequently relied upon to provide metaliterary comment, and has always been fundamental for engaging in dialogue with the pre-existing literary tradition. It is no longer original to point out that a genuine aesthetic shift marks the poetry of late antiquity, nor is it novel to observe that this shift makes itself visible in the late antique practice of allusion. This study seeks rather to trace the effect of this shift on both authors and audiences. Pucci and Pelttari have shown that authors and readers expect more from one another in late antiquity, and that readers as well as writers were keenly aware of the allusive dynamic of Latin poetry. This shared awareness of the empowered reader capable of creating meaning has prompted this investigation in no small wise. This dissertation explores allusion at a time when both reading and writing poetry were fundamentally creative acts. Under such a conception, allusion acts as a mechanism through which powerful readers could create meaning not only for but about themselves, and through which poets could communicate experience, codify memory, and reinforce identities in a time of existential peril.

THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY

Chapter 1 demonstrates the applicability of theories of cultural memory to antiquity by examining the *De Legibus* of Cicero. I demonstrate that the dialogue exhibits an awareness of a phenomenon similar to the *lieu de mémoire*, and that it exposes such *lieux* as problematizing factors that affect the writing of history. I also show that this portrayal of *lieux de mémoire* is not wholly negative, but that Cicero acknowledged positive aspects of mnemonically focused poetry. I elaborate a conflict between Cicero and his poetic contemporaries, and demonstrate that he

champions poetry as a medium for negotiating memory and identity, rather than a purely artistic medium. By examining the treatment of cultural memory in the most influential Roman philosopher, orator, and literary stylist, I lay the groundwork for consideration of cultural memory, particularly the *lieu de mémoire*, in later authors.

Chapter 2 investigates the most obvious and most consistent exemplar of this late antique emphasis on the experiential and mnemonic approach to poetry: Ausonius of Bordeaux (c. 310-395). The chapter represents an attempt to recontextualize Ausonius further, building upon the foundation laid by Roberts, Pucci, and Pelttari. Edward Gibbon famously lamented that Ausonius' fame as a poet condemned the taste of his age, but it also demonstrates how greatly the evaluation of poetry has shifted. Dispensing with questions of taste, however, it can easily be demonstrated that Ausonius should be numbered among the foremost chroniclers of his age, and that he preserved and communicated his world to posterity through his poetry.

Ausonius' willingness to use poetry in order to transmit his experience comprises only one element of the robust mnemotechnical negotiations present in his work. Chapter 2 includes a discussion of the purely communicative aspects of his poems, but also pursues a deeper analysis beyond their "indexing" function. The poems effect something more than the perpetuation of the memory of individual people, or, to introduce a phrase, they achieve more than simple "mnemonic survival." They exist to develop *lieux de mémoire* and to engage Ausonius' readers in a dialogic negotiation of memory, history, and the future of their shared identities. Since they occur in the wider context of late antique poetry, these negotiations necessarily incorporate allusion – although Ausonius' work certainly exhibits a more memorialist character, it creates a literary world, and that world must be brought into a conversation with the literary traditions that have preceded it. His work demonstrates how skillfully an author can use allusion to propose

and promote the shift to a poetics of fusion, combining the experiential, the mnemonic, and the aesthetic.

Chapter 3 discusses how that same fusion extended the reach of late antique allusive practice. Ausonius' near contemporary Prudentius (c. 348-405), while no less capable a poet, is perhaps even more fervent in his desire to promote or bolster invented traditions. Since Prudentius frequently engages incipient Christian traditions in his work, the opportunity to shape tradition is perhaps more important to him. The themes of Ausonian poetry are mostly secular, and his work concerns itself with secular constructs that were of a more personal relevance. Prudentius' work quite obviously seeks to communicate on a more universal level, however, as his poetry often discusses Christian doctrine or pivotal events in the history of that religion's development. His work does not focus on the secular, but on the eternal.

Traces of the eternal can be found in the material world, however, and one of the most fascinating aspects of Prudentius' allusive practice is that his poems exhibit allusive engagement with monuments, coins, and art objects. By placing these objects within his literary grasp, Prudentius is able to contest and endorse traditions that now exist both inside and outside of the texts he has created. This can perhaps be seen as the inverse of the Ausonian approach. Taken together, Chapters 2 and 3 will show the Gallic poet to be something of a conservative reactionary. The traditions surrounding the threatened identities are transferred to the world of the text, and there they are bolstered by Ausonius' skill as an allusive poet. Chapter 3 discusses how aspects of the material world, such as the overwhelmingly pagan topography of Rome in the late fourth century, presented challenges to the traditions that Prudentius sought to promote. By bringing the problematic elements of the material and experiential into his text, as in the *Contra Symmachum*, the poet can more freely shape the traditions that surround them.

Chapter 4 concentrates on one of the most problematic examples of a mnemonically focused poet: the panegyrist Claudian (c. 370-404). Claudian's poetry was written largely at the behest of the Western generalissimo Stilicho, so it is somewhat mercenary. Nevertheless, I demonstrate that Claudian deployed his considerable allusive talent in order to construct texts that would promote a particular image of Stilicho's reign. I go on to show that, in spite of Claudian's abilities, later poets (themselves readers) were unwilling to accept these Claudianic constructions and used allusion themselves in order to repudiate the earlier poet's vision of Stilicho's reign.

Claudian's mnemonic negotiation does not end here, however, and I go on to investigate Claudian's allusive engagement with two sites in 4th century Rome. I discuss the way that allusions in Claudian's early poetry, that is, before Stilicho, contribute to poetic self-fashioning and how these instances engage the honorary statue of Claudian in the forum of Trajan. In similar fashion, I examine Claudian's interaction with the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, particularly how he deploys allusion to interrogate the mnemonic associations that senators may have with Augustan monuments and Augustan culture.

Chapter 1. CULTURAL MEMORY AND CICERO'S *DE LEGIBUS*

If late antique culture marginalized poets, preventing them from engaging in most contemporary debates, as Mastrangelo (2009) posited, I have suggested that such poets turned toward mnemonically focused poetry as a response. If they could not contribute to a common future, they could curate and navigate the past. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that late antique audiences were ambitious readers capable of negotiating allusive instances and generating their own meaning from such negotiations. Before investigating how late antique poets and their readers may have deployed and examined allusion in the service of cultural memory, particularly through Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, it will be necessary to demonstrate an awareness of these mnemonic strategies in antiquity.

In order to do this, I turn to the *De Legibus* of Cicero, a work of the early 50s BCE.¹⁷ Although this dialogue heavily focuses on law and its contribution to a properly functioning society, it begins with a discussion of how poetry influences memory and vice versa. While finding any treatment of the concepts of cultural memory in the works of a classical author would be meaningful, it is of particular importance that Cicero transmits them. Cicero's philosophical works continued to be read in late antiquity, and were clearly essential for the intellectual life of the period (MacCormack 2013). His works were integrally connected to the tradition of patristic prose, which Mastrangelo identifies as the newly dominant genre in late antiquity. Augustine famously was converted to philosophy, and thus ultimately to Christianity,

¹⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of the difficulties in dating the dialogue, see Dyck 2004: 5-7.

by reading Cicero's *Hortensius* (*Conf.* 3.4).¹⁸ It will come as no surprise that the *De Legibus*, especially the first book, was frequently referenced in the late Latin legal tradition, and therefore, would have been known to many well-educated citizens of the empire (MacCormack 2013: 254-255). The work was also known to the imperial tutor and Christian apologist Lactantius, whom Constantine I appointed to teach his eldest son Crispus. Lactantius references the *De Legibus* in his *Divinae Institutiones*, so the work would have been validated by one of the leading patristic thinkers of the early fourth century (MacCormack 2013: 260). The works of Cicero were valued not only for their style, but also for their content, which apparently had bearing on relevant intellectual and theological issues. It is therefore highly likely that late antique readers would have encountered the dialogue's famous opening scene (*Leg.* 1.1-2):

Atticus: Lucus quidem ille et haec Arpinatium quercus agnoscitur, saepe a me lectus in Mario: sin manet illa quercus, haec est profecto; etenim est sane vetus.

Quintus: Manet vero, Attice noster, et semper manebit. Sata enim est ingenio. Nullius autem agricolae cultu stirps tam diuturna quam poetae versu seminari potest

A: Quo tandem modo, Quinte? Aut quale est istuc quod poetae serunt? Mihi enim videris fratrem laudando suffragari tibi.

Q: Sit ita sane; verum tamen, dum Latinae loquentur litterae, quercus huic loco non deerit quae Mariana dicatur...

A: This is indeed that grove and this the oak tree from Arpinum, which I have often read about in the *Marius*: If that oak still exists, this is surely the one; it is quite old.

Q: It does exist, Atticus, and it always will. For it was planted by the mind. No sapling planted with a farmer's cultivation is as long-lived as the one planted that be planted by a poet's verse.

A: And how is that Quintus? What sort of thing is it that poets plant? You seem to me to be propping up your own case by praising your brother.

Q: Oh, very well, but as long as Latin literature is read, there will not fail to be an oak in this place which is called the Marian oak...

¹⁸ *Conf.* 3.4: ... perveneram in librum cuiusdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et vocatur 'Hortensius'. ille vero liber mutavit affectum meum, et ad te ipsum, domine, mutavit preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea fecit alia.

I had already come across a book by a certain Cicero, whose language (but not his heart) almost everyone admires. That book of his contains an exhortation to study philosophy and is entitled *Hortensius*. The book changed my feelings. It altered my prayers, Lord, to be towards you yourself. It gave me different values and priorities. (Translation from Chadwick 1991)

No modern scholar can read the introductory exchange of the *De Legibus* without suppressing feelings of envy toward Atticus. The famous friend of Cicero has walked into the landscape of one of his favorite poems, Cicero's own *Marius*, and he knows it. As if he weren't already lucky enough, he is also able to ask a native if he is right about the identification that he has made. The beginning of the *De Legibus* has become famous for a number of reasons, but its connection to mnemotechnical strategies, especially as they occur in poetry, has rarely been considered. Emphasis has instead been placed elsewhere, especially on the famous proclamation that different laws govern history and poetry. While that passage, *De Legibus* 1.5, presents a clever swerve on the dialogue's subject, and may provide readers with insight into authorial intention (cf. Dolganov 2008; Benardete 1987), the opening scenes of the dialogue contain a wealth of detail that can be used to gain purchase on the Roman view of poetry as a mnemonic rather than artistic medium, especially as it concerns poetry's ability to create *lieux de mémoire* and foster invented traditions.

Invented traditions are a concept easily connected to the concept of cultural memory. An invented tradition should be taken to refer to any kind of conscious innovation imposed on a culture in order to reinforce aspects of the culture that groups within it find important. Long after it becomes plausible for any living tree to date back to the time of Marius, Arpinum's native son and famous general, its citizens will insist that tree really is as old as they say, imposing the tradition on their compatriots as well as outsiders. While it is impossible to know exactly what the *quercus Mariana* meant to the citizens of Arpinum, it is obvious that its memory value is sufficiently high, such that Quintus believes that it will never be forgotten (*DL* 1.1). The term "invented tradition" comes from the work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger, whose work addressed the rise of the state and the function of tradition as a reaction to the growth of state

power and the formation of the nation-state (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Commenting on this body of work, Richard Terdiman provides both concise summary and further elaboration (1993: 36):

The tartans, kilt, and the bagpipe of Scotland turned out to be, if not pure inventions, then at least conscious cultural impositions around which Highlanders could rally after the union with England (Hobsbawm and Ranger chap 2.) In France, the most venerable organized ritual of national celebration—Bastille Day—dates only from 1880 (Hobsbawm and Ranger: 272). These practices seem to inhere in our expectations of the world. Their recency then astonishes us because we have been induced to forget their greenness. The rapidity with which genesis amnesia has operated to obscure their origins is an earnest of its broader mystifying function...

A later section will more fully discuss the concept of genesis amnesia, the process through which the origins of these traditions are obscured, but it is clear that such a mechanism is not operative here.¹⁹ Quintus nevertheless anticipates the necessary invention of a site within the grove, even if the present *quercus Mariana* is destroyed by “age or storms.”²⁰ He is confident enough to repeat this contention at both the beginning and end of his reply to Atticus (*Leg.* 1.2):

Q: Sit ita sane; verum tamen, dum Latinae loquentur litterae, quercus huic loco non deerit quae Mariana dicatur, eaque, ut ait Scaeuola de fratris mei Mario, ‘canescet saeculis innumerabilibus’; nisi forte Athenae tuae sempiternam in arce oleam tenere potuerunt, aut quam Homericus Vlixes Deli se proceram et teneram palmam vidisse dixit, hodie monstrant eandem, multaque alia multis locis diutius commemoratione manent quam natura stare potuerunt. Quare ‘glandifera’ illa ‘quercus’, ex qua olim evolauit ‘nuntia fulva Iouis, miranda visa figura,’ nunc sit haec; sed cum eam tempestas vetustasue consumpserit, tamen erit his in locis quercus quam Marianam quercum vocent.

A: Non dubito id quidem. Sed haec iam non ex te, Quinte, quaero, verum ex ipso poeta, tuine versus hanc quercum severint, an ita factum de Mario ut scribis acceperis?

Q: Oh, very well, but as long as Latin literature is read, there will not fail to be an oak in this place called the Marian oak, and that tree, as Scaevola says of my brother’s *Marius*, “grow white with innumerable ages.” Doesn’t your Athens still have an immortal olive tree on the citadel? What of that long and slender palm that the Homeric Odysseus said he saw at Delos? They still show the same one today. There are many other things in many other places that survive longer by commemoration than would naturally be

¹⁹ The concept comes from the work of Pierre Bourdieu and is discussed more fully at pages 122-123 of this study.

²⁰ The combination of *tempestas* and *vetustas* seems to have become proverbial but it is unclear whether it originated with Cicero. See Ciano 2015.

possible. Therefore, that ‘acorn-bearing oak’ out of which there once flew ‘Juppiter’s tawny messenger, a wondrous shape to behold,’ let this now be it. But when old age or storms have taken this tree, nevertheless there will be among these places an oak tree that they will call the *quercus Mariana*.

A: Oh yes, I don’t doubt that, but I am not asking this of you anymore, Quintus, but of the poet himself. Did your verses plant this tree, or did you take it, as you wrote, from the deeds of Marius, where it happened like that?

This concludes the exchange with Atticus, who, not satisfied with Quintus’ response, has turned to Cicero himself. Quintus manages to come off as exceedingly confident and simultaneously vague about whether this is the real tree. His response to Atticus’ identification of the tree offers confirmation and doubt at the same time. His original confirmation, *manet vero*, is immediately challenged by the nonsensical *et semper manebit*. The dialogue consistently presents Atticus as one who is interested in historical truth; his curiosity is predicated on the plausibility of a tree surviving for approximately 100 years (1.1: *etenim est sane vetus*). Thus, Quintus corroborates Atticus’ assumptions only to challenge them. Dyck observes that he transfers the *manet* of Atticus from the physical to the literary plane, but this seems problematic in light of Quintus’ later insistence on presence of the physical tree at *Leg. 1.2* (2004: 59). Instead, Quintus explains that the physical presence of the tree no longer depends on any facet of its physicality, counterintuitive as this may seem. Rather than existing on its own as it had before, it has been combined with the desire to remember Marius, a desire that also finds expression in Marcus Cicero’s poem. To demonstrate this, Quintus quotes not only the otherwise unknown Scaevola, but Cicero himself. Notably, Quintus is as forward-looking with regard to Cicero’s poetry as he is with the site of the *quercus Mariana* itself. Both represent *lieux de mémoire*, one physical and one textual, and each can be used to defend the other.

The idea that a community can, at least in part, define itself using traditions like this inheres in the comments put forward by both Quintus and Atticus. Atticus first defines the tree

as the *Arpinatium quercus*. Even though he is an outsider, he recognizes that the tree may be invested with a civic or community meaning. He may even know of it from his conversations with the elite citizens of Arpinum whom he called his friends. Notably, Quintus delivers a similar insight when he responds to the near-Athenian Atticus by remarking that Athens, as well as Delos, venerate trees that are equally dubious in their age (*Leg.*1.2). The performance of in-group and out-group leaves its mark on the terminology deployed by each of the characters. For Atticus, the tree is *Arpinatium quercus*, but, Quintus refers to it as the *quercus Mariana* (1.2).²¹ Quintus' terminology, too, *sempiterna in arce olea*, may reflect the usage of an outsider rather than a group member (in spite of the fact that, like Atticus, Quintus would have spent a considerable amount of time in Athens).²² Nevertheless, Quintus' use of the possessive *tuae Athenae* places Atticus' participation in a community, and in that community's potentially fictive traditions, into sharp relief. While Atticus may insist on historical reliability and demand veracity at Arpinum, he may be less eager to apply such critical scrutiny to a tradition that holds a more personal relevance.

²¹ Dyck believes that the term had a somewhat proverbial status, similar to that of the *quercus Dodonaea* (2004: 56-57).

²² The Athenians remained amusingly laconic about the olive tree, however, as Pausanias records that they have "Nothing to say except that it was the testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land" (Paus. 1.27.2; Jones 1918 trans.). Thus, there may have been some other term, such as μαρτύριον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, or ἐλάα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, but most of the references to the tree occur in context, so that ἐλάα sufficient by itself. Neither Apollodorus nor Pliny the Elder provide another name for the tree (*Bibl.* 3.14; *NH* 16.89). In the fragments of Euripides *Erechtheus*, it is also simply referred to as ἐλάα. Notably, Pausanias represents the only source that reflects an actual conversation with Athenians about the olive tree. He confirms, moreover, that people with whom he spoke connected the tree to a tradition that they wanted to remember.

1.1 CICERO VERSUS THE NEOTERICIS: WHAT ENSURES THE VITALITY OF POETIC TRADITIONS?

There is clearly a personal relevance for Quintus, and, as Atticus may also observe, for all of the Arpinates. Rather than merely point out the fragility of other invented traditions, Quintus goes further by attempting to persuade Atticus of the antiquity of the *quercus Mariana*. The strategy that he deploys merits further study. There are two instances in which Quintus quotes poetry in his attempt to persuade Atticus of the tree's identity. The first, from Scaevola, announces that the *Marius* would "grow old throughout innumerable ages" (*Leg.1.2: canescet saeculis innumerabilibus*). Quintus transfers this declaration of immortality from the poem to the tree itself, and, in so doing, inextricably fuses the two. The poetry shall last for as long as the tree does, and thus both *opera*, one the product of intellect, the other the product of labor, shall endure forever in a relationship that is mutually reinforcing.

Quintus' fusion of these two items ought to be read polemically, as his statement reflects a comment on what keeps poetic traditions vital. The quoted lines of Scaevola indicate a revisionist encounter with the poetry of Helvius Cinna. The iunctura *innumerabilibus saeculis* is found in Cinna's *Propempticon Pollionis* (Hollis fr. 6; Courtney fr. 1), and the idea of growing white with age is also invoked by Catullus 95 (Cat. 95.6: *Smyrnam cana diu saecula pervolvent*).²³ The context for the original quote of Cinna is quite different, as it refers to the accumulation of treasure/offerings, but Hollis believes that the *Smyrna* likely included a proclamation of poetic immortality that deployed the "canescet motif" (Hollis fr. 6: *nec tam donorum ingenteis mirabere acervos / innumerabilibus congestos undique saeculis; on canescet*

²³ Hollis, relying on evidence from Ovid's treatment of Myrrha in *Met.* 10, has reason to suspect that the *Smyrna* may also have contained a proclamation of immortality as well (2007: 36).

see 2007: 28, 36). It is impossible to know anything of Scaevola's intentions, but the Ciceronian deployment repurposes the line to suggest a confrontation with previous iterations of the trope. Quintus' quotation implies that poetic immortality proceeds neither from recondite references nor laborious composition, but rather from the opportunity for the readers to create meaningful connections between features of the text and fixtures in their lives (cf. Cat. 95.1-3: *Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem / quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem, / milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno...*).

The consideration of memory and poetry that appears in the *De Legibus* is revealed through the text of the dialogue, but the written word is deployed in order to ensure a connection to a non-textual object. The pleas for poetic immortality that accompany the works of Catullus and Cinna reflect a world that is more purely textual. Catullus' first instance of engagement with the material world, the description of the collection of poetry itself, is conveniently interpretable as a textual feature (e.g. Cat 1.1.2: *arida modo pumice expolitum*). Still more telling are the poems of Catullus with the greatest mnemonic elements – poems 65 and 101. Both of these works treat Catullus' recently deceased brother, while 65 even references a famous monument. The Catullan narrator mentions that his brother lies at Rhoeteum covered by Trojan soil. He thereby displaces Ajax from his traditional burial site and connects it to his brother's grave (65.7-8). The mnemonic connection is undeniable, but it is offered incidentally, contributing to the narrator's tardiness in sending the addressee a translation of Callimachus. More significantly, the Catullan memory negotiation does not engage a willingness to remember, or, if it does, that willingness proceeds from the desire to remember and appreciate Catullus' poetry rather than the subject of commemoration.²⁴ In stark contrast, the vitality of Cicero's *Marius*, at least as it is

²⁴ Thomson also saw the verses on Catullus' brother as deviation from the "primary theme." He styles them as a kind of inset epicedion (1997: 444-445).

presented by Quintus, is coterminous with the *quercus Mariana* and the importance of the memory that it preserves. This also allows the memory to be enforced by the entire community of readers.²⁵ Neoteric literary immortality can be purely textual, and authors like Catullus and Cinna deployed the commonplace of growing white with age to express the idea. The Ciceronian vision of a poet's legacy, at least as conceived in the *De Legibus*, demands materiality, at least at some stage. It may even be the case that, by identifying a tree as an external point of reference for his poetry, Cicero places the debt that the textual world owes to the material one into high-relief. That the Roman word for book, *liber*, originally indicated the bark of a tree, and that words for "wood" are used to indicate the raw material for literary composition (e.g. *silva*, ὄλη), provides etymological support for the notion that the textual descends ultimately from the experiential and material.

1.2 AN ANCIENT *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*

The introduction of the *De Legibus* evinces a Ciceronian understanding of the concept of *lieux de mémoire* and a belief in the mnemonic value of poetry. The opening scene dramatizes Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire* well enough that it should be used to determine whether these ideas, conceived by a 20th century European, are applicable to antiquity.²⁶ Atticus keeps asking after the historical truth, but is continually prevented (and discouraged) from doing so by the mnemonically focused Quintus. Because the citizens of Arpinum want to remember Marius, Quintus opines, their desire to commemorate makes the oak in question the genuine site. But the dissatisfied Atticus turns to Cicero, and once more pursues the historical truth (*Leg.*1.3-5):

²⁵ An Arpinate reading community may have been particularly keen to perpetuate these memories. For Ciceronian attempts to write epic that engaged a kind of corporate senatorial ethos, see Goldberg 1995.

²⁶ There is even some doubt regarding the extent to which the idea is applicable outside of France, see Den Boer 2008.

A: tuine versus hanc quercum severint, an ita factum de Mario ut scribis acceperis?

M: Respondebo tibi equidem, sed non ante quam mihi tu responderis, Attice: certene non longe a tuis aedibus, inambulans post excessum suum, Romulus Proculo Iulio dixerit se deum esse et Quirinum vocari, templumque sibi dedicari in eo loco iusserit? Et verumne sit <ut> Athenis non longe item a tua illa antiqua domo Orithyiam Aquilo sustulerit? sic enim est traditum.

[4] A: Quorsum tandem {aut cur} ista quaeris?

M: Nihil sane, nisi ne nimis diligenter inquiras in ea quae isto modo memoriae sint prodita.

A: Atqui multa quaeruntur in Mario fictane an vera sint; et a nonnullis, quod et in recenti memoria et Arpinati homine versere, veritas a te postulatur.

M: Et mehercule ego me cupio non mendacem putari, sed tamen ‘nonnulli’ isti, Tite noster, faciunt imperite, qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta sed ut a teste veritatem exigant, nec dubito quin idem et cum Egeria conlocutum Numam et ab aquila Tarquinio apicem impositum putent.

[5] Q: Intellego te, frater, alias in historia leges observandas putare, alias in poemate.

A: Did your verses plant this tree, or did you take it, as you wrote, from the deeds of Marius, where it happened like that?

M: I will answer you, but not before you answer a question for me. Is it so that, not far from your house, Romulus walked around after his death, told Iulius Proculus that he was a god, that he was called Quirinus, and that he ordered a temple to be built there? Likewise, is it true or not that, not far from that old house of yours in Athens, Boreas stole Orithyia away? That’s what they say.

A: Why are you asking this? What’s the point?

M: There is no point other than keeping you from inquiring too diligently into matters that are handed down to memory like this.

A: But in the *Marius* it’s often a question of whether things are true or made-up! And some people expect the truth from you, since your subject is events in recent memory and a man from Arpinum.

M: And I certainly don’t want to be thought a liar. But these people, Atticus, they’re going about this all wrong, if in this dangerous matter they demand the truth from a poet as if he were a witness. The same people probably even think that Numa spoke with Egeria or that an eagle put a hat on Tarquin’s head!

Q: I understand, brother. You think that some laws must be observed in history, others in poetry.

Cicero and Quintus respond to Atticus in similar fashion, and it is clear that their motivation goes beyond simple evasion. Cicero resumes his brother’s argument and puts a fine point on it.

While Quintus implies that Atticus has a connection to Athens by his use of *tuae*, Cicero presents undeniable evidence: Atticus has now or once had a house there.²⁷ His mention of Atticus' two houses, one in Athens and one in Rome, is adduced as proof of his membership in those communities. Cicero himself provides us with solid evidence of the Roman belief that a house in a community was tantamount to community participation and membership.²⁸ Thus, Cicero's question asks Atticus, perhaps with some lack of subtlety, whether he rejects the traditions of communities to which he belongs as well as those of communities that he merely visits. The dialogue arrives even more forcefully at this point when Atticus hears Cicero's response to a question bluntly asked: why did Cicero ask Atticus if he believed in the traditions of Quirinus' return to earth and of Orithyia's rape? Cicero reports that he did it specifically to keep Atticus from inquiring so zealously into matters that had been "committed to memory in that way." The guarded and evasive exchange of questions with Atticus makes clear that, unless he would like to find the traditions of his own community challenged, the newcomer and tourist would do well to avoid casting too critical an eye at the traditions of other communities.

The emphasis on community, on the in-group vs. the out-group, also contributes to how the dialogue dramatizes the distinction between the *lieu de mémoire* and the *lieu de histoire*. Cicero, a native of Arpinum, explains that his poetry should not be read as the testimony of an eyewitness, but the questions of Atticus and of the rhetorically useful "some people" whom he seems to represent, indicate that there was interest in reading this way. Are these other readers outsiders? If Atticus represents readers who treat the *Marius* as a *lieu de histoire*, his initial exchange with Quintus can be used to examine the differences between mnemonic and

²⁷ It is unclear whether *antiqua* is meant in the sense of "former" (OLD s.v. *antiquus* 3), or if it is a literal indication of age. If the latter, it would be an interesting reflection of Atticus' attraction to the ancient tree as a potential source of validation for the legend. The age of the house could play a similar role (although the tree is described as *vetus*).

²⁸ *De Dom.* 78.101.

historically focused readers. The younger Cicero defends himself not only by warily mentioning the Athenian olive, but by presenting his own reading of the poem. Before he attempts to bind literary and spatial memory for his partner in the dialogue by proclaiming, “Let this be it, now!”, the *nunc sit haec* of *Leg.* 1.2, he delivers two quotations from the *Marius* that focus on a particular moment. Fr. 15, *glandifera... quercus*, and Fr. 16 *Nuntia fulva Iovis. miranda visa figura*. The former of these references the tree itself, and the latter depicts the most important event said to have happened at the site – the portent of the eagle fighting the snake, symbolic of Marius’ victory over Sullan forces upon his return to Italy.²⁹

My first encounter with the “meaning” of the portent just presented was its characterization in Dyck’s commentary. Thanks to modern historical perspective as well as ancient reflections on the period (e.g., Lucan), it is difficult for modern readers to remember the return of Marius without the bloodshed of Sullan conflict, but the Ciceronian spin on matters is somewhat different. Consider *Marius* Fr. 3.9-13:

Hanc ubi praepetibus pinnis lapsuque volentem
Conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur,
Faustaue signa suae laudis reditusque notavit,
Partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris
Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen

Marius, reader of divine intentions, observed
Her flying with her feathered wings aloft
And marked the favourable signs of rehabilitation and return.
On the left the father of heaven himself thundered.
Thus Jupiter declared the eagle’s omen true.³⁰

²⁹ Dyck seems to favor the possibility that the portent referred to is Marius finding a nest filled with seven hatchling eagles, indicating that he would be consul seven times (2004: 54). This does not seem likely, since Quintus references an eagle in flight as somehow part of the portent, evidenced by the collocation *miranda visa*, which Dyck also takes to be language associated with omens (2004: 62). Dyck does raise the possibility of this second portent, the eagle fighting the snake when he discusses the quotation (2004: 62).

³⁰ Translation by Goldberg 1995.

This version of events, filled with favorable omens, honor, and redemption, may provide us with a better idea of what the Arpinates might see in a site like the *quercus Mariana*. To return to Nora's contention that a *lieu de mémoire* can arrest the progress of history, it may be that the *Marius* of Cicero and the *quercus Mariana* do not stand as monuments to the historical figure Marius in all of his dimensions, but to a 'Marius.' This constructed figure represents a citizen of Arpinum on the cusp of greatness. If this is the memory that inheres in the site, we can better understand the tensions that divide mnemonically and historically focused readers. In contrast to his two interlocutors, Atticus does not come from Arpinum, so he has no motivation to remember a locally relevant 'Marius'. Quintus politely suggests that the participants may agree to disagree, and that different laws must be observed in poetry and history, and the dialogue's opening scene demonstrates that the same can be said of memory and history.

1.3 READING *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE* IN ANTIQUITY

When reading these scenes it is important to remember that Atticus does not only represent historically minded readers, but was also an historian himself. It is possible to read his reluctance to be persuaded by either of the Ciceros as the skepticism of a historian. When Atticus asks Cicero to speak authoritatively on the content of the *Marius*, the two characters find themselves awkwardly reprising a scene from Plato's *Phaedrus*, a dialogue that has a great deal in common with the *De Legibus*. In that dialogue, Socrates and Phaedrus also debate the location of a fabulous traditional event – the rape of Orithyia (229c-d). Like Atticus, Phaedrus is prompted to wonder if some suitable aspect of the physical location (for him its pleasantness, for Atticus the age of the tree) makes it a likely place for the traditional event. In stark contrast to the events of the *De Legibus*, Socrates has no problem declaring that the site of Orithyia's rape is

elsewhere. Presumably, he knows of a spot which others have collectively determined to be traditional, as he mentions an altar of Boreas there (229c: καί πού τίς ἐστὶ βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου). Their conversation concludes when Socrates, with prompting from Phaedrus, explains that inquiry into the veracity of such traditions is a fool's errand, especially when one's intellectual resources could be invested in the more worthwhile task of self-discovery (229d).

Atticus' situation is markedly different from that of Phaedrus. In the *De Legibus*, the site of the traditional site of the Marian oak is not known, and Atticus only knows to look for it because he has read about it. The Ciceronian dialogue reprises a fundamental Platonic question while adding a Roman swerve: How does writing affect memory, and is its effect good or bad (cf. *Phdr.* 274c-275c)? It is no longer individual memory that is under scrutiny, but the collective. Atticus has only arrived at his questions because of writing. He has never been to Arpinum, but his previous contact with literature about the town has primed him to look for the famous site. But it is likewise clear that he is unsure about whether the fabulous events associated with the site ever occurred. Writing has caused this problem for him, and has set itself up as an obstacle. It obstructs the path that leads to memory as well as the path that leads to history. Writing has made him curious about the site and circumstances of a legendary event, but it has also made the inhabitants of the place more likely to "remember" the event according to a written account. The Platonic plot has thickened considerably. Socrates and Phaedrus conclude that a written text is as still as a statue, always delivering the same answer when asked, and that therefore the dialogic method is to be preferred (*Phdr.* 275d-277b). The Ciceronian situation reveals that the written account has come to infect the dialogic process. The influence of writing has made it possible for even discussion to return a static response.

It is unclear, however, if this is a bad outcome. Cicero looks favorably on the poet who can engage tradition in this way, and is certainly conservative enough to posit the idea that some traditions should not be dialogically deconstructed and overturned. It is no coincidence that Cicero sideswipes the *Phaedrus* by mentioning the rape of Orithyia, but his mention of fabulous incidents in the life of Romulus, Numa, and Tarquin are also deliberate. These other traditions are foundational Roman events, but each has also made its way into the canons of serious Roman history – all of them are to be found in Livy, and are often listed as inventions (1.16, 1.19, 1.34). The poet, especially the one who follows the aesthetic proposed by Cicero and Scaevola, naturally creates content which the historian must incorporate, dismiss, or negotiate. Cicero's poetry, fused as it is with traditions and *lieux de mémoire*, manages to harness the potential inherent in events *before* they become history. If requests that historians represent Cicero more favorably, such as that famous request to Luceius (*Ep. Fam.* 5.12), are unsuccessful, poetic commemoration of the moment can render favorable depiction more likely and condemnation impossible. If a poetic work authorizes a version of events that becomes a commonplace, it will be more difficult for the historian to reject it absolutely.

1.4 CONCLUSION

The exchanges between Atticus, Quintus, and Marcus Cicero attest an ancient belief that poetry can construct, defend, and win adherents for traditions. While these ideas are presented and discussed in the *De Legibus*, the same work also makes clear that this belief was not necessarily a universal one. The dialogue provides proof of a disagreement between Cicero and his neoteric peers. While the Ciceronian view maintains that poetry can – or even ought to – be used to shape and codify traditions, poets such as Cinna and Catullus celebrated the *recondite*.

While I do not mean to suggest that they were pure aesthetes whose poetry did not engage with the world outside the text, it is clear that they privileged art over experience, at least inasmuch as poetic artistry, not poetic transmission of lived experience, would secure poetic immortality. In contrast, Cicero preferred to combine experience and art inextricably, fusing the two in order to ensure the perpetual survival of both. As Van den Berg observes in his review of Sarah Stroup's *Society of Patrons*, Stroup demonstrates that both Cicero and Catullus used their texts to "self-consciously shape their literary and political afterlives" (2010). A future study may reveal, however, that they had very different opinions about the function of poetry in Roman society, as I suggest here.

The *De Legibus* provides useful data for modern consideration of the Ciceronian conundrum that Cicero himself treated after the *quercus Mariana* scene. Although the orator was clearly very interested in the legacy he left behind, in how his consulship and subsequent actions would be remembered by future generations, he never wrote history. The Marcus of the dialogue seems to realize that the poetic histories exist as obstacles to historical works in prose. The construction of the dialogue's opening scene also demonstrates an awareness of how constructed poetic memories, *lieux de mémoire*, could affect the reader. The *De Legibus* presents readers from both the in-group and out-group, and describes their potential reactions to the text.

While Cicero did not apply a name to the phenomenon, it is clear that he was interested in the function and operation of something close to what moderns would call *lieux de mémoire*. The *Marius* represents only one example of this, and the same kind of mnemonic potential was likely present in the other poetic works of Cicero. The fragments of the *De Consulatu* and the *De Temporibus* are insufficient to analyze them in terms of their memory negotiations, but the

complexities of ancient *lieux de mémoire* are discussed in the *Marius*.³¹ The memory that inhered in the site of the *quercus Mariana* could have been quite different for a native of Arpinum, a foreigner, and an inhabitant of the empire who visited the site long after Atticus. Nevertheless, Cicero's exploration of these possibilities (even if unconscious) demonstrates that the mnemonic value of poetry was well known to ancient authors, and found among the works of the most influential Roman philosopher and orator.

Cicero was not alone in his acknowledgement of the mnemonic power of text and space, nor in his realization that a *lieu de mémoire* could be physical, textual, or both. Livy famously maps these relationships onto his own work by calling it a *monumentum* (*Pf.* 10-11). In so doing, he recognizes that physical spaces could be *lieux de mémoire* as well as texts, and goes on to collapse the distinction between them. This does not detract from the Ciceronian achievement, however, nor does it lessen the relevance of Cicero for this study. The discussion of the *quercus Mariana* represents an influential Roman intellectual's sustained attempt to explore the role of poetry in the development of cultural memory. The *De Legibus* likely focuses on poetry because the aesthetics of Latin poetry began to change during Cicero's lifetime. But the dialogue was also written at a time when Roman memory was itself under siege: Cicero presents poetry as the natural weapon of those who would attempt to influence memory.

Cicero's works enjoyed great influence in late antiquity, and the *De Legibus* was clearly embedded within the legal and theological milieu of the period. Mastrangelo has suggested that the late antique period was characterized by a struggle to make poetry relevant, and the opening scenes of the *De Legibus* offer a novel approach to that very problem. Rather than aesthetic or even philosophical concerns, the dialogue suggests that poetry can serve as a means of

³¹ For a re-consideration of the evidence of *De Temporibus Suis* see Harrison 1990.

negotiating and promoting important memories. With this I now turn to the works of the fourth century poet, orator, and grammarian Ausonius of Bordeaux, whose profession and position demanded frequent engagement with Cicero's work. It cannot be shown conclusively that Ausonius read the *De Legibus*, but the Ciceronian dialogue demonstrates that Roman thinkers were capable of theorizing the mnemonic dimensions of poetry.

Chapter 2. AUSONIUS AS GALLIC *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter demonstrates how well Cicero understood that the *Marius* could be read as a *lieu de mémoire*. The *De Legibus* reveals how that poem could have functioned as a part of Arpinum's corporate memory and how it reinforced the validity of important local traditions for both inhabitants and foreign visitors. Since Cicero represents one of Rome's great luminaries, his sensitivity to the mnemonic dimensions of poetry indicates that such awareness would have been widespread and should extend beyond his period. I begin by demonstrating a profound awareness of mnemonic concerns in one of the most esteemed late antique authors, Ausonius of Bordeaux. An analysis of his *Praefatio* 1 brings these concerns into sharp focus, and I use other minor poems, particularly *Epigr.* 37, to demonstrate further Ausonian considerations of the relationship between poetry and memory. I proceed to discuss Ausonius' *Parentalia* and *Professores* as a means for him to explore the dynamics of this relationship even further, especially as it extends to his role as poet. The analysis of the *Professores* initiates a discussion of *lieux de mémoire* in Ausonius' poetry, and the ensuing pages demonstrate how his work invites reflection on the institutions and people constitutive of Gallic identity. Throughout this chapter, as in all others, there is an emphasis on how the poet uses allusion in order to prompt these reflections or to comment on his own position as a creator of *lieux de mémoire*, and, ultimately, as a *lieu de mémoire* himself.

2.2 LIFE OF AUSONIUS

Ausonius was born at Bordeaux (Burdigala) in c. 310 C.E. to Julius Ausonius (*PLRE* Ausonius 5), a doctor of relatively low birth from the Gallic city of Bazas,³² and Aemilia Aeonia, the daughter of a wealthy and influential Gallo-Roman family. He began his education locally and studied under some of the *grammatici* commemorated in the *Professores* (cf. *Prof.* 8, 10). He was soon sent to Toulouse, where he lived and studied with his mother's brother, Aemilius Magnus Arborius (*PLRE* Arborius 4), who, like Ausonius, eventually became an imperial tutor (albeit with a less fortunate result – he seems to have died along with his imperial patrons following Constantine's death in 337).³³ Shortly after his uncle's departure for Constantinople, Ausonius returned to Bordeaux, where he married Attusia Lucana Sabina (*PLRE* Sabina 5), the daughter of a leading member of the local nobility. Their marriage seems to have been a happy one, although it was cut short by Sabina's early death in the 340s.³⁴ Ausonius worked as a *grammaticus*, then a *rhetor*, and remained at Bordeaux for nearly thirty years. His life as a provincial teacher was dramatically interrupted when the emperor Valentinian chose him to educate his son Gratian in the mid-360s. He was quite successful as the young Caesar's tutor. The *Epitome de Caesaribus* records that Gratian was a minor poet who spoke with sophistication and had an interest in discussing *controversiae* “after the manner of a *rhetor*” (*Epit. De Caes.* 47.4; Green 1991: xxviii).

³² That Julius Ausonius was of lower birth remains conjecture, but Green believes that he may have even been a freedman (1991: xxv). Sivan follows Hopkins 1961 in maintaining that the elder Ausonius was of Greek (and therefore Eastern) origin (1993: 54-56). All seem to agree that, regardless of whatever else he may have been, Ausonius' father was of a lower social status.

³³ Sivan maintains that Arborius died as a result of his connections to rival members of the dynasty (1993:54), while Hopkins believes that he died before 337 (1961: 240n10).

³⁴ *Par.* 9.25 explains that Sabina was 27 when she died, and *Par.* 9.8 records that Ausonius has mourned her for 36 years. Thus, as Green remarks, she must have died sometime before 350 (1991: 312).

Ausonius was able to mobilize the goodwill of his former student to achieve great political success. After Valentinian's death in 375, many of Ausonius' friends and family held positions of power in provincial and imperial administrations.³⁵ Ausonius held the consulship himself (an achievement which he was endlessly fond of mentioning), in 379. His political power may have waned in the aftermath of the battle of Adrianople in 378, since the disastrous outcome of the conflict prompted a reexamination of imperial priorities (Green 1991: xxxi). Nevertheless, Ausonius continued to wield influence at court until Gratian's assassination by the usurper Maximus in 383. When Maximus was eventually defeated in 388, Ausonius was already of advanced age (approximately 78 years old). While he enjoyed friendly relations with the Emperor Theodosius, his communication with the monarch indicates that he declined to write poetry in praise of the regime (*Praef.* 3; Green 1991: 707). The exchange between Theodosius and Ausonius is one of the latest pieces of evidence we have for the poet's life, since it seems to date from the former's reign as sole emperor. Green has suggested that the letter may date from c. 392-394, when the support of a respected figure like Ausonius would have been an asset against the western usurper Eugenius. Thus, it is very likely that Ausonius died sometime in the early to mid-390s.

2.3 SUMMARY OF AUSONIAN SCHOLARSHIP

The scholarly approach to Ausonius has long been dominated by the concerns of historians, especially social historians. Precisely because Ausonius' poetry offers the reader a wealth of information about Gallic society and potential insight into the lives of his own family – including their professions, interfamilial relations, and even assets – the poet's work demands

³⁵ For a comprehensive list, see Green 1991: xxx.

treatment from this social-historical perspective. This approach was pursued by Keith Hopkins in a brief but useful article in 1965, and more recently by Hagith Sivan's monographic treatment of 1993. Similarly, both Alan Booth (1982) and R.P.H. Green (1985) rely on the *Professores* in order to illuminate the social position of teachers of grammar and rhetoric in fourth century Gaul. That approach was also pursued by Robert Kaster in his comprehensive study of grammarians in late antique society (1988). Fanny Dolansky's recent treatment examines the *Parentalia* for evidence regarding the religious practice of honoring ancestors or recently deceased family members (2011). The commemorative poetry also has an obvious prosopographical value, and has played a role in the compilation of the *PLRE* (supplemented and often clarified by Booth 1978). An article by Sivan in 1991 offers a brief update on the prosopographical approach to one of the poems in the *Professores*. Literary studies of the individual collections are few, but Pucci 2003 and articles by Robert Colton in 1973 and 1988 offer useful explorations of allusion within individual poems. There has been little discussion of the social and mnemonic function of the poems, but that gap has been addressed by Annika Kleinschmidt (2013) and treated again in a recent article by Suzanne Abrams-Rebillard (2015). The present chapter also relies on analysis of Ausonius' prefaces, of which there has been no monographic study. The prefaces remain understudied, and while they have been collected and carefully commented on by Green 1991, the only treatment that focuses exclusively on one of the prefaces is Pucci 2000. Sivan 1992 treats many of the prefaces in a general investigation of Ausonius' dedicatory practice, but analysis of *Praef.* 4, the prefatory poem most important to this chapter, is brief (95-96). Kleinschmidt 2013 presents *Praef.* 1 as crucial to the interpretation of the entire Ausonian corpus, and uses the poem to mobilize her lengthy study of Ausonius.³⁶

³⁶ Since her work focuses so heavily on the construction of a speaking figure called Ausonius, rather than the historical figure, it may be more appropriate to write 'Ausonius' when discussing the figure that she analyzes.

2.4 PROGRAMMATICS AND *PRAEFATIO* 1 – MNEMONIC SELF-PRESERVATION

The modern reader of Ausonius, if she starts at the beginning of his collected works, will encounter the poet through the following introductory lines (*Praef.* 1. 1-4):

Ausonius genitor nobis ego nomine eodem;
qui sim, qua secta, stirpe, lare, et patria
adscripti ut nosset, bone vir, quicumque fuisses
et notum memori me coleres animo.

Ausonius was my father and I go by the same name. Who I am, what was my work and lineage, my home, and my native land, good sir, whoever you may be, I have written so that you may know all these. And once I am known, that you will cherish me in your mindful heart.

Green suggests that this may have been meant as a general preface to “all Ausonius’ works, past, present, and future”, but that his plans were upset by Gratian’s assassination in 383 (Green 1991: 233-234). While Conte maintains that the prefatory pieces were written after 383, there is widespread consensus that this poem preceded a collection, perhaps an omnibus edition (Conte 1999: 655). Kleinschmidt’s book constitutes the most recent contribution to this discussion, and she concludes that the question of whether Ausonius composed an omnibus edition himself is unclear (2013: 22). Her proposals about the text are extensive, however, and must be discussed in detail.

Kleinschmidt suggests that *Praef.* 1 cannot be interpreted programmatically, and that Ausonius eschews the opportunity to make a programmatic statement in the opening lines (2013: 29).³⁷ Instead, she supposes that the preface is deployed in order to adduce a character, a constructed “Ausonius”, whom the reader will encounter repeatedly. According to

³⁷ Kleinschmidt 2013: 28. “Eröffnungstexten von Gedichtsammlungen kommt besondere Bedeutung zu, da in ihnen häufig eine persönliche Widmung formuliert oder ein poetologisches Programm entfaltet wird. Sie sollen einem Leser Aufschluss über und Interpretationshinweise für die späteren Gedichte geben. Der Sprecher der *Praefatio 1* lässt die Möglichkeit der Eröffnung einer Sammlung jedoch ungenutzt.

Kleinschmidt, *Praef.* 1 represents the point of entry into what she refers to as a “network of ‘I’ constructs”.³⁸ In Kleinschmidt’s conception, the introduction at *Praef.* 1.1-4 constitutes an attempt to transfer authority. She observes that the series of indirect questions introduced in line 2 are all rhetorical categories, and that Ausonius deploys his credentials as a teacher and scholar to enhance his poetic authority (2013: 30, esp. 30n96). This leads to a further attempt at constructing power by providing biographical information. The remainder of the preface presents “Ausonius” as an imperial tutor and successful politician, aspects of power which enhance the poetic persona created within the text (2013: 47).

Kleinschmidt’s points largely persuade, but her arguments complicate rather than solve the question of whether *Praef.* 1 represents a programmatic statement. While it is atypical for memory to so heavily inform the program of a poetic collection, Ausonius was not a typical poet. Perhaps more than any other Latin poet, Ausonius concerned himself with the preservation of memory. *Praef.* 1 explicitly presents Ausonius’ poetry as a vehicle for establishing and preserving his memory for an indefinite future, to all who may come and read. As Kleinschmidt herself observes, “Engendering his own memory can be identified as the central literary project of Ausonius” (2013: 52).³⁹ Furthermore, the prefatory piece also demonstrates concern for presenting Ausonius in context. Ausonius writes not only to preserve his own identity and achievements, but also to preserve the memory of his profession (*qua secta*), his family (*stirpe*), his home (*lare*) and his homeland (*patria*).⁴⁰ Whether planned at this stage in his poetic career or not, Ausonius would later go on to create poetic works that memorialize each of these facets of

³⁸ The most concise expression of this idea is at Kleinschmidt 2013: 63, but it recurs throughout (Section 2.3 bears the title *Verstreuen und Zusammenfügen. Ein Netz von Ich Aussagen.*) The formulation on page 27, on the recurrence of the ‘Ausonius’ character, also provides concise reflection of Kleinschmidt’s overall points.

³⁹ My translation of Kleinschmidt “Das Erzeugen von Erinnerung an sich selbst kann als das zentrale dichterische Projekt Ausonius bezeichnet werden” (2013: 52).

⁴⁰ Ausonius certainly invests in preserving a memory of his own achievements, even within *Praef.* 1. Cf. *Praef.* 1.34-40.

his identity, namely in the *Professores*, the *Parentalia*, the *De Herediolo*, and the *Mosella*.

While they may still reflect rhetorical categories, it cannot be said that their mention here is merely rhetorical – they correspond to elements of the collection that follow *Praef.* 1.

Exhortations to memory and explorations of identity are ubiquitous in the poet's work, and their mention in a seemingly general preface is of interpretative value.

In order to pursue an interpretation that places memory at the center of Ausonian poetics, it is necessary to discuss how Ausonius differentiates himself from potential models. For instance, Ausonius may have been influenced by Martial's decision to begin the epigrams with the introduction of a speaking "Martialis," but Martial 1.1 differs drastically in the abundance of information it provides about the speaker. More radically, the link between poetic production and memory is not rooted in wit or fame (as in Martial 1.1), but in the bare fact that Ausonius is the subject of the poems. This also distinguishes him markedly from Ovid, whom Pucci shows to be a likely model for *Praef.* 1 at *Tristia* 4.10 (Pucci 2003, cf. Kleinschmidt 2013: 30-32; 48-52). Like Martial, who is "famous for his witty books of epigrams" (1.1.2-3), Ovid quickly self-defines as the *tenerorum lusor amorum*. Ausonius makes no mention of his poetic activity until the final line of the poem, and only in the vaguest possible terms (*Praef.* 1.39-40):

Hic ergo Ausonius: sed tu ne temne, quod ultro
patronum nostris te paro **carminibus**.

This, then, is Ausonius: but you, don't condemn me because I have made you the patron of my poems with no prompting.

Unlike the predecessors who identify as writers of witty or playful pieces, Ausonius gives no indication of the kind of poetry he writes except for the memory motivation expressed in the preface (*Praef.* 1.3-4: *adscripti ut nosses, bone vir, quicumque fuisses / et notum memori me coleres animo*). If the prefatory poem reveals anything resembling a program, therefore, that

program is a mnemonic one. *Praef.* 1 suggests that the poet intends to commit his personality to the pages of the text, and that, once he achieves this, he expects to be remembered (*Praef.* 1.4: *et notum memori me coleres animo*). If the preface fails to achieve the goals laid out in these four lines, further opportunities will be present in the poems themselves.

But this desire to live on in memory lies parallel to the fundamental problem of all Ausonius' writings: What will be remembered, and how? It is likely to be the name "Ausonius" that passes into memory. Ausonius was obsessed with names, and his poems often include attempts to map their various meanings and trace the connections they enforce. Ausonius uses no word more frequently than *nomen*, which occurs 176 times, outnumbering its nearest competitor by approximately 70 instances (Nugent 1990: 36; Kleinschmidt 2013: 64).⁴¹ It is also impossible to read much of Ausonius' poetry without encountering one of his characteristic nomenclatural puns (see Kleinschmidt 2013: 64-69). Meanwhile, Ausonian poetry mentions the name "Ausonius" 25 times, an idiosyncrasy that Kleinschmidt identifies as exceptional when compared to the work of contemporaries. For example, the *Eucharisticos*, written approximately 50 years after Ausonius' death, represents an autobiographical narrative of over 600 lines with no mention of the author's personal name (2013: 64-65). The 40 lines of *Praef.* 1 contain two mentions of the proper name "Ausonius" (1, 39), four instances of the noun *nomen* (1, 9, 18, 21), and a digression on descent and nomenclature (9-12). Kleinschmidt's theory that *Praef.* 1 puts forward a speaking character, "Ausonius," whom the reader can recognize and come to know is compelling, but it must be observed that this strategy does not proceed from self-confidence. The frequent occurrence of the proper noun "Ausonius" and the common noun *nomen* belie any impression of self-assurance. As I shall go on to show through analysis of other poems in the

⁴¹ The most frequently attested word after *nomen*, Nugent observes, is *pater* (1990: 36n46), perhaps representing a further reflection of A.'s desire to present and sketch relationships in his poems.

corpus, Ausonius exhibited an acute sensitivity to the fragility of identity, especially identities that depended on the individual and the proper name.

2.5 INSTABILITY OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN THE WORKS OF AUSONIUS

Praef. 1 demonstrates how strongly the memory motivation informs Ausonius' poetic self-conception and presentation as a poet. If the poem was composed before Gratian's death, Ausonius' concern with mnemonic preservation was likely only exacerbated by the tumult following the emperor's assassination. If the piece was written afterwards, its mnemonic preoccupations reflect a more traumatic impetus to return to a theme that had long been present in Ausonius' work. The fourth century was already a time of turbulence, not least for the inhabitants of Gaul. A brief summary of provincial history during the Constantinian dynasty provides sufficient evidence for the statement, although Gallic upheaval predates and continues beyond that period. Following Constantine's death in 337, the province fell under the control of Constantine II, only to change hands again in 340 when that emperor was defeated by his brother Constans at Arles. Magnentius' revolt (350-353) brought an end to the reign of Constans, which Zosimus remembers as exceedingly cruel and exploitative.⁴² Ten years later, in 360, Julian began his revolt against Constantius at Paris.

In addition to the imperial dysfunction that characterized fourth century Gaul, the province also saw repeated invasion and conflict with Germanic barbarians. Ausonius had the opportunity to witness a military campaign against these groups, and is likely to have perceived the experience as something of a turning point. Taken into the imperial service by Valentinian in c. 368, Ausonius accompanied his new benefactor, and, for the first time, saw Gaul's security in

⁴² Zosimus 2.42. Zosimus is likely following Eunapius, and is therefore biased against the sons of Constantine (with the exception of Crispus, cf. Zosimus 2.29)

the hands of the senior Augustus.⁴³ The military feats of Valentinian, especially his fortification of the Rhine, seemed to have impressed Ausonius' contemporary Symmachus (*Or.* 2.1, 18-20, 26). According to Sogno, Valentinian seems to have gone out of his way to ensure that Symmachus came away in awe of his military strength, and it is possible that Ausonius received similar treatment (Sogno 2006: 14).⁴⁴ The confidence in military security that Valentinian promoted during his reign is likely to have survived his death in 375, and the initial years of his son Gratian's reign represent the high point of Ausonius' career. While defeat at Adrianople in 378 must have represented a devastating blow on a global level, it may have enhanced Gallic prestige nonetheless, since it made Trier the home of the senior Augustus. Whether Ausonius' political fortunes began to wane in this period is unclear, but his involvement in public life was brought to a catastrophic end by Gratian's assassination in 383.

Ausonius experienced the vicissitudes of late antique life from manifold vantage points and was doubtless aware of the instability that surrounded him. The precarious nature of fourth-century life threatened the disappearance not only of individuals, but of buildings, institutions, and cities.⁴⁵ This is perhaps nowhere more evident than in one of the poet's most original epigrams, *Epigr.* 37. While the date of composition remains uncertain, the poem exhibits a fascination with memory and the fragile nature of identities.⁴⁶

Lucius una quidem, geminis sed dissita punctis
littera; praenomen sic nota sola facit.
post M incisum est. puto sic, non tota videtur;
dissiluit saxi fragmine laesus apex.
nec quisquam, Marius seu Marcus anne Metellus 5

⁴³ Valentinian's decision to remain in the West and lead an army against the Alamanni, rather than assist his brother in a war against the Eastern usurper Procopius, must have made him popular in Gaul as well (Amm. 26.12-13).

⁴⁴ Sogno 2006 provides an excellent overview of Valentinian's strategies of imperial presentation in connection to its analysis of Symmachus' technique in the panegyrics. See esp. 2006: 9-17.

⁴⁵ This is not hyperbole. Consider the effect of Ammianus' narrative of the loss of Nisibis, wherein he details the despair of its citizens, who, although they had defended the East as loyal citizens of Rome, were now unfairly disenfranchised and deprived of a just reward for their historical valor and loyalty.

⁴⁶ For the difficulties in dating the epigrams, see Kay 2001: 22-23.

hic iaceat, certis noverit indiciis.
truncatis convulsa iacent elementa figuris,
omnia confusis interiere notis.
miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt,
mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit. 10

Lucius is indeed one letter, but it is separated off by two points – that is how a single letter makes a praenomen. After it an 'M' is cut – at least I think it is, but it is not wholly clear; its top has been damaged and rent asunder by a break in the stone. Nor can anyone know for certain whether it is a Marius, Marcius or Metellus who lies here. The shapes of the letters lie mangled, their forms decapitated; all have perished in the confusion of marks. Are we to wonder that men have died? Tombstones decay, death comes even to stones and the names on them.

Epigr. 37. 1-10

While the poem may “draw a trite conclusion from unusual subject matter,” it is highly unique in a number of ways (Green 1991: 394). There are many poetic antecedents for the sentiment that earth and stone are also mortal, but none of Ausonius’ potential models devote as much time to the tragedy of loss of memory and of identity (e.g. Ovid *Fast.* 5.131; Juv. 10.146). The initial line draws the reader into an effort of collaborative reading and decipherment, and the disjunction created by the enjambment of *littera* reflects the troubling nature of the damaged text. Furthermore, the first line also prompts an immediate identity crisis. The first word, Lucius, is abandoned immediately after it is read, and must be redefined at line 2 as a letter, rather than a person.⁴⁷ After this striking act of identity reduction, from person to letter, it becomes clear that the narrator is attempting to read an inscription. The tragedy of forgetting the poem's subject continues, and it becomes unclear whether or not the man's *nomen* even begins with an M. If it does, the damage done to the inscription does not permit secure identification. Marius, Marcius and Metellus are all possible. The subject's sole claim to identity, as the second line points out,

⁴⁷ V offers a different reading: *una quidem fulget geminis sed dissita punctis...*, but, as Green points out, this forces the addition of the letter L, somewhere in the first line. For metrical purposes, the letter would have to be pronounced as a monosyllable (a disyllabic pronunciation is also attested), which conflicts with Ausonius' presentation of monosyllables in another poem (25.14).

is contingent upon one letter, L, but the first line makes clear that identity hinges on the markings that distinguish the “L” as an abbreviation (*geminis dissita punctis*). Without these two small carvings in stone, the notion of personhood and identity will be lost entirely.

The notion of an imperiled identity clearly fascinated Ausonius, evident through the level of care that he displays in this portrayal. The fact that the honorand's identity has been reduced to the inscription's damaged letters finds further expression in the verb *iacere*, used here to describe both the dead man lying in his grave, and the letters lying in mutilated disarray (*iacere* is often used to mean “to lie dead”, *OLD* s.v. *iaceo*). As Kay observes, the line describing the damaged letters is “splendidly hyperbolic,” and not dissimilar to the kind of epic language that would be deployed to describe the aftermath of a battle. But the epic language should be pressed harder than Kay suggests. Ausonius’ exaggeration is not merely an expression of grief at “the decay of written text,” but also a mournful reflection on the inefficacy of poetry (Kay 2001: 156).

These truncated letters appear in a hexameter line, evoking the Latin epic tradition’s negotiation of decapitated bodies. Even when the identity of the deceased is known, decapitation renders the body nameless. Consider *Aeneid* 2.554-558:

haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem 555
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. **iacet ingens litore truncus,**
avulsumque umeris caput et **sine nomine corpus**

This was Priam’s fated end, here death happened to carry him away, gazing on a fallen Pergamum and burning Troy, he who once exulted himself over so many peoples and lands, the ruler of Asia. His huge trunk lies on the shore, its head ripped from his shoulder, a body without a name.

The quoted lines of Vergil demonstrate the affinity between lying truncate (*iacet...truncus*) and a loss of identity. The mention of Priam's name and position before the scene's conclusion, the words posthumously composed by the narrator, are the only things that can restore identity to the nameless body.

Epic reflection on the loss of identity inherent in a headless body does not end here, however, as the problem reappears and is radically inverted by Lucan (Narducci 1979: 44). The headless body of Pompey first appears in Book 1 during a prophetic vision (1.685-686):

hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena 685
qui iacet, agnosco...

Him I recognize, the deformed trunk who lies on the riverbank.

In this moment of Lucanic prophecy, a body that has no head and no shape (*deformis truncus*) is paradoxically recognized, perhaps due to the mantic frenzy that possesses the Roman matron speaking.⁴⁸ But that paradox only deepens when the actual corpse of Pompey appears seven books later. After sustaining a considerable thrashing from rocks and waves, the corpse is once again completely without form, but recognizable *because* it is headless (8.709-711):

carpitur in scopulis hausto per uolnera fluctu,
ludibrium pelagi, nullaue manente figura 710
una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuolsi.

[The body] is dragged across the rocks and drinks draughts of the waves through its wounds. It is a plaything of the open water, and, although no shape (*figura*) remains, the sole mark of Magnus is the loss of his torn-off head.

The Lucanic narrator goes on to focus the reader's attention on Pompey's thwarted anonymity by having him displace a genuinely unknown (albeit intact) corpse. Stealing upon an ancient "Potter's Field," a Pompeian lieutenant despoils a pyre of its still smoldering logs in order to

⁴⁸ Hinds has observed that this *agnosco* also functions as an allusive marker, identifying a nexus of allusive interactions between the Lucanic and Vergilian scenes (1998: 8-10).

cremate and bury Pompey's body (8.743-751). The narrator then assumes the duty of building a proper *monumentum* and tomb in verse, a better one than that which might have actually existed (8.816: *quis capit haec tumulus?*). In these burial scenes, he imagines the "sacred name" of Pompey (*nomen sacrum*) being written down, perhaps drawing a connection to what he later describes as the "sacred task of poets" (9.980-981; cf. Gowing 2005: 87-91):

O sacer et magnus vatum labor! Omnia fato 980
eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum.

O great and sacred task of poets! You rip all things away from fate and grant eternity to mortals.

In *Ep.* 37, the Ausonian narrator witnesses Lucan's pronouncement go tragically and irreparably awry. The mnemonic intention of the monument has been thwarted, and the name of the honorand is lost forever. The lines that open the poem, especially their careful emphasis on the reduction of identity and its precarious construction in writing, provide further proof of Ausonius' fascination with names and mnemonic preservation (1-2: *Lucius una quidem... littera [est]*). Kay and Green point out that *Epigr.* 37 contributes to a Latin topos of mortality for all things, and Ausonius' allusive negotiations draw attention to how he differentiates himself from predecessors. By focusing specifically on the loss of memory and identity, Ausonius moves this topos beyond the traditional construction that all things, even rocks and monuments (much less the fame and honors they relate), are ephemeral.⁴⁹ Ausonius demonstrates that the destruction of a stone *monumentum*, a repository of memories, will precipitate the loss of identity for an individual. With the exception of Lucan, earlier poets paid little attention to the loss of personal names, focusing instead in general terms on the mutability of fortune and the ephemeral nature of

⁴⁹ Juvenal 10.142-146, Ovid *Fasti* 5. 129-132, Lucretius 5.306-317. For Varro's etymology of *monimentum*, see *De Lingua Latina* 6.6: *sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis. Ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta.*

fame.⁵⁰ Ausonius' approach to nomenclature exhibits an attention rarely seen. For Lucan, a unique name, that of Pompey, was sacred. For Ausonius, all names have become sacred and their loss has become a tragedy.

2.6 THE GALLIC POET

As much as Ausonius may have felt an anxiety about identity loss, the literary tradition encouraged him to believe that excellent writing presented a means to confront it. A model of no less importance for the *Epigrams* than Martial makes clear that writing and being read represents the only way to “flee the idle waters of ungrateful Lethe, and be a survivor in the better part of yourself.”⁵¹ While Conte saw a man who retreated from the crises of the fourth century by writing poetry, carrying on as if he lived under Augustus (Conte 1999: 657), I read *Epigr.* 37 as only one of many reflections of an author who, precisely because he felt an anxiety about the disorder of his age, turned to poetry to confront the fear of being forgotten. A similar anxiety is revealed by *Praef.* 1, as that poem presents the writing of Ausonius' work as a vehicle for the poet's identity and presents its reading as an experience that may prompt future generations to remember.

Notably, the exhortation to memory in *Praef.* 1 is not limited to Ausonius himself, but extends to his family, fellow *professores*, and the province of Gaul. Ausonius' poetry concerns itself with more than the memory of the author, but seeks to present his life in all of its dimensions. The attempt to preserve the parts of his world that he deemed meaningful or at risk,

⁵⁰ For further exploration of Lucan's frequent manipulation of Pompey's name, particularly the transformation and manipulation of his cognomen, see Feeney 1986.

⁵¹ Mar.10.2.4-12: *lector utrique fave/ lector opes nostrae: quem cum mihi Roma dedisset/ 'nil tibi quod demus habemus' ait./ 'pigra per hunc fugies ingratae flumina Lethes/ et meliore tui parte superstes eris.* The connection between these two poems is suggested by Fowler 2000: 196.

however, reveals another Ausonian strategy for negotiating the memory crisis. The effort to perpetuate the memory of these other areas of his life may have had intrinsic value for the poet, but it also styles Ausonius as the guardian of a particularly Gallic heritage, a role for which he ought to be remembered. I began by mentioning that Ausonius' works have been used as a historical source for fourth-century Gaul, but for readers closer to the period, other late antique and medieval readers, they may have *been* fourth-century Gaul. Ausonius' poems presented them with a bygone age. By inscribing himself within these reminiscences, Ausonius becomes his corpus, and becomes the place, in Nora's conception, to remember late antique Gaul.

The precarious position of late antique Gaul and Ausonius' proximity to the province's potential recovery may have sharpened what one might refer to as the "heritage impulse" in Ausonius. His desire to document the past, to live on in memory along with his family, countrymen, and colleagues must have increased with the perception that these things might be in danger. If the reigns of Valentinian and Gratian represented a brief renewal of hope and prosperity, the assassination of Gratian and the subsequent loss of prestige for both Gaul and Ausonius exacerbated the heritage and memory crisis. As David Lowenthal remarked in his book on the phenomenon of heritage, "Heritage growth thus reflects traumas of loss and change and fears of a menacing future... Heritage cannot be equated solely with felt decline; it also allures celebrants of success. On balance, though, obsessive concern with rooted legacies is more backward- than forward-looking" (Lowenthal 1996: 11). Similarly, Richard Terdiman writes that "Any revolution, any rapid alteration of the givens of the present places a society's relationship with history under pressure" (1993: 3). Ausonius was born into a tradition that privileged Gallic intellectuals as preeminent, and he reached the zenith of achievement as an imperial tutor as a part of that tradition. His long life also allowed him to see that tradition

decline and become seriously threatened. The poet's work represents a manifestation of the heritage impulse, as it allowed him to safeguard what had defined him whether person, institution, or idea.

Ausonius' investment in the Gallic identity, and his commitment to its preservation in his poetry, is likewise manifest in his self-construction at *Praef.* 1. After the initial lines quoted earlier, *Praef.* 1 goes on to discuss the speaker's provenance (*Praef.* 1 5-9):

Vasates patria est patri gens Aedua matri 5
de patre, Tarbellis sed genetrix ab Aquis
ipse ego Burdigalae genitus: divisa per urbes.
quattuor antiquas stirpis origo meae.
Hinc late fusa est cognatio...

My father's homeland was Bazas, my mother was of the Aedui on her father's side, but her mother was from Aquae Tarbellae. Myself, I was born at Bordeaux, my family tree is thus divided among four ancient cities. Thus my relations are widely spread...

The notion that Ausonius background is geographically diverse (*late fusa*) is unpersuasive on an initial read. Three of the towns mentioned, *Aquae Tarbellae* (modern Dax), Bazas, and Bordeaux occupy a small corner of southwestern France, a little more than 100 miles apart from one another. Once the fourth and final "city" is included, the breadth of these familial connections does increase, but only somewhat. This fourth location is never explicitly mentioned, but must be supplied from the clue that it lies in the traditional territory of the pre-Roman Celtic people, the Aedui.⁵² This assumption of familiarity with Gallic history and geography is not incidental, as a Gallic reader is the only one likely to concede that this collection of towns and villages – all of them within the borders of Gaul – constitutes geographic diversity. Furthermore, Kleinschmidt observes that Ausonius' construction of his heritage disrupts the traditional portrayal of noble origins (2013: 33). Ausonius has no connection to

⁵² Green observes that the birthplace Ausonius' maternal grandfather was probably Augustodunum, modern Autun. (1991: 234).

ancient Roman families, and so cannot construct a family tree that proceeds from the capital city. Instead of leaving a blank, Ausonius constructs himself in regional terms, and appears to the reader as a Gallic poet.

The nexus of familial representation and Gallic self-construction presents a way out of the Ausonian memory crisis. By attaching his memory to that of a wider personal network, eventually extending to Gaul itself, Ausonius can inscribe himself within different mnemonic communities. The circumstances of Ausonius' life and the textual evidence already adduced demand a serious investigation of his poetry in its mnemonic and Gallic dimensions. I do not maintain that he exerted any kind of unified effort to deal with these anxieties, but that reflection on such problems (or unconscious psychological confrontation of them) prompted the poet to engage with collective memory, both historical and poetic. Like the work of all late antique poets, Ausonius' poems exhibit an allusive richness, but he frequently deploys allusion, itself a negotiation of poetic memory, in order to shape tradition or perpetuate memories. His approach comprises both the presentation and negotiation of particular personalities and the communication of programmatic concerns about memory. The poet also relies on allusion to engage the historical memory and strives to put forward a particular image of Gaul (especially in terms of literary history) that preserves his own role. His commemorative poetry acknowledges the fundamental instability of memory while simultaneously allowing him to confront its volatility in the arena where he was most comfortable: the world of Latin letters. Finally, Ausonius' approach to the creation of these *lieux de mémoire* is reflexive. Because they are his own reminiscences, he is always inscribed within them. As he exhorts the reader to remember, he places himself within the poems as a creator and conduit of memory – a role which is of itself worthy of remembrance.

2.7 THE *PROFESSORES* AND *PARENTALIA*: AUSONIUS AND THE ANGEL OF HISTORY

Ausonius' desire to memorialize and to be remembered for his ability to do so found a vigorous expression in his two collections of epitaphic poetry, the *Parentalia* and *Professores*. The exact dates of composition are unknown, but it must be the case that *Par.* 1 was composed after the death of Julius Ausonius, the poet's father, in 378. Green dates the composition of the collection to the late 370s and early 380s, and suggests that the work was never given the *summa manus* (1991: 298-299, cf. Lolli 1997: 16). Ausonius' ambition toward a dual identity as memorializing poet and poet worthy of remembrance finds its most concise expression in the prefaces to these epitaphic pieces. The *Parentalia* stands out among Ausonius works, since its introduction comprises two prefatory paratexts, one in verse, the other in prose. This may indicate a fear that his intentions might be misunderstood, and the verse preface is remarkable for its emphasis on perpetuating Ausonius' experience through the act of reading.

Nomina carorum iam condita funere iusto,
fleta prius lacrimis, nunc memorabo modis.
nuda sine ornatu fandique carentia cultu:
sufficit inferiis exequalis honos...
at tu, quicumque es, lector, qui fata meorum
dignaris maestis commemorare elegis. 15

The names of my loved ones now interred with proper funeral rites, were mourned earlier with tears, but I will remember them now in verse. They are naked and unadorned, and lacking carefully crafted speech. The dignity of burial is enough to honor the dead...

But you, reader, whoever you are, who deign to remember my family in grieving verse...

Par. Pf. B. 1-4; 14-15

In line two of the preface, the poet's previous act of grieving, represented by the perfect participle *fleta*, is now translated for his audience through the medium of his poetry. A few

Roman inscriptions mention remembering the dead “with tears,” *memorare lacrimis*, and Ausonius presents himself as moving beyond this stage to convey his experience in verse.⁵³ The poet demonstrates, too, that he knows how to translate this experience to the page, since his preferred medium is the elegiac couplet (*Pf. B. 15: dignaris commemorare elegis*).⁵⁴ Moreover, this experiential element *excuses* the purported lack of poetic quality. An entire hexameter line, *Pf. B. 3*, advances this Ausonian apology: *nuda, sine ornatu, fandi que carentia cultu*.⁵⁵ The transfer of experience is nowhere clearer than at the poem’s conclusion, where the act of poetic composition is again emphasized, and the *memorare* of *Pf. B.2* becomes *commemorare*. The preface to the *Parentalia* transforms private grief and private memory into a public commemoration through the act of reading.

As Abrams-Rebillard recently observed, Ausonius relies on the poetic creation of this private grief in order to produce a monument to himself (2015). The poems of the collection often refer to the act of poetic composition, to writing, and to the poet’s own identity (Abrams-Rebillard 2015: 223-226). The initial poems of the *Parentalia* are programmatic for a discussion of Ausonius’ goals as a heritage creator and author of commemorative poetry. Julius Ausonius, the poet’s father, is placed first in the collection, and his primacy is emphasized by the repetition of *primus* (*1-2: Primus in his pater Ausonius, quem ponere primum, etsi cunctetur filius, ordo*

⁵³ The Clauss-Slaby epigraphic database contains two very clear examples of this, one of them from Gaul. CIL 06.02059 (= CLE 00733 = EDCS-35200416), a Christian inscription from Rome begins by explaining that tears compel memory: *[H]eu quantis impedimur lacrimis memorare sepulcrum...* The Gallic example, CIL 12.04117 (= CLE 00554 = EDCS-09202596) remembers a *Claudius [...]*chus / *cum quo vita fuit nis[i] [...]* / *quem fuis lacr[i]mis memoret.*

⁵⁴ The mostly elegiac collection occasionally departs from the meter, particularly when the name of the honorand is metrically unaccommodating (e.g. *Par. 13, 17*). For a summary of elegiac poetics and the fact that the Latin elegiac tradition always exhibits an awareness of elegy’s origin as the meter of lamentation, see Hinds 1987: 103-104.

⁵⁵ The switch into pentameter (marking the elegiac couplet) coincides with the proclamation of grief that indicates generic alignment at line 2. Therefore, as so often, the assertion that the poems are unadorned is belied by artful manipulation of language. It may nonetheless be rhetorically effective.

iubet).⁵⁶ While this makes perfect sense in the context of Roman filial piety, this also means that the collection begins with the poet's own name (as Rebillard-Abrams observes, it ends with his name as well).⁵⁷ The potential for ambiguity between the two Ausonii is also of great importance for the first poem's concluding lines. The fact that father and son share the same name may give the poet the opportunity to create his own epitaph (Abrams-Rebillard 2015: 238-239; *Par.* 1.12-18):

quamquam et **facundo non rudis ingenio.**
 praeditus et **vitae hominum ratione medendi**
porrigere et fatis amplificare moras,
 inde et perfunctae manet haec reverentia vitae, 15
 aetas nostra illi quod dedit hunc titulum:
ut nullum Ausonius, quem sectaretur habebat,
sic nullum qui se nunc imitetur habet.

... although he was no stranger to the ways of an eloquent mind. His gift was to extend human life through the science of medicine, to augment the obstacles of fate. That is why this respect remains for a life now over, since our age has given him this epitaph: 'As Ausonius had no one whom he could follow, he has no one who can imitate him now.'

The specter of creative literary ability is raised only to be dismissed, and the skills of the elder Ausonius are said to lie elsewhere. Namely, he can extend human life and delay the onset of fate (*Par.* 1.13-14), and in this he is said to have no successor. The implied successor and inheritor of this talent, however, would be his son Ausonius. As Abrams-Rebillard remarks, another form of Iulius Ausonius exists in the form of his son, Decimus Magnus Ausonius (2015: 239). While the couplet that ends the poem may be applied to Ausonius in his capacity as poet, it does not seem unrealistic to observe that the son performs his father's role with verbal rather than medical

⁵⁶ The focus on primacy is also present in the earlier *Epiced.* (1-2: *Nomen ego Ausonius; non ultimus arte medendi, / et, mea si nosset tempora, primus eram.*

⁵⁷ Abrams-Rebillard 2015:240. She notes that the name of Ausonius' own son, also named Ausonius, is never mentioned, perhaps because it represents a more permanent death of "Ausonius" (240). Importantly, however, Green does not believe that *Par.* 30 was meant to end the collection, since it would be natural to place the honorand, Urbica, alongside her husband, commemorated at *Par.* 22. For husbands and wives commemorated in subsequent poems, cf. *Par.* 18, 19; in the same poem *Par.* 21 (see Green 1991: 323; 325).

remedy.⁵⁸ The verbal and literary gift shared by father and son is deployed to imitate Ausonius the elder in another guise, as Decimus Magnus Ausonius uses his ability and fame as a poet in order to *vitas... porrigere et fatis amplificare moras*. The younger Ausonius does not restore life and vitality as such, but slows the progress of fate by providing literary *monumenta* for his intimates. The confusion of identities and the conflation of mnemonic vitality with the health and well-being of the body is continued by the fact that the distich that concludes *Par.* 1 alludes to a Homeric commonplace (cf. Green 1991: 303). Consider the similarity of the final distich to Velleius Paterculus' remarks on Homer (Vell. Pat. 1.5.), or, more importantly, to *AL* 713, a poem that may have been written by a known contemporary, Latinus Alcimus Alethius (*PLRE* Alethius 2), the honorand of *Professores* 2.⁵⁹

Maeonio uati qui par aut proximus esset,
 Consultus Paeon risit et haec cecinit:
 Si potuit nasci, quem tu sequereris, Homere,
 Nascetur, qui te possit, Homere, sequi.

When the Maeonian bard asked Apollo who was his peer, or who was his equal, Apollo laughed and sang out these verses: If someone had been born for you to follow, Homer, someone will be born who can follow you.

Through his skill as a doctor, Ausonius the elder earns a commemoration that the reading audience will recognize as worthy of a poet, while Ausonius the younger deploys his skills as a poet to accomplish feats that are worthy of a doctor.⁶⁰

This fusion of Ausonian personae is also carried out by *Par.* 3, which gives Ausonius the opportunity to discuss another “father,” his maternal uncle, Arborius. The poem begins by

⁵⁸ The more generic use of *medeor* as remedy is well attested, cf. OLD s.v. *medeor* 2

⁵⁹ The similarity between the passages of Velleius Paterculus, the *Anthologia Latina*, and *Par.* 1.16-17 was first noticed by Green 1991: 303.

⁶⁰ Any proclamation of similarity between doctor and poet is made easier by the longstanding similarity between the two, stretching back at least as far as Pindar (*Nem.* 4.1-3), but especially popular in the Hellenistic period. Theocritus 11 stands out as one of the most influential treatments, but scholars of Ausonius should also note that Hellenistic epigram adopted the commonplace (Hunter 1999: 222). The theme is also present in Horace (1.32.15) where Apollo is invoked as the patron of both medicine and poetry.

redramatizing the issue of primacy, and confronts an apprehension about Arborius' place as third in the collection, since it is *nefas* for him to be first or third. The notion that fathers ought to be succeeded by their sons finds expression in this poem as well, since Ausonius ultimately pursued Arborius' profession rather than his own father's. Arborius is also responsible for passing on the gift for oratory and literary composition (*Par.* 3.9-10: *qui me lactantem, puerum iuvenemque virumque / artibus ornasti, quas didicisse iuvat*). The scenario envisioned by the poem's concluding lines, that of a farewell between a still-living son and a father who has obtained a place in Elysium, permits a reprise of the most famous Roman relationship between father and son – that of Aeneas and Anchises (*Par.* 3.20-23).

me tibi, me patribus clarum decus esse professus
dictasti fatis verba notanda meis.
Ergo vale Elysiam sortitus, avuncule sedem
 haec tibi de musis carmina libo tuis.

After you proclaimed that I was a bright source of glory for you, for my **fathers**, you spoke words that my fates would need to acknowledge. Goodbye, then, uncle. Now that you have obtained your spot in Elysium, I offer you these poems from your own Muses.

Arborius inverts his Anchises-like position somewhat by prophesying that Ausonius will be worthy of his ancestors, rather than his descendants (3.20-21). Nevertheless, the act of prophecy performed in light of a group of assembled family members is highly reminiscent of that famous moment.⁶¹ Ausonius refers to those ancestors as *patres*, exploiting an ambiguity term that means both “father” and “forefather” (*OLD* s.v. *pater* 1, 3). Before these lines, Arborius' position as a surrogate father problematizes the piece, and he is consistently referred to by euphemisms (e.g. *Par.* 3. 5: *patre secundus*, 3.6: *unanimis genetori*, 3.7: *fuertis quod pater et genetrix*). The

⁶¹ Notably, *pater et avunculus* are the two models for behaviour given to Ascanius in both *Aeneid* 3 and 12. *Aen.* 12.439-440: *sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum / et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector* and *Aen.* 3. 342-343: *ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis / et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?*

declaration that Ausonius has multiple *patres* at 3.20 represents the explicit statement of an idea that has haunted the poem since the beginning. While there is a tension between Arborius and Ausonius the elder, the conflict between them is resolved and integrated into a whole in the life and work of their successor, Decimus Magnus Ausonius. The poet combines the gifts given him by both of his father figures and uses the method of one to achieve the goals of the other – he deploys his poetic gift in order to extend the mnemonic lives of men beyond their allotted time.

Support for an Ausonian belief that commemorative poetry could extend the life of the honorands finds further support in analyses of his second epitaphic collection, the *Professores* (c.385-88 C.E.).⁶² As Sivan has observed, the literary cachet of Gallic rhetors and scholars remained high in late antiquity, although a shift from Autun to Bordeaux had taken place (1993: 74-75). This shift seems to have taken place shortly before Ausonius' own lifetime, as one of the last great Aeduan rhetors, Eumenius of Autun, is likely to have died shortly after Ausonius was born. Gratian's death brought disruption to this tradition as well, however, and, as McLynn points out, "one effect of Maximus' usurpation was to sever the links between the schools of Gaul and the Valentinian dynasty" (1994: 169). The newly vacant post of court rhetorician in Valentinian's Milan was not filled by a Gaul, but by Augustine, a heretofore unsuccessful provincial. While there were certainly geographical pressures that created this peculiarity of career advancement, namely the occupation of Gaul by the usurper, Maximus, the post was likely unattractive to accomplished Gallic rhetors reluctant to praise the "achievements" of a child-emperor to an audience who understood that the power behind the throne lay elsewhere (McLynn 1994: 170; cf. also *Conf.* 6.6). Whatever the reason, Ausonius, formerly the court

⁶² Green 1991: 298-9, 328-329.

orator at Trier, witnessed the disenfranchisement of himself and his colleagues from the legitimate imperial power in the West.

Prestige would later be restored to the Gallic orators, including the Bordelais, after the defeat of Maximus (consider, e.g. Pacatus' panegyric of Theodosius in 389). Nevertheless, this would have left a five-year period during which the fate of Gallic letters would have been in doubt (383-388). This period is likely to have corresponded roughly with the composition of the *Professores*. If one follows Green in supposing that Julius Ausonius' death in 378 prompted the *Parentalia*, it is not unreasonable to date the *Professores* to approximately 383-388, since they represent a continuation of the earlier collection. At the very least, the concluding lines of *Prof.* 5 indicate composition after 385, and Green suggests that the collection was finished in 388 (1991: 328-329).

Even if the *Professores* does not represent a direct reaction to the crisis of Gallic literary prestige that followed the assassination of Gratian, the work constitutes some of Ausonius' most intense negotiations of memory. Consider the six lines of prefatory verse that accompany the poem (*Prof. Pf.* 1-6):

Vos etiam, quos nulla mihi cognatio iunxit,
sed fama et **carae religio patriae**,
et studium in libris et sedula cura docendi,
commemorabo viros morte obita celebres.
fors erit, ut nostros manes sic **adserat** olim, 5
exemplo cupiet qui pius esse meo.

I will remember you as well, famous men who have died, connected to me not by ties of kinship, but by fame and by care for our homeland; likewise, by our interest in books and by our diligent pursuit of teaching. Perhaps it will happen that my soul will be inspiration for someone else who would like to follow my example and be dutiful.

Unlike the poet's earlier attempt at commemorative poetry in the *Parentalia*, the *Professores* does not take men related to Ausonius for its subject.⁶³ Instead, they were connected to him by reputation, love of learning, concern for teaching, and, most importantly, reverence for a beloved homeland. The uncertain future of Gallic letters in the 380s may provide a possible explanation for the emphasis on the literary culture of Gaul, but Ausonius was also careful to celebrate the cultural achievements of the province throughout his work. Line 4 of the preface presents the poem as an act of collective memory, an insider's presentation of a group of people to society as a whole, and a codification of memory for both groups.⁶⁴ The preface's most intriguing contribution, however, is its reconfiguration of the relationship between past and present generations of writers. While the influence of earlier authors had always been important, Ausonius transforms these individuals, especially himself, not as peripheral influences on poetry, but as its inspiration and subject.

This idea finds further support in the necromantic implications of the phrase *mortem obire*, "to meet one's death." It is a common expression in Latin (OLD s.v. *obeo* 7), but ablative phrase *morte obita* has seen very limited use in Latin hexameter verse, and seemingly none in pentameter. It occurs only three times before Ausonius, but four times in the *Professores*. The deployment of the phrase most familiar to Ausonius was likely the *morte obita* at *Aeneid* 10.636-642, in which Juno fashions a kind of phantom Aeneas made of shadow and cloud. This *simulacrum* soon becomes the subject of epic simile, and *Aen.* 10.641 maintains that it was:

morte obita qualis **fama est** volitare figuras
aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.

...like the ghosts that are said to fly about after death or the dreams which delude our sleepy senses.

⁶³ Excluding Arborius, who happened to be a rhetor as well, commemorated at *Prof.*16.

⁶⁴ For the meaning, "recall to others, see OLD s.v. *commemoro* 1.

The *fama est* of line 641 marks the line out as a kind of self-annotation, indicating a reference to an earlier poet (cf. Hinds 1998:1-5). That earlier poet is Lucretius, whose work accounts for the other two hexameter occurrences of *morte obita* and is of greatest importance for the programmatics of the *Professores*. The Vergilian line features the separation into two parts, death and dreams, of what was originally one Lucretian image. At *De Rerum Natura* 4.722-734, Lucretius explains how *rerum simulcra* are formed and enter the mind, explaining that one of these things, along with Centaurs and Scylla-like beings, are *simulacraque eorum / quorum morte obita tellus amplectitur ossa*. The poet also deploys the phrase in a passage of Book 1 detailing the program of his didactic work, and purporting to explain (Lucr. 1.131-135):

unde anima atque animi constet natura videndum,
 et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes
 terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
cernere uti videamur eos **audireque coram,**
morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa.

Of what the spirit is made and the nature of the mind, and what thing it is that, meeting us when awake, terrifies our minds whilst we are labouring under disease, or buried in sleep, so that we seem to see and to hear in very presence those who have encountered death, whose bones rest in earth's embrace.⁶⁵

According to Lucretius, when we suffer symptoms of disease or are ourselves “buried in sleep”, we may see those to whom death has already come (*morte obita*). For the Epicurean poet, the images are false but remarkably vivid. The affected person will seem to see them and hear them as if they appeared before their eyes (*coram*). Although long dead, these shades will seem to the viewer to be alive, and can effectively refute skepticism by engaging multiple senses. As shown by its Lucretian and Vergilian uses, then, the phrase *morte obita* consistently evokes a kind of second life for the dead in the Roman poetic tradition, typically through some kind of

⁶⁵ Translation by Rouse 1924.

remembrance.⁶⁶ Moreover, in both Vergil and Lucretius, the revived form of the dead person is so convincingly lifelike that it can deceive the viewer into believing that it is real. Ausonius' strategy for such resurrection relies on an act of collective memory combined with an act of poetic memory (*commemorabo viros morte obita celebres*).

Ausonius' redeployment of *morte obita* reflects a desire that is both necromantic and mnemonic. The poet will summon the dead and allow them to live on in memory.⁶⁷ This facet of the *Professores* is most accessible to those who have had a literary education comparable to that of the honorands themselves. These are the readers likely to react to the Lucretian borrowing or recognize a Vergilian borrowing and/or its Lucretian source. Furthermore, readers such as these find themselves the targets of the preface's concluding lines. Other men of letters, particularly poets, may want to emulate the piety of Ausonius, and, following his example, write the same kind of commemorative poetry about him after he has died. This is more than a vain hope or a charming plea for remembrance – it represents the culmination of the mnemonic tendencies already discussed. *Ep.37* dramatizes an anxiety about loss of identity and the fragility of its preservation, while *Praef. 1* reflects the desire to create poetry as a vehicle to make oneself known, remembered and cherished. The preface to *Professores* reveals a potential solution: Change the mechanism of preservation. *Ep. 37* demonstrates that even a well-meaning

⁶⁶ The phrase *morte obita* can be found within the Latin epigraphic tradition, albeit rarely (For an overview of late antique epigraphic practice, see Trout 2009). Three inscriptions deploy the phrase, one from Numidia (EDCS-25001008) and two from Rome (CIL 06.33087=CLE 01563 = EDCS-23500448; CIL 06.36525=CLE 01867=EDCS-23801589). The Numidian inscription is incredibly brief and transmits nothing other than the basic facts of biography. The two Roman inscriptions, both of which are metrical, deploy the phrase at the same time that they mention the *monumentum*. The first of these, CIL 06.33087, most clearly connects the two concepts: *morte obita ut monumentum haberemus fecimus*, “we built this so that we might have a *monumentum* after death came to us.” The other features a much less explicit connection between the concept of posthumous memory and the phrase *morte obita* but they are still presented in succession: *eam morte ob[i]ta diligunt mon/[umentumque eius f]letu ac muneribus [r]eplent*, “they love her even though death has come for her, and fill her *monumentum* with grief and offerings.”

⁶⁷ A reference to the practice of *vocatio*, calling the names of the dead aloud. For more on the necromantic implications of *ciere*, see pages 78-79 of this study.

community may allow commemorated individuals to be displaced, especially if their memory is consigned to an object (including a textual one, such as an inscription). Ausonius' strategy, therefore, is to commend memory to the community itself, and to charge the members of that community to remember.

In this short piece, then, Ausonius has combined both an exhortation to memory and a proposal for how that memory ought to be communicated. He has invented a tradition of poetic commemoration, and has made the memorialization of past generations incumbent on the current generation of *literati*. These acts of commemoration were not a part of what it meant to be a man of letters in fourth century Gaul, but, perhaps, Ausonius would like it to be. The future of this nascent tradition lies completely in the success or failure of Ausonius' attempt. Owing to this, perhaps, Ausonius buttresses his attempt with references to poetic traditions that precede him. While the deployment of *morte obita* serves as programmatic proof of his own allusive capacity, the concluding lines, identified by Green as a recollection of Martial 1.88, make clear that poetic commemoration had long been the province of the Latin poetry's greatest exponents. Even if this new tradition were to flounder, it is clear that the attempt was itself deeply meaningful to Ausonius.

Inspired by the work of Paul Klee, Walter Benjamin once imagined an angel sorrowfully watching the past pile up in a catastrophic and undifferentiated mass. He called this figure the angel of history (*ThPh IX*).

The angel would like to stay, **awaken the dead**, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Translation by Zohn 1968. **Er möchte wohl verweilen, die Toten wecken** und das Zerschlagene zusammenfügen. Aber ein Sturm weht vom Paradiese her, der sich in seinen Flügeln verfangen hat und so stark ist, daß der Engel sie nicht mehr schließen kann.

The pressure that the rise of Nazism exerted on Benjamin's identities cannot be compared to the experiences of the thoroughly privileged Ausonius. Eschewing comparison, one can still identify a few commonalities: displacement, political instability, and an insecurity about the future of intellectual life. Such pressures prompted both men to reflect on those whom history may leave behind and how they might somehow be redeemed (to borrow Benjamin's term). Ausonius is certainly not the angel whom Benjamin envisioned, nor does he yearn for a mankind "citable in all of its moments" (*ThPh* III). Nevertheless, Ausonius found himself affected by the same impulse. Ausonius' desire to redeem is not universalizing, but specific. The Gallic author did not wish to save all mankind, but rather, his own small portion of it.

Ausonius cannot represent the angel of History, then, but the angel of fourth-century, Gallic, aristocratic history. Nevertheless, Ausonius demonstrates that he felt "the weak Messianic power" that Benjamin proclaimed belonged to every generation (*ThPh*. II):

Like every generation that preceded us, we have been endowed with a weak Messianic power, a power to which the past has a claim.⁶⁹

In this conception of history and forgetting, memory consists only of what the present generation is willing to redeem for it. Each living person has the power to commit something to memory, and Ausonius' poetry experiments with such power. Unsure of what the *Parentalia* can achieve, the narrator expresses anxiety about the value of commemorative poetry in the prose preface: "I know the fate of my verses – they will be read with disdain. Perhaps it is what they deserve."⁷⁰ Leaving aside aesthetic considerations, it is clear that the poems represent mnemonic success. Through them, Ausonius has managed to transmit the memory of people and institutions that mattered to him.

⁶⁹ Dann ist uns wie jedem Geschlecht, das vor uns war, eine schwache messianische Kraft mitgegeben, an welche die Vergangenheit Anspruch hat.

⁷⁰ *scio versiculis meis evenire, ut fastidiose legantur: quippe sic meritum est eorum.*

While Ausonius expressed doubts about the value of his commemorative poetry, its survival is a testament to the fact that later audiences did not read with disgust. It also seems unlikely that they read the poems for their historical value, as moderns might do. For centuries after Ausonius, there existed some willingness to perpetuate these memories. The poems of Ausonius became *lieux de mémoire*, sites to which later generations might return whenever they wanted to remember the times in which Ausonius lived. Without the will to remember, the commemorative poems become historical artifacts (*lieux de histoire*), appropriate to the creation of textbook histories, rather than “living” memories. Admittedly, they are often treated as such by modern scholars (cf. Hopkins 1961; Sivan 1993), but generations of readers experienced (and preserved) them as authentic *lieux de mémoire* according to Nora’s definition (Nora 1989:7-24, esp. 18-20).

2.8 MINERVIUS AND THE *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*

There is more at stake in the *Professores*, therefore, than the redemption of fellow Gallic aristocrats. Something else must have prompted readers to make use of the commemorative poetry as *lieux de mémoire*, and to persist in their remembrance despite changing circumstances. The survival of both collections of commemorative poetry seems indebted to the desire to remember a previous period of Gallic ascendancy. Both collections come down to us thanks to a community of readers at Lyon, who preserved the texts until they were copied by émigrés from Visigothic Spain in approximately 800 (Green 1991: xli-xliii, 298, 330; Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 262). Whatever the motivation of that community may have been, the poems themselves provide evidence for Ausonius’ conception of the pieces as *lieux de mémoire*. In addition to the memory of individuals, the commemorative poetry of Ausonius provides the poet with the

opportunity to construct a corporate identity for the professors of Bordeaux, and to present that identity to the world. By focusing on the portrayal of Tiberius Minervius in *Prof.* 1 (*PLRE* Minervius 4), I shall explore how that poem advances a particular image of Gallic literary figures, as well as the ways Ausonius uses allusion to bolster his claims or defend them against would-be detractors.

Before proceeding to the poem itself, it must be said that we would know almost nothing of Minervius without the aid of the *Professores*. Outside of Ausonius' text, the only reference to Tiberius Victor Minervius Burdigalensis comes from Jerome's *Chronicon*, which records his activity as a teacher in Rome in 353: *Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet* (Jer. *Chron.* s.a. 353; *PLRE* Minervius 4; cf. *Prof.* 1.4-5).⁷¹ It is not impossible that Minervius was also the teacher of Symmachus, but there is no firm evidence to vindicate the claim. Symmachus remains unfortunately vague in stating that "an old man nourished by the Garumna poured the precepts of rhetoric into [his] heart" (*Ep.* 9.88.3-4: *praecepta rhetoricae pectori meo senx olim Garumnae alumnus inmultit*). In his capacity as the angel of history, Ausonius has managed to save his former master. Nearly everything that has been transmitted about Minervius comes from Ausonius, and, as a result, the reception and tradition surrounding him throughout the centuries has been wholly shaped by the poetic presentation offered by *Prof.* 1.

The very first words of *Prof.* 1 contain a curious intertext. The line, *Primus Burdigalae columen dicere, Minervi*, is reminiscent of Catullus 64.25-26: *Thessaliae columen, Peleu, cui Iuppiter ipse / ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores*. Describing a person with the iunctura of *columen* and a geographical location is unique to Catullus, and, as I shall show in the following section of this chapter, alignment with the Latin neoterics helped to define the group of

⁷¹ For confirmation that Jerome's Minervius is indeed Tiberius Victor Minervius, as opposed to one of the other Minervii, see Booth 1978, esp. 241-242.

poets that coalesced around Ausonius.⁷² While the effect is greatly enhanced if the first line also invites Minervius into the literary circle of Ausonius, this is a truly apt description of Minervius, since he is not only a famous teacher, but a founding dynast of Gallic eloquence. Not only was he the former teacher and friend of successful Roman elites like Ausonius, his son, Alethius Minervius, was something of a prodigy – he managed to hold a chair of rhetoric at Bordeaux by the time he was around twenty years old (c. 340). This son would die young (c. 360), leaving Tiberius Minervius without an heir when he died (cf. *Prof.* 1.37; Booth 1978: 239-242). Due to his own teaching and through the remarkable rise and tragic loss of his son, the history of Tiberius Minervius’ life was likely something deeply meaningful to many of the Gallic elite.

Minervius’ position as “the pillar of Bordeaux” makes him a fitting candidate for comparison to other, more famous intellectuals. *Professores* 1.1 constructs Minervius in “purely local and individual terms,” and, as Pucci observed, quickly departs from the local concerns of Bordeaux and moves on to Minervius’ impact on Roman culture as a whole (Pucci 2003: 89). Ausonius presents his honorand as a second Quintilian who, through his teaching, managed to elevate Bordeaux to the world stage (*Prof.* 1.3-6):

Inlustres quondam quo praeceptore fuerunt
 Constantinopolis, Roma, dehinc patria,
 non equidem certans cum maiestate duarum,
 solo set potior nomine, quod patria.

Constantinople and Rome were marked out for distinction, since he was once a teacher there, and then our homeland; she certainly cannot compete with the grandeur of those cities, but, since it is our country, it is better only by its name alone.

⁷² For similar uses, see TLL s.v. *columen*, esp 2a. *columen* as *summitas* or *auctoritas*, what the OLD refers to as “a person holding the highest (and key) position in an group, organization, etc. 'keystone' rarely coupled with a geographical term (OLD s.v. *columen* 4a). The only instances are Cat. 64.25, *Prof.* 1.1, and Curt. 9.6.8: *Macedoniae columen ac sidus*. Thus Cat. 64 and the present passage represent the only hexameter instances. Further skepticism may be allayed by the fact that the Ausonian deployment, like its Catullan antecedent, also occurs alongside a name in the vocative. Finally, both regions precede the term *columen* and have the same number of syllables.

Thus, the reader's first impression of Minervius, or perhaps, first reminiscence, recalls a corporate identity of Gallic literary excellence. Bordeaux may boast that it maintains, however tenuously, the same level of academic quality as the two capital cities. While the poet makes his apologies immediately thereafter, the same kind of apologetic pleading characterizes Ausonius' attempt to compare Gaul to Rome (and Athens) in the *Mosella*, a passage that actually conceals a proclamation of Gallic rhetorical excellence (*Mos.* 374-383, esp. 383: *Aemula te [Mosella] Latiae decorat facundia linguae*). This collective Gallic identity quickly finds reinforcement in a comparison of the two "Quintilians." Notably, Marcus Fabius Quintilianus is also constructed in local terms (*Prof.* 1.7-8): *adserat usque licet Fabium Calagurris alumnum / non sit Burdigalae dum cathedra inferior*. Spanish and Gallic letters are set at parity with one another. If Gaul / Bordeaux cannot overtake the imperial centers of power, she can at least compete at the provincial level. Likewise, Minervius also contributes to the longstanding struggle of western, Latin-speaking Romans against their Greek compatriots. The Gallic orator deserves to be classed alongside Isocrates as a panegyrist, and even Demosthenes would have agreed to yield to him (*Prof.* 1.14-15; 19-20). Minervius' commemoration creates opportunities for the reader to familiarize himself with or reminisce about Gallic literary preeminence.

Among Minervius' laudable qualities, his prodigious memory receives the most attention in *Prof.* 1. Described by Ausonius in ten of the poem's forty-two lines (21-30), Minervius' memory holds a place second only to his achievements as a teacher and orator (lines 1-20), or is perhaps equal to them, since each of these is discussed in roughly ten lines (teaching: 1-10, oratory: 12-20, memory: 21-30). Minervius was capable of remembering any information he received, whether heard, read, or seen. This characteristic makes him a very fitting character with whom to begin, as his extraordinary memory may have survived his death. Like a character

who has suffered an Ovidian metamorphosis, Minervius' most salient characteristic lives on in spite of his change (*Prof.* 1.39-40: *Et nunc, sive aliquid post fata extrema superfit, / vivis adhuc aevi, quod perit, meminens*). In this, the poem's concluding passage, Minervius provides the perfect complement to the future generations of *pientissimi poetae* who may want to write commemorative poetry after Ausonius' example. The depiction of Minervius' afterlife perfectly aligned with goals of the *Professores*. It projects the past into eternity and indulges in unlimited reminiscence.

It is worth pointing out, too, that *Prof.* 1 also serves to cement the position of Ausonius in the reader's memory. If the poem truly is a *lieu de mémoire* that allows contemplation of Gallic literary excellence, it also presents Ausonius as a central figure in that world. Minervius was arguably the most famous of all the rhetors commemorated in the collection, and Ausonius one of his most successful protégés. Although Ausonius possessed some renown himself, he could not guarantee that his fame would endure. By creating a memorable and aesthetically pleasing commemoration of a more prominent figure, Ausonius could better ensure his own mnemonic survival, not just as an author, but as a student (vv. 11-12), a mourner (vv. 37-38), and a friend.⁷³

Furthermore, just as the preface to the *Professores* deploys allusion to telegraph its aims to a learned readership, *Prof.* 1 relies on allusion to construct the memory of Minervius as a perfect *rhetor*, able to overcome obstacles inherent to the profession that lesser men would encounter as pitfalls. Pucci has already made a thorough investigation into this matter, but his reading benefits from the context provided by this study. His work identifies and analyzes many of the allusions in *Prof.* 1, the first being *Prof.* 1.2, in which Minervius referred to as *alter*

⁷³ The same awareness of his dual position as creator and inhabitant of the world of the *Professores* is obvious in the introductory lines of *Prof.* 2: *Nec me nepotes impii silentii / reum ciebunt, Alcime, / minusque dignum, non et oblitum ferent / tuae ministrum memoriae...*

*retoricae Quintiliane togae.*⁷⁴ As Green observed, the line ending *Quintiliane togae* is reminiscent of Martial 2.90, which features the same line ending in a passage critical of Quintilian (2.90.1-6):

Quintiliane, vagae moderator summe iuventae
gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae
vivere quod propero pauper nec inutilis annis
da veniam. properat vivere nemo satis.
differat hoc patrios optat qui vincere census 5
atriaque immodicis artat imaginibus.

Quintilian, greatest of those who keep young men's vagaries in check! Quintilian, glory of the Roman toga! I am quick to enjoy life even though I am poor and hardly incapacitated by old age: please forgive me for this. No one can enjoy life quickly enough. The man who wishes to outdo his feather's wealth and who packs his atrium with an extravagant number of ancestral images: let *him* put off living.⁷⁵

Instead of the advancement through training that Quintilian implicitly and explicitly promotes, Martial expresses a desire for something else, a life utterly different from that of those who live in Quintilian's world (2.90.5-10; Pucci 2003: 90-91). Pucci observes that this demands a comparison of Ausonius and Martial, including Martial's campaign of rejecting Quintilianic fame (Ibid: 91). Ausonius presents himself as a Martial-like figure who, through the excellent instruction provided by Minervius, learned to harmonize both poetic indifference and Quintilianic enthusiasm toward position and political engagement. This Ausonian position remains unclear until the end of the poem, however, and the reader may perceive a lack of sincerity on the poet's part until the concluding lines. *Prof.* 1.17, the next allusive instance Pucci adduces, contributes to the criticism of Ausonius' motives (*Prof.* 1.17-18).

dicendi torrens tibi copia, quae tamen aurum
non etiam luteam volveret inluviem.

Your eloquence was a raging storm that turned up gold, not just the muddy sediment.

⁷⁴ It must be noted, however, that many of the allusions are also identified by Green in his 1991 commentary.

⁷⁵ Translation and text from Williams 2004.

The phrase *dicendi torrens tibi copia* prompts recollection of the tenth poem of Juvenal (10.9-11):

...torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille
confisus periit admirandis lacertis

There are many men whose eloquence is a raging storm – but their skill with words is fatal to them. Other men die too, although they trusted in the strength of wondrously strong arms.

Ausonius' line borrows Juvenal's phrase exactly, a phrase that may imply criticism when considered in its original context. Yet, this line also sits awkwardly between two passages of praise. Pucci remarks that the second mention of Quintilian at *Prof.* 1.16 ought to prompt the reader to critically reexamine the lines (2003: 92). This may be, but the second mention is used to specify a particular area of oratorical excellence – that of composing *controversiae* – while the first reference at *Prof.* 1.2 is general, and refers to Quintilian's overall contribution to the art of Latin oratory. Nevertheless, the allusive resonance of the line does seem to undermine the praise that surrounds it. The allusions to both Martial and Juvenal seem to suggest that the goals that define a good orator, a good person, and a good poet may often be at variance. Pucci rightly argues that these discrepancies are harmonized at the end of the poem, not unsurprisingly, through another instance of allusive engagement (2003: 96-98). The poem's final line begins, *tu tibi vixisti*, a phrase that evokes Horace *Ep.* 18 and Ovid *Tristia* 3.4 (Both parallels may be found in Green 1991: 333). The latter is explored by Pucci, who parses the reference with the following explanation (2003: 98):

...think of him [Minervius] in terms of Ovid or Ovid's friend [the addressee of *Tristia* 3.4], both of whom, living in the competitive and oftentimes superficial world of the establishment, came in their own ways to appreciate longer, deeper realities than the world of *negotium* could offer. This would seem to be the world Minervius knew also...

Ausonius always opts in his verses, whenever the choice has to be made, for the life of the heart and of the mind over and against the world of *negotium*. If this poem is any indication, so, ultimately, did Minervius.

Thus, the poem's final line, and ultimate instance of allusive engagement, presents Minervius as a worthy object of emulation for both Ausonius and successive generations of readers. The Horatian intertext should not be ignored either. Its context and emphasis on philosophical living seem rather important for someone such as Minervius, who returned to Bordeaux late in life (*Ep.* 1.18.104-112).

Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia riuus,
quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus 105
quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
'Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, **et mihi uiuam**
quod superest aeuī, siquid superesse uolunt di;
sit bona librorum et prouisae frugis in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.' 110
Sed satis est orare Iouem qui ponit et aufert;
det uitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo.

When the chilly stream of Digentia so often restores me, the river Mandela drinks with scars of frost, how do you think I feel, friend, what do you think I pray for? 'May I have what I have now, or less, and may I live for myself for whatever of my life remains, if the gods will that anything of life should. May I have a good abundance of books and food stored up for the year. And let me not waver as I hang on the uncertain hopes of the moment. But it is enough to pray to Jove, who gives and takes away. May he give life and its necessities; but, I, I will make myself a tranquil mind.

Regardless of which text one is compelled to recall (there are certain to be others, as *tibi vivere* is a common phrase) it is clear that the poem's conceit has not been criticism of Minervius, but praise for his success. The poem's final words of eulogy integrate the Ausonian narrator and the honorand into a topos, placing them in the company of Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, an association that a learned audience of rhetors and *grammatici* could not miss. Like that of the *morte obita* of the preface, the allusive engagement displayed throughout *Professores* 1 has the potential to speak to its most invested readers on another level – and it is partially this reward for

contemplative re-reading that makes the poem a *lieu de mémoire*, rather than a *lieu de histoire*. The poem prompts reflection on more than “what was,” and extends its reach to “what was exceptional, what was worthy of Gallic excellence.” *Prof.* 1 not only permits reminiscence, but also encourages reflection on the quality of Gallic letters in Ausonius’ era, and on what made them great. Minervius was not just a genius, as exemplified by his remarkable powers of memory, he was capable of steering a middle course between the worlds of *otium* and *negotium*, a challenge that many failed to address.

Notably, the literary history constructed by *Prof.* 1 includes Quintilian and Martial among these failures. While there is an initial move toward parity between Spanish and Gallic letters, eventually the Gallic tradition triumphs. By creating a local version of a figure who instantiates the Roman rhetorical tradition, Ausonius demonstrates how that tradition has been perfected in Gaul. Bordeaux has given the world a perfected Quintilian in the person of Minervius, and a better version of Martial in Ausonius. The poem on Minervius proves how capably Ausonius deployed allusion in order to construct tradition and curate reminiscence. The declaration of parity with Spanish letters is explicit, but the presentation of Gaul as the site of perfected Roman rhetorical and poetic excellence relies heavily on Ausonius’ allusive manipulation.

Most importantly, the ending of *Prof.* 1 is programmatic for the entire collection. Minervius did not take excessive pride in his own fame, but, as line 42 proclaims, he lived for himself. The line continues with *nos tua fama iuvat*. Minervius’ fame was not self-centered, but instead contributed to the corporate identity that Ausonius valorizes in the *Professores* (cf. *Prof. Praef.* 1-2: *vos etiam quos nulla mihi cognatio iunxit / set fama et carae religio patriae*).⁷⁶ This

⁷⁶ The effect of one’s fame, even after death, is something of a theme in the *Professores*. While the honorands may be dead themselves, the effects of their fame can still have important consequences, as in *Prof.* 3, where the fame of Luciolus helps his son, now a teacher as well. Minervius’ fame is the most powerful example of this, as the entire community / region benefits from his fame, not just his students and circle of intimates.

final statement constitutes an elaboration on the goals established by the preface. The narrator of the preface posits that, one day, another poet may follow his example and write commemorative poetry about him. But this would also likely entail the composition of commemorative poetry for others as well. The concluding lines of *Prof.* 1 may aid this future memorialist in attempting to determine the sort of fame that is worthy of remembrance. Presenting Minervius as this kind of noble teacher allows Ausonius to establish rules for future generations who wish to insinuate themselves into the traditions of the noble past.

2.9 SPHRAGIS: THE CORONIS TO THE PROFESSORES

After twenty-four short poems commemorating his fellow *Professores*, Ausonius concludes with one, or possibly two short poems.⁷⁷ Whatever it may mean to modern readers, Ausonius' pride in his accomplishment is evident from the first lines of *Prof.* 25, called the *Coronis*:

Quos legis **a prima deductos menide** libros
doctores patriae scito fuisse meae

Know that the men you have read about from the first *menis* of my book, were the teachers in my country.

In the preceding discussion of the *Parentalia*, I observed an attempt to assimilate Ausonius to both a doctor and the poet Homer. The *Coronis* resumes this connection in order to strengthen it. The fact that twenty-four poems precede is unlikely to be a coincidence, as they would correspond to the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. His use of the unprecedented Latinization *menis*, here in the ablative case, indicates a strong identification. Not only has

⁷⁷ The two separate portions occur in different meters, but may nevertheless have been intended as one piece. For the suggestion that *Prof.* 25 and 26 may be one poem, and that the superscription “*poeta*” be removed from 26, see Green 1991: 362-363.

Ausonius taken it upon himself to Latinize Homer's Greek, he has done so in order to give himself the same point of departure. His identification with the poet of the *Iliad* is cemented by the fact that the *Epitaphia Heroum*, brief poems on heroes of the Trojan War, follow the *Professores*.⁷⁸ The epic ambition of these lines is heightened by their curious Ovidian drift. The banalities of fourth century Gallic letters have become almost teleological endpoint of literature, from Homer's *menis* to Ausonius' *Professores*, passing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on the way (*Met.* 1.3-4):

... **primaque ab origine** mundi
ad mea perpetuum **deducite** tempora carmen

Roll out the scroll, from the beginning of the world to my own time, in one perpetual song!

The *Coronis* continues and reprises themes from both collections of commemorative poetry, including a winking nod to the title of the previous collection (*Prof.* 25.4-10):

quos memorasse mihi **morte obita** satis est
viventum illecebra est laudatio; nomina tantum
voce ciere suis sufficet tumulis.
ergo, qui nostrae legis otia tristia chartae,
eloquium ne tu quaere, sed officium,
quo claris doctisque viris pia cura **parentat**
dum decora egregiae commeminit patriae

... whom it is enough to remember after their deaths. Praise entices the living; for the dead in their tombs, it suffices that their names are spoken aloud. So, you, who read this grieving work of leisure, do not search for eloquence, but duty instead. Duty, with which my obliged concern makes an offering to these learned and famous men, while remembering them as the glory of my country.

The preface to the *Professores* strongly implies a continuation of the *Parentalia*, and that continuation is confirmed by the use of *parentat* in the lines of the concluding poem. The notion

⁷⁸ While the preface to the *Epit.* makes it seem as if Ausonius is translating from one source, Green has observed that this cannot be the case. At the least, the translations are free enough that the poet was able to incorporate material from both Greek and Latin sources (Green 1991: 363-364).

that the dead need hear only their names is reminiscent of *Par.* 9-10, and the idea that familial obligation, not eloquence, adorns the collection is present again here as well (cf. *Par. Pf.* 2-4.) The necromantic implications of *morte obita* may be picked up in the substitution *ciere for vocare, dicere, vel sim.* *Ciere* combines the notion of rousing / summoning with that of calling aloud, and frequently used of necromantic / infernal summoning (cf. *Aen.* 4.490, 7.325; Ovid *Met.* 6.662).⁷⁹

The necromantic element and the identification with Homer are not unrelated. This study has already discussed late antique pronouncements that literature was the only way to secure mnemonic survival, and identified Homer as one of the authors frequently listed as successful in achieving this goal. That Ausonius believed this seems evident from the fourth poem in the *Epitaphia Heroum*, a badly damaged epigram on Achilles (*Epit.* 4. 1-4):

Non una Aeaciden tellus habet: ossa teguntur
litore Sigeo, crinem Larissa cremavit.
pars tumulis... et classe...,
orbe sed in toto... [Homerus?]

The land that holds Achilles is not one; his bones lie beneath the shore at Sigeon, Larissa cremated his hair. A part is in the tombs... and among the fleet... but in the whole world... [Homer].⁸⁰

The tempting emendation, *orbe sed in toto redivivum ostendet Homerus*, is rejected by Green as incompatible with the manuscript evidence (1991: 367). He allows that the manuscript evidence is compatible with the suggestion that the line ends with *Homerus*, which Vinet and Scaliger originally proposed in the 16th century (when they may have likely had access to a manuscript in a better state of preservation).⁸¹ Even without the evidence of *Epit.* 4, the assimilation of

⁷⁹ Greater emphasis may come from the repetition of –ce, and the latent presence of the same sounds in *ciere* and *sufficiet*. “voce *ciere* suis *sufficiet* tumulis.”

⁸⁰ The text is that of Green 1991, although I have restored the line ending *Homerus* in accordance with his observations.

⁸¹ For an overview of the textual criticism surrounding this line, see Pastorino 1970: 197.

Ausonius and Homer at the conclusion of the *Professores* indicates that the later poet made a claim to the mnemonic power that Homer had. Regardless of whether Vinet's emendation is correct, Ausonius put the subjects of his poems on display, "alive again throughout the world," following a Homeric example.

2.10 AUSONIUS AND HIS CIRCLE: DREPANIUS PACATUS

The allusive connections enforced by the *Professores* and *Coronis* reveal an Ausonius who understands and aggrandizes his role as a creator of Gallic *lieux de mémoire*.⁸² These intertextual connections challenge the reader to reassess Ausonius' Gaul, and to reconsider what can be found there. A close reading of *Professores* 1 reveals Gallic versions of Quintilian and Martial that surpass their Spanish predecessors. Throughout the corpus of commemorative poetry, Ausonius emerges as another Homer, preserving the deeds and the glorious names of his compatriots. Because these 'new' literary figures are allusively constructed, their existence can be dismissed by the skeptic as instances of overinterpretations, but the Ausonian corpus provides further evidence to corroborate these readings. Other works explicitly combine allusive engagement and literary remapping, especially those addressed to Ausonius' friends among the Gallic elite.

Perhaps the most impressive instance of this can be found at *Praef.* 4, an unidentified verse dedication to Ausonius' friend and fellow Gaul, Drepanius Pacatus. The poem is an intricate nexus of inside-jokes and allusions that the other poet can decode, and reveals a fascination with the Latin neoterics. These jokes and allusive affinities eventually culminate in

⁸² Nora's remarks on the essential vitality and "living" nature of memory read quite harmoniously against the concluding lines of the *Coronis*, wherein Ausonius urges the "memory of their names to live" (*Prof.* 26.12: *memoria vivat nominum*; Nora 1989: 8).

an invented tradition that serves Ausonius' objective of creating and perpetuating the literary legacy of Gaul. I quote the poem in full (*Praef.* 4.1-19):

“Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?”

Veronensis ait poeta quondam
inventoque dedit statim Nepoti.
at nos **illepidum rudem** libellum,
burras quisquiliis **ineptiasque**, 5
credemus **gremio cui** fovendum?
inveni—trepidae silete **nugae**—
nec doctum minus et magis benignum
quam quem **Gallia praebuit Catullo**.
hoc nullus mihi carior meorum 10
quem pluris faciunt novem sorores
quam cunctos alios **Marone** dempto.
'Pacatum haud dubie, poeta, dicis?'
ipse est. intrepide **volate**, versus,
et nidum **in gremio** fovete tuto. 15
hic vos diligere, hic volet tueri;
ignoscenda teget, probata tradet.
post hunc iudicium timete nullum,
vale.

“To whom do I give my lovely, new book?” Said Verona’s poet long ago, and once he found him gave it to Nepos straight away. But our book is unlovely and rough – garbage, trash, and nonsense. To whom can we entrust them, to raise them on his knee? I have found him – hush, anxious scribblings! – someone no less learned and more generous than the one that Gaul supplied to Catullus. No one of my friends is dearer to me than him, and the nine sisters make more of him than all the others except for Vergil. ‘Of course you are talking about Pacatus, poet?’ The very same. Fly boldly away, my verses, and build your nest in his lap! This man wants to care for you and keep you safe. He will cover up your faults and pass on what has pleased him. After him, fear no judgment. Goodbye!

Although Green rejects the possibility, this poem has traditionally been identified as the preface to Ausonius' *Eclogues*. Green removed *Praef.* 4 from the collection, since he found the self-deprecating language incongruous with the “serious and sometimes sophisticated” content of the *Eclogues* (Green 1991: 242). The preface, which precedes only poems 19-25, is found in V, the

only manuscript to preserve all of the poems (with the exception of *Eclogue* 11). Marx suggested that the poems may have been planned as a two-book collection (*RE* ii. 2573), but, aside from some similarities of content, there is little reason to unite *Eclogues* 1-18 and *Eclogues* 19-25.⁸³ According to Green, the paratextual poem is simply too self-deprecating to be paired alongside the genuinely good material contained in the *Eclogues*. He points specifically to lines 4-5, as well as that of 7 (Green 1991: 420-421). The latter is of special importance, since it contains the word *nugae*, which I shall show to be meaningful for purposes other than unvarnished self-deprecation.

The preface comprises an elaborate treatment of poetic and literary-historical memory. Consider the allusion to Catullus in the first line. According to Conte, the line is a paradigmatic example of an inert allusion—a quotation, in Conte's estimation (1986: 59-60). It cannot be denied that this *is* the case in the strictest application of Conte's terms. The propriety of the source text, Catullus 1, is not violated, and nowhere do we find the words of Catullus supplanted by those of Ausonius. In spite of this, I observe an allusion to the second, unquoted line of the Catullan source. The use of *rudem*, “rough, inelegant”, in the fourth line of the preface seems to rather neatly reference an entire Catullan line, that is, Catullus 1.2: *arida modo pumice expolitur* “newly polished with dry pumice” (Cat. 1.1-2: *cui dono lepidum novum libellum / arida modo pumice expolitur*). The first three lines of the Ausonian preface are dedicated entirely to the Catullan text – to the actual quotation, its source, and its context. It is only with the fourth line that the poem begins to address Ausonius' own work (and in terms which define it against the Catullan original). While the use of *rudem* embraces an allusive potential granted by

⁸³ Marx's suggestion that they form a collection is gentle and almost implicit, referring to the kinds of superficial similarities mentioned here. He does, however, refer to the second group as *ein zweiter liber eclogarum* (*RE* 2.2573).

the citation, another allusive affinity remains carefully avoided. Line 5 consists entirely of self-deprecating terms for the poet's work: *burras*, *quisquiliae*, *ineptiasque*. One of Ausonius' preferred literary-critical terms, *nugae*, is avoided here.⁸⁴ Avoided deliberately, perhaps, in order to prevent an identification of Ausonius' poetry with that of Catullus in these two very allusively sensitive lines. This critical word is avoided until the seventh line of the poem, and the delay is significant. While it is possible to follow Green's interpretation and conclude that *quisquiliae*, *burrae*, *ineptiae*, and *nugae* are all of a kind, it is equally likely that Ausonius' use of *nugae* is just as careful as his earlier reluctance to deploy the term.

The use of *nugae* at line 7 makes an alignment with Catullus clear, and the list of self-deprecating terms in line 5 represents a progression toward the equation of Ausonian and Catullan poetics. *Quisquiliae* and *burrae* are unattested in Catullus, but *ineptiae* and *ineptire* are constructive of the self-deprecating Catullan persona (e.g. 8, 14b).⁸⁵ Words related to *ineptire* do not play a role in Catullus 1, and that omission remains crucial to analysis of *Praef.* 4. Consider the narrative import of line 7: *inveni, trepidae silete nugae*. The word *nugae*, redolent of the self-deprecating poetics of Catullus 1, is only deployed after Ausonius' poem explicitly becomes a dedication, finally mimicking the source text. The *inveni* that begins the line is all-important. Just as Nepos is able to appreciate Catullus' *nugae* as "something" (Cat. 1.4: *meas esse aliquid putare nugas*), Pacatus is likewise able to appreciate Ausonius' poetry as something more valuable than the author himself admits.

Catullus' identification of his poetry as *nugae* gave the term a positive valuation, and thereby shifted the aesthetic value of the term. Later poets, especially Martial, added to the

⁸⁴ Ausonius uses the word *nugae* in the preface to the *Griphus* and his letters to Theon (see pages 93-94).

⁸⁵ Also seen by Green as a continuation Catullan themes in *Praef.* 4 (1991: 242).

word's literary cachet through similar deployments.⁸⁶ This being the case, a charming literary drama unfolds in lines 4-10. After recalling a Catullan moment of dedication, the poet despairs of ever being able to create such a great work of poetry, and declares his own work its antonymous opposite. His desire to avoid Catullan identification prevents him from abusing his work with the same word as his poetic predecessor, and prompts a search for new insults. For instance, *burra* does not even appear in the OLD as a noun, and as an adjective is mentioned only as an antiquated word for red, perhaps somehow indicating a red cow. The reader alone, here represented by Pacatus, can decide whether or not the poems are literary *nugae*. Ausonius has not only found *a* dedicatee, he has found *the* dedicatee, someone who can do for him what Nepos did for Catullus.

The Ausonian preface reflects an aspiration to the literary greatness of the past, but does not proclaim this unilaterally. Instead, the poet wishes to construct it discursively within his circle of erudite, literate friends. The Ausonian preface reminds the reader that Nepos was characterized by learning and friendly generosity (Cat.1.3-7), but goes on to observe that Pacatus outstrips him in these domains. What is more important, however, is the prefatory poem's reinvention of Cornelius Nepos. For moderns, perhaps especially for Anglophones, an author born in "fair Verona" is unquestionably an Italian. Calling him a Gaul, as the Ausonian preface does, offends our geographical sensibilities. By recasting Nepos as a Gaul, the narrative prompts a reevaluation of all literary historical figures mentioned. Nepos, Catullus, and even Vergil are now, according to the Ausonian schema, Gauls. That they are from Gallia Cisalpina is immaterial. In Ausonius' time, that part of the world had officially been called Italy for well

⁸⁶ e.g. Mart. 4.10: *i, puer, et caro perfer leue munus amico / qui meruit **nugas** primus habere meas*. Cf. Mart. 1.113, 2.1, 4.82, 7.26. For an identification with *ineptiae* as well, 2.85. If one accepts the frame of Horace *Ep.* 19, the poet attempted to deploy the term in earnest and was not believed (*Ep.* 19.39-45).

over 400 years. By rolling back the clock in this way, Ausonius reclaims these great authors for Gaul and unites himself and his dedicatee with a great and longstanding tradition of Gallic literary excellence. Finally, the personification in line 9 should not be overlooked: *quem Gallia praebuilt Catullo*. Great authors do not simply happen to be born in Gaul—it is Gaul herself that makes them great.

Ausonius' capitalization on these peculiarities of the Roman imperial map to create a literary landscape more favorable to Gaul is significant in itself, but it also demands investigation of how this act of literary cartography may have been interpreted by contemporaries. As Vessey points out in an article about later Gallic traditions, the late antique period demanded that authors create new, local, literary publics (Vessey 2005: 529-565). In addition to allowing his dedicatee to share in his refashioning of literary history, Ausonius' preface also invites Pacatus to participate in recreating the circle of Republican neoteric poets.

Ausonius is, in fact, so assiduous in his creation of neoteric programmatics in *Praef.* 4 that even his choice of metaphor contains a hidden reference for the other poet to decode. At *Praef.* 4.13-16, the verses of Ausonius are likened to birds, particularly birds nestled in a bosom (*Praef.* 4.15), as at *Cat.* 2.2 and 3.8. There is more at stake, however, than this resonance with particular poems of the earlier poet. The details of Catullus' late antique *Nachleben* and the circulation of his text remain uncertain, but in the imperial period a collection of the poet's polymetric poetry circulated as the *passer* or *passer Catulli* (*passer*, "sparrow", is the first word of the collection dedicated to Nepos (cf. Skinner 1981; Wheeler 1974). The bird metaphor thus reads as a plea to preside over a particularly Catullan collection of poems, accompanied by a Catullan dedication. The most persuasive evidence for a collection known as the *passer* comes to

us from Martial, who refers to a Catullan work by this name.⁸⁷ Of these instances, the most important for an interpretation of *Praef.* 4 is Mart. 4.14.13-14:

Sic forsā tener ausus est Catullus
magno mittere Passerem Maroni.

Thus, perhaps, did the young Catullus dare to send his *Passer* to great Maro.

Since Martial references the *Passer Catulli* while he makes a dedication himself, the Ausonian text has the potential to be a kind of dedicatory *mise en abyme*. It is realistic to see Pacatus and Ausonius as playing the roles of Catullus and Vergil as well as Catullus and Nepos, or even those of Martial and his dedicatee, Silius Italicus (Mart. 4.14). Indeed, if one follows Gaisser's chronology, Ausonius and Pacatus would have had no access to the text of Catullus, but would have known him only through references found in other authors such as Martial (Gaisser 1993: 14-15). In opposition to this, it seems that Claudian had access to Catullus, as did Venantius Fortunatus. Pucci adduces excellent reasons for believing that Fortunatus, another author with Gallic connections, had access to the *corpus Catullianum* even as late as the end of the sixth-century C.E. (Cameron 1970: 315; Pucci 2009). Given the likelihood of Fortunatus' continued use of the text, as well as the familiarity that Ausonius displays with Catullus 1, it is reasonable to assume that he had access as well.⁸⁸

Whether Ausonius possessed a deep or superficial knowledge of Catullus is ultimately immaterial. The earlier poet provided a point of poetic reference for his "Gallic" successors, and

⁸⁷ The two occasions where it seems most obvious that a collection of poetry is meant are Mart. 4.14 and 11.6. There are other instances where the ambiguity between the collection and a literal bird is exploited, as at Mart. 1.7. To the latter category 7.14 may possibly be added, since, the poem seems to address the extent to which one *passer* may replace the other (7.14.7: *Lux mea non capitur nugis neque moribus istis...*)

⁸⁸ Isbell also believed that Ausonius had access to the works of Catullus, although his opinion is based on the fact that the poet quotes Catullus 1 in *Praef. Var.* 4 and the preface to the *Griphus* (1974: 32). *Epigr.* 40, which Isbell also quotes in the context of Catullan awareness in Ausonius, is reminiscent of Catullus 5. While Isbell does not comment on it, the poems both begin with a vocative and the exhortation *vivamus*, and end by emphasizing that something ought not to be counted (age in Ausonius, kisses in Catullus).

was a legendary forebear around whose memory an invented tradition could feasibly coalesce. In addition to the convenience of finding a group of “Gauls” who achieved literary fame in a more prosperous past, the neoterics truly resemble their later Gallic admirers in that both groups pursued uncommon metrical forms.⁸⁹ Ausonius’ exploration of lyric and other non-traditional meters (e.g. the varied lyric meters that are deployed throughout the *Parentalia* and *Professores*) may have taken the *passer Catulli* as an example. *Praef.* 4 stands as example of experimentation with hendecasyllable verses, as well as an example of neoteric programming, and is perhaps the most powerful example of Ausonius’ frequent deployment of allusion in the service of invigorating Gallic letters.

An important coda to this discussion must focus on how *Praef.* 4 may acknowledge and validate a similar construction of literary history made by Pacatus himself. There is widespread scholarly consensus, following the provisional suggestions of Pichon in 1906, that Pacatus was the editor of the collection of Gallic speeches known to moderns as the *Panegyrici Latini*.⁹⁰ It is clear that Pacatus had knowledge of many previous panegyrics, and Rees has advanced convincing arguments for how the order of the collection may have served the goals of Pacatus himself, and Gaul collectively.⁹¹ Rees’ argument that the *Panegyrici Latini* enforce a Gallic political agenda finds support in the fact that the collection is easily viewed as a monument to Gallic literary excellence (2013b). With the exception of Pliny, whose *Panegyricus* begins the

⁸⁹ The extent to which neoteric poetics actually informed the aesthetic of late antique poets is not at issue here; for a discussion of the problem see Charlet 1988.

⁹⁰ For an overview of the state of the question regarding the editor of the collection, see Rees 2013a: 242n6. For Pichon’s original argument, see 1906: 285-291, esp. 289: “On voit à plein le procédé, et l’on ne peut douter que Pacatus n’ait eu une connaissance très précise des Panégyriques antérieurs, et n’en ait fait une imitation très docile, pour ne pas dire très servile. De là à supposer qu’il s’en constitué l’éditeur, il n’y a peut-être pas bien loin. Admettons-le provisoirement, et voyons comment, en ce cas, a pu se former le recueil.”

⁹¹ Rees 2013a, 2013b.

collection, every author included was a Gaul or spoke in Gaul, usually both.⁹² Born at Como in Gallia Cisalpina, Pliny the Younger could likewise be made a Gaul along with Vergil, Catullus and Cornelius Nepos.

There may be a direct interaction between *Praef.* 4 and the *Panegyrici Latini*. Green has observed that *Ecl.* 1.3 contains a reference to the panegyric proclaimed by Pacatus in 389 (Green 1991: 420). Since the connection between the two groups is tenuous, I cannot claim that *Praef.* 4 is a reaction to Pacatus' suggestive decision to place Pliny, an author read and esteemed by Ausonius and his circle, at the front of an otherwise Gallic collection.⁹³ This cannot be ruled out, however, as the reference indicates an interest in the panegyric, and perhaps in the collection. Pacatus was both a poet and an orator, as was Ausonius. Each of them used their work to reshape the canons of "Gallic" literature. Allow me to suppose that *Praef.* 4 does follow the *Panegyrici Latini* in order to press Ausonius' Latin further. One of the features that typifies the speeches within Pacatus' collection is a lengthy proclamation of Gallic ineloquence, especially the word *rudis*, deployed by Ausonius at *Praef.* 4.4.⁹⁴ *Rudis* had become the Gallic equivalent of Catullan *nugae*, a self-deprecating term that experienced a shift in aesthetic value at the hands of the Gauls themselves. To speak with Gallic roughness was now a mark of learning and

⁹² The only possible exception to this trend is Nazarius, author of *Pan.* IV (10). His homeland is uncertain, but he seems to carry weight in Gallic circles, and has been occasionally thought to be Bordelais because of *Prof.* 14.9. Booth has made the convincing argument that he never held a chair of rhetoric at Bordeaux, but instead held the chair at Rome (1968: 244, 244n27; cf. Nixon and Rodgers 1994:335). Booth goes on to assert that his *patria* seems to be Rome, but this evidence is based on the fact that he makes no apology for Gallic ineloquence. It is true that that had become something of a convention, but, it would be an unrealistic claim for the chair of rhetoric at Rome to make to his Roman audience. Pacatus' case provides a counterpoint. It is one thing for a rhetor to make a show of humility when newly arrived, but quite another when the entire community has long recognized his skill.

⁹³ For Pliny's esteem in late antique Gaul and for proof that his work was likely read by Ausonius, see Gibson and Rees 2013: 141-165, esp. 141-144, where it is argued that Ausonius was tempted to overstate his familiarity with Pliny's work.

⁹⁴ As n92 of this study observes, this remark was so typical that Booth claims Nazarius was a Roman rather than Gaul for failing to make it. The use of *rudis* to make this claim occurs at Pacatus (*Pan.* II (12)).1.3; it also used more generally by Mamertinus at *Pan.* III (11).25.1, albeit in a different context. I am grateful to Catherine Ware for this suggestion.

distinction, rather than something to excuse. No one had done more to make that clear than the recipient of Ausonius' *rudem libellum*.

Regardless of the exact date and circumstances of its composition, *Praef.* 4 identifies Pacatus as an ally in Ausonius' attempts to preserve and promote Gallic excellence. The *Panegyrici Latini* could comprise a kind of companion piece to the *Professores*.⁹⁵ The former work represents a *lieu de memoire* with a far greater degree of self-awareness, but both collections achieve the same end. Ausonius guides the reader through reminiscence by his careful use of allusion, Pacatus with his careful arrangement of the panegyrics. If *Praef.* 4 was written after the compilation of the *Panegyrici Latini*, the prefatory dedication serves as an acknowledgement of a job well done, and encouragement to go further.

Finally, the claim that the *Panegyrici Latini* represent a carefully constructed and learned collection of prose texts that parallel Ausonius' poetic collection must be reintegrated into the Catullan nexus. If Ausonius was familiar with the Catullan corpus, he would have been sensitive to the correspondence between the prose works of Nepos and the poetic works of Catullus. In 1972, Kenneth Quinn observed that the three books of Nepos' history, mentioned at Cat. 1.5-7, represent a light, slender history matching Catullus' neoteric *libellus*.⁹⁶ Like Catullus' collection, the universal history of Nepos is learned, laborious, and a work of three volumes (1972: 18-20; Cat. 1.6-7: *omne aevum tribus explicare cartis . . . / doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis!*).⁹⁷ Like Catullus, Ausonius sends a completed collection of poetry to a friend whom he identifies as pursuing his poetic goals by other means. By projecting the identity of these

⁹⁵ Galletier suggested that the *Panegyrici Latini* were compiled by Theodosius' request, and that he requested this at the same time as the latest edition of Ausonius' poems (*Praef.* 3). The suggestion has not found favor (see Rees 2012: 221 and Turcan-Verkerk 2003: 65).

⁹⁶ For the correspondence between Hellenistic poetry and history, see Wiseman 1979: 143-153.

⁹⁷ The theory that the corpus *Catullianum* contains three collections of poetry has since been reinforced by Wiseman 1985: 265-266, and by Skinner 2003: xxvii. The polymetric collection, the *Passer Catulli*, may have also featured a threefold division (Wiseman 1969: 7-16).

“Gallic” forebears onto himself and his dedicatee, Ausonius exhorts his friend to work with him to restore Gallic literary excellence, or, if the *Panegyrici Latini* had already been published, encourages him to persist in doing so.

2.11 AUSONIUS AND HIS CIRCLE: THEON OF MÉDOC

The letters exchanged between Ausonius and Theon of Médoc, a minor poet who is rarely remembered for his literary connections (cf. Sivan 2003: 72), provide further evidence of Ausonian attempts to encourage Gallic literary production. This may seem counterintuitive to anyone who has read the letters, since Green concisely states the impression they leave, concluding that Ausonius “portrays [Theon] as a corpulent *littérateur* living like a lord in the remoteness of Médoc” (1991: 606). Theon undeniably served as the butt of many an Ausonian joke, but this does not automatically mean that he was excluded from the circle of poets that surrounded Ausonius. In stark contrast, a liminal figure like Theon may instead play a crucial role in the construction of such a group. By attempting to write poetry, and to judge from the evidence, doing a poor job of it, Theon delimits the group and allows for the prescription of rules and practices. At the very least, Theon provides the opportunity for delimitation in the geographical sense. Ausonius’ opening comments to the other poet in *Ep.* 13, the first of letters to Theon, begins with the following salutation (*Ep.* 13: 1-3; 8-11):

Ausonius cuius ferulam nunc sceptrum verentur
paganum Medulis iubeo salvere Theonem.
Quid geris extremis positus telluris in oris...
... quid rerum Musaeque gerunt et cantor Apollo
Musae non Helicone satae nec fonte caballi,
set quae facundo de pectore Clementini
inspirant vacuos aliena mente poetas.

I, Ausonius, whose scepter now fears, order rustic Theon to accept my greetings. What are you doing, who live at the ends of the earth? ...And what sort of things do the Muses do, along with Apollo the singer? These muses are not from Helicon

nor the horse's spring, but from that eloquent soul Clementinus, they who inspire vapid poets with other peoples' thoughts.

Ausonius' characterization of Médoc as the "ends of the earth" is initially confusing, considering that it lies in the hinterland of his own beloved Bordeaux. Meanwhile, Ausonius is himself only 500 miles away in the Gallic city of Trier. If one interprets Theon's position as that of the *Gallic* periphery vs. that of Ausonius at the *Gallic* center, however, the identification of Médoc as laughably remote makes more sense.

After his inquiries into Theon's general activities, Ausonius asks what kind of poetic production can be found at Médoc. The poetry that can be found there is derivative, however, or even plagiarized outright. This discussion of fraudulent poetry, which proceeds ultimately from fraudulent Muses who inspire poets to steal or be imitative to the point of repeating other peoples' words, relies on allusion to align the narrator and the Neronian satirist Persius. The combination of this context with the literal translation of the Hippocrene into Latin, especially in its use of *caballus*, is highly reminiscent of the theme and wording of the prologue to Persius' *Satires* (*Praef.* 1-3; 8-14):

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino
nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem...

...quis expediuit psittaco suum 'chaere'
picamque docuit nostra uerba conari?
magister artis ingenique largitor 10
uenter, negatas artifex sequi uoces.
quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
coruos poetas et poetridas picas
cantare credas Pegaseium nectar.

I did not wet my lips in the horse-spring, nor do I remember having dreams on two-faced Parnassus, such that I could suddenly step forth as a poet... Who taught the parrot his “how do you do?” or taught the magpie to attempt our words? That teacher of skill who endows one’s genius, the stomach, skillful enough to teach them to pursue the voices they had been denied. But if the hope of grievous money gleams, you would think that the songs of crows and magpies, poets both, are nectar from Pegasus.

Some tension exists between Ausonius’ vituperative tone in *Ep.* 13 and the allusive connections that he enforces. While Theon’s poetry may be poor or plagiarized, the allusion demonstrates that there is a plagiaristic element to “good” poetry as well. Ausonius not only draws a distinction between what is derivative and what is genuinely poetic, but makes clear that his ability to do this has its origin in his skill as a reader and poet. Ausonius’ presumption to teach Theon, implicit in the quoted passage of *Ep.* 13, will eventually descend into a moment of mock teaching. The shift in focus, from insult to instruction (although elements of both combine throughout), brings with it two changes in the meter. Before the teaching begins in earnest, Ausonius issues a riddle in iambic dimeters (70-81). He references an interpreter at v. 71 (*interpres tuus*), making the joke that Theon needs and has used another, better reader to help him understand Ausonius’ works in the past. The meter then switches to hendecasyllables, and lines 82-96 comprise an Ausonian treatise on the proper creation of hendecasyllable verses. The use of the meter alone suffices to establish a neoteric alignment (Catullus stands out as the

greatest among the few practitioners of the form in Latin), and neoteric poetics will play a role later in the poem.

The aesthetics of the teaching moment in *Ep.* 13 are not Catullan, however, but satirical. Ausonius ends his poetic miniature treatise by claiming that Theon is unteachable, and that, even if he were, it would not be right for Ausonius to teach him. As the tutor of the future emperor Gratian, Ausonius proclaims that it is not right for him to teach the “meaty masses.”⁹⁸ The iunctura *plebeiam pulpam* led Colton to believe that the verses were inspired by Persius 2.62-63, although the most salient similarities are structural rather than lexical. Ausonius did not preserve the Persian combination of *pulpa* and *scelerata*, but chose the less offensive *plebeia* instead (Colton 1988: 881). The structural similarities may be enough to persuade, however, if taken together with the fact that the vulgar *pulpa*, “meat”, occurs in the Latin poetic register only in Ausonius, Persius, and Martial (each of them used the word only once, and Persius and Ausonius are the only poets who use it non-literally to mean “people”). Therefore, while Ausonius’ attitude toward Theon may originally seem condescending and remorselessly harsh, each instance of criticism is actually delivered in the form of recondite literary reference, which, if understood, redounds to Theon's credit.

If Ausonius actually does resent Theon, it is somewhat difficult to understand the concluding lines of *Ep.* 13. As Evelyn-White pointed out in his Loeb translation, the entire epistle is a “burlesque remonstrance with Theon” for sending poetry plagiarized from (the otherwise unknown) Clementinus rather than his own genuine pieces (1919: 45n8). The epistle

⁹⁸ set iam non poteris, Theon, doceri, / nec fas est mihi regio magistro / plebeiam numeros docere pulpam.

ends with another request for Theon's genuine poetry, indebted in its aesthetic terms to the neoteric poets (*Ep.* 13: 97-104):⁹⁹

Verum protinus ede, quod requiro
nil quaero, nisi quod libris tenetur
et quod **non opicae** tegunt **papyri**
quas si solveris, o poeta, **nugas**
totam trado tibi simul Vacunam
nec iam post metues ubique dictum
'Hic est ille Theon poeta falsus
bonorum mala carminum Laverna.

But give what I ask for straight away. I ask for nothing except what is in your books and what your not unlearned papyri are hiding. If you hand over these *nugae*, poet, I will give you the whole of Vacuna and afterwards you won't fear what is said everywhere: 'This is Theon, that false poet, the evil Laverna of good poems.'

The final portion of the epistle not only features the long-delayed request that Theon send poems to his friend, it also places the poetic production of the correspondents on equal footing. At *Ep.* 13.100, Theon's work is referred to as *nugae*, the neoteric programming of which could still be felt and carefully negotiated by Ausonius and the poets in his circle. More importantly, the word is also used to describe Ausonius' own poetry at line 67. The litotes deployed at line 99, *non opicae papyri*, should not be read with Evelyn White as "unsoiled", but as "not unlearned." *Opicus* is a literary critical term with an interesting history on both sides of Greco-Roman literary production. In Greek, Ὀπικός, "Oscan", is used to signify an individual barbarous and ignorant enough to seem wholly uncultured. In Latin, the word came to mean that the referent was not simply ignorant, but ignorant of the Latin language in particular (OLD s.v. *opicus* 2). As usual, even if Ausonius' intention is insult (reading *non opicae* as sarcastic) there is still room for Theon to enjoy Ausonius' wit and react in a way that is equally learned. The satirical program of

⁹⁹ A hendecasyllabic remonstrance that includes a request for books of poetry is at least superficially similar to Catullus 42 (e.g. 42.1-2; 11-12: *Adeste, hendecasyllabi, quot estis / omnes undique, quotquot estis omnes... moecha putida, redde codicillos, / redde putida moecha, codicillos!*).

the epistle leads one to Juvenal 3.206-207: *iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos / et divina opici rodebant carmina mures*.¹⁰⁰ Here, *opici* are associated with the destruction, rather than the production of literature. More important, perhaps, is the notion that *nugae* will be transmitted via *papyrus*. Not only does this reference to an increasingly obsolete medium evoke a bygone age, the sole occurrence of *papyrus* in the Catullan corpus is Cat. 35, where it becomes a vehicle for poetic exchange and poetic friendship.

The epistle's tour of previous Roman authors closes its series of references with a nod to Lucilius, the foundational poet of the Latin satirical tradition. The mention of Laverna in the context of poetic plagiarism evokes Lucilius 16, fr. 1:

Si messes facis et Musas si vendis Lavernae..

If you reap harvests and sell poetry to Laverna...
It would appear that the Ausonius and Theon had a special interest in reading (and writing?) satirical poetry, given the references to the satirists in *Ep.* 13, as well as the evidence provided by *Ep.* 15.36-38:

Villa Lucani- mox potieris -aco
resciso disces componere nomine versum
Lucili vatis sic imitator eris

Soon wilt thou gain the Lucani- villa -acus,
Thou shalt soon learn to make verse with such split nouns. Thus shalt thou be a copier of the bard Lucilius¹⁰¹

While the data available are limited, it seems that developing the art of poetic imitation was a pursuit that proved constitutive of the relationship between Ausonius and Theon. The quoted lines of *Ep.* 15 also allow Ausonius to construct his villa as a locus of instruction on poetic

¹⁰⁰ "An old box plays guardian to those Greek books, and philistine mice chew on immortal poems."

¹⁰¹ Translation by Evelyn White 1919. Ausonius seems to have owned a villa in the area around Lugaigac, in Aquitaine. The restored Latin should be *villa Lucaniaco*, the villa at Lugaigac. The reference is also repeated at *Ep.* 26: 39-44.

technique and imitation. They continue the persistent characterization that Ausonius is both a “good” imitator and a capable allusive poet who can teach these skills, while Theon comes off as a “bad” imitator and plagiarist. If Theon is a terrible poet, however, he must be a terrible poet with potential. *Ep.* 13 demonstrates that Theon was at least a capable reader, who likely shared an interest in satire with Ausonius. The demand for his genuine poems at the end of *Ep.* 13, then, may be read as proof of Ausonius’ belief that Theon could indeed write poetry that would be rewarding to read.

Theon's exact position in Ausonius’ circle and in his esteem remain uncertain, but it is implausible to think of him as cut off from the poetic circle that coalesced around Ausonius. If one considers that the verse epistles of Ausonius were likely to have circulated, and were eventually published, Theon's function as a delimiting figure becomes clear. He may underperform as a poet, and is an utter failure in terms of the politics of aristocratic poetic exchange (*Ep.* 14a and b, for example, find Theon responding to Ausonius not with poems, but with a small gift of oysters). Nevertheless, he participates in the erudite reading culture of the circle and is likely capable of decoding the references that Ausonius embeds in *Ep.* 13. Furthermore, his failed performance of poetic norms allows Ausonius to create the satirical pastiche of literary rebuke that is *Ep.* 13. It may be the case that Theon is a person on whom Ausonius’ mnemonic strategies and allusive manipulations are ineffective. Such tactics are certainly present in the letter, however, and *Ep.* 13 exhibits great care to stimulate literary production among the elite citizens of fourth-century Gaul. Regardless of whether Ausonius “fails” here, it is important to realize that even unlikely and almost universally forgotten figures, like Theon of Médoc, were potential allies in Ausonius’ project of maintaining an identity that he found meaningful.

2.12 CONCLUSION

Ausonius was a Gallic poet. The goal of this chapter has been to endow that unremarkable statement with a new resonance. The exchanges between Ausonius, Theon, and Pacatus demonstrate that to be a friend of Ausonius meant to take part in this identity and to cultivate it for oneself. The legacy of Catullus can be felt only weakly in the letters with Theon, but it is present. The briefest mention of *nugae* in hendecasyllables should conjure the earlier poet's memory, especially when one considers how carefully the memory of Catullus is constructed elsewhere by Ausonius and his circle of intimates. The allusive negotiation of memories at *Praef.* 4 demonstrates that while making Catullus a Gaul remained an intriguing fiction, the creation of a Gallic "Catullus" who could plausibly succeed or continue the poet's legacy was something within reach. Ausonius' poetry did not only commemorate, but worked as a goad that encouraged them to continue to create and to pursue a uniquely Gallic greatness.

Ausonius' representation of Tiberius Minervius, the honorand of *Prof.* 1, provides further evidence of his ability to create these kinds of aspirational traditions using carefully constructed, allusive poetry. Without Ausonius, Minervius is no more than a rhetor who, while teaching at Rome, managed to impress Jerome or his source. For modern historians who read *Prof.* 1 as a *lieu de histoire*, he rises somewhat higher. His career provides valuable data for geographic and social mobility in the fourth century, for the quality of Latin education at Constantinople, and for the prestige of Gallic oratory. For those who read *Prof.* 1 as a true *lieu de mémoire*, the life of Minervius means much more. For these readers, he is likely remembered as a man who elevated Gaul to the world stage, having taught in both of the imperial capitals. Following Ausonius' program of allusive interactions, the reading audience recognizes Minervius as someone worthy of comparison to Quintilian, but who perfected the idea of the Quintilianic figure. By finally

harmonizing the worlds of *otium* and *negotium*, Minervius demonstrated that the ultimate exemplar of Roman rhetorical excellence was a Gaul.

Prof. 1 allows Ausonius to speak to two communities at once. For the former students of Minervius, of whom Ausonius was the most successful, the poem is a testament to what they can achieve. Furthermore, the poem makes clear that, whether his students or not, the way that the local literati remember or choose to remember Minervius will have repercussions for how they understand themselves and how they are perceived by the greater community of Latin speakers and readers. Ausonius' poem already speaks to the larger group, and projects its own vision of Gallic literature in the fourth century. Ausonius uses the memory of Minervius to commemorate his own successful attempt at balancing a political and poetic career, and, by doing so, he presents himself as a new Martial to be levelled against Minervius' equally perfected, equally Gallic Quintilian.

Ausonius is somewhat indebted to Minervius for his successful career and his rewarding literary pursuits, and another debt looms large in the background. By writing commemorative poetry about Minervius, Ausonius effectively links his mnemonic survival to that of his former teacher. As he provides reasons to remember Minervius and stresses the need to do so, he simultaneously puts forward reasons why he should himself be remembered. Even if the tradition of commemorating one's teachers and peers eventually fails (*Prof. Pf. 5-6: fors erit, ut nostros manes sic adserat olim, exemplo cupiet qui pius esse meo*), Ausonius will nevertheless be remembered for his work commemorating Minervius and the other teachers of grammar and rhetoric.

Similarly, the *Parentalia* provides a means for Ausonius to exhort his own family to remember him, and to perpetuate his memory after his death. There is no poetry written for

Ausonius that is explicitly commemorative, but his attempt does seem to have enjoyed some success. Ausonius' grandson Paulinus mentions his ancestor in his autobiographical poem, the *Eucharisticon*. He mentions that the elder family member held the consulship, and remembers Bordeaux and Bazas as ancestral homelands.¹⁰² These aspects of Ausonius' life, the *secta* and *patria* mentioned in *Pf.* 1, are still remembered nearly 100 years after his death, by a descendant who spoke Latin as a second language.¹⁰³ As Kleinschmidt observes, there are likely verbal resonances between Ausonius' and Paulinus' verses on both Bordeaux and Bazas (2013: 302; 307n987). We can only speculate about what Ausonius' memory would have meant to a grandson who was as invested in Latin literature as his grandfather.¹⁰⁴ The fact that the surviving work from the later generations of Ausonius' family is concerned with preserving a memory of the author's life and times for posterity perhaps represents another Ausonian success.¹⁰⁵

Ausonius' achievement should not be judged by the influence he may have exerted over a grandson, but by his success in promoting his memory and that of his friends. The skillful allusion that he deploys throughout his poems contributes heavily to this mnemonic accomplishment. Allusion is not only vital for the poet's negotiation of the recent and distant past, made clear by his construction of Minervius and Catullus, but also essential to his self-presentation and the articulation of what he hoped to achieve. The allusive meanings that surround the phrase *morte obita* make the Ausonian objective of perpetuating the memory of the dead quite obvious, as does the allusive assimilation of Homer, the ultimate memorialist, to a

¹⁰² For the mention of Bordeaux as fatherland, cf. *Euch.* 42-44; Ausonius and his consulship 48-49; for Bazas as fatherland, 329-332.

¹⁰³ For Paulinus' preference for Greek over Latin, a language he regarded as somewhat foreign, cf. *Euch.* 75-80.

¹⁰⁴ Kleinschmidt suggests quite plausibly that Paulinus' role as a poet is authorized by his grandfather's (2013: 302).

¹⁰⁵ While a word is missing from the first line, *Euch.* 53-54 records a clear memory motivation: *quidquid iam... potui meminisse, necesse est / ipse fide propria de me agnoscenda retexam.*

doctor named Ausonius at the beginning of the *Parentalia*. As a poet who fulfills the doctor-like function of holding fate at bay, Ausonius uses his literary ability to preserve the memory of his world for posterity, appearing here in a guise similar to Benjamin's angel waking and redeeming the dead. A piece like *Epiqr. 37* finds him acknowledging that death will come for all things, for all names, and perhaps for all language itself (Fowler 2000: 1999). In spite of that, Ausonius still recognized language and literature as the most effective means of confronting his anxiety over being forgotten.

Chapter 3. PRUDENTIUS' ALLUSIVE DIALOGUE WITH ROMAN AND CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

My previous chapter relies on the work of Ausonius to demonstrate the late antique tendency toward a more experiential, mnemonically-focused poetic. Ausonius' work exhibits an anxiety over commemoration and remembrance, and focuses on preserving the memory and identity of people he most valued (including himself). Portions of his work were also adduced in order to examine poetic engagement with *lieux de mémoire* in late antiquity, and explore the use of allusion to validate or encourage invented traditions that could enhance the status or preserve the memory of his community of Gallic intellectuals. In this chapter, I turn to the works of Ausonius' near contemporary Prudentius, a thoroughly Christian poet from Spain. In contrast to the more conservative Ausonius, Prudentius inclines toward innovation in his approach to tradition, and displays more daring in his deployment of allusion.

The first poets in the Latin Christian tradition began writing less than one hundred years before Prudentius, and the new literary movement introduced all manner of novelty into Latin verse. Prudentius constantly deals with novel social praxes and institutions, such as the cult of martyrs, the presence of priests, and prayer before meals, but these are not the types of traditions I wish to discuss. Like Ausonius, Prudentius deliberately participated in the creation or promotion of traditions that impart meaning to his identity. The territory covered by these traditions is often embattled, and Prudentius represents only one of the many groups competing for ascendancy in that space. Perhaps because of the contested nature of the memories that he navigates, Prudentius demonstrates a polemical engagement with the material world more consistently than any of the other poets under study.

While Ausonius' poems labor to preserve the memory of individuals or institutions that might otherwise be forgotten, Prudentius devotes great attention to commemorating and preserving a textual record of the Roman urban experience and prescribing the terms of Christian interaction with imperial power. Cillian O'Hogan's work has already revealed how deeply the *Peristephanon* engages the growing civic importance of martyr cults, and this chapter demonstrates that he also extends the scope of his allusive practice to the material elements of the cityscape (2012). The poem under study, the *Contra Symmachum*, written sometime in the very late fourth century, is the most logical place to look for this kind of engagement. It was written as a response to the request made by Symmachus, Rome's erstwhile *praefectus urbi*, that a monument dating from the time of Augustus be restored to the Senate. Following his victory at Actium in 31 B.C.E., Augustus placed a statue of Victory and an altar near the entrance of the Curia.¹⁰⁶ For hundreds of years thereafter, it was common for senators to swear oaths to uphold the emperor's laws and decrees in front of this altar (Chenault 2008: 242), and it may have been customary to make sacrifices of incense and wine when meetings of the Senate were held in the building.¹⁰⁷ The altar was removed by Constantius II in 357, restored under Julian in the early 360s, and removed by Gratian in 382. The Roman Senate longed for the return of the monument, and in the 20 years following Gratian's decision to have the altar taken away, the Senate pleaded for its restoration at least five times (Chenault 2008: 240n36). The speech of Symmachus against which Prudentius takes aim is only one of these attempts.

¹⁰⁶ The erection of the altar and statue dates to 29 B.C.E., but it was intended to commemorate Augustus' victory in the civil wars, see Dio 51.22. For an overview of the importance of this Senatorial monument and a summary of scholarship on this famous incident, see Chenault 2008: 239-258, Cameron 2011: 33-51.

¹⁰⁷ Brown 2003 reasonably extrapolates this from Suet. *Aug.* 35. Cf. also Herodian 5.5.7, which Chenault notes refers to the statue rather than the altar (2008: 242n38).

Therefore, Prudentius' poem takes the mnemonic, ideological, and religious resonance of a monument central to the senatorial experience as its point of departure. While it takes its impetus from a monument that the poet wants to prevent from returning to the landscape, I will also demonstrate how he incorporates other elements of the material world into his textual one in order to reshape it. In spite of his difference from Ausonius, an analysis of Prudentius' work provides further proof for my hypothesis that late antique poets exhibit a particular tendency toward mnemonic negotiation.

3.1 SUMMARY OF PRUDENTIAN SCHOLARSHIP

As O'Hogan remarks near the beginning of his 2012 study of space and geography in Prudentius, the approaches that have characterized Prudentian scholarship for much of the last fifty years have been primarily theological and textual. These valuable approaches persist,¹⁰⁸ but the study of Prudentius has also recently expanded to include studies that focus more attention on the poet's work as literature. As Dennis Trout observed in a recent review, "With such surefooted guides to this hunting ground of the late antique (and Prudentian) imagination now on call, there is no longer any good reason to shy away..." (2012). This comment, while offered in relation to the *Hamartigenia*, reflects the broader maturation of Prudentian literary studies since the late 80s and 90s (e.g. Roberts 1993; Malamud 1989; Herzog 2002). These developments also anticipate the growth of scholarship on the treatment of space in Prudentius. Articles incorporating treatments of personifications of the city and depictions of urban spaces (e.g. Roberts 2001; Kuhlman 2012) are now accompanied by O'Hogan's lengthier treatment (2012). With the exception of an article by Roberts (2001), the *Contra Symmachum* has not been studied

¹⁰⁸ Consider Cameron's focus on the textual issues in his recent treatment of the *Contra Symmachum* (2011: 337-349).

as a part of either development, remaining outside the purview of both general literary studies and those that focus more on space.¹⁰⁹

The *CS* has not been understudied, however, and has been thoroughly examined as a part of a different conversation. Since Lavarenne's influential Budé edition of 1948, the *CS* has contributed to the discussion of how Christians reimagined the Roman imperial project after Constantine. I should like to emphasize that this represents a mnemonic negotiation as well. It engages an essential myth that Roman Christians told themselves. Earlier generations of Christian leaders, such as the second century luminaries Melito of Sardis and Tertullian, stressed the benefits that Christianity brought to the empire, and developed the figure of Christ as a parallel to Augustus.¹¹⁰ A spiritual founder could be coupled with a secular one. As Pietsch has observed, the culmination of this positive approach to the Roman imperial project appears in the works of Origen (c.185-253), wherein the theologian claims that the empire came into being as an essential component of a divine plan, providing the necessary conditions for global unity, and, therefore, global Christianization (Pietsch 2001: 265-267). Yet, there also existed a more utilitarian perspective, maintaining that the Roman empire did not have a positive valuation as much as it lacked a negative. Detailed analyses of Prudentius' interaction with this tradition have been carried out by Paschoud, Fuhrman, and Klein, who interpret the poet's work as presenting a more positive approach to the Roman empire (Paschoud 1967; Fuhrmann 1968, esp. 556; Klein 1986, esp. 453-454).¹¹¹ Christian Pietsch contends that the poet pursues an

¹⁰⁹ A possible exception to this is Behrwald 2009, (see pg. 130 of this dissertation). Bastiaensen also mentions Prudentius and Rome in his overview of Prudentian scholarship, but remains focused on the historical context and the poem's composition (1993: 126-129).

¹¹⁰ Melito in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.8; Tertullian 30-32 (on praying for the emperor as Christian benefaction). See Pietsch 2001: 265-267.

¹¹¹ E.g. Fuhrmann 1968: 556: *Darin tun sich zwei Konstituenten besonders auffällig hervor: erstens die Radikalisierung des von Ambrosius eingeführten ideologischen Prinzips, zweitens eine weitere Stufe der Annäherung von Rom und Christentum.*

intermediate path, combining a positive conception of Roman imperialism with the more utilitarian perspective of Eusebius, Jerome, and Ambrose (2001: 267; 273-275). Since this element of Prudentius' work has already been so thoroughly discussed, I have omitted it from this study in order to devote attention to the understudied elements of the poet's oeuvre, especially the presence of invented tradition and polemical depictions of space in the *CS*. The most recent treatment, Ralf Behrwald's *Die Stadt als Museum*, denies the possibility of what he calls *Konkurrenztopographie* in the *Contra Symmachum*, because he views the poem as more focused on the occupation and appropriation of Roman monuments (Behrwald 2009: 262-267). O'Hogan does include the *CS* in a conversation about space and spatial polemic, but confines that discussion to the depiction of rural spaces and the tradition of Roman farming (2012: 109-125).

3.2 POLEMICAL PROGRAMMING IN *CONTRA SYMMACHUM PF. 1*

While only a few interpretations pursue the spatial interactions of the *CS*, the poet's familiarity with the city and clear engagement with its spaces is already well established (Lavarenne 1943: 93n1; Gnilka 2000: 187-218). To my knowledge, there is no study that pursues a reading that emphasizes the poem's polemical confrontation with urban space. I should like to suggest both that this reading can be well supported and that it adds a great deal to conversations about the shifting function and aesthetics of late antique poetry. Given that textual issues bedevil the conversation around the *CS*, I cannot interpret the poem as a unified attempt to pursue these spatial and mnemonic goals, but will instead analyze the instances that exhibit these tendencies.

Whether one follows Alan Cameron's most recent suggestion that the poem actually consists of three separate pieces (2011: 337-349),¹¹² or adopts the position that the poem was composed as a unity (as Brown 2003, Garuti 1996, Barnes 1976), the first preface can provide valuable interpretive clues. According to Cameron, Prudentius edited three pre-existing works into the two-book structure of the *CS* as a result of preparing his work for publication in 405 (2011: 346). Accordingly, the two prefaces would have also been composed at this time, and would reflect more globally on the two book poem that the poet was about to publish. Thus, the first preface likely provides a panoptic view of the first book, the poem, and the goals of both. The preface begins as follows (*CS I* Pf. 1-9):

Paulus, praeco Dei, qui fera gentium
 primus **corda** sacro perdomuit stilo
 Christum per populos ritibus asperis
inmanes placido dogmate seminans,
inmansueta suas ut cerimoniae
 gens pagana Deo sperneret agnito,
 actus turbinibus forte **nigerrimis**
 hibernum pelagus iam rate debili
 et vim navifragi pertulerat noti.

Paul, God's proclaimer, who first subdued the bestial hearts of the gentiles with his holy pen, who by his gentle teaching instilled Christ among people monstrous in their cruel rites so that the race of uncultured pagans, having recognized God, would spurn their rituals, happened to be driven on by blackest tempests and in his failing ship felt the icy sea and the power of the shipwrecking wind.

The heroic timbre of this episode has already been investigated by Buchheit, who observed potential for an alignment between Paul and Aeneas in these lines (1997). This argument has been opposed by Partoens who, while willing to accept implicit parallels to Aeneas, prefers to interpret the first preface along theological lines (2003). The majority of evidence adduced for these arguments comes from the subsequent lines of the preface, yet, there

¹¹² Cameron follows and supplements the arguments of Shanzer 1989: 457-462.

is a heroic resonance in the first six lines as well (cf. Buchheit, who reads 1-6 as an attempt to establish Paul as the *magister gentium*).¹¹³ Any Roman epic that begins with a story of sea-voyage and shipwreck in its introductory paragraph exhibits a strong contextual affinity with the *Aeneid*, but the heroic voyage also carries the latent potential for catabasis. The preface to *CS* features a layering of Vergilian heroic topoi, and simultaneously evokes the foundational voyage of Aeneas and the catabasis of Orpheus. Consider the following passage from *Georgics IV* (4.467-470):

Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
 et **caligantem nigra formidine lucum**
 ingressus Manisque adiit regemque tremendum
 nesciaque humanis precibus **mansuescere corda**.
 Coming even to the gates of the hellmouth, the high gates of Dis, and the grove that
 swirls in black dread, he went among the spirits and approached their awesome king, and
 hearts that know no gentleness in the face of human prayer.

The slight verbal parallels persuade since they are coupled with powerful similarities of context.¹¹⁴ Both Paul and Orpheus embark on a journey through the darkness in order to persuade savage hearts, and have their ultimate goal in the resurrection of the dead. Catherine Ware has already observed the Christian willingness to incorporate narratives of return from the pagan underworld into depictions of the resurrection and documented the effect of this synthesis on the possible readings of Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* (2011). More important, however, is the idea of this Pauline/Orphic catabasis for the program of the *CS*. The second line of the preface describes Paul as the first to to conquer gentile hearts, implying that Prudentius' poem attempts the same. This also helps to explain a curious image found in the last ten lines of the preface (the only portion not analyzed by Argenio 1968). At *CS* 1 *pf.* 80-89, the narrator begs for divine mercy for an eloquent sinner (*CS Pf.* 1.80-89):

¹¹³ 1997: 325-326; also Partoens 2003: 42-43.

¹¹⁴ Theodosius also deploys *mansuesco* in his speech to Rome at *CS* 1.415-506.

senators “to be plunged headlong (*praecipites*) into Tartarus, along with Jove and his mob of gods.”¹¹⁷

The concluding lines of the preface, therefore, may also represent the perspective of the Christian narrator. He is the one who has made a perilously journey downwards, into the trap that the city presents. There, the inhabitants who passively breathe in sacrilege are dangerously close to breathing it out again in statements of support for the vestiges of state-sponsored paganism. The spiritual nature of the metaphor of the snake (though already quite clear) is perhaps more emphatic through the use of a Prudentian soundplay at line 89, since the word *INFERat* also has connotations of hellishness (i.e. *inferus, a, um*). The Christian narrator fits curiously well into the Orphic background. He has also descended into an infernal location in order to effect another’s salvation, but the deity he pleads with is not deaf to human prayer. Even if one rejects that interpretation, however, it is clear that the narrator has aligned himself with Paul, whose example he follows by “instilling Christ, so that the race of uncultured pagans, having recognized God, would spurn their rituals.”

3.3 EXPECTATIONS OF ROME BETRAYED

The preface provides the most attractive point of departure, not only for the fact that the author approaches an explicit declaration of his goals, but also because it can be assessed without having to deal too vigorously with the question of the poem’s composition. Regardless of whether the poem was written as a unity or cobbled together from other pieces in Prudentius’ literary catalogue, the *CS* frequently confronts pagan traditions about the city. The narrator returns to this theme throughout the work, and there is often significant correspondence between

¹¹⁷ CS 1.26-27: ...*quos praecipites in Tartara mergi / cum Jove siverunt multa et plebe deorum.*”

these episodes. Taken together, such examples indicate that the poem deliberately sought to engage issues of Christian representation within Rome's urban landscape.

The spiritually damaging atmosphere described at *Pf.* 1.81-89 is elaborated in Book 1. The very first words comprise a powerful invocation of the narrator's discontent with a city infected by the vices of a pagan culture (*CS* 1.1-8):

Credebam uitiiis aegram gentilibus urbem
iam satis antiqui pepulisse pericula morbi
nec quidquam restare mali, postquam medicina
principis inmodicos sedarat in arce dolores.
sed quoniam renouata luis turbare salutem 5
temptat Romulidum, patris imploranda medella est
ne sinat antiquo Romam squalere ueterno
neue togas procerum fumoque et sanguine tingui.

I used to think that the city, sick because of the faults of the gentiles, had sufficiently fought off the dangers of the old disease, and that, after the emperor's treatment subdued the egregious pains in the citadel, nothing of the evil remained. But since the pestilence has been renewed, and tries once again to disturb the health of Romulus' descendants, a remedy from our father must be sought, so that he may not allow Rome to once again exist in its ancestral filth, nor the togas of the foremost citizens to be dyed with smoke and blood.

The introductory lines of the *CS* powerfully confront tradition and the construction of meaning, incorporating the ideas adumbrated in the preface into its opening lines. Line 1 is a masterfully crafted statement of betrayed expectations that places the words expressing disillusion (*credebam*) and city (*urbem*) in the most emphatic positions. The poem begins by presenting the narrator as someone who adheres to markedly different traditions, traditions that he does not find represented in the urban environment. I shall show how the *CS* makes these underrepresented traditions salient in the fictive city created in the poem, a city deliberately created against the material city that existed in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

The references to a sick city in the preceding passage demonstrate a level of polemical engagement as well.¹¹⁸ The initial lines of the *CS* can be compared to the invective poetry of his contemporary Claudian, particularly his *In Rufinum*. That work also begins with expressions of doubt and loss of faith, and characterizes its principal antagonist as a disease (*Ruf.* 1.1-3; 19-20). In both poems, the narrator's doubt and the disease-bearing villain are handily dispatched by the subject of the panegyric (Theodosius and Stilicho, respectively). In the *CS*, Theodosius is first invoked as a kind of healer who, although earlier treatment has failed, will cure the "illness" of paganism by operating in concert with God (1.6).¹¹⁹ Earlier Roman conceptions of epidemiology rely on the idea that disease comes from unhealthy physical surroundings,¹²⁰ and the subsequent lines of the poem (1.8-408) discuss (and deprecate) the way that the Romans constructed such a damaging environment for themselves. As Shanzer and Cameron have observed, lines 8-408 may represent a separately composed attack on the pagan gods, combined later with panegyric material. If this is correct, it only increases the programmatic import of the initial lines.

Even if one follows the scholars who argue that the poem was composed as a unity (e.g. Brown 2003, Garuti 1996, and Döpp 1986) there is still evidence to support the conclusion that the euhemeristic portion of the poem contributes to a confrontation with pagan traditions. Beyond the obvious desacralization that any euhemeristic treatment of the Roman pantheon would entail, the narrator also confronts Roman spatial traditions in this section. Consider, for example, the long list of sites noteworthy for their connection to the pagan gods, particularly in and around the forum area (namely the Campus Martius, Capitoline temple, the Palladium and

¹¹⁸ The analogy of the city to a body is quite old. A Roman would likely have projected it back to the foundational years of the Republic and the first plebeian revolt and the reconciliation that followed Agrippa Menenius' fable on the body (Livy 2.32). For an analysis of anatomical comparisons see Edwards 1996: 82-95 and Gowers 1995: 25-32, 25n26.

¹¹⁹ The analogy of state and body was extended to the figure of the general or emperor, styled as a doctor (e.g. Lucan 2.141-143; Vell. Pat. 2.114).

¹²⁰ Cf. Varro *DRR* 2.12.

temple of Vesta, and the Capitoline asylum, cf. 1.181-195).¹²¹ The list of gods and sites is exhaustingly long, perhaps deliberately, but the ubiquity of pagan experiences in Rome allows the narrator to discuss their effect (CS 1.215-220; 224):

iamque domo egrediens ut publica festa diesque	215
et ludos stupuit celsa et Capitolia uidit	
laurigerosque deum templis adstare ministros	
ac sacram resonare uiam mugitibus ante	
delubrum Romae – colitur nam sanguine et ipsa	
more deae nomenque loci ceu numen habetur...	220
contulit ad simulacra fidem...	

and when, after leaving his house, he stood dumbfounded before the public celebrations, holidays, and games and saw the towering Capitoline, saw the laurel-wearing temple attendants standing in front of them, the *Via Sacra* ringing with the sounds of cattle in front of Roma's shrine – indeed she too is attended to with blood after the fashion of a goddess, and the *nomen* thought of as if it were a *numen*... and gave his faith to the statues...

Once again, the narrator simultaneously addresses broad as well as targeted, city-specific claims. The monumental apparatus of Roman paganism supports persistence in that belief, but is particularly damaging in that it has produced woefully incorrect ideas about Rome itself. Finally, the preceding lines allow the narrator to elaborate upon a point that has been adumbrated since the prologue – the urban landscape is not a weak, passive reinforcement of paganism, but, following the poet's preferred metaphor of disease, is instead an almost pathogenic entity that produces it.¹²²

¹²¹ Later the narrative will also feature still more descriptions of particular sites, namely a group of statues near the temple of Venus and Roma (1.224-240; cf. Gnilka 2000) and the *Via Salaria* and *Via Latina* (1.403-405).

¹²² Cf. also Gnilka 2000:197 “die Idolatrie bildet das unausweichliche Resultat aller Erlebnisse.”

3.4 REMAPPING THE CITY, REMAPPING THE EMPEROR

Reading of the preface and the initial lines of *CS* 1 prepares the reader for a serious recalibration of Roman traditions about the city and its spaces. The most intense negotiations of tradition occur after Theodosius returns to the poem. Once the narrator has provided the reader with evidence of just how polluted the urban environment has become, the emperor can reappear and cure the city of its ailment (*CS*. 1.408-416).

en quibus implicita **squalebat** regia¹²³ summi
imperii tractis maiorum ab origine sacris
cum princeps gemini bis victor caede tyranni 410
pulchra triumphali respexit moenia uultu
nubibus obsessam nigrantibus aspicit urbem
noctis obumbratae caligine turbidus aer
arcebat liquidum **septena ex arce** serenum
ingemuit miserans et sic ait: ‘exue tristes, 415
fida parens, habitus...’

Ah, entangled in these rites the regal seat of highest power grew rough and dirty, rites that stemmed from the very beginning of our ancestors’ time, when the emperor, twice victor for the death of twin usurpers, gazed triumphant on the stately walls. He saw the city besieged by black clouds, lying in the shadow of night’s gloom, while the atmosphere, clouded and thick, kept the bright, clean air out of the seven citadels. Taking pity, he groaned and said ‘O faithful mother, cast away these gloomy trappings!’

Clearly these clouds and their oppressive darkness are the product of the pagan landscape that the narrator has so thoroughly described. As Roberts has already observed, these lines also constitute an attempt to invert the traditional topos of a shining, golden Rome in the panegyric tradition, featuring the same brilliant figure overshadowed by darkness (1.415-418; Roberts 2001: 545-548).¹²⁴ The obfuscated and benighted Rome found in this passage results directly from the disease introduced at the beginning of Book 1. The conditions described at 1.408-414

¹²³ *Regia* is perhaps intended as a wordplay, since the *regia* was also the office and traditional residence of either Numa or the Roman high priest, the *rex sacrorum*.

¹²⁴ The clouds of false religion are a commonplace in the late 4th and early 5th centuries. Julian deploys a very similar phrase, albeit in Greek, at *Mis.* 362C.

are those that the narrator hopes to prevent at 1.6-8 (...*patris imploranda medella est / ne sinat antiquo Romam squalere veterno / neve togas procerum fumoque sanguine tingui*), and the description of Rome as the *septena arx* is also reminiscent of 1.4 ([*medicina*] *principis inmodicos sedarat in arce dolores*).¹²⁵ The intervening 400 lines may at their worst be rambling, but they are not so unfocused that they contribute nothing to the Rome-specific goals set forward in the preface and proemium of Book 1. Even if found ineffective, 1.42-407 prepare the reader for later attacks on the divinity of the personified Rome. Regardless of the circumstances of composition, these lines describe the sites of Roman paganism and the effect associated with them. Thus the insert, if it is indeed an addition, permits the reader to understand the magnitude of Theodosius' achievement as well as the profundity of the narrator's disappointment (1.1: *credebam... urbem*). The description of the polluted environment and the necessity of a purge are essential for other goals concerning Roman space, namely the Christianization of the urban environment, encompassing both "depaganization" and the creation of new, Christian memory spaces.

Immediately after his return to the poem, Theodosius addresses the personified Roma, delivering a speech that occupies approximately one hundred lines.¹²⁶ The initial words of the speech make his intention clear: *ingemuit miserans et sic ait: "exue tristes, / fida parens, habitus."* The correspondence between lines 1.408-414 and 1.1-8 indicates that the expulsion of pollution is the long anticipated *medicina* of 1.3. The greatest attention should be paid to how Theodosius effects this purification. In spite of the fact that the passage reintroducing the

¹²⁵ This image is reminiscent of Claudian's at *Stil.* 3.123-124: ... *per quem squalere remoto/ pristina Romuleis infloruit artibus aetas.*

¹²⁶ This may have been based on actual confrontation between Theodosius and the Senate, but this seems doubtful. If there was such a conflict, the senate's reaction was likely quite hostile. For a consideration of the evidence see Cameron 1968: 247-265.

emperor places his victories in high relief, creating a figure that radiates power in the dark Roman landscape, Theodosius does not rely solely on his own authority to purify the city. Instead, the emperor's speech explicitly links him to the legacy of Constantine. Rome must acknowledge his standards because they are the same as those carried by his famous predecessor (1.464-469). This identification with Constantine is ultimately what accomplishes the purification, as I shall show, but it also provides an opportunity to celebrate a Christian memory space, and explicitly identify it as such. Consider the following passage on the Milvian Bridge (CS 1.481-495):

testis Christicolae ducis adventantis ad urbem
 Mulvius exceptum tiberina in stagna tyrannum
 praecipitans, quam victricia **viderit** arma
 maiestate regi, quod signum dextera vindex
 praetulerit, quali radiarint stemmate pila. 485
 Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
 signabat labarum, clipeorum insignia Christus
 scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis.
ipse senatorum meminit clarissimus ordo.
 qui **tunc** concreto processit crine catenis 490
squalens carcereis aut nexus conpede vasta,
 complexusque pedes victoris ad inclyta flendo
 procubuit vexilla iacens. **Tunc ille senatus**
militia ultricis titulum Christique uerendum
nomen adorauit quod conlucebat in armis. 495

The Milvian [bridge] is a witness of the Christ-loving emperor advancing on the city, hurling as it did the deposed tyrant into the Tiber, where it saw what power ruled the victorious arms, saw what the conquering hand carried before it, and saw the wreaths with which the javelins shone. Christ was woven into the jeweled gold, marking out the purple *labarum*, Christ had written on the crests of shields, and a cross flashed like a fire, added to the tops of standards. The most noble order of Senators remembers this, they who came forth with matted hair, hideous in their prison chains, bound in shackles with their feet tied, they who prostrated themselves in tears before the glorious standards. Then the senate revered the symbol of the avenging army, the holy name of Christ that shone among the weapons.

After explicitly identifying the bridge as a witness to the climactic battle for Rome in 312,¹²⁷ which takes on strong connotations of good versus evil after the description of Maxentius' regime at 1.469-480,¹²⁸ the narrator offers a vivid tableau of a victorious army resplendent in newly adopted Christian symbols. The six lines following the introduction of the bridge twice mention victory or conquest (483, 484, enhanced by the line-ending alliteration of 'v') and two mentions of shining or radiance (485, 488). The source of this victory is also emphasized, as Christ is mentioned three times (481, 486, 487), and the image of the cross evoked at least twice (487: *labarum*, 488: *crux*, although the *insignia* of 487 could also be the cross-like chi-rho of the *labarum*). The passage also effects a fusion of imperial and divine power. The juxtaposition of *victricia ... arma* with *qua ... maiestate regi* adumbrates this combination, since *maiestas* could also refer to Constantine's power and authority, but the *labarum* itself exemplifies this unity. This Roman military standard, which carried the image of Constantine and the name of Christ, is depicted in the Prudentian narrative alongside other clearly imperial elements (486: *purpureum; gemmanti textus in auro*).¹²⁹ The scene's rich detail is of itself an exhortation to memory, made still more forceful by the deployment of personification. After presenting the bridge as a "witness", the narrator binds together space, memory, and vision (1.483: *quanam victricia viderit*

¹²⁷ Summoning a location as a witness to a great victory is relatively infrequent in the Roman literary tradition; Garuti cites only two similar instances, Cic. *De Off.* 1.75; Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.37-44 (Garuti 1996: ad 1.481). The latter is perhaps more relevant for this discussion as it contains some tropes also present in the Prudentian narrative. The personified Rome is again invoked and called to memory and also concerns the expulsion (or departure) of shadows from the landscape (4.4.37-40): *Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus, / testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal / deuictus et pulcher fugatis / ille dies Latio tenebris*. If Prudentius has this poem of Horace in mind, his allusive intention is probably one of irony, supplanting the Neros with Constantine and his descendants. Nero was infamous for being the first emperor to begin persecutions against Christians. Cf. Tertullian *Apol.* v.3-5; Tacitus *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius *Nero* 16.

¹²⁸ A description which closely follows the account in Eusebius. *Vita Constantini* 33-36.

¹²⁹ A similar fusion may also be implied at 1.6; 1.10. In the first instance, God is clearly meant: *patris imploranda medella est*, but the party who actually is said to have administered this remedy is Theodosius, who is referred to as *parens (parens patriae)* at 1.10. For the *labarum* as bearing an image of the emperor, see Campbell 1984: 96-99. It is clear that praetorian standards carried the emperor's image, but legion and auxiliary standards may have had their own portrait bearers. For the deployment of gold, purple, and gems as characteristic of imperial power, particularly the imperial standards, cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.7

arma / maiestate regi). He then proceeds to depict the very people for whom the scene is most important recalling the events he described (1.489: *ipse senatorum meminit clarissimus ordo*).¹³⁰

Lines 481-495 not only present the Milvian Bridge as a memory space that celebrates the Christian liberation of the senatorial order from the oppressive tyranny of Maxentius, they also represent a direct reaction to an earlier, pagan monument commemorating the same event: The Arch of Constantine. The narrative advanced by the arch features polemic against Maxentius similar to that of the *CS*,¹³¹ but the monument makes more ambiguous mention of the divine presence that revealed itself to Constantine. While the Prudentian account frequently and explicitly names Christ, the Arch of Constantine refers only to the *instinctus divinitatis* (CIL 6.1139). Meanwhile, the non-textual elements of the monument strongly suggested identification with Sol Invictus, a patron deity of both Constantine and his imperial predecessors.

¹³⁰ Both the passage on the Milvian Bridge and the act of memory are given little or no attention in the commentaries. The most substantial comment comes from the anonymous Latin commentary attributed to Remi d'Auxerre (Manuscript 415, Bibliotheque de Valenciennes), who remarked that *meminit* refers to the *maiestas Christi* (ad loc.). For the attribution to Remi D'Auxerre cf. the preface to Burnham 1910. Regarding the importance of the Constantinian scene, the only mention of it seems to come from Solmsen: "to Constantine, who was the first to set Rome on the more promising road, a bow of acknowledgment is made." (1965: 239).

¹³¹ CIL 6.1139: *CUM EXERCITU SUO / TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIUS / FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE IUSTIS / REM PUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS.*



Figure 3.1. The Victory Medallion of 313.
 Dual Busts of Constantine and Sol Invictus. Image taken from Marlowe 2006.
 (Bibliothèque nationale de France)
 Legend: *INVICTVS CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG*



Figure 3.2. Constantine receives the Victoriola from Sol (RIC VII, p.468, no. 8).
 Image taken from Wienand 2011.
 Obverse: *CONSTANTINVS PF AVG*
 Reverse: *SOLI COMITI AVGVSTI*

In addition to several Constantinian coin types that feature the god, a victory medallion of 313 (Figure 3.1) features the images of Constantine and Sol alongside the legend INVICTUS CONSTANTINUS MAX AUG (Wienand 2011; Marlowe 2006: 231-232). The attribution of the term *invictus* to Constantine is frequent and could descend ultimately from the connection with Sol. To return to the arch itself, both Constantine and Sol are depicted in parallel roundels, each mounting a chariot. Constantine may also be depicted as Sol in the Verona frieze on the arch's south side (cf. Marlowe 2006: 235; L'Orange 1935: 340-341). Elizabeth Marlowe has also posited the brilliant and convincing claim that the arch was constructed so that it framed the nearby colossus of Sol Invictus (2006: 228-235). The arch is a senatorial memorial that privileges the connection to Sol almost exclusively, starkly contrasting Prudentius' new Constantinian memory space near the Milvian Bridge. In addition, the friezes of the arch depict none of the Christian symbolism critical to the Christian tradition commemorating the incident. The *labarum* is not marked by a chi-rho, and there is nothing to indicate that the arch featured soldiers or Praetorians carrying arms bearing Christian symbols.¹³² The likelihood that Prudentius targeted the arch specifically finds support in the very first words of Constantine's introduction (CS 1.464-468):

agnoscas, regina, libens mea signa necesse est,
in quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget
aut longis solido ex auro praefertur in hastis.
hoc signo inuictus transmissis Alpibus **ultor**
servitium soluit miserabile Constantinus.

¹³² The *Notitia Dignitatum*, a 5th century catalogue describing the arms of all ranks of the Roman soldiery contains nothing that is unequivocally Christian. The chi-rho implied by Prudentius is definitely absent (1.487-488: *clipeorum insignia Christus/ scripserat*).

Willingly acknowledge my standards, O queen, on which the cross shines forth with gems, or is carried before us on the long spears, made of solid gold. Made unconquerable by this sign, Constantine crossed the Alps as an avenger and released us from mournful slavery!

These lines posit the critical notion that Constantine's invincibility has nothing to do with his identification with (or worship of) Sol Invictus, but arises from his willingness to embrace Christianity and take the cross as his symbol (*hoc signo*). The poet's characterization of Maxentius shows some debt to Eusebius, but, like the arch, lines 467-468 depict Constantine's invasion as an act of vengeance (CIL 6.1139: *iustis/ rem publicam ultus est armis*) and a liberation of Rome from slavery (the inscriptions inside the arch speak of a *liberator urbis*).¹³³ Thus, the passage of Prudentius, while invoking the Milvian Bridge as an alternative, Christian memory space, revises both the language of the arch's inscription and the content of its visual art. The poet's depiction of the bridge as memory space also permits the incorporation of the arch's most important narrative, the Battle of Milvian Bridge, as an ekphrasis.¹³⁴ The fact that this allows the Christian narrator to insert the *labarum* into the scene, something the actual arch most conspicuously lacks, militates against dismissal of these polemical allusions as mere participation in the themes common to panegyric.

¹³³ The full text of the inscription reads (CIL 6.1139): IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) FL(avio) CONSTANTINO MAXIMO / P(io) F(elici) AUGUSTO S(enatus) P(opulus)Q(ue) R(omanus) / QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS MENTIS / MAGNITUDE CUM EXERCITU SUO / TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIUS / FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE IUSTIS / REM PUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS / ARCUM TRIUMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT.

¹³⁴ For the connection between *enargeia* and memory see Gowing 2005: 58, esp. 58n71.



Figure 3.3. The “Vetranio Coin” (RIC VIII, p. 369, no. 283)

Obverse: *D N VETRANIO P F AVG*

Reverse: *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS*

The polemical imagery of Prudentius’ Milvian Bridge extends beyond the inclusion of the absent *labarum*. In the scene that opens this passage and introduces Constantine, the narrator has deliberately and significantly altered the conventional formulation of an important Christian phrase. We can presume with some confidence that the tradition, long established by this point, handed down the formula (*in hoc signo victor eris*) (Van Dam 2012: 49). This is most strikingly demonstrated by a coin minted by the mid-fourth century general Vetranio, featuring the *labarum* and bearing the phrase as its legend (Figure 3.3).¹³⁵

While it is metrically impossible to preserve the exact phrase, Prudentius’ use of the adjective *invictus* is unlikely to be a coincidence. In addition to the emphatic position that begins the line, the phrase *hoc signo invictus* terminates at the caesura, and stands out as a phrase. Prudentius deploys his poetic skill to arrest the reader’s progress through the line precisely at the point where a seemingly familiar phrase becomes unfamiliar. Pausing after this verbal

¹³⁵ While the reader will find this coin in the *Roman Imperial Coinage* under the given reference number, a clearer digital image has been taken from [coinarchives.com](http://www.coinarchives.com) (<http://www.coinarchives.com/4add3ae1cd5f8b62e841f0bf6c076257/img/roma/e17/image01038.jpg>).

innovation focuses attention on the new phrase, and allows Prudentius to assert the validity of his memory of Constantine by repurposing the word most important to the memory of a pagan Constantine. The reader pauses, and remembers what has truly made Constantine *invictus*, thus rejecting the previous pagan tradition along with the narrator.

This account of the Milvian Bridge renders the nexus of pagan memories around the arch of Constantine illegitimate, even though pagan reminiscences may literally be staring the viewer in the face. According to the Prudentian framework, the fact that the Colossus of Sol stands framed by the arch is now nothing but a coincidence, deprived of spiritual resonance in the Roman memory. This kind of spiritual, rather than physical, destruction is perfectly in keeping with the culminating point of Theodosius' speech and its criticism of sacrifice (CS 1. 496-498; 501-505):

Ergo, caue egregium caput orbis, inania post haec
prodigia et laruas olido tibi fingere cultu
atque experta Dei uirtutem spernere ueri...

Marmora tabenti respergine tincta lauate
o proceres: liceat statuas consistere puras,
artificum magnorum opera: haec pulcherrima nostrae
Ornamenta fuant patriae, nec decolor usus
In uitium uersae monumenta coinquet artis.

Therefore, take care, you eminent center of the world, not to fashion vain illusions for yourself after this, nor vain monstrosities on behalf of foul rites, and not to spurn the strength of the true God after you have witnessed it... Wash, Senators, the marbles painted with the corrosive stain of sacrifice. Let the statues remain pure, the works of great artists, the most beautiful ornaments of our homeland, and do not let a tainted practice pollute a work of art, turned into a work of vice.

Theodosius' speech represents an emphatic declaration of a new relationship to the physical vestiges of Roman paganism already intimated by the Milvian Bridge episode. Like the arch of Constantine, pagan statues such as those mentioned at 1.224-235 must remain empty of sacred resonance. While they may remain art, evidenced, for example, by the careful description of the

Picus statue at 1.235, they can no longer serve as a focal point for worship. Prudentius' poem very carefully prescribes a new relationship to what had been traditional.¹³⁶ Notably, the motivation for the suppression of these resonances and the "cleansing" of these statues descends ultimately from an act of Christian memory, the memory of the Milvian Bridge episode (496; 498: *ergo cave... experta... Dei veri*).

This Constantinian moment in the *CS* represents a remarkable opportunity for moderns interested in the late antique world. As Jacobs pointed out in his review of Garnsey and Humfress' *The Evolution of the Late Antique World*, scholarly characterization of the late antique period has shifted from "transition" to a series of "evolutions" or "creeping change" (Jacobs 2001). Prudentius' depiction of Constantine allows an analysis of a close encounter with such a change. The *CS* hovers just above the stage that Pierre Bourdieu has referred to as "genesis amnesia." The idea must be understood in concert with Bourdieu's more famous theory of the *habitus*. According to Bourdieu, the *habitus* encapsulates the notion that, whether true or untrue, there are assumptions and practices so fundamental to a society that they go unquestioned. These things, collectively called "the *habitus*," are so integral to self-understanding and identity that they are conceived of as perpetual, such that people will say, "it has always been this way." Such practices guide behaviour and prescribe the actions that an individual should take, and they also rationalize past behaviors or relationships (Bourdieu 1977: 72-80, esp.78-79). Bourdieu summarizes the concept of the *habitus* by explaining that (1977: 77):

Unlike the estimation of probabilities which science constructs methodically on the basis of controlled experiments from data established according to precise rules, practical evaluation of the likelihood of the success of a given action in a given situation brings into play a whole body of wisdom, sayings, commonplaces, ethical precepts ('that's not for the likes of us') and, at a deeper level, the unconscious principles of the ethos which, being the product of a learning process dominated by a determinate type of objective

¹³⁶ Roberts mentions that there is a similar move in the literary realm. Paulinus and Juvencus speak of "employing the abundance of language and verbal ornament" of pagan authors for Christian purposes (1989: 124).

regularities, determines ‘reasonable’ and ‘unreasonable’ conduct for every agent subjected to those regularities.

To put it concisely (and continue to use Bourdieu’s terms), the *habitus* is “history turned into nature, i.e. denied as such” (1977: 78). This denial constitutes genesis amnesia. The erasure of the line between history and nature allows a belief or idea to pass into the unconscious – the practice or tradition remains, but its creation is lost to the collective memory.

The negotiations of memory in the *CS* contribute to a fundamental Christian tradition, one that endures even into the modern period. At the Battle of Milvian Bridge, Constantine experienced a vision, converted to Christianity, and defeated the tyrannical Maxentius. As he liberated Rome from the domination of cruel and unjust rulers like Maxentius (and later Licinius) he also liberated the empire from its self-destructive predilection for pagan worship. For later generations of Prudentius’ readers this was undeniably and unremarkably true, and they would find their own versions of history validated by the account that the *CS* endorses. As I have shown, Prudentius likely had all the confidence of these later readers regarding the historicity of the incident, but he knew of dissenting versions and confronted them. Genesis amnesia exists neither for him nor his original readership. These early readers can actively reject a variant tradition when they read the poem and deny validity to the instantiation of that tradition on the Roman landscape (the Arch of Constantine). Genesis amnesia could not have taken hold of the fourth-century reader; the *CS* represents a rehearsal of history in front of a favourable audience. The ekphrastic description of the events “witnessed” by the bridge encourages the reader to locate the memory of Constantine not in the arch, but in the bridge itself (1.482-83: *testis...Mulvius*; 484: *uiderit arma*). For full consideration of these points, I quote the Milvian Bridge passage of the poem once more in full (*CS* 1.481-495):

testis Christicolae ducis adventantis ad urbem

Mulvius exceptum tiberina in stagna tyrannum
praecipitans, quanam victricia **viderit** arma
maiestate regi, quod signum dextera vindex
praetulerit, quali radiarint stemmate pila. 485

Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
signabat labarum, clipeorum insignia Christus
scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis.
ipse senatorum meminit clarissimus ordo.
qui **tunc** concreto processit crine catenis 490
squalens carcereis aut nexus conpede vasta,
complexusque pedes victoris ad inclyta flendo
procubuit vexilla iacens. **Tunc ille senatus**
militia ultricis titulum Christique uerendum
nomen adorauit quod conlucebat in armis.

The Milvian [bridge] is a witness of the Christ-loving emperor advancing on the city, hurling as it did the deposed tyrant into the Tiber, where it saw what power ruled the victorious arms, saw what the conquering hand carried before it, and saw the wreaths with which the javelins shone. Christ was woven into the jeweled gold, marking out the purple *labarum*, Christ had written on the crests of shields, and a cross flashed like a fire, added to the tops of standards. The most noble order of Senators remembers this, they who came forth with matted hair, hideous in their prison chains, bound in shackles with their feet tied, they who prostrated themselves in tears before the glorious standards. Then the senate revered the symbol of the avenging army, the holy name of Christ that shone among the weapons.

The intermedial nature of this passage must also be discussed, as it is the most powerful evidence that the poet intends to shape memory in his work. In addition to blurring the line between verbal and plastic art by negotiating images (and words) from monuments and coins, Prudentius also breaks down the barrier between ekphrasis and narrative. After concluding the reminiscence of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge (1.487), his mention of senatorial memory (1.489: *ipse senatorum meminit clarissimus ordo*) seems like a return to the present, and to the narrative, rather than ekphrastic voice. Those senators are immediately reinserted into the

ekphrasis, however, when they are depicted revering Constantine's holy standards.¹³⁷ The brief interlude at line 489 emphasizes the mnemonic effect that the description is meant to achieve.

By creating a vivid image, Prudentius may be pursuing a scientific approach to the creation of memories. Ancient mnemonic theorists – particularly Aristotle, but also Prudentius' contemporary Augustine – proclaimed the necessity of the image for memory.¹³⁸ More importantly, however, he seems to be following the lead of another Theodosian panegyrist, Drepanius Pacatus. At *Pan.* II (12) 44.4-45.2, Pacatus explains the value of verbal and visual art for the security of the empire:

Huc, huc totas, pii uates, doctarum noctium conferte curas, hoc omnibus litteris
linguisque celebrate, **nec sitis de operum uestrorum perennitate solliciti. illa quam
praestare historiis solebatis ab historia ueniet aeternitas.** 5. uos quoque quibus
secunda sors cessit dare famam rebus, artifices, uulgata illa ueterum fabularum
argumenta despiciate, Herculeos labores et Indicos Liberi triumphos et anguipedum bella
monstrorum. haec potius, haec gesta sollertes manus ducant; his fora, his templa
decorentur; haec ebore reddantur haec marmore, haec in coloribus uiuant, haec in aere
moueantur, haec gemmis augeant pretium. 45.1. pertinet ad securitatem omnium
saeculorum quod est factum uideri, ut, si quis umquam nefaria uota conceperit,
monimentis nostrorum temporum recensitis per oculos hauriat innocentiam. 2. quisquis
purpura quandoque regali uestire humeros cogitabit, Maximus ei exutus occurrat.
quisquis aurum gemmasque priuatis pedibus optabit, Maximus ei plantis nudus appareat.
quisquis imponere capiti diadema meditabitur, auulsum humeris Maximi caput et sine
nomine corpus adspiciat.

To this, to this, you dutiful poets attend the labours of your learned nights, celebrate this
in all your books and languages, **have no worries that your works will last forever.**
That eternity which you were accustomed to grant to history will come from history.
And you also, artists, whom favourable fate has empowered to bestow reputation, look
down on those standard themes of the stories of old, Hercules' labours, and the Indian
triumphs of Bacchus, and the battle of snakes-footed monsters. These, let these exploits
lead your skilful hands; let these decorate the forums and the temples; let these be cast in
ivory and marble; let these live in colours; let them be fashioned in bronze; let them add
to the value of jewels. It matters to the security of every age that what has been done can
be seen, so that if anyone ever takes on any nefarious ambitions, may he review the

¹³⁷ While this is not strictly an ekphrasis, it carries telltale signs of a "system" of ekphrastic description, such as words that guide vision following the introduction of a verb of seeing (e.g.: 483: *quam*, 484: *quod*, 485: *quali*). For ekphrastic and narrative systems and their combination, see Dinter 2013.

¹³⁸ Aristotle *De Mem.* 450a-b; Augustine *Conf.* 10.15. For an overview of mnemonic theory in antiquity, see Yates 1966:1-49. For the centrality of the image, 31-34.

monuments of our times and drink in innocence through his eyes. If anyone thinks of draping his shoulders with royal purple, may a stripped Maximus cross his mind; if anyone wants gold and jewels for his citizen's feet, let barefooted Maximus appear before him; if anyone intends to place a crown on his head, let him see Maximus's head torn from his shoulders and his body without a name.¹³⁹

Pacatus speaks in the hyperbolic manner of the panegyrist, but his comment on the inversion of the normal relationship between poet and subject has real implications. Poetic immortality and historical memory have become inextricably bound and mutually reinforcing. As Rees observed while commenting on this section of the panegyric, Pacatus deploys an ekphrastic mode of speech in order to encourage poetic and artistic renditions of Theodosius' victory by collapsing the boundaries between epic ekphrasis, plastic art, and oratory (Rees 2013a: 257-258). Pacatus navigates the field of poetic production deftly, embracing the technique of the ekphrastic poet, and, in a later passage (38.1), that of the tragic poet as well. The digressions may be intended to incite his poetic peers into writing poetry on a scale larger than the miniature prose poems contained in the panegyric. Prudentius found himself in a situation not dissimilar to that of Pacatus – the victory that he wanted to commemorate and the warnings he wished to make manifest to the empire were nowhere to be found among the monuments or in the works of poets. In order to ensure that this kind of salutary and admonitory viewing could take place, Prudentius needed to invent monuments and develop visual and mnemonic connections to them in the minds of his readers.

The Milvian Bridge episode stands out as the most intense attempt at negotiating tradition in the poem, but attempts locate memory in the Roman landscape around in the *CS*.

Immediately after the speech of Theodosius, the personified Rome will experience a moment of spatial and mnemonic revelation. At *CS* 1.514-518, the urban environment of Rome is

¹³⁹ Translation from Rees 2013b: 256-257

recontextualized. The scales have fallen from Rome's eyes, and she is finally able to see the city and its surroundings for what they truly are (CS 1.514-518):

mox ubi, contiguos fossis muralibus agros
sanguine iustorum innocuo maduisse **recordans**
inuidiosa **uidet** tumulorum mille circum
tristis iudicii mage paenitet ac dicionis
effrenis nimiaeque sacris pro turpibus irae.

And soon, where she saw the thousand hateful tombs of martyrs, she remembered the fields that lay along the walls, wet with the innocent blood of the righteous. Grieving she greatly regretted her grim judgment and her unchecked reign, her excessive rage, exercised on behalf of shameful rites.

In stark contrast to the euhemeristic passages that precede, Rome is no longer heaped with the shrines of heroes (cf. 1.189-191). Instead, the blood and tombs of martyrs have become ubiquitous. They literally surround the city, simultaneously exhorting Rome to remember Christian spatial relationships and to reject pagan ones (1.517-518: *paenitet... nimiaeque sacris pro turpibus irae*). Similar to the case of the senators at the Milvian Bridge, the narrator explicitly connects the acts of vision and memory and then goes on to discuss the effect that this has (or ought to have) on the viewer. All of Rome has become a heritage site, endowed with a potential that can never be fully understood or realized. As Lowenthal remarks, there is a sense of history that can pervade a place in such a way that inhabitants will understand and refer to it in a vague sense – “here, a history existed” (1996: 134-136, esp. 135), and this is the history that can be found in Prudentius' Rome. Generations of martyrs invest it with a meaning that is vague but inexhaustible, since their identities can never be known.

A general invitation to memory now permeates the entire city, but the narrator also prescribes very specific memories for certain newly Christianized spaces. Book 1 contains two additional attempts to create specific connections between space and memory. At 1.578-586, the narrator briefly discusses the conversion of the Roman *plebs*, making particular reference to the

Vatican and the Lateran churches.¹⁴⁰ The Vatican was, of course, home to a Constantinian church and the tomb of Peter (584: *quo cinis ille latet genitoris amabilis obses*), while the Lateran is the site of an anointing ritual, perhaps conducted after baptism (1.586: *unde sacrum referat regali chrismate signum*). Although these treatments are very brief, the insistence on combining place and memory (emphasized by the repetition of words for ‘where’) corroborates the idea that they are part of Prudentius’ spatial polemic against the pagan environment of Late Antique Rome.

Finally, just as the *CS* locates the urban memory of Constantine in the Milvian Bridge rather than the Arch of Constantine, Theodosius is also given something of a presence on the Roman landscape. Contrary to expectations, perhaps, the reader finds Theodosius in the Roman forum. After his speech to Rome prompts her realization of the new mnemonic connections the city should enforce, the narrator details the further effects of Theodosius’ speech at *CS* 1.521-543:

ne tanto imperio maneat pietate repulsa
 crimen saevitiae, monstrata piacula quaerit,
 inque fidem Christi pleno transfertur amore.
 laurea uictoris Marii minus utilis urbi,
 cum traheret Numidam populo plaudente Iugurtham, 525
 nec tantum Arpinas consul tibi, Roma, medellae
 contulit extincto iusta inter uincla Cethego,
 quantum praecipuus nostro sub tempore princeps
 prospexit tribuitque boni. multos Catilinas
 ille domo pepulit, non saeva incendia tectis 530
 aut sicas patribus, sed Tartara nigra animabus
 internoque hominum statui tormenta parantes.
 errabant hostes per templa, per atria passim,
 Romanumque forum et Capitolia celsa tenebant,
 qui coniuratas ipsa ad vitalia plebis 535
 moliti insidias intus serpente veneno
 consuerant tacitis pestem miscere medullis.

¹⁴⁰ There is also a discussion of senatorial conversion, in which the Tarpeian rock is transformed from a place of secular punishment to one of spiritual isolation and doom. It is now the site favored by the senators who resist a conversion to Christianity (1.548)

ergo triumphator latitanti ex hoste togatus
 clara tropaea refert sine sanguine, remque Quirini
 adsuescit supero pollere in saecula regno. 540
 denique nec metas statuit nec tempora ponit:
 imperium sine fine docet, ne Romula uirtus
 iam sit anus, norit ne gloria parta senectam.

So that such an empire would not be charged with the crime of savagery, and piety abandoned, she [Roma] sought the penance that had been pointed out to her, and with abundant love was given over to faith in Christ. Less useful to our city was Marius' victory wreath, when he led Numidian Jugurtha while the people cheered, neither, Rome, did Arpinum's consul, when he executed Cethegus, whom he had justly clapped in chains, bring so great a remedy as the exceptional emperor who rules our age planned and bestowed! Many a Catiline did he drive from his home, preparing as they were, not raging torches for the roofs or daggers for the senate, but black Tartarus for their souls and torments for man's inner peace. Enemies wandered among the temples, wandered everywhere among their forecourts, were occupying the Roman Forum and the heights of the Capitol. They constructed conspiratorial snares aimed at the very vitals of the people, a creeping poison from within, they plotted to mix disease into their silent marrow. Therefore, the triumphant general, dressed for peace, brings back bloodless trophies from an enemy persistent in his stealth. He habituated Quirinus' empire to temporal power that descends from heaven. Therefore, he set no boundaries for them, nor did he establish a span of time, but taught them of endless empire, so that ancient Roman might would not become a crone, and the glory she had born would not know age.

Exploiting the spatial fear that most terrified the Romans, Prudentius explains that the gods were really enemies that infested the very citadel of the city (533-534: *errabant hostes per templa, per atria passim / Romanumque forum et Capitolia celsa tenebant*). This also permits a true appreciation of Theodosius' achievement. Greater than Cicero and Marius (also styled as the conquerors of former friends of Rome who once wandered as hidden enemies in the forum), Theodosius is allusively proclaimed as greater than Jupiter, as the emperor speaks the words uttered by that god as he promises Roman dominion in the *Aeneid*:

Denique nec metas statuit nec tempora ponit:
 imperium sine fine docet...

CS 1.541-542

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
 imperium sine fine dedi

Aen. 1.278-279

While earlier scholarship has identified this Vergilian allusion, the spatial implications of the passage and the allusion have not been fully appreciated (e.g. Klingner 1965: 658-662; Paschoud 1966: 224-228; Fuhrmann 1968: 556-557, esp. n74; Pietsch 2001: 265). In addition to the realization that the Capitoline was constantly besieged by enemies even more treacherous than Catiline and Jugurtha, the passage also comprises an allusive usurpation of Cicero's defense of the protective power of Capitoline Jupiter. Notably, this is a specifically local force, protecting the Capitoline, the city, and its temples (*Cat.* 3.9.22: *ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, illa cuctam urbem, ille vos omnis salvos esse voluit*). At *Cat.* 3.2.21-23, the Roman orator attributes the defense of Rome against the Catilinarian conspiracy to Jupiter, particularly to the fulfilment of a prophecy and the construction and arrangement of a particular statue. Thus, the decision to deploy the words of Jupiter in praise of Theodosius represents allusive engagement with both Vergil and Cicero. Jupiter is neither the guarantor of empire nor the force that protects and presides over the Capitoline, a building that symbolized and made manifest the empire's claim to power (Edwards 1996: 82-95). While Behrwald is right to observe that this episode in the poem focuses more on the occupation and appropriation of pagan sites rather than any kind of competitive element (2009: 267), the allusive import of these lines definitely suggests a competition of topographical ideas. While the site may be the same (the Capitoline hill and its environs), the reason that the site suggests Roman dominion has changed greatly and competes directly with a prior line of pagan reasoning. It is no longer the presence of Jupiter, but that of Theodosius that ensures the security of the empire.

I do not mean to suggest that the poem locates Theodosius in the forum as powerfully as it locates Constantine in the Milvian Bridge. It is clear, however, that, just as the narrator deprives the pagan Arch of Constantine of its mnemonic resonance, the sacred spaces of the

forum no longer guarantee protection or commemorate earlier divine benefactions. Instead, such sites now evoke a Theodosian victory over insidious forces. Furthermore, the lines mentioned above also attempt to situate the emperor in a literary text, the *Aeneid* of Vergil, and do so in a way that also sideswipes another, namely the orations *In Catilinam*. The powerful interaction between the Vergilian and Ciceronian texts summarizes and caps the poet's polemical agenda. The phrase *imperium sine fine docet* occurs within an allusive and narrative context that invokes the two most important authors in Roman education: Cicero and Vergil.¹⁴¹ Theodosius' wisdom and service have surpassed that of the authors who form the typical basis of an education in the Roman world. Prudentius locates the emperor within the *Aeneid* to present him as the guarantor of empire, an empire that he promises to preserve through his teaching and guidance. Operating together with Constantine, Theodosius has secured the perpetuity of the empire and delivered it from the hands of pagan demons into the guardianship of God. Yet, as I shall show in the following section, Prudentius' allusive attempts to promote the legacy of Theodosius were not always this successful.

3.5 FAILURES OF TRADITION BUILDING IN THE *CONTRA SYMMACHUM*

The treatment of Constantine in the *CS* provides an example of Prudentius contributing to a tradition that was ultimately victorious. The narrative the poet provides masterfully endorses a tradition that he supports while depriving competing traditions of legitimacy. Yet the same

¹⁴¹ The influence of Cicero in late antiquity has already been approached generally by MacCormack 2013. The *locus classicus* for Cicero's enduring influence in this period is Jerome's epistle to Eustochium (Ep. 22), a text that indicates the vitality of the Ciceronian aesthetic while marking a turning point. Jerome relates a dream in which he is accused of being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian, since he places a higher value on the literary rather than biblical word (see Kaster 1988: 81-83). For the indispensability of Vergil for both education and the communication of ideas crucial for the late antique elite see Kaster 1988, esp. 169-96 and Mastrangelo 2008. The strength of the late antiquity commentary tradition (e.g. Donatus, Servius, and Macrobius) provides further evidence of the centrality of Vergil for the intellectual life of the period.

poem – in some ways, that same scene in the poem – also supplies evidence of Prudentius promoting a tradition that ultimately failed. Recall that the depiction of Constantine’s victory in 313 contextualizes the historical situation by including the phrase *cum te pestifera Maxentius premeret aula* (1.469). Like the Theodosius who inhabits the literary present of the *CS*, Constantine also liberates Rome from a disease-bearing entity. The purification speech that Theodosius delivers to the personified city is marked by medical and pseudo-medical language (cf. 1.501-505; 501: *lauare*; 502: *purus*; 504: *coinquinare*). That Theodosius finishes what Constantine began is something of a successful tradition, but elements of it present problems.

Certain aspects of the tradition manage to persevere. For instance, Van Dam remarks that a much later Byzantine tradition presents Theodosius as so perfect an heir of Constantine that he possessed even his physical characteristics. Upon his accession, there was no cloak big enough to fit Theodosius. The cloak of Constantine was produced and found to fit the new emperor perfectly (Van Dam 2012: 29). Yet, there is a great difference between the legacies of Constantine and Theodosius. Constantine manages to pass into tradition relatively unblemished. While there are certainly strong dissenting voices, such as Julian and Zosimus, the enduring memory of Constantine is that of a clement, just emperor, who liberated his people from the abuses of tyrants. Prudentius would like to make the same claim for Theodosius (cf. *CS* 1.410), and attempts to push this suggestion even further by styling Theodosius as the philosopher-king. In the early portions of the poem, when Theodosius’ achievements are still under discussion, the reader encounters the following quotation from Plato’s *Republic* (*CS* 1.30-38; *Resp.* 472c-d):

nimirum pulchre quidam doctissimus “**esset publica res**” inquit, “tunc fortunata satis, **si uel reges saperent uel regnarent sapientes.**”
estne ille e numero paucorum qui diadema
sortiti aetheriae coluerunt **dogma** sofiae?
contigit ecce hominum generi gentique togatae

**dux sapiens. felix nostrae res publica Romae
iustitia regnante viget. parete magistro
sceptrā gubernanti...**

Miraculously well said by that most learned man is this, “Then the state (*res publica*) would be fortunate enough, when kings were philosophers or philosophers kings.” Isn’t that man [Theodosius], out of those who have obtained the crown, one of the few who cultivated the teachings of heavenly wisdom? Behold! A philosopher-king has come to the human race, and the people who wear the toga. Our happy republic, Rome, flourishes since justice reigns. Obey the teacher who is helmsman of the state!

Both the author and the source text go unmentioned,¹⁴² but there may be some reason to interpret the *publica res* of line 31 and the *res publica* of line 36, as instances of allusive self-annotation (Hinds 1998: 3-10). Even if the narrator is not wryly mentioning his source, the passage continues to exhibit interaction with the *Republic*. The *dux sapiens* of line 36 provides some proof of this, but the reference to a reign of justice at line 37 and the image of the helmsman ruling the state invoked by *sceptrā gubernanti* in the final line create further Platonic resonance (*Resp.* 488a-489a).¹⁴³ Prudentius attempts to establish a deeper relationship to the quoted text by alluding to concepts and ideas central to the *Republic*.

I interpret the quotation at *CS* 1.30-32 as an attempt to establish authority. This claim to authority finds support in the self-annotating references and the deployment of specifically Platonic concepts such as the philosopher king, the helmsman, and the necessity of justice for a well-run state. The poet quotes the text and then follows the quotation with a barrage of allusions that fortify his position as a reader and interpreter of the work in question. In a strategy

¹⁴² The exact source is ultimately unclear since it occurs throughout the Platonic corpus. Although the cited sections of the *Republic* represent the most famous occurrence of the commonplace, the necessity of the philosopher king is mentioned in the *Laws*, the Platonic *Epistles*, and implied in both the *Phaedrus* and *Statesman*. See Shorey 1969: 508n1.

¹⁴³ The helmsman and the ship of state were poetic commonplaces, e.g. Theognis 670-685, Alcaeus Fr. 6 208a, and Horace *Carm.* 1.14. The image of the helmsman was also common to imperial panegyric (cf. Heather 2001: 249n140.) Themistius (Or. 15.194-195) had already deployed it in praise of Theodosius in 381, while the *Panegyrici Latini* 10.4.2. relies briefly on the image to praise Maxentius.

very similar to that of Ausonius in *Praef.* 4, the author capitalizes on this newly generated authority immediately, and uses it to validate a claim that, as I shall go on to show, other readers may have found dubious. Ausonius relied on this stratagem to style Catullus a Gaul, and Prudentius deploys it to claim that Theodosius was the philosopher-king. The allusive relationship to the source text demonstrates an authority that is immediately used to pursue a memory manipulation. The narrator moves slightly from one implicit question to another. The first asks if the reader can recall the themes of the *Republic*, while the second asks whether the reader remembers how the *Republic* supports Theodosius' position as emperor and philosopher king. If one follows the chronology adopted by Cameron, according to which *CS* 1 was written in approximately 394-395, it is easy to understand how many would be reluctant to conceive of Theodosius as a perfectly just, philosophically inclined ruler (Cameron 2011: 349-349). Susanna Elm's recent study emphasizes that fourth century approaches to leadership demanded that the ruler be philosophically informed, but any attempt to depict Theodosius as such an emperor would need to confront considerable baggage (Elm 2012: *passim*).

In 390 C.E., Theodosius "ordered" one of the most brutal acts of state violence the ancient world had ever seen, perhaps comparable only to Sulla's massacre of his opponents. An attempt to respond to a riot in Thessalonica prompted the summary execution of nearly 7,000 of its citizens. Neil McLynn's account of the incident very plausibly presents Theodosius as caught in a trap of self-presentation. While the soldiers who attacked the inhabitants of Thessalonica may have greatly exceeded their orders, Theodosius would either need to acknowledge that he had lost control of the army or take responsibility for this incident (McLynn 1994: 315-327). The situation was ultimately resolved through a curious act of public penance, performed with the support of Ambrose, bishop of Milan. The massacre and its ensuing fallout will have certainly

influenced contemporary views of the emperor.¹⁴⁴ Consider the account of the church historian Theodoret, who was approximately a generation older than Prudentius (c.393-460). While making allowances for Theodosius as an admirable man who struggled against an all too human nature, Theodoret characterizes him as a tyrant incapable of controlling his anger (*Eccl. Hist.*

5.17.4-5):

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξαφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγελθέντων οὐκ ἤνεγκε τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν ὀρμὴν οὐδὲ τῷ χαλινῷ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὴν τοῦτου ῥύμην ἐκόλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ τὴν ψῆφον ἐξενεγκεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπέτρεψε. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκεῖνος λαβὼν, οἷα δὴ αὐτόνομός τε καὶ τύραννος τὸν δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διαφυγὼν τὸν ζυγόν, ἄδικα ξίφη κατὰ πάντων ἐγύμνωσε καὶ τοὺς ἀθώους μετὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κατέκτεινεν. ἑπτὰ γάρ, ὡς φασιν, ἀνθρώπων ἀνηρέθησαν χιλιάδες, οὐ κρίσεως ἡγησαμένης καὶ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα τετολμηκότων κατακριθέντων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀμήτῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ δίκην ἀσταχύων κατατμηθέντων.

The emperor was fired with anger when he heard the news, and unable to endure the rush of his passion, did not even check its onset by the curb of reason, but allowed his rage to be the minister of his vengeance. When the imperial passion had received its authority, as though itself an independent prince, it broke the bonds and yoke of reason, unsheathed swords of injustice right and left without distinction, and slew innocent and guilty together. No trial preceded the sentence. No condemnation was passed on the perpetrators of the crimes. Multitudes were mowed down like ears of corn in harvest-tide. It is said that seven thousand perished.¹⁴⁵

McLynn's examination of the causes that prompted the incident notwithstanding, Theodoret's work demonstrates that, approximately fifty years on, Theodosius was still remembered by some as the emperor who performed a public penance for a wrathful summary execution.

The later date and different context of Theodoret's history make it an imperfect comparandum, but the characterization of Theodosius as a vengeful madman is vivid and seems

¹⁴⁴ McLynn observes that the incident was left out of the pagan historiographical tradition (such as it was). He remarks that Theodosius commits an act of penance and "pagan critics cannot...pursue him there" (1994: 328-329). That tradition is represented only by Zosimus and Eunapius, however, which presents something of a problem. The former historian frequently depends on his predecessor, but could easily have left out such an incident. Zosimus frequently omits material, and it is difficult to make meaningful inferences from his history (cf. Cameron and Long 1993: 241). Meanwhile, the fragmentary state of Eunapius' history prevents moderns from knowing whether he recorded anything of the incident.

¹⁴⁵ Trans. Jackson 1890.

to respond to ideas that Prudentius espouses in the work. Theodoret focuses on the unstoppable, irrational nature of the emperor's rage, and presents it as tyrannically ruling the rest of his soul. In the later account, Theodosius appears as a *failure* in Platonic terms, since his anger ought to be checked by the “curb of reason” as if it were one of the horses in Plato's *Phaedrus* (246a-254e, esp. 254c). Not only was Theodosius rebuked as an individual, as a member of a Christian congregation, but later generations would recall Thessalonica as a black mark on his reign, something that precluded his claim to be a philosopher king.

The legacy of the Thessalonika massacre has been powerful, such that Peter Brown regarded it as a turning point in the relationship between imperial power and philosophy. Since the early imperial period, the management of imperial power (and rage) was the province of philosophy.¹⁴⁶ Brown argues that, after the Thessalonika massacre, imperial wrath was no longer tempered by the influence of a pagan philosopher, but reconciled to the community through the forgiveness of God and the mediation of the bishop (Brown 1992). In this case, we ought once again to read the *CS* as a cultural artifact created at a pivotal moment. Although the idea of the philosophically inclined emperor dominated fourth-century conceptions of imperial power, Theodosius' reaction to the riot at Thessalonika likely precipitated a shift away from this paradigm. Some, like Theodoret, may exhibit some bitterness toward the emperor as they embrace that shift, but Prudentius' proximity to these changes does not allow him to realize that the paradigm is shifting. Instead, the *CS* shows us a panegyrist who attempts to perpetuate a commonplace of imperial presentation that has become obsolete or problematic. This same troubled obsolescence may nevertheless be the reason that the poet deploys the allusive strategy that I have identified above. In the past, the dual identities of Theodosius as emperor and

¹⁴⁶ For the importance of philosophy for governance in the mid 4th century see Elm 2012.

philosopher king would have been mutually self-reinforcing. Caught between crisis and stable evolution, the allusive technique displayed in *CS* 1.30-38 represents an attempt to adapt to the changing circumstances.

3.6 ROME PERSONIFIED

The second book of the *CS* finally produces the confrontation between Symmachus and the poem's narrator that the reader has been anticipating since the end of the first preface. Since the arguments of Symmachus focus heavily on the maintenance of tradition (as well as the city's prestige) one would expect the second book to engage and contest Roman traditions with great frequency.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps owing to the fact that the poet relies on the arguments of Ambrose, such confrontations are not as common, but when they occur, they are often complex and intense, comprising negotiations of traditions crucial to Roman self-understanding and understanding of the world.

The narrator begins Book 2 by criticizing the arguments of Symmachus almost immediately, introducing him as a speaking character at 2.12-16. On his second and much longer appearance (2.71-90), Symmachus introduces the personified Rome, who delivers what is essentially a summary of the most important points in Symmachus' third *relatio*. In the preceding lines, however, the narrator engages in one of many attempts to delegitimize the orator. The action of Book 2 is set in the imperial audience chamber, presided over by Arcadius and Honorius, rather than Valentinian II. The brothers reprise the role of philosopher kings, a title allusively granted to Theodosius in Book 1 (cf. 1.30-34), and proceed to trample on

¹⁴⁷ For Symmachus as champion of a Roman cause, see Chenault 2008, who claims that Symmachus "wanted not just a Roman emperor, but a 'Rome emperor'" (241).

Symmachus' authority by introducing Platonic arguments about deception and representation
(CS 2.39-48):¹⁴⁸

aut uos pictorum docuit manus adsimulatis
iure poetarum numen componere monstribus 40
aut lepida ex uestro sumpsit pictura sacello
quod variis imitata notis ceraque liquenti
duceret in faciem, sociique poematis arte
aucta coloratis auderet ludere fucis
sic unum sectantur iter, sic inania rerum 45
somnia concipiunt et Homerus et acer Apelles
et Numa, cognatumque volunt pigmenta, Camena,
idola, covaluit fallendi trina potestas.

Either the hand of painters taught you to put together a divinity using the monsters counterfeited by a poet's license, or lovely painting took something to imitate from one of your shrines. With different markings and melting wax, augmented by the art of its poetic ally, it gave this thing an appearance and dared to play with colored dye. So Homer, Numa, and fierce Apelles all conceive the same empty fantasies, and follow the same path. So idols, paints and muses want similar things, and their threefold power to deceive grows strong.

These lines precede Symmachus' introduction of the personified Rome, and they recontextualize such personifications as masterpieces of deception made more credible by literary and artistic manipulation. Furthermore, the uniquely Prudentian inclusion of idolatry and pagan religious figures (i.e. Numa) among the Platonic imitators prompts the reader to review imitation in the *Republic*, as well as Plato's other work. Obviously, no reference to idolatry will be found, but the other great imitator in the Platonic corpus is the sophist, who is classed alongside the painter as an imitator (*Soph.*: 233-236; esp. 234b). The sophist is also consistently referred to as a maker of images (ubique; esp. 239d: ὅταν εἰδωλοποιὸν αὐτὸν καλῶμεν). This is a brilliant substitution. Since the Christian religion has already been specifically likened to philosophy,¹⁴⁹ the opposition to it, along with its characteristic production of false images, is sophistry.

¹⁴⁸ Compare the following to *Rep.* 10.595-599a.

¹⁴⁹ cf. CS 1.30-35.

Theodosius, Honorius, and Arcadius assume the roles of philosopher-kings with the strong implication that Symmachus is playing the part of the idolatrous, sophistic purveyor of false images. This notion gains additional support in light of the narrator's later criticism of the *genius urbis*, which resumes the language of image and imitation (2.443-244: *Romam dico viros quos mentem credimus urbis / non genium, cuius frustra simulatur imago*). Finally, the critique of *genius* (2.370-487) is contextualized as philosophical inquiry. The narrator demands to know what it is, what it accomplishes, how and of what it is formed. In contrast, he posits vague but established principles of natural philosophy that ought to govern the creation and function of a human *anima* (2.375-386). The burden of proof is consequently shifted to the sophist, who is unable to defend his ideas when confronted with the precise questions of philosophical interrogation.

Before departing from this point, it must be mentioned that an identification with Plato complicates the assessment of both Garuti and Gnilka, who perceive a connection to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (Garuti 1996: 68; Gnilka 2000: 282-292). Allusion to the opening lines of the *Ars Poetica* is undeniable, especially in light of the verbal parallels adduced by Gnilka (2000: 289). While the verbal artistry of this passage shares commonalities with the Horatian treatment of similar material, the content seems rather more Platonic, especially in light of the fact that poetry, painting, and idolatry are specifically mentioned in connection with the potential to deceive (the *fallendi trina potestas* of 2.48).¹⁵⁰ The Platonic imitator, whether painter, poet, or sophist, is a deceptive artisan who fools people with little or no philosophical training into

¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the use of *trina* is also relevant, as it may, albeit weakly, recall the Platonic position that imitators like the poet and painter operate at a "third remove" from the truth, having copied what is produced by artisans, who are themselves attempting to copy a divine original (*Resp.* 596a- 597e).

believing that he is wise (*Resp.* 598d: ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ τῷ τοιούτῳ ὅτι εὐήθης τις ἄνθρωπος, καί, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐντυχὼν γόητί τινι καὶ μμητῇ ἐξηπατήθῃ, ὥστε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πάσσοφος εἶναι).

A final argument for Platonic resonance interacts with yet another observation of Gnilka's, the compelling suggestion that the reference to poets and painters recalls Pacatus' panegyric for Theodosius, in which the orator attempts to validate the artistic depiction of a winged Victory (Gnilka 2000: 291; cf. *Pan. Lat.* 2.39). Therefore, the *Contra Symmachum* presents the two sons of Theodosius, who appear in the poem as Theodosius' students (*CS* 2.18-25), as correcting the misguided notions of Pacatus, the orator who presumed to teach their father. It must be recalled, however, that Theodosius' "credentials" as a teacher are heavily Platonic, and consist of disabusing people of their belief in deceptive images. Consider the *imperium sine fine docet* of 1.542, which deals with the realization of the false nature of the gods, as well as the philosopher king passage from the beginning of the first book (1.30-38), where Theodosius is explicitly referred to as *magister*. Furthermore, the highly Platonic characterization of Theodosius at 1.30-38 is the emperor's first appearance in the piece, making it all the more likely that his sons also assume a Platonic guise upon their entry into the poem. As philosophically adept students of an ideal ruler, they are unwilling to accept Symmachus' sophistic personification, nothing but an empty image, and a manifestation of the rejected concept of *genius*.

The alignment of Symmachus with a new kind of sophistic idolatry is, admittedly, an oblique attack against the orator. There exists in the poem a more obvious, more elaborate critique of the senator's authority, culminating in the later sections of Book 2. As a pagan, Symmachus is persistently portrayed as existing outside of mainstream Roman society, a stranger even to the senatorial order of which he should be an important member (cf. *CS* 1.544-

578). This becomes all the more relevant in Book 2, as the narrator frequently refers to the fact that Rome is undeniably Christian (cf. 2.3; 2.441; 2.763-765; 2.769-772; 2.1130-1131), and explicitly defines what “Rome” means. At 1.565, Symmachus is isolated from his fellow senators for the first time. After a long passage detailing the conversion of the Roman aristocracy (1.544-568), the narrator explains that the (now Christian) senatorial order is responsible for granting Rome its *persona*, *forma*, and *status*.¹⁵¹ The idea recurs shortly before the narrator deploys his own personified Rome as an explicit rejection of Symmachus’ version.¹⁵²

...nam subdita Christo
 seruit Roma Deo cultus exosa priores.
 Romam dico uiros, quos mentem credimus urbis,
 non genium, cuius frustra simulatur imago.

For now, under the rule of Christ, Rome serves God and hates her former religions. When I say Rome, I mean her men, whom we believe to be the city’s mind, not her *genius*, whose image is a vain mimicry.

CS 2.441-444

Once again, the people of Rome are said to comprise and bestow upon the city another of its intangible qualities, *mens*. All of these terms, *mens*, *forma*, *status*, and *persona*, share lexical territory with *genius*, especially since all of them are qualified by the genitive *urbis*. Since Symmachus is not a Christian, he does not contribute to the Rome defined at 2.442-443, and is instead the sophistic purveyor of the false and imitative *genius*. As such, when he attempts to speak for Rome and make use of its personification, his effort is lacking in both moral and social authority. This is abundantly clear at the passage in which the narrator introduces his own

¹⁵¹ CS 1.569-570: *si persona aliqua est aut si status urbis, in his est / si formam patriae facit excellentior ordo...*

¹⁵² Brown also connects these passages, but only inasmuch as they treat conversion. The implicit claims to authority over the personified Rome are not explored (2003: 193).

attention. This notwithstanding, the personified Roma appears three times in the roughly 1800 lines of the piece, occupying approximately 250 of them (1.411-523; 2.83-90; 2.655-769). This is a relatively small portion of the poem, but enough to make the claim that the poet pursues it as a minor theme (compare the euhemerism passage of Book 1, which occupies almost 400 lines). Further support for the importance of the personification comes from the sustained and strategic deployment of Platonic themes and their incorporation into the delegitimization of Symmachus.

The Prudentian treatment of the personified Rome is somewhat different from other traditions treated in the text. Rather than endorse one version of a tradition in conflict, the poem's narrative voice questions the viability and appropriateness of a long-standing tradition (that of Rome personified). Ultimately, the narrator demonstrates a willingness to engage in the tradition, evidenced by deployments in both books, but uses the opportunity to prescribe new reactions to an old tradition. Using the two young emperors as perfect examples of wise citizens, educated by their father the philosopher king, the narrator describes the ideal reaction to the use of the personified Rome – a wariness in the face of sophistic, deceptive, and self-serving depictions.

3.7 ROMAN VICTORY AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The most powerful treatment of space, memory, and tradition in the first book of the *CS* is the allusive negotiation of the Arch of Constantine. The arch and its counterpart, the Milvian Bridge, both instantiate Roman traditions of victory, the putative subject of the entire poem. It is not until Book 2, however, that the poem addresses the Altar of Victory, its point of departure and a most controversial symbol of that tradition. This section explores the further confrontation with the traditions of victory in Book 2. As in the preceding book, specific spatial references are

brief, but they are still explicitly connected to memory. In addition, the narrator continues in his attempt to prescribe historical and cultural memories for various sites.

At 2.551 the narrator begins to discuss the connection between the pagan gods and Roman victory monuments. According to this argument, if one associates these victories with the gods, the legions and the Roman name are denied their rightful portion of the glory (2.553-555). Following this, a Roman triumphal arch, along with many of its typical scenes, is described in detail (CS 2.556-563):

frustra igitur currus summo miramur in arcu
quadriugos stantesque duces in curribus altis
Fabricios, Curios, hinc Drusos, inde Camillos,
sub pedibusque ducum captivos poplite flexo
ad iuga depressos manibusque in terga retortis
et suspensa gravi telorum fragmina trunco,
si Brennum, Antiochum, Persen, Pyrrhum, Mithridatem
Flora, Matuta, Ceres et Larentina subegit.

We marvel for no reason, then, at the chariots at the top of arch, at the generals standing in the lofty chariots, here Fabricii, Curii, there Drusi and Camilli. In vain, we marvel at the captives on bended knee before our leaders, pressed beneath the yoke with hands behind their backs. We marvel for nothing at the broken pieces of weapons, hanging on an already heavy tree, if Brennus, Antiochus, Perses Pyrrhus, and Mithridates were conquered by Flora, Ceres, Matuta, and Larentina.

The emperor in his chariot is an image common to almost all extant Roman triumphal arches and the image of the captured and subject barbarian is also frequent (Beard 2007: 75-92, esp. 81-83; 120-129). The mention of these specific generals represents an exhortation to associate the victories with men rather than gods, and the choice of Republican military leaders neatly dodges any problems that might arise from the nearly divine nature of previous emperors.¹⁵⁴ The passage is equally interesting for what it excludes. The curious list of exclusively female goddesses does not include *Victoria*, in spite of that the fact that the goddess typically dominates

¹⁵⁴ For a similar passage within the speech of Roma, cf. 2.703-707.

Roman triumphal arches, interacting with the figure of the emperor himself. The omission of *Roma* may also seem troubling, but the narrative has already defeated the notion that the *genius urbis* is responsible for Rome's fate, and treats here the possibility that it may be some other goddess (cf. 2.393-487; 2.488). Although *Roma* will be allowed to return, sanctioned in a new form in a later part of the narrative, *Victoria* becomes a target for replacement.

Book 2 contains at least one, possibly two, clear attempts to replace *Victoria* with Christian symbols. The most obvious is these is the substitution of Christ for Victory, chosen by the narrator as the new memory to be privileged when looking at monuments that commemorate Roman successes (CS 2.578-585; 2.619-622):

sed uideo quae te moueant exempla uetustae
virtutis: dicis domitum terraque marique
orbem, res laetas et prospera quaeque retexis
mille **triumforum memoras** ex ordine pompas
ductaque per mediam spoliolum fercula Romam.
uis dicam quae causa tuos, Romane, labores
in tantum extulerit, quis gloria fotibus aucta
sic cluat inpositis ut mundum frenet habenis...

hoc actum est tantis successibus atque **triumfis**
Romani imperii: Christo iam tunc venienti
crede, **parata uia est**, quam dudum publica nostrae
pacis amicitia struxit moderamine Romae.

But I see the examples of ancient bravery that move you. You say that the world was conquered on land and sea, repeat every success and every instance of prosperity. You recall a thousand triumphal processions in a row, the platters of spoils led through the heart of Rome. Would you like me to tell you what carried your labor to such great heights, Roman? Through what your magnified glory became so well known, that it bridled the world and cast reins over it?...

This happened because of the great achievements and triumphs of Roman power: For Christ to come into the world, believe, the way was prepared, the way which our peaceful, universal harmony had just built under the rule of Rome.

Roman triumph and the monuments that memorialize it are to remind the viewer not only of Roman victory, but of the coming of Christ, in which Roman history has played an important

role. Once the world was unified and harmonious, and had coalesced into one nation united by Roman rule (2.586-618), Christ could finally enter it. The allusive import of 2.621, *crede parata via est*, also binds these memories to the preliminary verses of the Gospel of Mark (1.2-3):

2 sicut scriptum est in Esaia propheta **ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit viam** tuam

3 vox clamantis in deserto **parate viam** Domini rectas facite semitas eius.¹⁵⁵

[2] As it is written in Isaias the prophet: Behold I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare the way before thee. [3] A voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths.¹⁵⁶

Thus, every victory monument has become a Christian, rather than pagan memory space, preserving forever the crucial Roman role in the coming of Christ. Finally, it does not seem unlikely that Prudentius pursues two replacements at once. Is the image of Victory found on these monuments really the angel who prepares the way, mentioned at Mark 1.2? A similar argument is deployed by Augustine at *Civ.* 4.17:

an forte dicunt, quod deam Victoriam Iuppiter mittat adque illa tamquam regi deorum obtemperans ad quos iusserit ueniat et in eorum parte considat? Hoc uere dicitur non de illo Ioue, quem deorum regem pro sua opinione confingunt, sed de illo uero rege saeculorum, quod mittat non Victoriam, quae nulla substantia est, sed angelum suum et faciat uincere quem uoluerit; cuius consilium occultum esse potest, iniquum non potest.

Or perhaps they say that Jupiter sends the goddess Victory and that she, obedient to the king of the gods, comes to those to whom he has ordered her and rests by their side. But this is truly said not of that Jupiter, whom they style as king of the gods according to their belief, but of that true king of the ages, since he sends not Victory (which is not a being), but his angel. And whom he wishes to conquer, he makes it so that they conquer. His decision may be hidden, but cannot be unjust.

Gnilka denies the possibility of such a substitution, remarking that the appearance of Victory as angel typifies baroque and renaissance art. Gnilka claims that these depictions of

¹⁵⁵ The text is taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible after Challoner's revision of 1752. Of course, Prudentius would have had no access to the Vulgate text, but I have printed it in lieu of choosing one of the readings from the *vetus Latina* manuscripts. In this instance, it is immaterial. As Haelewyck's recent scrutiny of pre-Vulgate manuscripts of Mark shows, the gospel's incipit remains remarkably consistent across versions (2013: 119-121).

¹⁵⁶ Translation taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible.

winged angels do not appear until the end of fourth, and are not finalized until the fifth century. In support of this, he cites CS 2.59-60, *desine terga hominis plumis obducere* (2000: 301-302). One could attempt to resolve this by remarking that an angel is not a human, but it is perhaps more reasonable to embrace the contradictions that typify Prudentius' age, and recognize that this provides further proof that the poet exists at a liminal point in the development of Christian triumphal iconography. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, as Daly confirms, it is often difficult to tell whether or not a winged figure is an angel or a Victory (2009: 65-68). More importantly, the iconography of the Theodosians also conflates angels and Victories.



Figure 3.4. The Column of Arcadius – Western Side of Base – Winged figures bearing wreathed cross. Image taken from ArtStor.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ ArtStor citation number ARTSTOR_103_41822003255070. The enlarged image on the following page is also ARTSTOR_103_41822003255070.



Figure 3.5. Column of Arcadius – Western Side of Base (enlarged) – Winged figures bearing wreathed cross.

The column of Arcadius, erected at Constantinople at some point in the early fifth-century, provides an early example of this confusion. Commissioned most likely to celebrate victory over Gainas in 400, the column depicts the military exploits of Arcadius in the manner of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The eastern and western sides of the base both feature winged figures carrying some kind of cross, presiding over a victorious army. The western side even features a *wreathed* cross (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). While a Victory is typically depicted in the act of bestowing the crown, these figures display an already crowned cross. Since these figures, therefore, announce victory rather than bestow it, perhaps it is more likely that they are angels. The figures on the eastern side bear a more explicitly military symbol, that of two soldiers (perhaps the emperors) standing on either side of a cross.¹⁵⁸ As Grabar pointed out and Grigg

¹⁵⁸ Grigg interprets the representation as a more explicit and exclusive expression of imperial harmony, and deemphasizes the potential military connection. “As attractive as it would be to interpret the cross

maintained, an almost identical image is found on the Murano Diptych of nearly a hundred years later, where the figures are more confidently referred to as angels (Grigg 1977: 470-471; Figures 3.6 and 3.7).



Figure 3.6. The Murano Diptych (The Miracles of Christ) – Image taken from ArtStor, courtesy of the SCALA archives.¹⁵⁹ (Museo Nazionale di Ravenna)

that the two figures hold as a substitute for the imperial vexillum, they do not hold the cross as a standard is normally held and the cross itself is not shaped in the manner of the cross held by emperors in their numismatic images; it certainly is not shaped in a manner that would make it convenient to grasp. It appears to be, instead, a monumental cross, more like the trophy cross held by Victories in other numismatic images.” Grigg 1977: 476. Yet, they still seem to be wearing military dress and carrying spears, very similar to the image of imperial, military harmony that Grigg adduces at p.474 (figure no. 9).

¹⁵⁹ ArtStor citation number: SCALA_ARCHIVES_10310841148. The enlarged image below is also SCALA_ARCHIVES_10310841148.

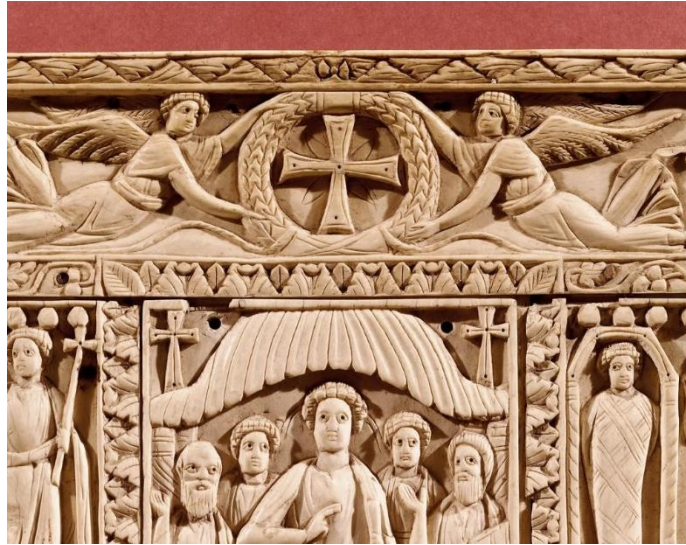


Figure 3.7. The Murano Diptych (enlarged)

Whether contemporary iconography depicted angels in the place of Victories is almost immaterial. Later generations would depict angels in this pose and likely understand earlier portrayals of the same figures as angels. What the allusion to the Gospel of Mark at *CS* 2.621 makes clear is the following: Prudentius (and his reader) see victory monuments and observe that the presence of God's victory-granting angel is lacking. If the tradition did indeed exist in his own time, as the words of Augustine and the Column of Arcadius may indicate, he validated a tradition that was nascent. If the tradition was unknown to the poet, his voice represents one of many that must have eventually contributed to that tradition's creation and proliferation.

A much clearer, unambiguous substitution for Victory occurs during the speech of the personified Rome, in which Christ is explicitly summoned as the triumphal companion of the emperor. After Roma rejects the involvement of the traditional gods in famous Roman victories (over Hannibal, the Senones, cf. 2.685-689), she proclaims that the emperor ought to visit Rome in triumph, saying (2.731-732):

scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque receptis

huc Christo comitante veni...

Mount the triumphal chariot! Once you have taken up the spoils, come here with Christ as your companion...

The goddess *Victoria* is often the imperial companion in triumphal imagery, featured on a number of Roman coins, and prominently shares the triumphal chariot with the emperor on the arch of Titus (Beard 2007: 88-92; Hölscher 1967: 68-97). A similar image also appears on the arch of Constantine, another of the monument's depictions that Prudentius would happily forget (MacCormack 1972: 745). Furthermore, it was not long ago in the narrative that the reader (and viewer) was marveling at lofty triumphal chariots and admiring the conquering generals (2.556-563). The reader is now compelled to engage in this visualization once more, but in a way far more amenable to the Christian narrator of the *CS*. While the image of *Victoria* is excised in the earlier portion of the poem, it may have been present in the memories of Roman readers. The absent angel of the Lord may be discontentedly alluded to earlier in the poem, but the triumphal proclamation at 2.731-732 definitively replaces images of Victory with Christ.

The replacement of Christ for Victory is not surprising; a Christian tradition well-established by the late fourth century styled Christ as the source of a universal and perpetual victory. The interpretation of this tradition remains contested, and one reason for the ongoing debate is the appearance of triumphal imagery in the earliest Christian writings: the Gospels and Pauline Epistles.¹⁶⁰ The epistles of Paul record at least two instances of this imagery, both of which deploy participial forms of the verb θριαμβεύω, the rough equivalent of the Latin *triumpho*, "to lead in triumph / celebrate a triumph."¹⁶¹ Detailed analysis of this imagery would

¹⁶⁰ For an overview of this tradition in these earliest of Christian writings, see Thomas 2008: 60-74 (as well as Thomas original argument on the triumphal image in revelation, from 2008: 75-90).

¹⁶¹ For a detailed exploration of the meaning of θριαμβεύω in Paul, see Williamson 1968 and Yates' response to Williamson (1991: 575-576).

be well outside the scope of this study, but the following Pauline example may prove instructive (Col. 2.15):

ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ.

et expolians principatus, et potestates traduxit confidenter, palam triumphans illos in semetipso.

And despoiling the principalities and powers, he hath exposed them confidently in open shew, triumphing over them in himself.¹⁶²

Here, the triumphal metaphor is extended beyond the procession itself, and progresses in stages. After despoliation, institutions of power subjected to some kind of exposure, contextualized as a triumph.

The image of triumph was also central for concepts of sin and soteriology, which likely dominated the early church, and the idea certainly made its way into the synoptic Gospels.¹⁶³ It has been proposed (and may well be the case) that the crucifixion narrative of Mark is meant to approximate a triumph (Schmidt 1998).¹⁶⁴ In addition to this, it is easy to see the entry into Jerusalem that precedes the crucifixion as a triumphal narrative. Matthew 21 parses Jesus' entry

¹⁶² Greek text taken from the most recent edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2012). The Latin text and its translation are taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible as were the text and translation on page 145. I offer this translation with the understanding that it remains a contested and difficult passage. For an exploration of the difficulties of translation, including the problems of the triumphal metaphor, see Yates 1991, esp. 573-580. Yates' eventual translation differs considerably from that of the Douay-Rheims Bible, but upholds the idea that Christ leads a triumphal parade following the victory of the Passion (1991: 591). The *Vetus Latina* manuscripts offer readings similar to that of the Vulgate text quoted here. There are minor variations, but none that cast any doubt on the triumphal metaphor (Frede 1969: 423-428).

¹⁶³ The foundational study of triumphal imagery in the development of early Christian thought is Aulén 1931, which championed the notion that a *Christus Victor* (after the title of the book) was prevalent in the early Church. For a study, albeit a highly theological and theoretical one, that summarizes earlier criticisms of Aulén's work while exploring the operation of the victory metaphor, see Gunton 1985. For a more general overview of Aulén's work and its critics, see Anderson 2009, esp. 43-44. While Anderson continues to criticize Aulén's model at 194-196, he there expresses agreement with the idea that this concept, for which Colossians 2 is crucial, was "central to patristic thinking" (194).

¹⁶⁴ Particularly persuasive is Schmidt's observation that Mark provides only two translations of Hebrew words, one of them being "Golgotha" in the crucifixion narrative. Observing that this word meant "head," Schmidt argues that the translation would have allowed readers to identify the site of the crucifixion with the site of the triumph, the Capitoline hill (1998: 10-11).

into Jerusalem as fulfillment of a prophesy in Zachariah (9.9) that has Messianic and military overtones. I raise this particular example because it not only presents further evidence for military and triumphal imagery, but also provides purchase on how Prudentius' Latin contemporaries may have read such scenes. In interpreting the entry into Jerusalem found in Matthew, related to the aforementioned passage of Zachariah, Jerome very clearly connects Christ and victory. For Jerome, moreover, it is not his death, but his birth that secures his triumph (In Zechariah 2.9.20):

Non erunt praelia, omnibus Christi adventu et nativitate pacatis.

There will be no battles after all things have been subdued by the birth and arrival of Christ.

This Hieronymian reading also demonstrates a Christian willingness to read victory not only in the death of Christ, but in his birth and life on earth as well.¹⁶⁵ It also shows that the replacement of Christ for Victory as the emperor's triumphal companion would have been likely to resonate with a late antique Latin readership.

Both of these scenes and their respective replacements for Victory make clear that Prudentius was writing at a time when Christian inhabitants of the empire began to re-examine their urban environments. In some cases, as at Rome, they found no representation of institutions and attitudes that they held as traditional among the monuments and public spaces of their cities. The *CS* responds to the needs of such a readership by presenting Christian alternatives to monumental expressions of Roman military power and dominance. The Column of Arcadius provides an excellent example of how the situation was changing and of how different it must have already been in the empire's other capital city. In Constantinople, the

¹⁶⁵ For more on this notion, see Gunton 1985, commenting on Aulén (140).

fusion of imperial power and Christian piety appeared more frequently on the landscape, whereas Rome's monument to Constantine himself featured no such representation.

The Prudentian desire to harmonize the emperor's authority and his Christianity, represented by the replacement of Victory by Christ, is a perfect place to end this discussion. In his overview of triumphal imagery in Paul, Thomas wonders why a ritual as overtly pagan as the triumph would have been applied to Christ in the first place. He concludes that it is likely to be a Pauline counterclaim, that it deliberately usurps the triumph simultaneously a symbol of victory and exclusive imperial prerogative, and claims the "titles and status" that are Christ's due (2008: 70-73). We may thus observe Prudentius reconciling a tension that later generations of this recently legitimate religion had to deal with, as well operating within a longer standing Christian tradition of reimagining and reinventing the world that they inhabited.

3.8 CONCLUSION

In my analysis of the *CS*, I have presented a number of heretofore unrecognized elements of the poem. Regardless of how the poem was composed, it displays a polemical engagement with pre-existing literary and artistic traditions, especially traditions that contributed to the monumental landscape of ancient cities. By bringing the landscape of fourth-century Rome into his poetry, Prudentius is able to exert total control over that world, and can prescribe responses to his readership. From the very beginning of the poem, or rather, from the beginning of the Pauline paratext that accompanies Book 1, the reader is encouraged to think of Rome as a spiritually damaging environment that can condemn its unknowing inhabitants. The Christian narrator recognizes the danger, however, and can guide the reader through the landscape. A great part of the Prudentian achievement, then, consists in his ability to use the preface and introductory lines

of the poem to prime his readers for a critical re-evaluation of Roman urban space and its traditions, followed by the reshaping of traditions throughout the poem.

The panegyric section of the poem demonstrates that the poet deploys allusion to engage the traditions meaningful to fourth-century Romans and reveals how well a capable poet can promote the traditions that he prefers while demeaning and undermining competing traditions. As O'Hogan has observed, Prudentius endorses a fundamentally bookish approach to the world, distrustful of architecture and painting. Through his allusive negotiation, Prudentius encourages his reader to adopt this same stance (2012: 170-171). My analysis of the poet's description of the Battle of Milvian Bridge represents an excellent example of this and corroborates O'Hogan's overall hypothesis.

The treatment of the Milvian Bridge also represents one of the poem's most vigorous attempts to shape the mnemonic connections readers make with urban spaces and monuments. In addition to the Milvian Bridge and the Arch of Constantine, the *CS* asserts new mnemonic connections for the forum, the city's two most important churches, as well as its ubiquitous victory monuments. The negotiation of the mnemonic resonance of victory monuments encapsulates the contribution that I have developed in this chapter. Alongside the more obvious substitution of the victorious Christ for the goddess Victory, Prudentius also alludes to the presence of the angel who "prepares the way of the Lord," and thereby guides his reader to new associations with the traditional monuments of victory that fill the Roman landscape. Furthermore, the fact that both Augustine and the builders of the column of Arcadius also express the importance of this angel in their textual and visual art reveals Prudentius as a product of his time, who used his poetic ability to encourage his readers to identify and participate in the triumphant, orthodox *Zeitgeist* that the *CS* evinces.

Finally, the poet's willingness to reimagine these traditions of victory, including victory at the Milvian Bridge, demonstrates that no tradition, however storied, can stand against the Prudentian vision of Christian triumph. While opinions about the composition and purpose of the *CS* may vary, it is clear that, whatever else the poem may do, it provides the poet with an opportunity to reshape the world around him to better suit a victorious Christian worldview. Indeed, the poet's only attempt to operate inside of a more secular tradition, that of Theodosius as philosopher king, appears to be something of a failure that later generations would pointedly reject. His depiction of the Milvian Bridge scene and his attempts to create tradition around newly vibrant Christian spaces, e.g. the Vatican church of St. Peter and the Lateran, are traditions that endure into our own time.

Chapter 4. CLAUDIAN'S ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS TRADITIONS

The previous chapter focuses largely on how the panegyric modes of the *Contra Symmachum* allow Prudentius to promote incipient traditions that are peripheral to panegyric, namely the concept of Roman victory and the traditions of the emperors Constantine and Theodosius. This chapter turns its attention to the outright panegyrics produced by Claudian, whose work was commissioned by the general and regent Stilicho. Born to a Vandal father and a Roman mother, Stilicho had a tenuous claim to Romanness and would later make equally tenuous claims to power. Stilicho had been promoted to regency and overall command in the West by the emperor Theodosius in late 394,¹⁶⁶ but the situation soon became more complicated. Following Theodosius' death in early 395, the empire passed into the hands of his two young sons, Arcadius – who was born in 377 and was first made Augustus in the East in 383 – and Honorius – born in 383 and made Augustus in the West in 393. While Stilicho's claim to guardianship of Honorius was accepted in the West, he failed in his attempt to arrogate the same rights in the East.¹⁶⁷ The contentious matter of religious traditions, then, which Prudentius sought to engage in his poetry, remains untouched by Claudian in favor of equally fraught questions of legitimacy in a divided empire.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Cameron 1970: 38, following Cameron 1968.

¹⁶⁷ See Cameron 1970: 38-39.

¹⁶⁸ Honorius contributed to a late antique trend toward child emperors, since he was preceded by Valentinian II (375-392) and succeeded by his own nephew Valentinian III. The position of child emperor is nonetheless abnormal at this stage. Stilicho's own position stands out as even more remarkable. Firstly, he was married to the adopted daughter of Theodosius, Serena, and had married his own daughter, Maria, to Honorius. As both father (in-law) to Honorius and son (in-law) of Theodosius, his claim to Theodosius' role was certainly, if peculiarly, authorized. Furthermore, under the reign of Valentinian II power was not so firmly concentrated in the hands of one individual, and was split at least between the young emperor's mother Justina, the Frankish general Arbogast, and Theodosius himself. In the case of Valentinian III, the power behind the throne seems to have been his mother, Theodosius' daughter Galla Placidia. For an overview and analysis of the phenomenon of child emperors in the late Roman West, see McEvoy 2013.

4.1 THE LIFE AND WORKS OF CLAUDIAN

Compared to the other luminaries of the fourth century, such as Augustine, Libanius, Symmachus, or Ausonius, Claudian is an author about whom we know relatively little. M.F. Guipponi-Gineste summarizes admirably by saying that “the circumstances of his life remain mysterious, despite numerous studies that have attempted to reconstruct them” (2010: 8).¹⁶⁹ Nearly everything “known” about the poet has been reconstructed from his poems. External sources mention him only to report that he was a pagan (*De civ. D.* 5.26; *Oros.* 7.35.21; see Cameron 1970: 191). No evidence exists for his family or date of birth, but his education and cultural attainment are so high that they likely indicate a family of middling wealth or social standing, and a relationship to an education professional is not implausible.¹⁷⁰ The evidence, although limited, strongly suggests that he was born at or near Alexandria around 370.¹⁷¹

Therefore, Claudian spoke Greek as his native language, a fact that must have contributed to contemporary admiration of his unerringly classical Latin hexameters.¹⁷² Augustine reports that audiences were amazed at the talent of the Greco-Syrian orator Hierius, who, once he moved to Rome, declaimed beautifully eloquent Latin and demonstrated a thorough knowledge of philosophy (*Conf.* 4.14.21). Augustine found himself so impressed that he dedicated a book to the orator without ever having met him. In spite of the impression that this Hierius made on audiences his work does not survive. In stark contrast, the poems of Claudian have been

¹⁶⁹ My translation of the French: “La vie de Claudien reste mystérieuse sur de nombreux points, malgré les nombreuses études qui ont tenté de la reconstituer.”

¹⁷⁰ Cameron admits the possibility that Claudian was related to a sophist of the same name who taught at Alexandria, but does not endorse it (1970: 2n2).

¹⁷¹ His date of birth is derived from analysis of a letter to Olybrius, whom he also praised as consul in 395. For his Egyptian and Alexandrian origin, see Cameron 1970: 2-3. The evidence for his Egyptian origin was recently reevaluated and defended by Mulligan 2007. For a concise summary of the state of scholarly discussions on Claudian’s biography, see Mulligan 2007: 286-87.

¹⁷² For a statistical analysis of Claudian’s metrics against that of his Latin predecessors, see Cameron 1970: 253-304, esp. 287-292.

transmitted in both languages, distinguishing him from so many other ancient authors whose ability in the other language is merely attested. His extant Greek work includes a fragmentary *Gigantomachy*, as well as epigrams that treat a crystal globe containing water.¹⁷³ Foreshadowing his later public career, however, Claudian's early work seems to have been praise poetry, written for whole communities rather than individuals. Scholarly consensus maintains that Claudian was probably the author of works called *πάτρια*, the foundational accounts of cities, for Beirut, Nicaea, and Tarsus.¹⁷⁴

Likely owing to his success writing these types of poems, Claudian secured the patronage of an influential Easterner who introduced him to friends in the West in 394.¹⁷⁵ Through these connections alone, or by building upon them, Claudian found favour with Rome's leading family, the Anicii. In their service he wrote a panegyric in praise of the brothers Anicius Flavius Probinus (*PLRE* Probinus 1) and Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius (*PLRE* Olybrius 2) and delivered it upon the occasion of their joint consulship in 395. He gave a virtuoso performance, all the more remarkable for his status as an émigré, and the fact that Latin was not his first language.

Once word of his ability reached Milan, either accidentally or through the efforts of admirers, Claudian became the court poet of Honorius and Stilicho. In the following year, 396, Claudian delivered a poem in celebration of the fourth consulship of Honorius. Every year thereafter, the poet undertook to write at least one, often two, works of praise poetry for the regime. These works frequently sought to disparage and celebrate the downfall of political actors

¹⁷³ Notably, Latin examples of these same poems survive. E.g., the poems on the crystal enclosing a drop of water: *c.m.* 33–9, *Anth. Pal.* 9.753–4. For more on this particular poem and its potential contribution to Claudianic self-fashioning see Hinds 2013: 172n7, 186–188, esp. 188n34. See also Cameron 1970: 12–14.

¹⁷⁴ Cameron 1970: 8–11. Mulligan also relies on Claudian's Greek *Gigantomachy* for support of this idea, esp. line 11–15.

¹⁷⁵ Like all elements of Claudianic biography, the influence of patron remains conjecture (Cameron 1970: 3; for a Greek patron see 1970: 23–24).

close to the Eastern regime, such as the praetorian prefect Flavius Rufinus (*In Rufinum*; *PLRE* Rufinus 18), the eunuch and chamberlain Eutropius (*In Eutropium*), and the North African warlord Gildo (*De Bello Gildonico*). The year 400 saw Claudian return to praise poetry *per se*, when he travelled to Rome to celebrate the consulship of Stilicho (*De Consulatu Stilichonis*). In the same year, the senate honored Claudian with a bronze statue in the forum of Trajan.¹⁷⁶ Afterwards, he is likely to have continued working on his mythological epic, the *De Raptu Proserpinae*. In 402, he declaimed a short epic at Milan celebrating a victory at Pollentia over Alaric, king of the Visigoths and perennial threat to Western and Eastern security (*De Bello Getico*). In 404, the poet returned to Rome and delivered a piece on Honorius' sixth consulship (*VI Cons.*). After 404, Claudian disappears from the record, most likely because of his premature death.

Important events from Stilicho's later career, such as his second consulship in 405, and his defeat of the Gothic invader Radagaisus in 406, go unmentioned in Claudian. Anyone who upholds the theory that Claudian died in 404 is indeed making an argument from silence, but at least that silence is conspicuous. It is not inconceivable that Claudian fell out of favor with Stilicho, retired to another part of the empire, or both. These options are implausible, for two reasons adduced by Cameron. Firstly, Claudian left a number of poems unfinished at this stage, namely the *DRP*, a Latin *Gigantomachy*, and a poem in praise of Stilicho's wife (and Theodosius' adopted daughter), Serena. Cameron goes on to argue the implausibility of anything other than death, e.g. a lack of interest, to account for the incomplete state of these works (1970: 416-417; 452-473). Still more important is the fact that forces friendly to Stilicho are likely responsible for the publication of not only Claudian's major work, but also the *carmina*

¹⁷⁶ The exact date is uncertain, but 400 was proposed by Cameron and followed by Dewar (1970: 361; 1996: xix.) The inscription has been preserved (CIL.6.1710).

minora (Cameron 1970: 417-418). That this collection of poems lacks a prefatory text strongly suggests that the poet did not intend to publish them as a collection. As Cameron observes and as I make clear in the preceding chapters, the poets of late antiquity were very careful to introduce their work with these kinds of paratexts, as they were useful for promoting a literary agenda or consolidating important social connections.

4.2 CLAUDIAN THE ROMAN

As the preceding investigation of his life and work demonstrates, Claudian was deeply enmeshed in the political and cultural life of the late Roman empire. His central position within these spheres is somewhat mystifying, however, since he was not only an “outsider” himself, but devoted his career to validating the position of Stilicho, a man who some contemporaries regarded as a barbarian.¹⁷⁷ Claudian’s claim to Romanness, at least in the West, may have been problematized by the eastern identities that he represented.¹⁷⁸ As I shall demonstrate in this chapter, Claudian sometimes wears his Greek identity on his sleeve, but his claim to Roman identity, particularly that of a Roman epicist, remains unimpeachable. In fact, Claudian’s Greek identity often authorizes his claims of quality as a Roman poet. There can be no greater proof of this than the statue of Claudian erected in the Forum of Trajan (c.400) and its accompanying inscription (CIL VI. 1710):

[Cl.] Claudiani v.c. | [Cla]udio Claudiano c.v., tri | [bu]no et notario, inter ceteras |
[de]centes artes prae[g]loriossimo | [po]etarum, licet ad memoriam sem[piternam
carmina ab eodem | scripta sufficient, adtamen | testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui | [fi]dem,

¹⁷⁷ This is not to say that Claudian’s position is wholly aberrant. Throughout antiquity, it was common for traveling professional poets to write occasional poetry, especially praise poetry (Cameron 1970: 4-10, 22-26; Hardie 1983: 15-30). A longstanding tradition of poets, including Greek poets, accompanying Roman military commanders also existed (e.g. Archias, Ennius).

¹⁷⁸ To complicate matters even further, Claudian’s poems are among our best sources for the prejudices that the late antique West held against the East. For detailed exploration, see Kelly 2012.

dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius | [fe-]licissimi et dictissimi | imperatores senatu petente |
statuam in foro divi Traiani | erigi collocarique iusserunt.

Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳ νόον | καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὀμήρου |
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμῃ καὶ | Βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν

To Claudius Claudianus, *vir clarissimus*, tribune and *notarius*, among other noble arts the most renowned of poets, although his poems suffice for eternal memory, nevertheless as testimonial and proof of their judgement, our lords Arcadius and Honorius, the most blessed and renowned emperors, at the request of the senate, have ordered a statue to be erected and placed in the forum of the divine Trajan.

Rome and the emperors place Claudian here, in a single man, the mind of Virgil and the inspiration of Homer.¹⁷⁹

The memory of Claudian that inhered in the site of his own statue does not proceed from the statue alone. In the ensuing section, I investigate how the allusive negotiations in Claudian's uniquely Roman poems, i.e. works that circulated in the city of Rome before the statue's dedication, contribute to the memory of Claudian.

The inscription quoted above motivated a recent study by Catherine Ware, focused entirely on the poet's interaction with the Roman epic tradition. Ware summarizes her book neatly by remarking that "Claudian's claim to be an epic poet in the manner of Vergil deserves reconsideration" (2012: 2).¹⁸⁰ That is to say that, in spite of favorable reception by contemporaries and many of his successors (e.g. Sidonius Apollinaris), Claudian has hardly been remembered as a great epic poet, much less the second coming of Vergil. The dedicatory inscription maintains that Claudian's poems will grant him "eternal memory," and the memory that the monument attempts to transmit was clearly that of Claudian as bilingual master of

¹⁷⁹ Translation by Ware 2012. The approximate date for the statue is taken from Cameron's *Chronologia Claudiana* (1970).

¹⁸⁰ For a somewhat different interpretation, see Müller 2011. For Müller, the inscription implies not so much literary ability or quality, but the ability to impart historical meaning, transmit historical knowledge, and reassure audiences of Rome's eternity (2011: 434-435).

Greco-Roman epic traditions. While Claudian's Latin everywhere suggests a familiarity with Vergil, it is still striking that the inscription's *Greek* distich proclaims Vergilian alignment explicitly. Most importantly, the inscription and its accompanying statue suggest that Claudian was keenly aware of the fact that his position in memory (and in the canon) was rapidly being formed. This is certainly nothing new; poets had always been aware that their reputations were constantly being shaped by their ongoing literary activity. Neither was the honor of a statue in a prestigious location like Trajan's forum unique to Claudian – the Greek orator Themistius managed to win a similar commemoration at Constantinople (Müller 2011: 433n2).¹⁸¹

Claudian's case stands out because the statue and inscription provide evidence of the poet's reception outside of the literary world. His reputation as bilingual master poet proceeds not only from his poetry, nor the text of the inscription alone, but from the existence of the bilingual inscription itself. Even uninterested or illiterate observers who could nonetheless recognize one script as Greek and the other as Latin had the opportunity to enforce, shape, and perpetuate the tradition that was coalescing around Claudian. The following section focuses on how Claudian's texts, especially those that likely enjoyed circulation in Rome before 400, may have contributed to his growing reputation as a virtuoso performer of epic across languages.

According to Ware, Claudian's *carmina maiora* can be read as one lengthy epic. Under this schema, the panegyric pieces read as individual books, each with a self-contained narrative, and these ultimately combine to form an overarching epic narrative (2012: 4-5). This challenging reading is complicated somewhat by the fact that contemporary and future audiences were unlikely to encounter "Claudian" in an omnibus volume, but Ware's readings bear fruit by

¹⁸¹ For the prestige of the Forum of Trajan, an almost exclusively senatorial space, see Chenault 2012: 109. Chenault goes on to observe that after Claudian, other panegyrists received similar honors (2012: 111).

illuminating what Claudian's thinking about his work may have been.¹⁸² Regardless of the precise details of reception, Ware's work demands that we read the work on Probinus and Olybrius (*Prob.*) as programmatic. It establishes many of the constructs of Claudian's epic universe, such as "an ideal vision of Rome which combines elements of golden-age fertility and peace with martial victory" (Ware 2012: 4). Claudian's poems to and for the Anicii also represent important explorations of his poetic persona, especially as it concerned his ability to navigate both Greek and Latin epic traditions.

The early lines of the *Prob.* contain explorations of Claudian's poetic persona that reflect a self-awareness. Claudian may well have recognized that his position in his patrons' esteem (and potentially the canon) rested on his reputation as a master of both Greek and Latin poetry. After stating the occasion and program of the work, the poet begins the panegyric of the two brothers, Probinus and Olybrius, by reflecting on the deeds of their father. In summarizing his inability to comment on the elder family member's great deeds, Claudian provides allusive proof that he is easily the best poet for the job. At lines 55-57, Claudian laments that:

Non, mihi **centenis pateant si vocibus ora**
multifidusque ruat centum per pectora **Phoebus**
acta Probi narrare queam...

If my mouth were to lie open to a hundred voices, and manifold Phoebus rush through a hundred hearts, I could not tell the deeds of Probus.

¹⁸² The manuscript tradition for the works of Claudian is so complex that it makes confident statement about the circulation of the poems in antiquity and the early middle ages impossible. Nevertheless, there seem to be a number of manuscripts in which the *carmina minora* interrupt the *carmina maiora*, making a unified reading impossible. Furthermore, *Prob.*, which Ware presents as a programmatic first book, seems to have been transmitted independently until the twelfth century (Hall 1986: 55). For further complications presented by the transmission of *Prob.*, see Schmidt 1989: 394-396. As Dewar observes in the introduction to his commentary on the *VI Cons.*, "The stoutest of hearts have quailed before the prospect of extracting a stemma from the resulting confusion" (1996: lv). I cannot claim a clear understanding of the manuscript evidence, but it seems to suggest that few readers would have had an edition that presented the *carmina maiora* consecutively and chronologically, nor would they have begun with *Prob.* Hall 1986 is the most comprehensive discussion of the manuscript tradition, but the arguments of Schmidt 1989 against a *Gesamtausgabe* at Stilicho's request cannot be ignored.

The image of “many mouths” was a commonplace of Greco-Roman poetry that originated with Homer (*Il.* 2.484-492), but was also used by Ennius (*Ann.* 469-470 Skutsch), Hostius (*Bell. Hist.* 3 Courtney), Vergil (*Aen.* 6.625-7; *Geo.* 2.43-44), and Ovid (*Tr.* 1.5. 53-56; *Met.* 8.533-535).¹⁸³ As the preceding list demonstrates, then, to engage the topos is to declare one’s aspiration to join the ranks of antiquity’s most revered poets. The Claudianic passage may even take aim at *Aen.* 6.43-44, wherein one hundred (Apollonian) voices rush (*ruunt*) through the Sybil of Cumae. Claudian thus purports to channel tradition as the Sibyl channels the prophetic voices of Apollo, but he is also sensitive to the fact that this image has become trite and conventional. Ancient literary criticism had already addressed the tiredness of the hundred mouths cliché, and Persius’ manipulation of the commonplace provides proof that ancient readers were already critiquing similar passages long before Claudian’s time (Hinds 1998: 39-41; *Pers.* 5.1-6):

Vatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere uoces,
centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum,
fabula seu maesto ponatur hianda tragoedo,
uolnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum.
'quorsum haec? aut quantas robusti carminis offas
ingeris, ut par sit **centeno** gutture niti?

This is what poets do, ask for a hundred voices, wish that they had a hundred mouths and a hundred tongues for their poems, whether a story falling from a sad actor’s gaping maw is on the stage, or the wounds of a Parthian taking the weapon from his thigh. What’s the point? What chunks of oak-strong song are you chugging, that they are a match for a hundred throats?

As Ammianus informs us, the reading audience of late fourth-century Rome was passionate about satire (28.4.14), and Ausonius’ poetry demonstrates not only that he knew Persius, but that he also expected similar knowledge from contemporaries.¹⁸⁴ Claudian’s use of the hundred mouths topos may reflect a post-Persian deployment, then, as his formulation

¹⁸³ Hinds notes that there may be a number of tragic instances lost to us (1998: 35-40). He also observes that Lucretius may also be added to the list (36, esp. 36n38).

¹⁸⁴ Cameron demonstrates that Claudian appealed to his audience with similar references to Juvenal (1970: 284)

pateant... ora restores the gaping mouth of Persius' satire to epic diction. Claudian's use of the distributive *centeni* likely results from a reading of the satirist, but is certainly apt for other reasons. As he inhabits this well-worn poetic territory, the poet suggests that one hundred voices might pass through his mouth. He presents a Homeric idea that he knows to be filtered through numerous other poets, especially Persius (the gaping mouth) and Ennius (who mentions not only *cor*, following Homer's ἦτορ, but adds *pectus*). The idea that Claudian acknowledges the totality of the tradition while sideswiping a few specific examples of the topos gains support from the use of the prosaic *multifidus* at *Prob.* 56 (*multifidus ruat centum per pectora Phoebus*). The adjective is not alien to the epic register, but is usually used literally to mean "much divided," or even "much cut" as of split wood (*TLL* s.v. *multifidus* 1a, *de lignis*). The other frequent use of the adjective, however, is of rivers (*TLL* s.v. *multifidus* 1b *de fluviis rivis sim.*). The collocation *multifidus Phoebus* combines one source of poetic inspiration (water) with the ultimate source of all poetic inspiration (Apollo), while emphasizing the diversity of voices already present in the fourth-century poetic tradition. Emily Gowers has observed that the channels in the Sibylline cave at Cumae already exhibit this same kind of self-conscious deployment of the many mouths topos (2005: 177-181). Her analysis of the Vergilian locus also indicates that any deployment of the cliché, even within the "stable" epic context of *Aeneid* 6, will exhibit a self-awareness (2005: 173). Claudian's negotiation of this commonplace shows him to be no different. His careful engagement with tradition acknowledges the tastes of his audience as it simultaneously authorizes his (later) claim to be a poet intimately familiar with both Greek and Latin epic traditions.

Claudian continues to provide allusive proof of his ability as a bilingual epicist as the aforementioned passage of the *Prob.* continues. Recall that the ineffability topos of one hundred

mouths was deployed in praise of the father of the two honorands, Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus. Although his allusive meditation on the topos may be clever, the poet never manages to solve the problem he confronts, and only finds that problem compounded. While Probus' deeds may present an insurmountable obstacle for Claudian's poetic voice(s), the sons far outstrip their father (*Prob.* 61: *sed nati vincere patrem...*). After remarking on the singular occurrence of two brothers, both in their teens, launching their public careers with the consulate, the poet begins the narrative proper. Before this new beginning, he acknowledges a further debt to Homer (*Prob.* 71-72):

Tu precor ignarum, doceas, Parnasia, vatem
quis deus ambobus tanti sit muneris auctor?

I beg you, Muse, to teach the ignorant poet
Which one of the gods authored such a great service for these two?

Claudian's tendency towards epic self-fashioning asserts itself here as traditional invocation to the Muse (although Parnasia seems to be original formulation, at least in Latin). Indeed, Claudian's invocation and the following line prove thoroughly traditional. Like the hundred mouths cliché, seeking the root cause of something through interaction with the Muse is trite by this point (e.g. *Aen* 1.8: *Musa, mihi causas memora*, "Muse, remind me of the causes").¹⁸⁵ The familiarity of this moment leads to a heightened awareness of poetic models and a sensitivity to allusive interactions. The *quis deus ambobus* of *Prob.* 72 strongly recalls a similar moment at the beginning of the *Iliad*: *Il.* 1.8: **τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν** ἔριδι ζυνέηκε μάχεσθαι. The phrase is admittedly short, but the resonance between the two versions is enhanced by the context, the

¹⁸⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of the connection between invoking the muse and memory, see Seider 2013: 125-130.

third foot caesura, and the capacity of *ambo* to restore a sense of the dual to the phrase.¹⁸⁶ Thus, a passage that began with an expression of poetic inability in the face of daunting material (*Prob.* 55) concludes with a poetic tour de force. The *ignarus vates* proves to be anything but. Instead, he demonstrates an intimate knowledge of tradition across languages, and the potential to act as a conduit of Greek culture for an increasingly monolingual audience.¹⁸⁷

The fact that Greek competency in the fourth-century West was waning likely enhanced Claudian's appeal, but this does not invalidate the conclusion that audiences were sensitive to the Homeric resonances of *Prob.* 55-72. That the hundred mouths trope began with Homer remains a fact of ancient literary history, rather than strictly ancient *Greek* literary history. Similarly, while audiences may not have had profound knowledge of Greek language or literature, anyone who had even the most rudimentary education in the language would have read the first ten lines of the *Iliad*. Claudian's ability to fluently speak and compose in both languages would have already rendered him a marvel to audiences, so compounding his appeal by translating poetry from one language into the other would have only heightened this effect. Recall that Augustine specifically mentions that the Greco-Syrian Hierius left audiences spellbound because of his knowledgeable and powerful Latin style (*Conf.* 4.13.20-24). Without a deep knowledge of Greek culture themselves, many of Hierius' audiences would have had no way of assessing the depth of his Greek learning. Perhaps Hierius made decisions similar to Claudian's, but the preceding discussion demonstrates how Claudian played to his audience, and how he created a place for himself and his poetry. His translation of a foundational text not only of Greek epic,

¹⁸⁶ It should be observed, too, that, when he composed a poem for Honorius' third consulship in the following year (396), Claudian also incorporated an allusion to *Iliad* 6 – Hector's prayer for the young Astyanax, including the child's fear at his father's helmeted head (Ware 2012: 92).

¹⁸⁷ Further evidence comes in the form of Claudian's role in adapting the rhetorical tactics of praise familiar from Menander Rhetor within the tradition of Latin poetry (Cameron 1970: 253-255). For the general influence of Menander Rhetor and rhetorical theory on poetry, see Cairns 1972.

but of Greek education represents a mutually reinforcing accumulation of cultural capital at Rome. Claudian's claim to mastery of both traditions will have been bolstered by Roman audiences eager to benefit from the prestige that came with knowledge of Greek.

The *Prob.* was indisputably a prestige object, not only for the honorands themselves, but also for the powerful family from which they came (see Cameron 1970: 417). Thus, Claudian could rely on the Anicii to circulate his work and propagate the self-image that he created in the *Prob.* It is with this in mind that I turn to *carmina minora* 40 and 41, both of them addressed to the Anicii, and likely composed shortly after the composition of the *Prob.* in 395.¹⁸⁸ Each poem is a short composition in elegiac couplets: the letter to Olybrius comprises 24 and the letter to Probinus 18 lines. The letter to Olybrius includes at least two attempts to navigate and repurpose literary history. The first, in the early lines of the poem, places the young Olybrius in the company of Cicero (*c.m.* 40: 3-4):

scribendine labor? sed cui tam prona facultas,
carmina seu fundis seu Cicerone tonas?

Is it so hard to write? But to whom is there such a ready eloquence, whether you pour out poems or thunder alongside Cicero.

After an interlude detailing the strength of their friendship and possible reasons why Olybrius has not written, Claudian exhorts him to write a final time by placing himself and his recipient in the roles of famous antecedents: Augustus and Vergil (*c.m.* 40: 23-24).

Dignatus tenui Caesar scripsisse Maroni
nec tibi dedecori sit mea Musa. uale.

Caesar deigned to write to the impoverished Vergil, and my muse shall never be a source of shame for you. Good-bye.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. the *Chronologia Claudiana* in the frontismatter of Cameron 1970.

A complicated point of contact with “Vergil” can also be found in Claudian’s letter to Probinus. The poet addresses a separate letter to the second brother, but retains his former theme of a lapse in communication between friends. His tactics have changed as well, and his negotiations of literary history and claims of bilingualism take shape as allusive encounters. After explaining that he has struggled with whether or not it would be right to reach out to Probinus, Claudian opines: *fors iuvat audentes’ prisci sententia vatis*, “Fortune favors the bold’ the saying of an ancient poet” (*c.m.* 41: 9). Skutsch declares that, “despite *prisci*,” the poet in question must be Vergil, a variation on his phrase *audentis Fortuna iuvat* (*Aen.* 10.284; Skutsch 1985: ad 233). The likeliest answer for this swerve on the common Latin phrase is *variatio in imitando*, but the situation may be more complicated.¹⁸⁹ Like the treatment of the hundred mouths trope, we can expect Claudian’s readers to exhibit a heightened sensitivity to his changes to the language or, in this case, to the attribution of the target phrase.

The manuscripts of the line containing *fors iuvat audentes* transmit not only *prisci*, but also *Chii* and *Cei*. Claudian’s reference to an “ancient poet” may not be ambiguous, but specific, referring either to Homer or Simonides. *Chii* is particularly well attested, whereas *Cei*, an easy corruption of *Chii*, occurs only once. This being the case, *c.m.* 41 could easily deploy a quotation in order to restore the now trite sentiment, *fortune favors the bold*, to a Greek source. It is certainly possible that lost variants of Homer or Simonides contained some version of the phrase, but even the extant evidence suggests that the original formulation was Greek. Fragment 927 of Sophocles is known only from quotations, and some sources award authorship to Menander

¹⁸⁹ The phrase originates in Latin with Ennius, an author with whom Claudian claimed an affinity (Skutsch 233; for Claudian’s connection to Ennius see Müller 2011, esp. 437-446). Vergil’s half line at *Aen.* 10.284, *audentis Fortuna iuvat*, does seem ready made for the centonic poetics of the fourth century. Late antique critics held the source of the phrase to be the *Phormio* of Terence, which also features *fortuna* (*Phorm.* 203: *fortis fortuna adiuvat*; cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.284). Ovid also deploys a variant but omits the mention of *fortuna* (*Met.* 10.586).

rather than Sophocles.¹⁹⁰ The relevant fragment provides the earliest evidence of the *sententia*, albeit in the negative: οὐ τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἡ τύχη ξυλλαμβάνει, “Fortune lends no help to the fainthearted.” Reading *Chii* for *prisci* imputes a much more ambitious negotiation of literary history, but maintaining *prisci* does not reduce this moment of quotation to banality. The reading *prisci* allows Claudian to cover huge amounts of literary-historical territory on a generous reading, and there is other evidence to suggest that he exerted himself to demonstrate that no poetry, not even that of Rome’s Republican past, was beyond his ken.

The same letter, *c.m.* 41, to Probinus, contains an allusion that no well-educated Roman could fail to recognize, but seems startling amid the words of a Greek poet. At *c.m.* 41.13-16, just before the closing distich, Claudian alludes to the two most infamous lines of Cicero’s *De Consulatu Suo*:

Romanos bibimus primum **te consule** fontes
 et Latiae **cessit** Graia **Thalia togae**
 incipiensque tuis a fascibus omina cepi 15
 fataque debebo posteriora tibi.

I first drank from fonts of Roman inspiration **when you were consul**, and Greek Thalia first **yielded to the Latin toga**. Setting out from your inauguration I took the omens, and I will owe to you whatever fate proceeds from them.

Cicero’s poetry has a great deal to commend it, but Claudian has incorporated two lines that were proverbially terrible.¹⁹¹ Claudian’s sensitivity to the late Roman preference for satire has already been observed, and an enduring source of negative criticism for these Ciceronian lines was the tenth poem of Juvenal. The satirist not only mocks the poetry, but quotes one of its most maligned lines: *O Fortunatam natam, me consule Romam* (*Juv.* 10.122; *Cic. de Cons.* fr.7). The correspondences between Cicero’s *me consule* and Claudian’s *te consule* cannot themselves

¹⁹⁰ Stob. *Flor.* 3. 8.11 (Sophocles); Arsenius *Proverbs* 41.75 (Menander).

¹⁹¹ For more favorable assessments of Cicero’s poetry, see Clausen 1986 and Goldberg 1995: 135-157.

mobilize an allusion, but Claudian proceeds to incorporate another fragment of the *de Consulatu* that had become nearly as infamous: *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae* (*Cic. de Cons.* fr. 6). Furthermore, both of these lines are linked together by no greater authority than Quintilian, who cites them together as the lines most frequently quoted by Cicero's vicious critics (*Inst.* 11.1.24). There is some similarity of context between the Ciceronian and Claudianic lines; the former discusses the auspicious birth of Rome, the latter of Claudian's poetic career. Thus, Probinus' consulship becomes the font of excellent Latin poetry, unlike Cicero's, even though the poetry about the latter's consulship is the source text.

There would seem to be much to gain from this curious reference to Cicero's poetry. By mentioning his own poetic rise with a winking nod to lines that are universally held as execrable, Claudian demonstrates that he knows what to avoid as well as what to embrace. Further support for this idea should be derived from the Vergilian move embedded inside of this thoroughly Ciceronian conclusion. After proclaiming an explicit similarity to Vergil at the end of his letter to Olybrius, Claudian concludes his letter to Probinus by laying claim to Vergil's muse. As Ware observes, Thalia is Claudian's muse throughout his career, and she accompanies him from the first (2012: 65-66). The notion of beginnings is important; Thalia is indisputably the Muse of Vergil's early work, both actual and perceived. The muse is invoked in both the *Eclogues* and the pseudo-Vergilian *Culex* (*Ecl.* 6.1-5; *Cul.* 1-2; see Ware 2012: 64). Claudian's path to fame was assured. In the Anicii he had the patronage of both a Cicero and an Octavian, and enjoyed a privileged relationship with Vergil's muse.

The *Prob.* and the epistles to Probinus and Olybrius belong to the works of a uniquely Roman Claudian. Not only were these pieces performed in Rome, the Anicii also had a unique interest in circulating Claudian's works locally, especially if addressed to them directly. The

separate manuscript tradition of the *Prob.* likely indicates a relationship between Claudian and his patrons that mutually enhanced their prestige. This trend must have accelerated after the erection of the honorary statue of Claudian. The poet's Roman works before 400 rely on allusions to popular works of satire, particularly those that comment on epic, to demonstrate that he was attuned to the tastes of the fourth-century Roman audience. Meanwhile, references to foundational works of Greek and Latin education cement the idea that he was not only a capable, bilingual epicist, but also a poet who facilitated audience participation in the poetic traditions of both languages. If sensitivity to these allusions were to wane, as it must have, the tradition would have been upheld by the statue, and graphically depicted (in the form of two distinct scripts) by the inscription.

4.3 STILICHO: GUARDIAN OF ROMAN ORDER

Claudian's careful self-fashioning in the works that enjoyed circulation at Rome demonstrates how the poet capitalized on his sensitivity to the canons of Roman education and late antique literary taste to construct a narrative ultimately codified by a later monument. While these (locally) Roman works clearly support the tradition that the honorary inscription transmits, personal negotiations of the literary canon stood firmly in second place behind the propagandistic concerns of his poems. Cameron has clearly shown that Claudian began promoting the agenda of Stilicho from the very beginning of his affiliation with the imperial house (1970: 30-45, esp. 44). Cameron's study also recognized the presence of allusion and imitation in Claudian, including explorations of how Claudian's allusive technique contributed to the legitimation of Stilicho's proxy rule (1970: 279-284, esp. 282-283). Ware's expansive treatment of Claudian's engagement with epic, alongside Cameron's short section, has contributed enormously to understanding the allusive tradition around Stilicho (Ware 2012). My

task, then, is to supplement and synthesize their work in order to demonstrate the importance of allusion for later reflections on Stilicho's ascendancy.

I shall focus exclusively on the *In Rufinum*, not only because it is a *tour de force* for Claudian the allusive propagandist, but also because the poem provides many fruitful opportunities for synthesis of both Ware and Cameron's work.¹⁹² In an effort to prove how thoroughly Claudian championed Stilicho's cause, even at the outset, Cameron remarked on the extent to which the *III Cons.* focuses on Stilicho rather than Honorius (1970: 36-45). He was even puzzled by the conclusion of an earlier scholar that Claudian's "first political poem" was the *In Rufinum*, but this is not as implausible as sounds (1970: 45; Romano 1958: 71). Cameron persuades in his claim that the *III Cons.* concerns itself entirely with "Stilicho's regency and his qualifications for it," but the *Ruf.* decidedly proves Ware's point as well as Cameron's (1970: 44). It is more firmly rooted in the epic universe, and allows Claudian to create a world of epic fantasy with Stilicho at its center. As I shall show, the learned allusions of the *Ruf.* authorize both Claudian's claim to the epic tradition and Stilicho's claim to rule.

The epic intention of the *In Rufinum* is made obvious by the poem's preface, which recounts Apollo's victory over Python, but the most meaningful allusive alignment occurs at the beginning of the text proper.¹⁹³ The narrator begins by explaining that his concerns about the problem of evil placed him on the brink of losing faith in divine rule of the universe.

¹⁹²Here I deploy the troublesome concept of propaganda for the first time. For an overview of the history of this term in Claudian scholarship, see Dorfbauer 2013: 105-106, esp. 106n4-106n8. While Cameron has himself backed away from the term somewhat (2001: 130), there is still much to redeem it. Propaganda is a term that carries considerable baggage, especial as it concerns truth vs. falsehood. Without the term "propaganda," however, we are left with the equally uncomfortable problem of deploying "panegyric," while actually meaning "panegyric produced with incredible frequency, likely at the behest of one man or a very limited group of individuals, focusing intensely on the qualifications, accomplishments, and continued benefactions of a regime."

¹⁹³ For analysis of the preface, see James 1998: 160-162.

Immediately before revealing that the punishment of Rufinus allayed these doubts, the narrator explains his conundrum (*Ruf.* 1.12-19):

sed cum res hominum tanta caligine uolui
adspicerem laetosque diu florere nocentes
uexarique pios, **rursus labefacta cadebat**
religio causaeque uiam non sponte sequebar 15
alterius, uacuo quae currere **semina** motu
adfirmat **magnumque** nouas **per inane** figuras
fortuna non arte regi, quae numina sensu
ambiguo uel nulla putat uel nescia nostri.

But when I saw human affairs turning about in the darkness, saw the guilty happy and long flourishing while the righteous suffered, **my weakened faith fell to the ground again**. Unwillingly, I began to follow the other position's path, which maintains that atoms rush about in useless motion, that the forms that appear in the great void are ruled by fortune rather than skillful care, which believes that the gods exist in some dubious way, or that there are none, or that they are ignorant of us.

The narrator describes his pursuit of Epicurean philosophy, the *altera causa* of lines 15-16 with the words Aeneas deploys to part with Dido. The Vergilian half line, *Italiam non sponte sequor* (*Aen.* 4.361), resembles its Claudianic successor not only with its words but its sounds (*viam* vs. *Italiam*). Curiously, Claudian's Vergilian moment serves as the point of departure for a patently Lucretian and Epicurean series of lines. I shall demonstrate that, taken together, these two allusive instances allow Claudian to demonstrate his knowledge of the ideal Vergilian universe, pervert it into a macabre fantasy, and then restore the epic universe for the glorification of Stilicho.¹⁹⁴

It is first necessary to demonstrate the profundity of Epicurean resonance in the lines surrounding the clear Vergilian allusion at *Ruf.* 1.15.¹⁹⁵ The ending of the preceding line, **rursus**

¹⁹⁴ Cameron 1970 sees the situation rather differently. In the first place, he interprets the passage as wholly inspired by a passage of Juvenal's thirteenth satire, although he does admit that Claudian has amplified this with a pastiche of Lucretian phrases (327-330). These comments are made, however, in an attempt to prove that this passage does not serve as evidence of Claudian's Epicureanism.

¹⁹⁵ For a different opinion on these lines, see Moreschini 2002: 67.

labefacta cadebat / [*religio*], acknowledges the Lucretian idea that mankind was originally repressed by a lofty and celestial *religio* (*Lucr.* 1.62-64) but that the work of Epicurus allowed mankind to invert this position, crushing *religio* underfoot and carrying itself to the skies (1.78-79: *quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim / opteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo*). The presence of the adverb, *rursus*, indicates an attempt at reflexive annotation (Hinds 1998: 3-10). Like the Prudentian use of *res publica* discussed in Chapter 3, this use of *rursus* acts as a signpost for the deeply Lucretian language that follows. For example, the idea that atoms “rush about in worthless motion” now reads as a panning (and allusive) summary of ideas given voice in the *De Rerum Natura* (*Lucr.* 2.1052-56):

nullo iam pacto veri simile esse putandumst,
 undique cum versum spatium vacet infinitum
seminaque innumero numero summaque profunda 1055
multimodis volitent aeterno percita motu,
 hunc unum terrarum orbem caelumque **creatum**

Now it must not be thought true at all, (since infinite space extends its emptiness in every direction, and the seeds of things, in number innumerable, both highest and lowest, fly about in diverse, eternal agitation), that this earthly sphere and this sky are the only ones created.

I do not propose that Claudian had this particular passage in mind, but his familiarity with Lucretian language is obvious. This is especially true in light of the second Lucretian resonance in this passage, the *magnum... per inane* of line 17.¹⁹⁶ By the late fourth century, the phrase had lost much of its Lucretian resonance and was deployed to lend an epic quality, likely stemming from the Vergilian use of the phrase (e.g. *Aen.* 12.354, 12.906).¹⁹⁷ Claudian’s allusion works as

¹⁹⁶ The phrase *per inane* is undeniably Lucretian, especially considering its position in the line. Although Vergil and Ovid deploy the phrase, (and in this position), no one uses the phrase more frequently than Lucretius. That poet accounts for approximately 40% of all uses in classical Latin poetry, responsible for 19/50 uses. Of these 19, 15 end as *Ruf.* 1.17 does, as part of a fifth-foot dactyl.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. e.g. Amm. 17.12, to add epic coloring to a feat of engineering (although A. also uses the phrase in its philosophical sense at 26.1).

a display of literary *Quellenforschung* in this Epicurean context and indicates the poet's familiarity with the ultimate source of an expression that has become trite.

Claudian's decision to embed an obvious Vergilian allusion within this learned Epicurean section depends on the late antique readings of the source text – the Carthage narrative of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Both modern and ancient readers have observed moments of conflict between Epicurean and Stoic thought in the Carthage episode of the *Aeneid*, particularly in the relationship between Aeneas and Dido. As Dyson has said, "The Dido episode belongs to a larger pattern in which Virgil employs Lucretian language and imagery to contradict Lucretian doctrine" (1996: 204). More importantly, the *Aeneid* presents Carthage as a site of Epicurean poetics. At *Aen.* 1.742-747, the poet Iopas delivers a poem replete with Epicurean resonances:

hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles 745
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet;
ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.

He sings of the wandering moon and the sun's labors, the origin of the human race and of herd animals, the source of fire and rain. He sings of Arcturus, the rainy Hyades and twin Triones, and why winter days hasten so to dip themselves in the ocean, or of the delay that prolongs the slow night. The Carthaginians redouble their applause and the Trojans follow them.

A full overview of the Epicurean resonances of the song of Iopas can be found at Dyson 1996 (210-212). Another late antique reader, Servius, interpreted the song of Iopas as a *cantilena philosophica* and was prompted to think of Lucretius while reading these lines (ad 1.742-43). If Carthage had become a site of Epicurean thought and poetics in the minds of late antique readers, Vergil's *Italiam non sponte sequor* are the words that allow Aeneas (and the *Aeneid*) to move away from an Epicurean world and mindset. For Claudian, however, the words

mark the point of departure into an Epicurean tailspin from which Stilicho is the only savior (Ruf. 1.20-24).

Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini poena tumultum
absoluitque deos. Iam non ad culmina rerum
iniustos creuisse queror; tolluntur in altum,
ut lapsu grauiore ruant. uos pandite vati,
Pierides, quo tanta lues eruperit ortu.

Rufinus' punishment has resolved my disquiet and has absolved the gods. Now I do not complain that the unjust have been promoted to the zenith of worldly achievement; they are raised to the heights so that a more serious fall may send them plummeting downwards. Reveal to the poet, Muses, the source from which such a blight burst out.

The poem later reveals that Stilicho (although conspicuously absent at Rufinus' death) is the ultimate instrument of the punishment that so restores the narrator's faith (Ruf. 2.402-403). As Ware has observed, Stilicho appears in the poem as a kind of inverse Epicurus, who, instead of destroying *religio* with his power of reasoning, restores it with his heroic actions (2012: 128).

The highly allusive introduction to the poem, therefore, demonstrates not only Claudian's deep knowledge of Latin poetry and the scholarly tradition surrounding it, but his ability to use allusion to enhance his political point. Claudian's allusion deliberately inverts the philosophical implications of his Vergilian source to provide a poetic parallel for Rufinus' disruption of the political order. It is incumbent on Stilicho to save Roman order from the insidious forces of *furor* that corrupt it, and this redemptive act also allows Claudian to restore the norms of the Vergilian poetic universe.

The transformation of Aeneas' words in the preface, authorizing Claudian's mandate to restore meaning to Vergilian language and to the epic universe, continues as the narrator explains how Rufinus rose to such a prominent position (1.25-175). Immediately following the revelation

that Rufinus' punishment has allayed doubts regarding the problem of evil, the narrative proper begins with another powerful allusion to the *Aeneid* (*Ruf.* 1.25-26):

Inuidiae quondam stimulis incanduit atrox
Allecto placidas late cum cerneret **urbes**.

When she saw peaceful cities far and wide, savage Allecto was set on fire by the goads of envy.

Here, the poet mobilizes what Phillip Hardie has called "the energy of hell" (Hardie 1993: 57-71). The epic plot proceeds from the chaotic, disruptive power of an infernal force.¹⁹⁸ The creation of a broadly peaceful landscape, later disturbed by the fury Allecto, renders the Claudianic scene highly reminiscent of the early portion of *Aeneid* 7 (*Aen.* 7.45-46):

Rex arva Latinus et **urbes**
iam senior **longa placidas** in pace regebat.

King Latinus, now an old man, ruled over the cities and their fields in a long peace.

The narrative's opening allusion to *Aeneid* 7 has ramifications for the nexus of Vergilian and Lucretian ideas expressed in the introduction. Rufinus' troublesome rise to power nearly prompted the perversion of the Vergilian word, but the narrator has already explicitly stated (1.20-21) that this will not take place. Instead, the narrative moves from a morally ambiguous Epicurean universe, represented by Vergil's Carthage, and into Vergil's Italy, the site of a number of patently obvious contests between good and evil (e.g. Hercules/Evander vs. Cacus, Aeneas vs. Mezentius).

The opening lines threaten a metamorphosis of the world of Vergilian words. That threat is contained and minimized not only by the narrator's reassurance, but by the fact that the reader has already met the hellish forces of chaos that threaten the epic world. Allecto's appearance in

¹⁹⁸ For an extensive treatment of the infernal and demonic in the *In Rufinum*, see James 1998, esp. 162-168.

the *In Rufinum* represents the first sign of the construction of a morally dichotomous universe.¹⁹⁹ The fury somehow motivates the entire poem, even though she quickly fades from view after her initial mention. Ware has made the excellent observation that the reappearance of such familiar enemies prompts reassurance in the reading audience; Allecto has been defeated before, especially within Vergilian context established by the allusion at line 25 (*Ruf.* 1.25: *Allecto placidas late cum cerneret urbes*; Ware 2012: 117-118).

The stability of the epic cosmos is no longer at stake, therefore, but the Claudianic narrative displaces the threat of permanent cosmological disruption onto the narrative through the use of metamorphosis. When Allecto returns to hell to upbraid her fellow furies for potentially enabling the return of the golden age, Megaera explains that Rufinus can help them to harm the world and murder its inhabitants (*Ruf.* 1.45-96). When she appears before Rufinus in disguise, her own metamorphosis described at lines 1.134-139, she rebukes him for his sloth, and in order to persuade and entice him, effects a metamorphosis (*Ruf.* 1.160-169):

‘...neu uana locutum	160	
me fortasse putes, mutatos cerne penates.’		
dixerat, et niueae (mirum!) coepere columnae		
ditari subitoque trabes lucere metallo.		
inlecebris capitur, nimumque elatus auaro		
pascitur intuitu. sic rex ad prima tumebat		165
Maeonius, pulchro cum uerteret omnia tactu;		
sed postquam riguisse dapes fuluamque reuinctos		
in glaciem uidit latices, tum munus acerbum		
sensit et inuiso uotum damnavit in auro.		

‘And so that you do not think I have spoken in vain, see your house transformed.’ She spoke, and (what a miracle!) the white columns began to enrich themselves, suddenly the beams began to gleam with the shine of metal. He is taken in by these enticements and, carried away in the extreme, he is fed by his greedy gaze. Midas puffed up like this at first, too, when he could change all things with his lovely touch. But after he saw his

¹⁹⁹ For an overview of this dualism in the *Aeneid* and the impact of this dichotomy on later epic, see Hardie 1993: 58-76, esp., 58-65, which focuses on the importance of infernal actors and the importance of hell as a point of narrative departure.

food harden and his water encased in golden ice, then he thought his gift a bitter one, and cursed his prayer for hateful gold.

Hardie has observed that the hellish point of departure is more than a commonplace, and symbolizes instead the “burst of power needed both by the actors and the narrator to provide the momentum for a long poem, and a long poem that might be in danger of an inability to escape the gravitational pull of its many predecessors” (Hardie 1993: 60). Such an energy is supplemented in the *In Rufinum* by these metamorphic moments, and invoked somewhat by the changes threatened to the epic universe in the Epicurean section. The resolution of the philosophical crisis, *tolluntur in altum / ut lapsu graviore ruant* (*Ruf.* 1.22-23), is reflected in the scene of metamorphosis. The threat of the Vergilian universe becoming a Lucretian one is gone, and the metamorphosis reflects this. Megaera’s metamorphic miracle produces elation in Rufinus; he is literally “carried too high” (*Ruf.* 1.164: *nimumque elatus*). The metaphor and metamorphic language continue in the Midas simile. The mythological king swells with pride (*tumebat*) because of his ability to effect a metamorphosis, but these newfound powers lead to his destruction. The plot’s hellish motivation and metamorphic departure reflect powers of chaos and change that will ultimately be brought under control.²⁰⁰

The allusive strategies that disrupt and stabilize the world of the *In Rufinum* recur throughout the poem and allusion is used to assimilate Rufinus to many of the antagonists of the *Aeneid*’s war narrative. The enumeration of Rufinus’ crimes, occurring near the middle of the first book, contains a series of allusions that liken the eastern prefect to a number of Aeneas’ opponents in the *Aeneid*. Claudian’s allusive art is once again deployed to its fullest effect: The allusions under scrutiny not only reflect his ability to construct characters or create an epic

²⁰⁰ For metamorphosis as an emblem of chaos and destabilization, see Hardie 1993: 60-61, as well as Hardie 2002: 79-80.

universe, but also present him as a master of the Latin epic tradition, keenly aware of his allusive competence.

Non coniunx, non ipse simul, non pignora caesa
sufficient odiis; non extinxisse propinquos,
Non notos egisse sat est; **exscindere ciues
funditus et nomen gentis delere laborat...**

His hatred cannot be sated by executing the wife, the children, and the man himself at the same time; to kill one's family and drive friends away is not enough. He works toward the root and branch destruction of the citizens, toward the obliteration of our nation's name...

Ruf. 1.230-233

The concept of destroying a national identity entirely reminds the reader of the similar threats that recur throughout the *Aeneid*. The important verbal parallel *non... exscindere Troianam gentem... iuravi*, spoken by Dido, has already been noted by Levy (1971: 67; *Aen.* 4.425). The idea is of course important to Juno, Aeneas' most steadfast antagonist, and it figures prominently in her negotiations with Jupiter near the end of the poem. In that context, the obliteration of the names "Trojan" and "Troy" is a concession Juno demands in negotiations to establish divine and human peace (12.809-828, esp. 828: *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*). In the *In Rufinum*, however, it is a *casus belli*, justifying violent opposition to Rufinus and the celebration of his eventual death. The Roman name had its genesis in Aeneas' actions, and the slight allusion to the *Aeneid* at *Ruf.* 1.232-33 allows Stilicho to perform an Aeneas-like role by preserving that name against a demonic antagonist. As the *Aeneid* passage shows, however, Juno's role as antagonist is complicated by her divine nature and her ultimately positive contribution to Roman dominance. The passage that lists Rufinus' misdeeds goes on to embrace comparison of Rufinus and far more sinister figures, both within and outside of the *Aeneid*.

The next series of allusions in this passage refers not to Vergil, but to Lucan. In a marvelous illustration of Ware's ultimate point about the importance of *furor* for Claudian's epic conception, the reader finds that Rufinus embodies the qualities that Lucan originally attributed to a bloodthirsty mob (2012: 117-128; *Ruf.* 1. 243-253):

Efferat torquebant auidae praecordia curae,
 effugeret ne quis gladios neu perderet ullum
 Augusto miserante nefas. **Non flectitur annis,** 245
non aetate labat: iuuenum rorantia colla
ante patrum uultus stricta cecidere securi;
 Ibat grandaeuus nato moriente superstes
 post trabeas exul. **Quis prodere tanta relatu**
funera, quis caedes possit deflere nefandas? 250
Quid tale inmanes umquam gessisse feruntur
 uel Sinis Isthmiaca pinu uel rupe profunda
 Sciron vel Phalaris tauro **uel carcere Sulla?**
 O mites Diomedis equi! Busiridis arae
 clementes! **Iam Cinna pius,** iam Spartace lenis 255
 Rufino conlatus eris!

A greedy anxiety tore at his savage heart, lest someone escape from his swords or some opportunity for crime pass by because of the emperor's mercy. Neither youth nor age can bend him: The necks of boys drip before their fathers' faces as his axe, ready to strike, cuts them off. An elder, though he survived his son's death, went into exile after his consulship. **Who can relate these deaths with his speech? Who can mourn these unspeakable murders? Are monstrous men ever said to have committed such a crime as this?** Either Sinis with his Corinthian pine, Sciron on a precipitous cliff, Phalaris with his bull, or Sulla with his prison? O, the horses of Diomedes are gentle and the altars of Busiris are merciful! Cinna is an honest man and, Spartacus, you are gentle if compared to Rufinus!

Levy reaffirms Bruère's assertion that the Claudian passage exhibits an affinity with Lucan's construction of the reign of terror under Marius (Levy 1970: 71-73; Bruère 1964: 228).

Nobilitas cum plebe perit lateque uagatus
 ensis, et a nullo reuocatum pectore ferrum.
 Stat cruor in templis, multaque rubentia caede
 lubrica saxa madent. **Nulli sua profuit aetas :**
non senis extremum piguit uergentibus annis 105
praecepisse diem, nec primo in limine uitae
infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata...

... Cui funera uolgi

flere vacet? uix te sparsum per viscera, Baebi,
innumeras inter carpentis membra coronae 120
discessisse manus, aut te, praesage malorum
Antoni, cuius laceris pendentia canis
ora ferens miles festae **rorantia** mensae
inposuit...

The high-born died along with the low, and the sword ranged widely; the drawn steel was called back from no chest. Gore covered the temples and the wet stones grew red with abundant slaughter. Age was of use to no one: There was no reluctance to snatch the light away from old men in their waning years, or to crush the nascent fate of a miserable infant on life's threshold.

...Who has time to mourn the deaths of such a mob!?! There is hardly time to mention you, Baebius, torn apart from the inside out, your limbs cast about by the innumerable hands of a grasping circle of foes. Or you, Antonius, the doomsayer, whose head a soldier bore to a banquet table. Hanging by its torn white hair and dripping blood, he placed it on the tabletop.

BC 2.101-107; 2.118-124

Like that of Rufinus, the *furor* of Lucan's mob cannot be restrained, either by external or internal forces. They kill both old and young indiscriminately, and each scene depicts a frenzied bloodlust that the perpetrators feel compelled to continue (cf. BC 2.109-113). Levy lists the similarities, citing 1) that age cannot protect the victims in either piece, 2) the verbal and contextual resonances of the *rorantia colla / rorantia ora*, and 3) the poet's inability to recount the wrongdoing in its enormity.²⁰¹ These last two instances combine to form a deeply Vergilian nexus. While Levy has suggested *Aen.* 2.361-2 (*quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando / explicet...*), another Vergilian moment suggests itself more readily: Evander's inventory of Mezentius' crimes in *Aeneid* 8. The gruesome Lucanic vividness of *rorantia colla / ante patrum vultus* implies that Rufinus delights in the psychological torture of the fathers who witness their

²⁰¹ Bruère and Levy also mention another reminiscence that does not persuade, namely that the *post trabeas exul* of *Ruf.* 1.249 may reflect a debt to Lucan 2.69-70.

sons' executions. It is therefore difficult to avoid association with Mezentius, whose delight in torture is infamous (*Aen.* 8.483-488):

quid memorem **infandas caedes**, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora uiuis 485
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.

Why should I recount his unspeakable murders, why recount the savage deeds of a tyrant? May the gods keep [a punishment] for him and his family! He would even join dead bodies to living ones, as a kind of torture, setting hands against hands, putting face to face, gushing gore and blood in a miserable embrace, he would thus put them to a long death.

Rufinus' *effera praecordia* may remind readers of Mezentius' similarly qualified *facta*; the presence of anaphora, the similarity of context, and the verbal similarity of the collocations *infandas caedes* and *nefandas caedes* contribute to the ultimate activation of the allusion. The poem's primary antagonist, Rufinus, is therefore styled as somehow combining the frenzy of a mob with the cruelty of a tyrant.

Furthermore, the passage cataloguing Rufinus' crimes exhibits the same tendency toward self-annotation found in the poem's initial Epicurean passage. Immediately after the anaphoric proclamation of inability that concludes the allusive nexus, the narrative voice marks its allusive ambition clearly and neatly through the use of only one line: *Quid tale inmanes **umquam** gessisse feruntur?* "Are monstrous men **ever said** to have done something like this?" Of all of the allusive instances treated thus far, this adheres most precisely to earlier techniques of self-annotating, what Ross has labeled the "Alexandrian footnote" (1975).²⁰² As if this were not enough, the act of "footnoting" is then underwritten by the expansive list of mythological and historical atrocities that follows. While describing a number of mythological tyrants, Claudian

²⁰² For the importance of Ross' ideas for later studies of allusion in Latin literature, see Hinds 1998-13.

makes no mention of the mythological world of the *Aeneid*. He likewise refers to three figures from the late Republic, including Cinna and Sulla, while avoiding Marius himself, whose followers, at least as depicted by Lucan, figure so prominently in the preceding passage.²⁰³

Reflexive allusions such as this deserve special consideration because they draw the reader's attention to the fact that they are allusions, and thereby emphasize the fact that they comprise only a part of a wider system of allusions (Hinds 1998: 1-2). The self-annotating allusive nexus in the poem's introduction prompts reflection on what is at stake, namely the values that elite Roman society upholds, and how readers (and authors) can defend those values. This second example, focused on Lucanic *furor* and mythological accounts of gruesome torture, provides further detail on precisely how that society was imperiled, how it had overcome similar danger in the past, and why Stilicho's actions were necessary and justified. Rufinus represents an almost inconceivable combination of a tyrant and the frenzied masses that typify civil discord.²⁰⁴ He is an usurper, if not in name, who has created the kind of distrust and division that a civil war might otherwise engender. The later narrative makes the threat of a Lucanic civil war explicit. After Stilicho's army disbands under orders from the East at *Ruf.* 2.235-236, a soldier exclaims:

num patiar? semperne Getis discordia nostra
proderit? **en iterum belli civilis imago!**

I am really to endure this? Will our strife always be a benefit to the Goths? Behold once more the image of civil war!

²⁰³ It is certainly plausible that this list comes from a rhetorical handbook, as Cameron has claimed (1970: 338). Cameron goes on to claim that Claudian has unthinkingly replicated a narrative that made Sulla a villain and Marius a hero, an argument that ought to be reconsidered in light of the allusions that problematize it.

²⁰⁴ Rufinus is explicitly referred to as a tyrant at *Ruf.* 2.266-271 as well as 2.389-390. The charge is also implied at 2.315-316.

The threat of civil war is contained and minimized by Stilicho, who calms his troops before the narrative can become truly Lucanic (*Ruf.* 2.247-256). But Lucan had no Stilicho to write of, no Aeneas figure in whom Mezentius could ignite a just rage (*Aen.* 8. 501: ... *et merita accendit Mezentius ira*). Like the Epicurean precipice on which the narrator totters in the introductory lines, the Lucanic section prompts the reader to contemplate a descent into the macabre and savage world of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, something that would have been a certainty were there no Stilicho to drag Roman political life back from the edge.

The reflexive allusions found in both the introductory section and the list of Rufinus' crimes construct an epic universe that affirms divine justice and the inevitable repression of *furor*. The conversation between Iustitia and Megaera, near the end of the first book, provides further proof of this. Megaera gloats that the golden age has not returned, and that her serpents feast on ubiquitous death (*Ruf.* 1.357-362). In response, Iustitia maintains the claims made in the prologue: This setback is only temporary, and Rufinus will get his punishment. Rufinus is defined as Megaera's creature, "who now exhausts the earth and the sky itself" (*Ruf.* 1 370-371: *terras qui nunc ipsumque fatigat / aethera*). As Levy observed, the phrase is quite similar to the description of Juno's obstruction in *Aeneid* 1, described by Jupiter as only a temporary impediment to inevitable peace and Roman dominance (Levy 1971: 108; Ware 217).

imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, 280
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
 Romanos...
 aspera tum positis mitescunt saecula bellis:
 cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus,
 iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus,
 saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus aënis 295
 post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

I have given them empire without end. Even harsh Juno, who now exhausts the sea, land, and sky with fear, will develop more favorable plans. She will cherish the Romans along with me...

... This harsh age will become mild, and wars will be cast aside. White-haired Faith, Vesta, and Romulus (along with Remus) will make laws; the gates of War, dreadful for their narrow bars and steel, will close; audacious rage will be locked inside, atop a heap of savage weapons, its hands bound behind its back with a hundred knots of bronze, roaring wretched from its gory mouth.

Aen. 1.279-281;291-296

As Iustitia proceeds, it becomes clear that her speech follows the pattern established by Jupiter's prophecy in *Aeneid* 1. The goddess goes on to explain that, in addition to the defeat of the raging enemy, the forces that create such enemies will themselves be imprisoned. With these forces of obstruction dispatched, nothing will be able to stand in the way of the golden age. In the *In Rufinum*, however, it is not *furor*, but *furia ipsa*, Megaera herself, who will be clapped in chains (Ruf. 1.377-382):

tuque simul grauibus ferri religata catenis
expellere die **debellatasque** draconum
tonsa **comas imo barathri claudere recessu.**
tum tellus communis erit, tum limite nullo 380
discernetur ager; nec vomere sulcus adunco
findetur: subitis messor gaudebit aristas.

And you will likewise be bound in heavy chains of iron and cast out of the light, your serpentine locks beaten down and cut away. You will be locked away in the deepest recesses of hell. Then the earth will be a common possession, and no boundary marker divide the fields. No hooked ploughshare will cut the earth into furrows, and the farmer will rejoice in sudden ears of grain!

Ware has already made the valuable point that golden age imagery of Vergil's lies at the chronological edges of the *In Rufinum* (as the quotation demonstrates at 1.380-382), and I should like to emphasize how much the established allusive frame, particularly in its Vergilian implications, lays the groundwork for this golden age (Ware 2012: 217-219). Not only does the above passage of Claudian correspond to the imprisonment of *furor* in *Aeneid* 1 (*Aen.*1.291-296), it also embeds another important Vergilian resonance. The snake-like locks of the Fury, which

inflame the heart of Amata in the *Aeneid* and effect the transformation of Rufinus from man to monster, are now the vanquished objects of Stilicho and Honorius' future exploits (1.378-379: *debellatasque... tonsa comas*). Not only does this recall the high mythological frame of Claudian's introductory paratext, which likens Stilicho's conflict with Rufinus to Apollo's victory over the serpent Python, but it also summons the memory of Anchises' dictum at *Aeneid* 6.853: *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. The *Aeneid*'s war against haughty nations has been transferred to the literal instruments of *furor*, a fitting move once one considers that, for all its epic trappings, the *In Rufinum* is a profoundly Vergilian war narrative in which no actual combat takes place. Instead of a standard narrative of epic battle, the *In Rufinum* represents a contest of personifications, wherein order and civilization are personified by Stilicho, *furor* and chaos by Megaera and her acolyte Rufinus.

This tendency toward personification is perhaps nowhere more evident than at the moment of Rufinus' death in Book 2. In spite of the fact that Stilicho is far away from Constantinople, the site of Rufinus' assassination, he is nevertheless awarded the credit. Like Megaera, whose downfall the reader does not observe, Stilicho is a numinous entity who acts through subordinates.²⁰⁵ Notably, he would have had the opportunity to act directly against an external source of *furor*, the barbarians who menaced Illyria, if Rufinus had not managed to call off his expedition. Within the world of the *In Rufinum*, Stilicho is as important for what he represents as for anything that he does, an interpretation further supported by the bitter words of his soldiers as they disband (*Ruf.* 2.275-277):

tu mihi dux semper, Stilicho, nostramque uel absens 275
 experiere fidem. dabitur tibi **debita** pridem
victima: promissis longe placabere sacris.

²⁰⁵ Alternatively, the conflict can also be conceived as a contest between Iustitia and Megaera, but Stilicho's portrayal tends toward the divine (cf. Ware 2012: 220).

You will always be my general, Stilicho, and even absent you will know my loyalty. The victim that you have long been owed will be given: You will be propitiated with promised sacrifice...

Stilicho has become more than a man: He is a semi-divine entity who ensures order through the receipt of sacrificial victims. Rufinus' description as a kind of sacrifice also contributes to the allusive import of his death, a scene that exhibits similarities to the death of Turnus in *Aeneid* 12. There are no verbal reminiscences, but the religious sacrifice of a haughty opponent who has been incited by a Fury makes the resonance inevitable, especially when combined with the concept of "transferred agency" critical to both scenes. Furthermore, Hardie has observed that both the idea of sacrifice and as well as "one for many" are central to Vergilian imitation in epic. The latter theme finds frequent expression in Claudian's other favorite author, Lucan, who explores how sacrificial instances of capital punishment can save the living or compensate the wrongfully dead (Hardie 1993: 19-56, esp. 30). These topoi are revisited by Claudian at 2.400-404, lines that feature a Claudianic spin on Vergil's *unum pro multis* (*Aen.* 5.815):

Unus per medios audendi pronior ense 400
prosilis exerto dictisque et vulnere toruus
impetit: "**hac Stilicho, quem iactas pellere, dextra**
te ferit; hoc absens inuadit uiscera ferro."
sic fatur **meritoque** latus **transuerberat ictu.**

One of the soldiers among the crowd, more inclined toward an act of daring, leapt up with his sword drawn and rushed forward, fierce in his words, and fierce for the wound he had sustained, 'Stilicho,' he said, 'whom you boast that you have driven out, strikes you with the right hand! Though absent, he pierces you with this sword.' So he spoke, and stabbed his side with a just blow.

Hardie's formulation of "one for all/ all for one" is oddly refracted in the Claudianic narrative (1993: 27-32). The soldier who attacks Rufinus takes a corporate action on behalf of his comrades, but goes on to attribute agency to Stilicho, an absent sole actor. Because striking a sacrificial blow on someone else's behalf is so unique, the reader is drawn to remember the

battlefield proclamation Aeneas makes to Turnus: ...*Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas /immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit* (*Aen.* 12.948-949: “Pallas sacrifices you with this blow, Pallas exacts the penalty from your guilty blood”).²⁰⁶ The line ending *merito transverberat ictu* at *Ruf.* 2.404 is also important, as the collocation *tranverberat ictu* ends the line of *Aeneid* 10 in which Turnus kills Pallas (10.484-485; Levy 1978: 203). The literary reminiscences of Rufinus’ death scene, then, evoke the cycle of vengeance found at the end of the *Aeneid*. Building upon the earlier assimilation of Rufinus to Juno and Mezentius, the correspondence between Rufinus and Turnus constructs Rufinus’ assassination as a necessary act of foundational vengeance. Now that he is dead, the golden age may return. Stilicho sits at the center of this universe, and, unlike the victimized Pallas of the *Aeneid*, actions are taken in his name because his name represents and guarantees the security and prosperity of the empire. Through careful use of allusion, Claudian manages to assimilate Rufinus to all of the antagonists of Roman epic, particularly the *Aeneid*, thereby demonstrating that Stilicho is capable of handling any threat, no matter how chaotic, evil, or monstrous.

The epic universe of the *In Rufinum* is a work of fantasy, but Claudian’s overall point persuades even today. Although Stilicho never succeeded in his attempts to quell the barbarian threats that bedeviled the Western empire, he seems at least to have contained them. In the chaos following the general’s death in 408, Alaric achieved his long-threatened objective of sacking Rome. In spite of this, and in spite of Claudian’s repeated efforts to style him as the savior of the empire, contemporaries did not regard Stilicho as a bulwark against barbarian invasion nor a holy talisman that could safeguard Roman order. Rutilius Namatianus, writing approximately

²⁰⁶ Levy observes this same connection (1978: 202).

ten years after Stilicho's death, attacks him by deploying the same topoi (and words) that Claudian used to defend him (*De Reditu* 2.41-44):

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
proditor **arcani** quod fuit **imperii**.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
crudelis summis miscuit ima furor;

So hideous Stilicho's bitter crime is all the worse, since he betrayed the empire's secrets. While he strove to outlive the Roman people, his cruel *furor* mixed heaven and earth together.

Whereas the *In Rufinum* saw the title character strive to obliterate the Roman name for personal gain, now those charges are emphatically levied against Stilicho. In a further act of inversion, he has become the force of *furor* that dissolves the constraints of the ordered universe (*summis miscuit ima furor*). As Cameron has observed, the phrase *proditor arcani... imperii* is also likely taken from Claudian (Cameron 1970: 250-251).

...procul arceat altus 100
Iuppiter, ut delubra Numae sedemque Quirini
barbaries oculis saltem temerare profanis
possit et **arcanum tanti deprendere regni**.

May most-high Jupiter prevent the barbarians from desecrating Numa's shrine or Quirinus' temple even with their profane eyes and keep them from discovering the secret of such a great empire.

Get. 100-103

Like so many of the other allusive moments treated thus far, the verbal reminiscence between these passages prompts a greater sensitivity to the surrounding language. Rutilius was clearly a careful reader of Claudian's *oeuvre*, and the quoted passage finds him mobilizing his knowledge of Claudian's text to allusively insinuate that Stilicho became an unstoppable force of destruction. It is no surprise, then, that Rutilius also alleges that Stilicho colluded with and empowered barbarians (*De Reditu* 2.46-48; Cameron 1970: 251). A closer investigation reveals

that this is precisely the charge laid at Rufinus' feet by Claudian, even using the same language (*Ruf.* 1.318-320):

...tunc inpius ille
proditor imperii coniuratusque Getarum
distulit instantes eluso principe pugnas... 320

Then, after he had tricked the emperor, the treacherous betrayer of the empire and Gothic conspirator put off the battle so near at hand.

Rutilius deploys allusion to draw further attention to how deeply he opposes the entirety of the Claudianic narrative. He overturns the overarching conception of Stilicho that Claudian pursues throughout his work, especially in the *In Rufinum*. For Rutilius, Stilicho neither kept *furor* at bay nor maintained the laws of the universe that sustained Roman dominion. Instead, Rutilius' Stilicho fills the role of the Claudianic Rufinus. He throws the cosmos into disorder and betrays the very empire he pretends to protect.

The *De Reditu*'s willingness to criticize Stilicho will shock no one. There are other voices, and those far more often heard, that transmit similar attacks against the controversial general.²⁰⁷ There is, however, no more trenchant critique of Claudian that has come down to us; while others may attack Claudian for his alleged paganism, Rutilius confronts the poet on his own territory.²⁰⁸ The later poet asserts himself as an incisive reader of Claudian's poetry and demonstrates that Claudian's considerable poetic ability has had no effect on him. By confronting them so forcefully, Rutilius corroborates the allusive readings of Claudian that are here under investigation.

²⁰⁷ Both Orosius and Jerome are hostile to Stilicho, and charge him with deliberate collusion with groups of barbarians. Orosius 7.38, esp. 7.38.2. For Jerome, Stilicho is also a *semibarbarus proditor* (Ep. 123.17). For an overview of similar criticisms of Stilicho see O'Flynn 1983: 56-60.

²⁰⁸ For a consideration of evidence on Claudian's religious belief, see Cameron 1970: 187-227; Cameron 2011: 405)

The *In Rufinum* represents a thwarted *lieu de mémoire*. Stilicho's patronage of Claudian indicates a desire to influence opinion about his regime while he still lived, but the poems can also function as a place to remember Stilicho posthumously. There may indeed have been certain pro-Stilicho factions (or Romanized Vandals?) who read the poems this way. But the lines of Rutilius Namatianus demonstrate that there were forces who wished to hinder a straightforward reading of the poems. Nora located the difference between *lieu de mémoire* and *lieu de histoire* in the will to remember. Rutilius provides evidence not of a will to forget, but instead a desire to willfully resist the memory entrenched in the poems. His allusive negation is somewhat reminiscent of Prudentius' Theodosius proclaiming that statues should remain as works of art only. Claudian's Stilicho is beautifully crafted, but, at least for Rutilius, there is no truth to be found there.

4.4 THE ABSENT EMPEROR AND HIS SENATE – *THE SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF HONORIUS*

Like his older contemporary Prudentius, Claudian fully understood the mnemonic value of monuments, particularly in Rome. While this strategy was little used in the *In Rufinum*, Claudian's panegyric for Honorius' sixth consulship (404 C.E.) displays how capably he could manipulate the mnemonic value of the Roman past in order to engage his other patrons, the Roman aristocracy. Claudian had been engaged as the court poet for nearly ten years, and the *VI Cons.* presents him "at the height of his powers" (Dewar 1996: xxi). He had not only had time to sharpen his panegyric technique, but also to refine his approach to an audience of Roman Senators.

The poet's favor toward the Roman elite is evident even from the prefatory paratext. The piece features Claudian interpreting his own dreams: After dreaming of performing before a

divine audience, he now realizes that the dream has become reality, with the Roman grandees playing the parts of gods. Claudian is equally willing to put senatorial elites at the center of the action in the *VI Cons.* itself (*VI Cons.* 1-5):

Aurea **Fortunae Reduci si templa priores**
ob reditum uouere ducum, non dignius umquam
haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret aedes
quam sua cum pariter trabeis reparatur et urbi
maiestas...

If the ancients dedicated golden temples to *Fortuna Redux* to secure the return of generals, never has that goddess more justly asked for a temple, richly endowed, in exchange for her services. Never more justly than [now], when majesty is likewise restored to the city and the trabea!

The passage initiates a series of images that combine to display Claudian's considerable knowledge of Roman history, his skill as a poet, and his tact as a propagandist. The use of the word *priores* emphasizes the traditional involvement of the Senate in prompting the emperor's return to Rome, reaching back to the very foundation of the principate under Augustus. The first manifestation of the goddess *Fortuna Redux* on the Roman landscape was an altar erected by the Senate in 19 B.C.E. The Mausoleum of Augustus preserves the memory of senatorial involvement in the form of Augustus' *Res Gestae* (RG 11):

Aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo **senatus consacrauit**, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium **sacrificium facere iussit** eo die quo, consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinicio, in urbem ex Syria redieram, et diem Augustalia ex cognomine nostro appellavit.

On account of my return, the senate consecrated an altar to Fortuna Redux in front of the temple of Honos and Virtue, near the Porta Capena. They also ordered priests and Vestal Virgins to make a sacrifice on this altar on the day when I returned to the city from Syria. They called that day the Augustalia after my cognomen.

The emphasis on senatorial agency in this passage, to say nothing of the first-century Senate's decision to honor Augustus, speaks principally to the delicate balance of power and the tensions

of self-presentation that characterized the early principate.²⁰⁹ Separated from those first-century realities, however, the text nevertheless celebrates the mutual reinforcement of imperial and senatorial authority and styles the Senate as a body concerned with the preservation and promotion of Augustus' memory. The text presents the return of the emperor as a nearly divine event, even as a function of the *pax deorum*, and, as a result, as something that could be effected by the careful ministrations of the Roman Senate.

As Sabine MacCormack has investigated, the culture that produced Claudian's poems no longer admitted the divinity of the emperor (1972; 1981). In spite of that, the early lines of the *VI Cons.* exhibit a clear willingness to evoke both the memory of Augustus, and simultaneously the Senate's agency in prompting his return. Immediately after the lines quoted above, the narrator strikes an unambiguously republican tone (*VI Cons.* 5-7, 10-12):

... neque enim campus sollemnis et urna	5
luditur in morem, species nec dissona coetu	
aut peregrina nitet simulati iuris imago.	
Mars Augusta sui renouat suffragia campi	10
qualis erit terris, quem mons Euandrius offert	
Romanis avibus, quem Thybris in augurat , annus?	

Neither the the sacred *campus* nor the ballot box is toyed with in the typical way; his look is not a mismatch for the populace and no foreigner's face pretends to citizen rights. Mars renews the Augustan suffrage of his *Campus*. What sort of year will visit the earth, which is given over to Roman augury on the Palatine, inaugurated by the Tiber?

This emphasis on power-sharing and the proclamation of harmony between emperor and Senate undeniably evokes the principate. As MacCormack remarks, the reference to *Fortuna Redux* "points to *adventus* and consulship in their Roman Republican and Augustan contexts – the emperor and the consul's home are in Rome" (1981:53). If Claudian knew his Tacitus, as he

²⁰⁹ The relationship between Senate and princeps has been well studied. For an overview of their powersharing agreement after 27 BCE, see Syme 1939: 313-330. For imperial interactions with Senate, see Millar 1977: 341-355. For an extensive study of the functions of the imperial senate, see Talbert 1984, esp. 341-491. For the cult of *Fortuna Redux*, see Arya 2002: 292-338.

likely did, he would have known that the Augustan principate is the only time that such an “imperial” election would have taken place in the *campus Martius* (Cameron 1970: 334-336, 346-347; Talbert 1984: 341-345; *Ann.* 1.15: *Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt...*). A later section of the *VI Cons.* makes it patently obvious that Claudian did not hold Augustus in high regard, but that does not preclude certain moves toward assimilation with Augustus (Cameron 1970: 336; *VI Cons.* 116-118). The earlier emperor’s position in the tradition of imperial presentation was well entrenched, and it remained for Honorius (through Claudian) to perfect his predecessor’s role.

Before discussing the late antique traditions surrounding Augustus, a potential objection to the identification between Augustus and Honorius must be confronted. There is the temptation to read the *aurea* of line 1 literally, interpreting it as an actual feature of the temple, which would seem to indicate that it refers only to the Domitianic temple of *Fortuna Redux*, which the *adventus* procession would have passed on its way into the city from the north (Dewar 1996: xlvi, 63-64, 349-350; see *VI Cons.* 520-22). This would seem to exclude the more modest altar of *Fortuna Redux* that stood near the Porta Capena, and it may be the case that the altar no longer stood in late antiquity.²¹⁰ It is possible that this *aurea* simply means “lovely” as it often does, and that the reference embraces both monuments.²¹¹ Even if the poet intended a deliberate reference to the Domitian’s temple of *Fortuna Redux*, his engagement with the Augustan implications of the reference are made clear by other poetic strategies deployed in the opening lines of the *VI Cons.*

²¹⁰ Van Heck’s compilation of *testimonia* for various sites records nothing on the altar except for the passage from the *Res Gestae* adduced above and a potential reference at Propertius 4.3: 69-72.

²¹¹ *OLD* s.v. *aureus* 5.

The idea that Claudian draws on the Augustan resonance of *Fortuna Redux* gains further support from his construction of the Campus Martius as a space connected to the first emperor. After all, Claudian performed for an audience gathered in an Augustan space. The poet presented his work somewhere in the palace complex on the Palatine, and Michael Dewar has suggested that he spoke in the library which had been connected to the temple of Apollo Palatinus, built by Augustus in 28 BCE (Dewar 1996: xliv-v, xlvn96).²¹² In addition to its Augustan venue and its correct identification of “imperial elections” in the Augustan Campus Martius, the target passage of the *VI Cons.* frequently makes use of words derived from the root *aug-*. In lines 10-23 of the *VI Cons.*, the syllable *aug-* occurs four times, and at least one of these instances struck Dewar as “too-technical sounding to be much used in high poetry” (1996: 70; *VI Cons.* 10: *Augusta*; 12: *inaugurat*; 17: *Augusti*; 24: *auget*). Admittedly, this out of place word, *inaugurat*, is perfectly suited to the consular celebration that occasioned the *VI Cons.*, but the reoccurrence of the *aug-* syllable seemed significant to Dewar as well. He proposes that the repetition “emphasize[s] the idea of renewal and growth under the favour of Heaven,” going on to point out that evidence for ancient belief in this etymology is provided by *Fast.* 1.609-616. The occasion for this bit of Ovidian etymologizing, however, is the name of Augustus itself (1.607-8). Claudian may simply be indulging in a characteristic wordplay, since Honorius is also an Augustus, but the two final instances of the *aug-* sound are suggestive.²¹³

The third use of the sound connects Honorius with a new and unprecedented era of Roman *felicitas*.

quamquam omnes, quicumque tui cognominis, anni

²¹² The temple, but not the library, was destroyed by a fire in 363 C.E. See Amm. 23.3.3.

²¹³ Ware has also observed that this section also contains frequent repetition of the syllable *-re*, in order to stress recreation and the return of prosperity (2012: 119). A lengthier treatment of wordplay in Claudian remains a desideratum, but analyses of individual instances can be found at Nelis 2006, Hinds 2013: 172, 186-188, and Ware 2015.

semper inoffensum dederint successibus omen
sintque tropaea tuas semper comitata secures 15
**hic tamen ante omnes miro promittitur ortu
Urbis et Augusti geminato numine felix.**

Although all the years, whichever ones bear your name,²¹⁴ always gave a favorable omen to your endeavors, and war-trophies always accompanied your consulships, this one is before all others. It proceeds from a miraculous source, the dual divinity of the city and the Augustus.

VI Cons. 13-17

Felicitas remained a watchword of late antique imperial administrations, but the claims that Claudian makes here are more than panegyric boilerplate (*pace* Dewar 1996: 74). A coin bearing the legend *URBS ROMA FELIX*, may even date from this visit in 404 (Dewar 1996: 74; Cameron 1969: 258). Since images and ideas surrounding the emperor Augustus recur in the initial lines of the *VI Cons.*, it is important to remember that that ruler was remembered in late antiquity as the supreme exemplar of imperial *felicitas*. As Eutropius records (*Eutr.* 8.5):

Huius tantum memoriae delatum est, ut usque ad nostram aetatem non aliter in senatu principibus adclametur, nisi ‘**Felicio**r Augusto, melior Traiano.’

So much has been invested in this man’s [Trajan’s] memory that, even up to our own time, there is no other acclamation in the Senate for emperors than ‘may he be more *felix* than Augustus, and better than Trajan!’

Thus, the idea proposed by *VI Cons.* 17, that the year is *felix* because of the divine power of “Augustus” (*numine Augusti*), makes perfect sense in the context of the tradition surrounding that name in the fourth and early fifth centuries. More importantly, this year stands out as *ante omnes... felix*, because of the added presence of Rome’s divinity on its first day. Because of its Roman origin, the consular year 404 is more fortunate than all the previous consular years that Honorius has inaugurated as Augustus. The Roman senate’s traditional acclamation has become a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy, as the presence of the city’s unique majesty has made the

²¹⁴ Flavius Honorius Augustus. There is no way that this name, Augustus, would have been entered into the consular lists as such. If the Chronography of 354 is any indication, such an entry would have read *Honorio VI*.

emperor even luckier and more prosperous than he had been in the past. In terms of *felicitas*, then, Honorius performs Augustus' role and far exceeds the earlier emperor's performance.

The hypothesis that the *ante omnes... felix* of *VI Cons.* 16-17 interacts directly with the traditional acclamation *felicior Augusto* relies on an ambitious allusion, but it is suggestive that line 17, itself terminating in the word *felix*, concludes the rehearsal of Augustan themes as direct narrative. The motif continues, however, in the two lengthy similes that follow. Lines 18-24 comprise an astrological comparison wherein the *sidus imperii*, Honorius, is once again situated in Rome – its most appropriate, most propitious location.²¹⁵

haud aliter Latiae sublimis Signifer aulae
imperii sidus propria cum sede locauit
auget spes Italas; et certius omina surgunt
victrici concepta solo.

As when the sign-bearing Zodiac of the Roman court has fixed the star of empire in its proper place, he augments Italian hopes, and the omens rise up more surely when they are taken on victorious ground.

VI Cons. 21-24

Dewar follows Müller in observing that this *Signifer* is an ingenious reference to Stilicho, since it is under Stilicho's aegis as standard bearer (*signifer*) and generalissimo of the Roman army that Honorius has returned to Rome (Dewar 1996: 77). Most importantly, Stilicho has ensured that Honorius performs the etymology of his title Augustus, and does so in Augustan context. Line 23 represents the fourth and final time that the *aug-* syllable occurs. Dewar's suggestion of *Fast.* 1.608-616 as a likely source of the poet's knowledge of this etymology indicates that the poet would have privileged the connection between *Augustus* and the verb *augeo* (*Fast.* 1.607-613):

sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes,
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.

²¹⁵ Solar and celestial imagery was prominent in the rhetoric of panegyric, especially the adventus; see MacCormack 1972 and 1981 esp. 1981: 17, 35-37, 45-49, and 127-129. A recent article by Tommasi-Moreschini reiterates the prevalence of these themes while presenting Claudian as crucial for their codification in the traditions of panegyric poetry (2016: 182-190).

sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
 templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu: 610
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi
 et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.
augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos...

But all those men were praised with human honors; this man has a name that is allied with highest Jupiter. Senators call sacred things *august*, as are temples consecrated by the hands of priests. *Augury* comes from the root of this word, and whatever Jupiter *augments* by his power. May he *augment* our ruler's reign, *augment* his years...

While the etymology of *augustus* from *augeo* (and *augurium*) would have been known from Suetonius as well (*Aug.* 7), the Ovidian source does more than list the possibilities. *Fast.* 1.608 explains that the name *Augustus* is shared with Jupiter, and this connection finds further strength in the narrator's later proclamation that another unnamed word, probably *auctus* or *auctoritas*, descends from the *aug-* root, because it proceeds from Jupiter's augmentation.²¹⁶ Jupiter is then himself depicted performing this etymology. As Augustus, he [Jupiter], has the power to increase things, and Ovid constructs his *socius*, the earthly Augustus, as the most fitting recipient of these benefactions.²¹⁷

To return to Claudian's *VI Cons.*, recall that line 23 portrays Stilicho as the *signifer* who has located the "star of empire" in its proper place, and in so doing, he increases Italy's hopes: *auget spes Italas*. Stilicho thus ensures that Honorius performs the role allotted to him by both tradition and the nature of his position/name as Augustus. He ensures *felicitas* and bolsters Italian security. The remainder of the phrase, *spes Italas*, bears a significance of its own. Before Claudian, the phrase seems to have occurred in hexameter verse only once (*Aen.* 12.31-35):

promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsit.
ex illo qui me casus, quae, Turne, sequantur

²¹⁶ For a summary of the ancient etymological theories on the *aug-* root, as well as the conjecture *auctus* / *auctoritas*, see Green 2004: 278-280.

²¹⁷ According to Green, the most likely identity of the *dux* at *Fast.* 1.613 is Tiberius rather than Augustus, but, if this was also Claudian's reading, it only strengthens the points made above as it indicates this kind of discourse around the imperial figure as *Augustus*.

bella, uides, quantos primus patiare labores.
bis magna uicti pugna uix urbe tuemur
spes Italas...

I took a bride away from my son-in-law, I took up heinous arms. See, Turnus, what wars and what misfortunes pursue me because of it! You see what struggles you endure as foremost among us. Twice conquered in great conflict, we can hardly safeguard the hopes of Italy in our city.

As Richard Tarrant observes in his recent commentary on *Aen.* 12, “*urbe* implies both location and means” (2012: 96). The Latin forces have been badly beaten, and have taken refuge within the walls of their city. Claudian has put a fine spin on the Vergilian context. Latinus and Turnus cannot hope to withstand the invasion of Aeneas, and would be foolish to make their capital the focus of their hope. The city that they hope to prevent from being founded, Rome, is the site of Claudian’s poem, and now represents the locus of power in Italy. The security of Rome had been a clear concern following Alaric’s incursions, and Claudian’s allusive maneuver at *VI Cons.* 23 brings the poet’s strategies of reassurance to their zenith. In Claudian’s construction, Stilicho’s actions ensure that Honorius literally lives up to the name Augustus, while the context of that etymological performance prompts an association with Vergilian guarantees of empire. Claudian transfers the Vergilian language from a city that can “hardly safeguard” Italian security to Rome, a city to which the selfsame text of Vergil promises *imperium sine fine*. Stilicho’s guardianship has been excellent for Rome. He has facilitated the return of Honorius Augustus, and with him, the promise of security and prosperity.

The laboriously elaborated connections between the name Augustus, the emperor who first bore it, and the good fortune of the empire, prepare the reader for the very Augustan simile at *VI Cons.* 25. Honorius’ visit to Rome is compared to Apollo’s return to Delphi; in both cases, the presence of a key figure “activates” the site. The Castalian spring transforms into something more than the waters of a stream, and Rome becomes more than just a city. While association

highly reminiscent of *Met.* 2.408, wherein Jupiter rebuilds the world following its catastrophic destruction by Phaethon (2.408: *iubet reuirescere silvas*; Dewar 1996: 88; Ware 2012:135). Like Jupiter in the wake of a solar catastrophe, Honorius (having defeated Alaric) resets, revives, and rebuilds the world by returning to Rome in Apollonian and Augustan guise.

Claudian's assimilation of Honorius and Augustus is of further use because it projects an aberrant aspect of late antique imperial power back to the beginning of the empire. In addition to combining the traditional theme of Augustan prosperity with the notion of imperial return to Rome, Claudian's nexus of Augustan references creates imperial absence as a norm. Honorius' return to Rome in 404 was preceded by visits of Theodosius in 389 and 394, but before that the city had not enjoyed the imperial presence for nearly 50 years.²²⁰ Before Theodosius, the last emperor to visit Rome had been Constantius II, whose arrival at Rome in 357 Ammianus describes in Book 16 (16.10). Before that triumphal visit, the last emperor to spend a significant amount of time in Rome, discounting the failed coup of Nepotianus in 350, was Constantine, who celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his accession to power at Rome in 323, the city that had also hosted him on the tenth anniversary of imperial power in 313.²²¹ In spite or because of this tendency towards imperial absence, convincing the emperor to come to Rome became the assiduous preoccupation of the fourth-century Roman aristocracy.

Claudian demonstrates an acute sensitivity to these Roman aristocratic concerns. While audiences outside Rome, namely that of the imperial court in Milan, were important as well, his poetry displays obvious engagement with elite Roman prerogatives. Claudian's careful treatment of Honorius' Augustan return to Rome advances the notion that the emperor had typically been absent from the city, that his return to Rome was essential for the prosperity of the

²²⁰ For the likelihood of a visit in 394, see Cameron 1968.

²²¹ Chenault 2008: 239-241.

empire, and that the Senate had always been instrumental in securing it. Furthermore, Claudian's poem styles the emperor's return to the city as inevitable – likely an attempt to reassure Roman notables that the emperor would return soon. As the narrator of *VI Cons.* transitions from the prosperous, Augustan nature of Honorius' return to the young emperor's relationship with the city, he touches an allusive nerve that emphasizes the certainty of imperial return. After remarking that the emperor's nearly divine nature makes Rome the only fitting place for him, the narrator turns to Honorius' affection for the city, likely instilled by a previous visit (39-53). In 389, the emperor Theodosius visited Rome and brought his young son with him. The *VI Cons.* comments on the previous imperial visit through an allusion to *Aeneid* 1, and in so doing, continues to emphasize the inevitability of the emperor's return (*VI Cons.* 53-58):

Agnoscisne tuos, princeps uenerande, penates?
 Haec sunt, quae primis olim miratus in annis
patre pio monstrante puer. Nil **optimus** ille 55
 diuorum toto meruit **felicis** aevo
 quam quod Romuleis victor sub moenibus egit
 te consorte dies...

Praiseworthy emperor, do you not recognize your home? It is the one that you marveled at in your early years, when your dutiful father showed it to you as a child. Never did he, best of the gods, render a happier service than when he spent victorious days inside the walls of Romulus, bringing you as his companion!

Line 55 of the *VI Cons.* is highly reminiscent of *Aen.* 1. 381-382. Aeneas has encountered Venus in disguise, and, after proclaiming his identity to her he explains his mission. “While my mother, a goddess, showed the way, I took to the sea with twenty ships, pursuing the fate allotted to me (*bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor / matre dea monstrante uiam, data fata secutus*). The alignment of Aeneas and Honorius depicts the latter's return to Rome as almost teleological. As Aeneas' story must lead him to Italy and entail the creation of a dynasty that will found Rome, Honorius' path toward Rome is equally inevitable. Claudian's hexameter mimics

Vergil's closely enough that each line contains a meaningful syntactic and metrical caesura in the fourth foot. Claudian chose to end his sentence at the break, but Vergil did not. Thus, while Claudian moves onto new territory by mentioning the great service done by Theodosius, his audience may well be reinforcing the allusive connection that he suggests by reflecting on the Vergilian continuation *data fata secutus*.

Furthermore, the transition from the triumphant, Augustan return of Honorius to his relationship with the city normalizes the tradition of imperial absence from Rome by alluding to the commonplaces of imperial presentation. As Dewar observes, Theodosius' introduction at 55 as *optimus divorum* aims principally to invite comparison with the emperor Trajan, the *optimus princeps* whom the Roman Senate invoked each time they acclaimed a new emperor (1996: 102-103). Claudian's description of Theodosius' actions in Rome permit a reprise of the senatorial motto preserved by Eutropius: *felicior Augusto, melior Traiano*. While his characterization as *optimus* is offered *prima facie*, the narrator parses the emperor's felicitous actions for the audience. By returning to Rome, and perhaps especially by bringing the young emperor (then Caesar) to the city, Theodosius secured prosperity for the city.²²² Returning to Rome now, in 404, Honorius imitates the admirable example of his father (and a number of other emperors) and displays his ability to act as *felicissimus* and *optimus princeps*.

The tradition surrounding the reign of Augustus made that emperor a useful tool for promoting the Theodosian motto of felicity, but allusive associations later reveal that it is not only Augustus' republic that Claudian wished to evoke. As Gowing has already thoroughly explained, the culture of the early Julio-Claudian period was haunted by the spectre of the Republic (2005). For all the things that the Augustan *res publica restituta* may have been, it was

²²² The ability of the child Honorius to secure divine blessing and grant victory was already a fixture of Claudian's propaganda (Cameron 1970: 40-41; Ware 2012: 50-51)

not a paradigm of imperial harmony with the senate; the administration of the early Antonines, especially Trajan, held this distinction instead. These later successors, as Gowing had shown, were able to rehabilitate the concept of *libertas* that had proved so toxic during the reign of the Julio-Claudians. Gowing has shown, too, that their idea of *libertas* did not evoke the self-rule of Republican governance. Instead, senators of the high empire redefined the concept, not as a full-stop freedom, but as the freedom to think, say, opine, and advise. This meant being taken into consideration, if not as co-rulers, then as fellow government actors, adjutants, and shareholders in the Roman establishment. It was also the freedom to critique, if not immediately, then certainly following an emperor's death. Ammianus Marcellinus had recently, if warily, revived this particular form of *libertas* in an increasingly senatorial Rome.²²³ It is with this in mind that Claudian's final reflection on the memory of Augustus ought to be read.

At *VI Cons.* 116-121, Claudian switches dramatically from implied comparison with Augustus to explicit statement of the differences between the young Augustus and the ancient predecessor that was his namesake. The narrator disparages the Augustan regime by comparing Augustus and Orestes,²²⁴ and goes on to deploy criticism that would not be out of place in the works of Tacitus or his second century colleagues:

pauit Iuleos inuiso sanguine Manes
 Augustus, sed **falsa pii praeconia sumpsit**
 in luctum patriae civili strage parentans:
 at tibi causa patris rerum coniuncta saluti
 bellorum duplicat laurus, isdemque tropaeis 120
reddita libertas orbi, uindicta parenti.

Augustus fed the Julian *manes* with detestable blood, falsely proclaiming his piety; much to his country's despair, he propitiated his ancestors with civil war's butchery. But the

²²³ Amm. 26.1, a famous proclamation on the dangers (and irritations) of writing contemporary history. Ammianus' debt to Tacitus is one of the givens of scholarly work on the author; for an overview and valuable criticism of heavy dependence on Tacitus to explain Ammianus, see Kelly 2008 175-178, esp. 178n56.

²²⁴ For the argument that this comparison may also be rooted in a reading of Vergil, especially the comparison of Augustus, Honorius, and Orestes, see Dewar 1988, 1990.

cause you took up on your father's behalf was joined to the public good, and it doubles the laurels you win in war. With the same victories liberty is restored to the world, and vengeance secured for your father.

I return to the theme of Claudian's sensitivity to the literary predilections of the elite Roman audience. Ammianus' history, probably published a few years before Claudian's arrival in Rome, was evidently popular and exhibits a massive debt to Tacitus. Matthews has shown that, for all his harsh criticism of senators, Ammianus redramatizes the Tacitean question of *libertas* and imperial rule as a matter of cooperation between senate and emperor (1997: 470).²²⁵

Therefore, the fact that Claudian's criticism of Augustus contains thematic and even verbal reminiscences of Tacitus merits greater attention. Cameron has observed that Claudian's words exhibit great similarity with Tacitus 1.10.1 wherein the historian observes that Augustus' "*pietas erga parentem*" was "*obtentui sumpta*" (1970: 336).

The Tacitean context that precedes adds interesting new dimensions to the otherwise tired imperial motto of *reddita libertas*. As the previous discussion of Constantine has made clear, claims of restoring freedom or liberty were not at all alien to the propaganda of late antiquity. The charged context of this passage transforms this statement, however, and prompts it to read differently from similar imperial proclamations. After spending nearly one hundred lines returning to the memory of Augustus Caesar, the narrator mentions him explicitly and then proceeds to dismiss him as a model. This dismissal is not wholesale – it carefully acknowledges the good and bad in Augustus. After the line that starkly differentiates Honorius from Rome's first emperor, the narrative voice makes it clear that a new section of the poem will begin, or that the poem can now begin in earnest (*VI Cons.* 121-125):

reddita libertas orbi, uindicta parenti.
Sed mihi iam pridem captum Parnasia Maurum

²²⁵ Ammianus is also obviously less than generous to Roman senators, lambasting them in famous digressions at 14.6 and 28.4.

Pieriis egit fidibus chelys; arma Getarum
nuper apud socerum plectro celebrata recenti.
aduentus nunc sacra tui libet edere Musis... 125

... the return of liberty to the world, and vengeance for your father. Long ago, this Parnasian lyre produced a song of the captured Moor came from its Pierian strings. The war with the Goths, a recent song, was played for your father-in-law. Now the Muses would like me to sing the sacred event of your return...

Here, then, is Claudian's stated objective, *adventus nunc sacra tui... edere*, but what of the 120 lines that precede? They continue to demonstrate why Honorius' return is important, detailing the relationship between the emperor and Rome, and between the emperor and the senate.

Claudian's reflection on this relationship styles the imperial absence from Rome as a norm, even of the early empire. Combined with this, however, is the fact that the Senate matters to the emperor and vice-versa. His return can be prompted by their actions, and his return is necessary to ensure Roman prosperity. Taking full advantage of the etymology associations of the *-aug* root, Claudian drives this point forcefully home. Like that of the first Augustus, Honorius' reign will become a paradigmatic example of prosperity. But Honorius will also perfect the Augustan model, combining the *felicitas* of Augustus with the senatorial cooperation and sensitivity to senatorial prerogatives (*libertas*) that typified the reign of Trajan. While staying safely in the distant past, Claudian shows an awareness of senatorial criticisms of the emperor and validates that tradition of critique by repeating its claims and reusing its language. Given Claudian's position in the imperial apparatus, the message is not likely to be for Honorius, but for the Senate. They still have a place in the imperial power structure, and that place is essential. Furthermore, the emperor and his powerful subordinates like Stilicho recognize the Senate's place and will work with them to maintain it.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Claudian's desire to engage (and manipulate) memory is the most patent of any of the authors under study. While his strategies may not fit as neatly into a theoretical framework, his attempts to negotiate memory are the most obvious, and poetic allusion constitutes an important tool for effecting such negotiations. As a form of compensation, perhaps, for the obvious nature of his memory manipulations, Claudian's allusive negotiations are the most advanced. The Epicurean opening of the *In Rufinum* demonstrates that Claudianic allusion sometimes requires the reader not only to recognize a line of Vergil, but also the scholarly interpretations that surround it. In the same piece, Claudian also self-annotates, drawing the reader's attention to how he has constructed his epic universe in light of his predecessors, and how he has integrated Stilicho into that universe. The amount of mnemonic influence Claudian was able to wield remains difficult to measure, but it is clear that his allusions and epic construction found a capable (and dissenting) reader in Rutilius Namatianus.

Claudian's work did not demand an audience of fellow poets, but was equally accessible to readers among the leisured senatorial elite. By relying on allusions to well-known satire or foundational works of Greco-Roman education, such as the first lines of the *Iliad* or the infamous poetry of Cicero, the poet was able to demonstrate his literary refinement. In the *Prob.*, the poet presents an allusion to the *Iliad* that was still accessible to Western audiences, permitting an exchange of cultural capital that enhanced his own position and that of his patrons. Claudian could validate their interest in Greek literature, while they could likewise provide him with a venue to display his talent and deep familiarity with Greek and Latin poetry. Claudian's bilingual talent would one day be commemorated on a statue base in Trajan's forum, and, while this honor depended on imperial service rather than careful self-promotion, Claudian's self-

fashioning likely affected how viewers engaged the statue. When he began his career in 395, the wandering poet was already keenly aware of the tastes of his Roman audience, and developed strategies for winning their admiration. One of these tactics, presentation as a master of both Greek and Latin literature, relies on allusion to popular texts to convey this message to the reader. Furthermore, this evaluation of Claudian made its way out of the Claudianic corpus and into the inscription attached to his honorary statue. The Greek distich that accompanied the otherwise banal description of Claudian's service to the imperial house validates and reinforces the poet's projection of himself, transforming self-canonization into canonization.

The interaction between his poetry and the eventual text of an inscription likely lay far outside of the poet's control, but Claudian also engaged the mnemonic potential of Roman monuments to construct careful *lieux de mémoire*. His poem for the sixth consulship of Honorius takes full advantage of the fact that it was likely performed in the library of Apollo Palatinus, a profoundly Augustan space. After invoking another Augustan memory, the cult of Fortuna Redux and its monuments, Claudian pursues an allusive negotiation of the traditions surrounding Augustus. In so doing, Claudian redefines the first emperor, and the concept of imperial governance, in a manner relevant to his own time. Augustus now seems similar to the "life-giving star" of late imperial panegyric, destined to return to Rome and shepherd the empire to prosperity.²²⁶ By embracing the positive as well as negative aspects of Augustus' memory, and especially by mentioning *libertas* at the same time, Claudian uses his allusive art to acknowledge the legacy of senatorial power in the early 5th century. His text created a space within which senators could reminisce on their historical role within the imperial framework, while simultaneously imagining the part that they might play in the empire's future.

²²⁶ The phrase was originally used of Julian. (Amm. 21.10: *salutare sidus*, see also MacCormack 1981: 45-50).

CONCLUSION

The focus of my investigation has been the role of allusion in late Latin poetry, and the relevance of poetry to the society of the late antique West. The rapidity and abundance of change during this period may have pushed poets out of other marketplaces of ideas, but in the last 4 chapters I have demonstrated that mnemonic negotiation remained a vital element of Roman poetic culture in late antiquity. Poets could lavish attention on their personal memories, as made clear by the treatment of Ausonius in Chapter 2, but all of the poets studied treat corporate memories as well. By exploring allusion's vital role in the memorializing poetics of late antiquity, I have made a case for evaluating allusion as something more than an aesthetic element. This is not to say that I have abandoned traditional approaches to appropriation in Latin poetry – my analyses of allusion provide insight into the similarities and differences between classical and late antique allusive strategies.

My first chapter identifies an example from the philosophical works of Cicero, one of the most influential Latin intellectuals. I analyze the discussion of the Marian Oak at *De Legibus* 1.1-5 as an ancient encounter with Nora's *lieu de mémoire*. The Ciceronian discussion makes clear that Roman authors were keen to explore the facets of literature that construct, defend, and promote traditions. It also reveals an ancient understanding of the *lieu de mémoire* in both its physical dimension, represented by the site of Marian Oak itself, and its literary one, found in Cicero's *Marius*. While the allusive interactions that color Cicero's poem cannot be fully explored due to the fragmentary nature of both the *Marius* and the author's poetic predecessors, the dialogue relies on an allusive interaction with the neoteric commonplace of texts growing white with age to prompt reflection on poetic survival. The philosophical works of Cicero remained popular throughout the imperial period, and the *De Legibus* was frequently cited in

juridical and theological literatures. No direct influence can be conclusively demonstrated, but the *De Legibus* provides valuable evidence for an ancient concept of textual and physical *lieux de mémoire* in a text that remained important throughout antiquity.

Chapter 2's treatment of the works of Ausonius demonstrates the extent to which memory could motivate and influence the poetry of late antiquity. I observe, both following and extending the theses of Kleinschmidt, that the reader confronts Ausonius' negotiations of memory within the first moments of reading, as *Praef.* 1 begins with explicit description of the poet's work as a vehicle for mnemonic self-preservation. I go on to analyze other mnemonic reflections in the Ausonian corpus, such as *Epigr.* 37 and the commemorative poetry of the *Professores* and *Parentalia*. Ausonius deploys allusion to guide the reader's mnemonic negotiation of the honorands, but Ausonius' poetic treatment of those closest to him forms only a part of a larger tendency to construct memories through the deployment of allusion. The commemoration of Minervius, and the collection that it begins, represent a *lieu de mémoire* that later readers could use in order to revisit a Gaul at the height of its literary prestige. The poet relies on allusive strategies to style Minervius as another Quintilian, elevating his former professor (and himself) to a position of prestige throughout the empire. This Gallic remapping finds another expression in *Praef.* 4, a dedicatory poem that redefines the borders of Gaul to include Gallia Cisalpina, and with it Catullus, Vergil, Cornelius Nepos, and perhaps the younger Pliny. The allusive connections allow the reader to reminisce or remember a Gaul of Ausonius' own construction, and participate in a Gallic identity that privileges literary excellence.

The allusive construction of memories also informs my treatment of Prudentius in Chapter 3. The concept of remapping applies to Prudentius more than any other poet, as his *Contra Symmachum* frequently deals with the *lieux de mémoire* that were ubiquitous in 4th

century Rome. The allusive opportunities created by the Prudentian text allow the reader to map memories that were constitutive of late antique Christian identities. For example, the poem's treatment of the Battle of Milvian Bridge engenders the memory of a Christian Constantine, locates his memory in the bridge itself, and rejects the pagan version of Constantine represented by the triumphal arch of Constantine. Similarly, I demonstrate that the poem relies on allusion to remap the imperial legacy represented by the city's other triumphal arches, and may have contributed to incipient traditions that attribute victory to angelic and divine benefactions. While some of these mnemonic connections find absolute expression (e.g. *CS* 1.489: *ipse senatorum meminit clarissimus ordo*), many are offered as allusions, and are thus left to the reader to enforce or ignore. The *Contra Symmachum* demonstrates how central mnemonic negotiation could be for a late antique reader. While many modern scholars have found the poem to be erratic, possibly even a combination of three separate pieces, one thing the poem consistently offers is the opportunity for readers to negotiate memories essential for Christian identity in the late Roman empire (Cameron 2011: 337-349).

This dissertation's mnemonic approach to poetry finds strong support in the mere existence of Claudian's poetic oeuvre, which forms the subject of the fourth chapter. Stilicho or others within his regime realized that poetry could be a tool for shaping the perception of recent events, and could also contextualize them as the continuation of the Roman past. In my fourth chapter, I demonstrate the importance of allusion for mnemonic negotiation by observing that allusion is crucial not only for Claudian's construction of Stilicho and the epic universe he inhabits, but also for later readers' rejection of the Claudianic depictions of Stilicho and his regime. Beyond the treatment of Stilicho, I also discuss Claudian's interaction with the Roman senatorial elite. The early works of Claudian, which he wrote in Rome before officially entering

imperial service, permit the accumulation of cultural capital for both poet and audience. In turn, the poems also represent mutually reinforcing memorials, ultimately culminating in the honorary statue of Claudian in the Forum of Trajan. Claudian's engagement with this group continues in the panegyric for the sixth consulship of Honorius, which deploys allusion in order to navigate the memory of the senate's relationship to imperial power.

Beyond the merits of these chapters as individual case studies, a synoptic reading permits a better understanding of late antique allusive strategies. Each chapter, especially chapters 2 and 3, explores the importance of quotation as a late antique signal for poetic allusion. Both Ausonius and Prudentius rely on quotation to foreground allusion, and go on to use their allusions for mnemonic negotiations. In his dedicatory poem to Pacatus, Ausonius quotes Catullus and, after identifying the Republican poet as his source, continues to allude to Catullus' oeuvre, especially to Catullus 1, the poem containing the quoted text. Similarly, Prudentius deploys a quotation from Plato's *Republic* at *CS.1.30-33*, and proceeds to elaborate the passage with Platonic imagery. While there is no direct attribution to Plato, the passage contains two instances of the phrase *res publica*, a compromise between Ausonius' direct attribution and Claudian's self-annotating allusions. To turn to Claudian, I have documented a similar allusive strategy in his *In Rufinum*. The poem's opening lines summarize a Lucretian moment, the fall of *religio*, which prepares the reader for a series of Lucretian references and allusions. My discussion of the poem also demonstrates the continued existence of classicizing strategies of self-annotation, such as the "Alexandrian footnote" found among a list of legendary malefactors (*Ruf. 1.251: Quid tale inmanes umquam gessisse feruntur*), and the creation of characters that recognize their literary situation, e.g. the soldier's validation of the poem's Lucanic civil war imagery (*Ruf. 2.236: ... en iterum belli civilis imago*).

Finally, a theme that dominates and unites all of these chapters is the efficacy of allusion as a mechanism for negotiating memory and identity. Ausonius' *Praef.* 4 testifies to the cultural prestige of this period – the authors whom he claims for Gaul are from precisely this period, namely Catullus, Nepos, and Vergil. Vergil's poetry, particularly the *Aeneid*, occupies a central role. Allusions to the *Aeneid* are discussed in each chapter, and occur with particular frequency in the poems of Claudian. Mastrangelo (2008) has already demonstrated how the *Aeneid* could be mobilized to construct identity and navigate memory, and this dissertation corroborates and expands his approach. It is not only the *Aeneid* that can achieve this effect, but a number of other texts as well, reading text in the broadest possible sense. This dissertation has investigated poetic allusions to objects of material culture, such as coins and texts, as well as post-Vergilian texts such as Lucan and the New Testament. The first century canon clearly represented a locus of prestige and could often be a mnemonic touchstone, but it is clear that the powerful readers of late antiquity were capable of working with diverse and sometimes arcane sources to create meaning, memory, and identity.

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