
In Vers 43 sind aber beide Komponenten vertreten: Cynthia, als die vom Dichter verlassene ("deserta") Geliebte, gibt durch "mecum querehar" zu erkennen, daß sie allein ist, insofern sie ihre Klage nur an sich selbst richtet. In mecum ist also sola impliziert. Schon deshalb kann desert nicht einfach gleich sola sein.13

bezieht desert ausdrücklich nur auf Cynthia. Aber diese weist auf Ariadne am Anfang zurück. Am Ende ihrer Klage (200) sagt dann Ariadne bei Catull: "salam Theseus me… reliquit, volum sie gewissermaßen Vers 57 (in sola… se cernat harena) mit Vers 133 (liquisti in litore, Theseus) kombiniert.

11 Wohl diese Stelle aufnehmend, läßt Ovid, fast. 3, 479/480, Ariadne vorwurfsvoll fragen: "quid me desertis moriuram, Liber, harenis servabas?" Catulls auf Ariadne bezogenes desertam wird auch hier zu harenis gestellt und entspricht damit Properzens desertis litoribus.

12 Auch miseram wird von Properz Vers 40 mit me miseram aufgenommen.

13 Hätte Properz Cynthia nur alleingelassen oder einsam nennen wollen, hätte er sola gesagt. Das hat er 1, 12, 13/14. Dort mußte er feststellen, daß Cynthia's Liebe zu ihm dahingeschwunden ist, und beschreibt nun seine Lage mit den Worten: "nunc pri­mum longus solus cognoscere noctes / cogor. Er wird also gezwungen, lange Nächte allein, ohne die Geliebte, zu erleben. Ähnlich sagt er von sich, nachdem ihm die Liebe seiner Herrin ("domina") geraubt ist: "abrepto solus amore vocem (1, 13, 2) und flügt 2, 9, 46 solus ero, quoniam non licet esse tuum hinzu.
are thematic in nature. In so doing Ausonius weaves an intricate web in which competing genres are carefully combined and opposing treatments of the same theme are delicately intertwined. Three allusions that exemplify this technique will be explored along philological, generic and thematic lines; they are Ausonius Epistulae (27) 1: Juvenal Satire 4, Ausonius De Hereditolo (6): Juvenal Satire 3, and Ausonius Epistaphia (12, Astyanacti) 15: Juvenal Satire 5. It will be shown that Ausonius’ allusive practice establishes a symbiotic relationship between the echoed text and the Ausonian text into which the echo is imported. Thus Ausonius exploits the thematic and generic tensions between his text and the echoed text in order to define more closely a setting for his own poems both on their own terms and in their relationship to their classical predecessors. While the poems in which Ausonius echoes the Satires tend to be short, their programmatic allusiveness is sustained and systemic. The allusions do not simply invoke words, verses, or passages, on the model of a rhetorical figure, but rather they establish deep structural, thematic and generic lines of connection. This allusive practice is both argumentative and integrative; it offers interpretation of the echoed text and a mode of interpreting Ausonius’ text.

1 It has been argued that ancient commentators did not recognize ‘imitation as a form of structural or thematic allusion’; see R. Kaster, Microbius and Servius: Verecundia and the Grammarian’s Function, HSCP 84 (1980), 232/233; see also M. Wigodsky, Vergil and Early Latin Poetry, Wiesbaden 1972, Hermes Einzelschriften 24 8-12, 140/141. On imitation and thematic allusion see D. M. Hooley, Persius’ Refractory Muse: Horatian Echoes in the Sixth Satire, AJP 114 (1993), 137–154; The Knotted Thong: Structures of Mimesis in Persius, Ann Arbor 1997, 122–174. Ausonius’ own use of literary allusion implies a well developed sense of imitation as structural and thematic allusion; see Szeksi (n. 1).


5 For a clear formulation of this type of symbiosis see J. E. G. Zettel, Catullus, Ennius, and the Poetics of Allusion, ICS 8 (1983), 251–266.

6 For self-conscious insertion of the poem, by the poem, into a poetic tradition see A. Barchiesi, Future Reflexive: Two Modes of Allusion and Ovid’s Heroides, HSCP 95 (1993), 352.

Finally, brief conclusions will be offered on the light that this allusive technique may shed on Ausonian poetics.

Ausonius Epistulae (27) 1: Juvenal Satire 4

In a letter to his son Hesperius (27, 1) Ausonius echoes a passage from Satire 4:

1 Qualis Picenae populator turdus olivae  
clunes optimat cereas,  
vel qui lucentes rapuit de vitibus uvas  
pendentque nexus retibus,  
quae vespertinis fluant nebuloa sub horis  
vel mane tanta rosco,    
tales hibernis ad te de saepibus, ipsos  
capi volentes, misimus  
10 bis denas; tot enim crepero sub lucis eoeae  
praecep volatus intulit.  
tum, quas viciniae suggestit praedae lacinae,  
antes maritas iuxtusim,  
remipedes, lato populantes caerula rostra,  
et cruris rubras punico,  
15 iricolor vario pixit quas pluma colore,  
collum columbis aemulas.  
defrustra meae non sunt haec fercula mensae;  
vescente te fruimu magis.  
vale bene, ut valeam.

(…Such a thrush, plunderer of Picene olive, / as fattens its waxy haunches, / or one that swatches glowing grape clusters from the vine / and hangs snared in the nets, / […]

10 which floats cloud-like in the evening hours / or stretched in the dewy morning, / such thursters from their wintry hedges to you, themselves / wishing to be caught, I send, / twice ten in number, for so many, under the twilight of the eastern light, / [10] flew headlong into the net. / Next, I add pairs of mated ducks which a raid / on a nearby

8 Citations from Ausonius follow the text and numberation of Green (n. 1), whose concordance of editions may be consulted against earlier tabulations of echoes (n. 1); citations from the Satires follow the text of Clausen (OCT, 1911).

pond furnished, / oar-footed, with wide bill plundering the blue waters, / and reddish in their purple thighs, / [15] which a rainbow of plumage tints with different hues, / rivaling doves in their collar-tufts. / These courses have not deprived my table: / I gain a greater pleasure from your eating them. / Fare well, that I may fare well."

The letter presents itself as composed to accompany a gift of game birds. The echo involves three words, ipso / capi voluit. The first couplet of the epistle calls up the same region of Italy as the bay in which the giant turbot of Satire 4 is snared (27, 1, 1/2): Qualis Piceneae populato turdus olivae / clunes opinet cereas. The Satirist's turbot is Picene (4, 39 - 41):

\[\text{incidit Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi} \]
\[\text{ante Donum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon.} \]
\[\text{implevitque sinus.} \]

[...Into the net fell an Adriatic turbot of awesome size / [40] before the temple of Venus, which Doric Ancona lifts high, / and it filled the curving folds..."

Juvenal's fisherman is specifically tied to that region by name (Picens, 4, 65). The same geographical setting is evoked in both poems. There is a further parallel between the bird-nets that are stretched and taut\textsuperscript{10} from the morning's catch (\textit{quaes vesperinis fluitant nebulosa sub horis / vel mane tenta roscido}, 27, 1, 5/6) and the Satirist's bay, or fishing net, that is filled by the turbot's girth (\textit{implevitque sinus}, 4, 41). \textit{Sinus} (4, 41) may denote equally the bay of Ancona, or the folds of the fisherman's net.

The Satirist bends the course of the seasons so that the fish may travel from the Adriatic coast down to Rome, as it were, refrigerated (4, 56 - 59):

\[\text{tam letifero cedente prunis} \]
\[\text{autumne, tam quartanam sperantibus aegris,} \]
\[\text{stridebat deformis hiemi praedamque recentem} \]
\[\text{servabit; tamen hic properat, velut urgete auster.} \]

[...Already with death-bringing Autumn yielding to frost, / with the sick already hoping for a third-day fever, / unsightly winter started howling and kept the plunder fresh: / nevertheless he rushed on, as if the southerly compelled..."

The awesome size of the imperial turbot commands the respect even of the seasons, whose timely shift enables the fisherman to bring his gift to the emperor. Ausonius too emphasizes the "wintry hedges" from which his gift comes (27, 1, 7): \textit{hibernis ... saepibus}. And yet while similar regions and seasons are invoked in both poems, the pastoral beauty of Ausonius'...
The subject of the raid is ambiguous: Ausonius raids the pond and catches the ducks; the ducks raid the pond in order to catch fish but are caught in a raid themselves, just as Domitian lords it over his preserve as the chief predator, but one day becomes the prey. Like the thrushes, the ducks are described as plunderers as well.

Ausonius' epistle and Satire 4 share not only a common setting, and the theme of the 'bait', but common reasons for the gift as well. 14 These two poems share a similar structure as well. The first third of Ausonius' epistle might be understandable if the fish were as greedy as Domitian. Ausonius is not. Both Ausonius' epistle and Satire 4 center around the gift of game. The sophisticated Ausonius gives away the fowl which he has snared. So too the rough but wily Picene fisherman donates his catch to the imperial mess (4, 65 -69):

65 tun Picens, accipe' dixit 
,privatis maiora focis, genialis agatur  
iste dies. properea stomachum laxare sojina  
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum.  
ipse capi voluit.' quid aperiitus?

([65]. Then the Picene said. Take it; It's too big for private hearths. Why don't you have / yourself a party? Hurry up and glut your belly on feed / and devour the turbot that has been saved for your reign. / It wanted to be caught. / What could be more obvious?)

The conceit of willing capture (ipse capi voluit) is the crowning touch to the fisherman's flattery, the rhetorical bait, and this is the memorable phrase that Ausonius echoes: ipso capi volentes. The Satirist responds with a sneer, quid aperiitus?

15 The evidence that this sentiment is a common theme in such letters, is not overwhelming: Green 1991 (n. 1), ad loc.

predator-poet Ausonius. The pastoral pose struck by Ausonius, furthermore, along with the elegant beauty of the epistle’s setting, is enhanced by the brilliant contrast to the satiric stance and grotesque setting of Satire 4. Finally, the thematic emphasis on gifts of flattery as opposed to gifts of genuine good intention is the same - although weighted inversely. Ausonius’ assurance that the gift poses no serious personal loss (27, 1, 17) shows that he has rejected not only the Picene’s blandishment but also the greed of Crispinus and Domitian. Ausonius helps to define his genuine gift by recalling first greedy self-indulgence and then an adulatory gift from the

parameters and tone of pastoral gift-giving by contrasting them with the
gifts given in satire. The moral climate is as different in the two poems as the
generic and thematic. The program of allusion is driven by a

verbal echo - almost word for word - that is embedded in a matrix of less
direct, thematic echoes.

Ausonius De Herediolo (6): Juvenal Satire 3

The same method of echoing Juvenal can be seen on a greater scale elsewhere. It was noticed long ago that Ausonius’ De Herediolo (6) 25 echoes Satire 3, 226:

Salve, herediolum, maiorum regna meorum, quod proavus, quod avus, quod pater excult quod mihi tam senior properata morte reliquit - eheu nobueram tam cito posse frui!

5 iusta quidem series patri succedere, verum esse simul dominos gratior ordo piis.
nunc labor et curae mea sunt; sola ante voluptas partibus in nostris, cetera patris erant
parvum herediolum, fateor, sed nulla fuit res
parva unquam aequanimitis, addde etiam unanimitis.
ex animo rei stare aequum puto, non animum ex re cuncta cupit Croesus, Diogenes nihilum;
spargit Aristippus medias in Syrthiis aurum, aurea non satis est Lydia tota Midae.

cui nullus finis cupiendi, est nullus habendi;
ille opibus modus est, quem statuas animo.
verum ager iste meus quantus sit, nosce, etiam ut me noveris et noris te quoque, si potis es.
quamquam difficile est se noscere: γνωθι σεαυτόν quam propere legimus tam cito neglegimus.

Ausanian Allusions to Juvenal’s Satires

25 fons proprius putesque brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

20 que qui pos suiique brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.
Pons proprius putesque brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

25 fons proprius putesque brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

20 que qui pos suiique brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

Ausanian Allusions to Juvenal’s Satires

agri bis centum color tigera, vinea centum

tigeribus colitur prataque dimidia;

silva supra duplum quam prata et vinea et arvum.
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

25 fons proprius putesque brevis, tam purus et amnis;
cultur agri nobis nec superest nec abest.

condantur fructus geminum mihi semper in annum;
cui non longa penus, huic quoque prompta fames.
haec mihi nec procid urbe sita est, nec prorsus ad urbem
me patiur turbas utque bonis potiar;
et quotiens mutare locum fastidia coquit,
transeo et alternis rure vel urbem fruor.

The program of allusion is driven by a

verbal echo - almost word for word - that is embedded in a matrix of less
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The echo in line 25 (putesque brevis) of Satire 3, 226 is unmistakable:

si potes avelli circinsibus, optima Sarae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur
quantum num teneras amum conducis in annum.
hortulis hic putusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenuis plantas facili diffunditur hostu.

17 Ausonius’ playful punning on anim- and aequ- is impossible to render in English.
vive bidentis amons et culti vilicus horti
unde epilum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu.
unius sese dominum fecisse lacetiae.

("If you can be dragged away from the games an excellent / house at Sora or Fabretia
or Frusino is purchased, [225] for as much as you now pay in one year's rent for a
dingy dive. / Here a little garden and a shallow well—needing no rope—/ waters
the tender shoots with an easily-had draught. / Live as a lover of the hoe and as
overseer of a well-kept garden, / from which you could furnish a banquet for a hundred
Pythagoreans. / [230] It is something, in whatever spot, in whatever backwater, / to
have made yourself the lord of a single lizard."

Green notes that the "...small well" brings to mind the farm of Juvenal's
poor emigrant from Rome. [18] The echo is struck by means of a memorable
phrase, as before, but this time it falls (with greater emphasis) in the same
metrical position. Furthermore, as in the earlier example the echo is embodied
in a more complex nexus of thematic echoes.

Ausonius manages, in a way that, it seems, modern commentators
have not, [19] to encapsulate in just a few lines the thematic crux of Satire 3. [20]
The program of the satire is not a catalogue of the horrors of life in Rome,
but rather a lament that the horrors of city life are felt especially keenly by
the poor. In the second word of the poem, herediolium, Ausonius cuts to the
thematic core of the satire. It is not that Umbricius has a small legacy; he
has none. He retreats to the country because he is not wealthy enough to
tolerate the city. [21] Satire 3 treats reality by splitting the world between the
poor and urbs, and further interprets it through a parallel dichotomy: paupertas
versus divitiae. Ausonius offers a third option to Juvenal's two. Umbricius
would like to stay but cannot. The Satirist, whose voice is heard only in the
proem (3, 1–20), protests about the dread city with its incessant poets
reciting in the month of August (3, 9), beggar immigrants (3, 12–16) and
tasteless marble copings (3, 18–20), but he stays nevertheless.

Ausonius' program is not satire. He need not be so taken with extremes. He
can acknowledge the benefits of each life (6, 29–32). The ease with which
Ausonius envisions the comfortable transition from life in the city to life in
the country and back again is closer to the position of the Satirist than of
Umbricius. The latter speaks as if he is never coming back to Rome. The
Satirist, on the other hand, would never leave. He mentions that he would
enjoy a visit to Baiae (3, 4/5). Baiae is no humble farming town. It is a
fashionable resort spot, and is sure to have all the lavish amenities of the big
city. Seneca (Ep. 51, 3) says that at Canopus riotous living indulges itself to a
very great extent but that at Baiae magis solvitur. [22] But again this is not the
picture that Ausonius paints. Ausonius' reading of Satire 3 grounds his poetic
world somewhere between Umbricius' and the Satirist's. He alerts the reader
to this in the first line: Ausonius can claim an inheritance, but (deprecatingly)
small one (herediolium). He can enjoy the city and country in turn, but
neither with the luxury that the Satirist enjoys, or at least envisages, nor the
relative deprivation that seems to await Umbricius. In both passages the well
(puteus brevis) sits amidst worlds defined by city and country, wealth and
poverty.

Ausonius' integration of the Satires with his own poetry does not stop
here. He isolates another theme of the satire that modern commentators have
not exploited: self-definition, a driving force behind Umbricius' 300-line
tirade. Ausonius notes the city's failures emphatically in the first-person. [23]
His speech (cast in terms of "them against us") is introduced by a 20-line
prelude. This balances structurally that of the Satirist (3, 1–20), and it allows
Umbricius to establish the setting on his own terms. [24] Umbricius laments that
he must leave the city because he is unable to make a decent living.

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[18] Green 1991 (n. 1), 284 ad loc.; indeed, but the point of the shallow well is not
that the well is mean, but that the water table is high enough that one need not dig deep
to reach the earth's benefits.

[19] Courtney (n. 16), 151–155; J. Ferguson, Juvenal: The Satires, New York 1979,
156–158; E. C. Wilke, Juvenal 3, an Eclogue for the Urban Poor, Hermes 90 (1962),
244–246, perhaps misses the ironic tone of the satire: Umbricius is not completely
impoverished, but cast rather as a somewhat stripped member of a crumbling middle
class.

[20] For an excellent reading of the third satire in the light of the prologue see J.
Sarkissian, Appreciating Umbricius: The Prologue (1–20) of Juvenal's Third Satire,
ClMed 42 (1991), 247–258; see also S. C. Fredericks, The Function of the Prologuic
in the Organization of Juvenal's Third Satire, Phoenix 27 (1973), 62–67; Wilke, (n. 19),
244–246.

[21] Umbricius' speech is usually held up as a parade of the evils of the city. Its
economic themes are often passed over: 21–57 = Umbricius leaves the city because he
is bankrupt and cannot earn a living; 58–125 = Rich Greeks oust Umbricius from
Rome, a living, and his patron's doorway; 126–189 = Rome is a generally wretched
place for a pauper; 190–231 = Fire and collapse are serious dangers for the poor; 232–
267 = The city is noisy and dangerous for the poor; 315–322 = The night is perilous
and urbs, and further interprets it through a parallel dichotomy: paupertas
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prelude. This balances structurally that of the Satirist (3, 1–20), and it allows
Umbricius to establish the setting on his own terms. [24] Umbricius laments that
he must leave the city because he is unable to make a decent living.
He then poses the challenging deliberative question which the rest of the poem will attempt to answer (3, 41): Quid Romae faciam? The fact that he is leaving indicates that he has already found the answer to be, "Nothing." This strikes the first note of the satire's theme of self-definition. In the end Umbricius and the audience are interrupted by the waning day and the anxious muleteer (3, 315–318); the result is that Umbricius leaves Rome without explicitly reaching this decision—in the narrative. The reader is privy to Umbricius' argument for leaving, but not to his conclusion. The source of his disaffection with Rome, according to Umbricius, is the corruption of the city, not himself. Umbricius might claim to know himself by knowing what he is not: compatible with the city. But Ausonius claims to know himself by knowing what he is: one who manages to enjoy city and country in moderation. His opening of the second half of the poem with the Delphic maxim, γυνης σεατυρου, underscores this claim.

Here Ausonius draws together the themes of rus versus urbs, and paupertas versus divitiae. He then combines them with the theme of self-definition, γυνης σεατυρου. Modern commentators have not so associated the three themes of the satire. The citation of the Delphic maxim, γυνης σεατυρου, furthermore, invokes (from the sacred senate.)

... e caelo descendit γυνης σεατυρου
fignetum et memori tractandum pectore, sive congingium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
30 esse velis;

(From heaven descended, γυνης σεατυρου / to be planted and remembered always in a mindful breast, whether / you are looking for marriage or you want to be / [30] a part of the sacred senate.)

Ausonius makes the connection between the Satirist's espousal of a lifestyle that is moderate, humble and suited to one's resources, in Satire 1122 and the simple, rustic haven to which Umbricius flees in Satire 3. Ausonius weaves together the separate threads of Satires 3 and 1126 and at one remove gives as advice to Umbricius the counsel which the Satirist offers at 11, 33: te consule, dic tibi qui sis. It is an especially noteworthy touch that Ausonius pairs the quasi-philosophical Delphic maxim with other philosophers and sages: Croesus, and so Solon, Diogenes the Cynic, and Aristippus. Juvenal also humorously stocks his humble farm with philosophical fodder, sufficient to produce to feed a hundred Pythagoreans (4, 229).27 Ausonius' parallel treatment of moderation diligently incorporates this detail. The humble Pythagorean dinner, furthermore, sparks associations with Satire 11, which treats the theme of moderation in the context of a cena. In Satire 11 the Satirist scorns the frauds and swindlers who urge on Pudor as she flees from the city (11, 55). Pudor is as out-of-place in the extravagant city as Umbricius. The Satirist's invitation to a dinner at which none of the outrageous luxuries of contemporary Rome will be available looks like an invitation to travel back in time to the days when Rome was not so corrupted, an invitation to the Rome that Umbricius longs for. Ausonius has found a way to invite Umbricius back to Rome. In this way the themes of rus versus urbs, and paupertas versus divitiae unfold in Satire 11 much as they do in Satire 3. And so the echoes unfold similarly in Ausonius' poem. The difference is that in the third satire the Satirist does not advocate the same moderation that he does in the eleventh. The Satirist does not make for the reader the overt connection between the third and eleventh satires; nor have modern commentators. Ausonius does.

As in the former example Ausonius' thematic allusion covers generic ground as well. His division of the world into rus and urbs can be seen in terms of genre. We might say that paupertas (not egestas), as the characteristic of Ausonius' rural lifestyle and Umbricius' future, sits squarely in the pastoral. The abundant water of the shallow well encapsulates this generic position. On the other hand, the throngs, Ausonius' turbas (6, 30), and perils of the city are features of the world of satire. Rus : urbs :: pastoral : satire. On another level, then, in Ausonius' poetic world one must strike a dynamic balance not only between the setting and themes of city and country, but between competing genres as well. Ausonius' pastoral version of the hunt, capture and presentation stands in stark contrast to the Satirist's grotesque mock-epic portrait of a different hunt, capture and presentation. Again, the moral tones of the two poems mirror the generic tensions. While Umbricius resents his forced retirement to a humble lifestyle, Ausonius embraces such a life. Just as the ideal lifestyle, for Ausonius, seems to consist of a healthy mix of country and city, so too the ideal poetic comment on that life is a blend of satire's bitter and pastoral's sweet.

Once again with a two-word, explicitly lexical echo—this time with two paired together, paupertas brevis and γυνης σεατυρου, Ausonius triggers a more thematic and interpretive pattern of echoing. As in the first example he


26 Partially noted by Adamietz (n. 21), 1–6.

27 And perhaps an allusion to Lucretius 2. 543 in 3, 227, facil ... haec tu, as noted by G. B. A. Fletcher, Further Juvenaliana, Latomus 51 (1992), 395–396 (395).
relies on this intertextual matrix to help fortify the themes of his own poem. But in this case he stitches not just one satire of Juvenal to one of his own poems, but two satires to each other, and both of them to his own creation.

Ausonius’ Epithaphia (12, Astyanacti) 15: Juvenal Satire 5

In the third example we can see the same technique on a scale that is smaller at first glance, but which unfolds to reveal a dense and complex layering of allusion. Ausonius takes the image of the young son of the greatest Trojan hero and holds it up as the quintessence of the heroic age. By comparing his brief picture of Astyanax with the Satirist’s dinner party, Ausonius brings into high relief the degeneration of the heroic age into the Satirist’s decadent cena: the principle of hospitium has become a farce, heroic rewards are no longer won by the sword, but bought by the purse, and inheritance of the family name has become less important than the family strongbox. In Ausonius’ epitaph for Astyanax we have a pathetic picture of a child who has fallen victim to war (12, 15):

\[
\text{Flos Asiae tantaque unus de gente superstes,} \\
\text{parvulus, Argivis sed tam de patre timendus,} \\
\text{hic iaceo Astyanax, Scaeus dejectus ab alis.} \\
\text{pro dolor! Iliaci, Neptunia moenia, muri} \\
\text{viderunt aliquid crudelius Hectoro tracto.}
\]

("Flower of Asia, and sole survivor of so great a race, / a little boy, but feared even now by the Argives because of my father, / here I Astyanax lie, hurled from the lofty gates. / Oh the suffering! The Trojan walls, Neptune’s ramparts / have seen something more cruel than the dragging of Hector.")

The first two words – the echo, notably, is in the same metrical position – of the passage recall from Juvenal a different young Anatolian life claimed by war, a slave at Virro’s sybaritic dinner party (5, 56–59):

\[
\text{flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus} \\
\text{quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci} \\
\text{et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum} \\
\text{frivola.}
\]

("The flower of Asia stands before Himself, procured at greater cost / than was the census of warlike Tullus and Ancus / and, not to keep you, all the trinkets of the Roman kings.")

The connection between Juvenal’s picture of extreme decadence and Ausonius’ pathetic portrait of the young prince dashed to death beneath Troy’s walls is not immediately apparent. The origin of Virro’s slave (flos Asiae) provides a clue. It has been suggested that the slave comes from Mileitus,28 but at 10, 265/266 the Satirist refers to Troy simply with the word Asia: omnia vidit / etsa et flammis Asiaem ferroque cadentem. The flos Asiae is, it seems, Trojan. This suggestion gains further support; by mentioning Larbas (5, 45; see below) and by parodying Dido’s words at Aeneid 4, 225–230 (5, 137–139; below) the Satirist links Virro’s cena and the appalling treatment of his guests with the cena at Carthage in Aeneid 1 and Dido’s dutiful adherence to the age-old principle of hospitium. That is the dinner at which Dido is overcome by the little Cupid disguised as Ascanius, the very image of his father.

The Satirist recalls the aftermath of that cena as he warns Trebius, the guest at Virro’s dinner party (5, 137–139):

\[
\text{dominus tamen et domini rex} \\
\text{si vis tunc fieri, nulius tibi parvulus aula} \\
\text{lusert Aeneas nec filia dulci orn.
\]

(137) „Nevertheless if you want to be master and king of a master, / let no little Aeneas of yours / sport around the halls, nor a daughter sweeter than he.”

If Virro’s great throng of hangers-on is any indication, it would seem that he has followed the sinister advice to remain childless. The scene at Dido’s cena is driven by a contrasting theme of father and son. In the presence of Aeneas and Ascanius/Cupid (parvulus Aeneas) Dido is affected by divinely inspired love but also by the genuine desire to secure a line of succession and inheritance to her new African throne. She is as devoted to this succession and the principle of hospitium as Virro is to ‘buying’ his successor and making a mockery of hospitium. The Satirist capitalizes on this connection by parodying directly the desperate Dido’s rebuke at Aeneid 4, 325–330:

\[
\text{quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater} \\
\text{destruat at captam ducat Gaetulius Larbas?} \\
\text{saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fussit} \\
\text{ante fugam suboles, sit quis mihi parvulus aula} \\
\text{ludret Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,} \\
\text{non equidem omnino capita ac deserit videret.
\]

(325) „Why do I delay? Until brother Pygmalion may lay low my ramparts, / or until Gaetulian Larbas takes me away captive? / If some child by you at least had been conceived for me / before your flight, if in my court some little Aeneas were / sporting about, to bring you back with his looks anyway, / then I would not seem so utterly taken and abandoned.”

28 See Ferguson (n. 19), ad loc.
Without a son Dido is easy prey (captae, capta) for the Gaetulian prince larbas (note the Satirist’s zelotypo ... larbae: 4, 45; below), without an heir, and without ties of obligation to Aeneas. Similarly, without a son Virro is an easy target for greedy captatores, without a blood heir, and without ties of obligation to family or clients (such as Trebius). The circumstances are closely parallel; the motives of the two childless characters are diametrically opposite. Juvenal’s parody creates a rich cluster of ironic associations. In describing the relationships between host and guest, childless and parent, we might say that Dido : Aeneas :: Virro : Trebius. A strong tension results from this analogy. As hosts Dido and Virro stand in sharp contrast. The guests’ roles are reversed too: Aeneas betrays Dido, while Trebius is insulted by Virro. The childless Dido would have Aeneas’ child lest she become prey to the jealous prince larbas. The childless Virro eagerly establishes himself as such in order to ensure the ‘friendships’ of many eager captatores. Aeneas’ child is an asset to him and would be to Dido. Trebius’ child is a liability – another mouth to feed – to him and a pathetic plaything to Virro.

If Virro has regard neither for the heroic principle of hospitium nor for legitimate agnate succession, he shows equal disdain for honor that is won by the sword (5, 43–45):

\[\text{nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat} \]

\[\text{ponere zelotypo invenis praetulis larbae.}\]

(‘For Virro, like many, moves from his fingers to his cups gems, / which youth who was preferred to jealous / [45] larbas used to wear on the front of his scabbard.’)

The Satirist upbraids Virro for his extravagance. Rome’s founding father, Aeneas, carries a bejeweled sword and scabbard; Virro wields a bejeweled goblet. Whereas Aeneas travelled the known world in order to found Rome, Virro, as far as the Satirist is concerned, travels the world in the privacy of his own luxurious dining hall (5, 49/50):

\[\text{si stomachus domini fervet vinoce ciboque,} \]

\[\text{frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruini.}\]

(‘If the lord’s stomach burns from wine and food / [50] a concoction colder than Getic ice is sought.’)

The Satirist, in a gross exaggeration, describes Virro’s drinks as if they were chilled by ‘designer ice-cubes’ from the farthest north-eastern extent of the Roman world. Virro’s apples are so luscious that they warrant comparison to the kind that the Phaeacians used to have (5, 151), the kind that another heroic wanderer ate. Less fancy, but no less exotic, are Virro’s North African table servants (5, 52–55):

\[\ldots \text{tibi pocula cursor Gaetulius dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri et cui per medium nolis occurrere noctem, civosae vehem dum per monumenta Latinae.}\]

(‘To you some Gaetulian runner / will provide the cups, or the bony hand of a black Moor / and one whom you would prefer not to encounter in the middle of the night / [55] while driving by the monuments of the hilly via Latina.’)

Even they are less exotic than the slave from the East (flos Asiae). The Gaetulian, evoking Dido’s Gaetulius larbas (4, 226), and Moorish slaves come from the southern and south-western reaches of the empire. Their contrast with the old-fashioned Roman dinner guests is sharp. The Satirist likens the barbarian slave who serves Trebius and Virro’s other guests to the sort of cutthroat or highway robber whom one might encounter along the via Latina. The mention of one of the oldest roads out of Rome is emphatic. The via Latina does not call to mind a single great man (such as the Appia or Flaminia), but it recalls the earliest origin of the Roman people and their conquest and assimilation of the nearby Latins. These somewhat frightening African slaves are as foreign to the stern, old-fashioned Trebius as Virro’s manners are to stern, old-fashioned, Roman manners.

This distinction between Roman and foreigner (old-fashioned Roman piety : foreign decadence : Virro’s guests : Virro) is most emphatically made in the passage which Ausonius echoes. Virro has purchased his beautiful slave boy, the flos Asiae, for as much as Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius, and the rest of the kings, had altogether. But unlike the Romans of old, Virro has acquired his reputation with his wallet, not with his name. A bloated decadent, he simply purchases the benefits of foreign conquest. He chills his wine as if with exotic ice; he staffs his dining hall with exotic slaves from Mauretania, Africa and Asia, and all this at a cost far above the fortunes of Rome’s founding fathers. Yet in spite of his wealth Virro is niggardly with the menu, saving the delicacies for himself, while his guests take only scraps – a blatant affront to the traditional ideal of hospitium.29 Virro’s great legacy, moreover, will not be passed from father to son, but instead it will fall perhaps to the greedy hands of one or more of the captatores at his table.

Ausonius taps into this dense nexus of themes in his short epitaph for Astyanax. Of the twenty-six Epitaphia only the hopelessly damaged four

29 See M. Morford, Juvenal’s Fifth Satire, AJP 98 (1977), 219–245, on the interplay of client and patron at the cena.
lines of Achilles’ epitaph (12, 4), the four lines of Diomedes’ epitaph (12, 6), and the five lines of Astyanax’s epitaph are written completely in dactylic hexameter. All the other epitaphs are composed in elegiac couplets. Astyanax is the only Trojan in Ausonius’ list of heroes who receives an epitaph in hexameters. The young boy, who might easily be described as the least heroic of the group, is ranked among the greatest of men. The reason that Ausonius gives for this elevation reveals the connection between the epitaph and the passage in Juvenal (12, 15, 1/2): Flos Asiae tantaque unus de gente superstes, parvulus, Argivis sed iam de patre timendus. As a tanta de gente superstes, Astyanax is no different from Virro’s exotic, Moorish, Gaetulian and Asian slaves. All are casualties of war. Astyanax, however, is a source of fear that he will one day avenge his father, fear that he may one day become as mighty as his father. His heroism is his descent, not his deeds. Astyanax is not shipped off to Greece as a slave with the other women and children of Troy, but instead he is thrown from the Scaean gates.

Hector and his son parvulus Astyanax (12, 15, 2), both of whom die beneath the walls of Troy, recall Juvenal’s careful emphasis on their cousins Aeneas and his son Ascanius, and further on Trebius and his parvulus Aeneas (5, 138/139), and Dido and Virro who conspicuously lack offspring – the missing element. Astyanax is hated and feared by the Greeks because of his heroic father. The unheroic Virro is cultivated because of his lack of heirs. Ausonius’ Astyanax is the greatest Trojan hero of them all, and the one whose death is most heroically tragic, because of the legacy of heroism which he would have inherited. Trebius’ children are destined to inherit no such legacy (5, 142–145):

... ipse loquaci
  gaudebit nido, viridem thoracu inebbit
  adferri minusaque nucem asseque rogamum,
  145 ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerator infans.

(Is. Virro) “himself will delight / in the babbling clutch, and will order a green vest / to be fetched and tiny nuts and a sought-after penny. / [145] every time that infant parasite comes to the table.”

The offspring of Trebius are heirs to a life of parasitism, not heroism. According to the Satirist Virro lives in a debased age; the age of heroism is no more. The Satirist contrasts the extravagant wealth and pathetic nature of Virro with the stern and warlike kings of early Rome, as well as her heroic founder Aeneas. He mocks Virro, who stays at home, but imports the rest of the world to his own dining hall. He holds up the base Virro against Aeneas, the great father of Rome, and against the heroic age in which he lived.

This sense of an overturned order that the Satirist creates, in which the mythico-heroic tradition is in a state of collapse, legacies of heroism are a farce, and children are born hopeful young parasites, gives poignancy to Ausonius’ epitaph of Astyanax. The parvulus Astyanax must not be allowed to live as a servant at some rich Virro’s table, lest he avenge the death of his father; the heroic age is still alive in Astyanax’s day. The relationship between him and his father parallels that between Aeneas and Ascanius. The one pair died at Troy; the other escaped to found Rome and to serve as the basis for the Satirist’s scathing comparison with Virro. Ausonius’ tragically heroic picture of Astyanax’s death epitomizes all that has gone wrong in order to produce Virro and his world: hospitium has turned to niggardliness, martial vigor to flashy decadence, inheritors of heroism to captatores.

Ausonius brings this complex and compressed allusion around full circle at the close of the epitaph. The first two words echo Juvenal’s satiric view of the heroic world of the Aeneid and the closing words allude directly to the Aeneid itself. For Iliaci, Neptunia moenia, muri / viderunt aliquid crudelius Hectore tracto (12, 15, 4/5) appears to invoke Aeneid 2, 746, aut quid in eversa vi d crudelius urbe? The words are spoken by Aeneas. In the context of the narrative the cruel sight is actually no sight at all. Aeneas asks this as he looks upon the assembled fugitives and does not find his wife Creusa among them. His immediate reaction is to hide his father, his son, and his family’s penates, and to go in search of Creusa (Aeneid 2, 747/748). This is a defining moment for Aeneas; he struggles between moving forward and back as the core of his family faces its first collapse. The severing of this familial link sets the stage for his departure from Troy. Great loss gives rise to great hope. The poet brings down the enormous weight of history and the entire epic narrative on the tragic end of this single relationship.

So too Ausonius pins the utter collapse of the heroic world – as the Satirist portrays it – on a single destroyed relationship. His epitaph for Astyanax is framed by two deaths, Astyanax’s and Hector’s. The death of these two can be viewed as the end of the heroic tradition, the catalyst that led to the decrepit picture of Satire 5. The echo of Aeneid 2, 746, however, serves as a reminder that the reality of the matter is not so simple or so bleak. Here, as in the former examples, Ausonius plays not only themes off one another, but genres as well. He uses the genre of the epitaph, composed in heroic hexameters, unlike the majority of his Epitaphia, as a tool with which to isolate and restructure the dilapidated ruin that the Satirist makes of the heroic world. The savage stance of the fifth satire looks only backward: the heroic ideal is dead and gone. The epitaph, on the other hand, looks both
ways by its very nature: it stands both as a window on the heroic world of the past and a mirror in the reflection of which that world may be emulated. Ausonius aligns a pair of echoes, one from Juvenal's fifth satire, which parodies the epic tradition and the heroic ideal, and one from the Aeneid. Here we realize the complex interdependence of the Ausonian text and the text that it echoes. The five lines of Astyanax's epitaph make no explicit mention of the collapse of the heroic ideal; they offer no straightforward reaffirmation of it either. Ausonius' positive statement acquires its meaning from its relationship to the Satirist's parody. The full force of the thematic, generic, and moral statement of the epitaph resides not in the text but in that delicate web of allusion in which Vergil invokes the heroic tradition, the Satirist exposes its debasement, and Ausonius recalls both pictures in order to counter the Satirist's bleak Vergilian parody with another echo from Vergil that rings more hopeful. By combining the two echoes Ausonius modifies Juvenal's decrepit and debased version of the heroic ideals on a continuum that starts at Troy and ends in the decadent corruption of the Satirist's Rome. He begins with the one hero's son who could not be brought back among the spoils of war. He takes his strength from its opposition to the mockery that the Satirist makes of the heroic world (Satire 5). In generic terms Ausonius sets his scene of hunt, capture and presentation, with all its rustic, pastoral splendor (27, 1), against the grotesque mock-epic portrait of a different hunt, capture and presentation (Satire 4). Ausonius opposes the urban decay of Satire 3 with the charm and moderation of pastoral (6). With the five verses of Astyanax's epitaph, written in heroic hexameters (12, 15), Ausonius rejects the Satirist's mockery of epic and the heroic tradition (Satire 5). In a very crude way it could be said that, in this model of allusion, the best candidate for allusion is the passage that differs most radically from its Ausonian successor. Ausonius refutes the thematic and generic expression of the satire that he echoes, but at the same time he appropriates the poetic material, whose positive value he denies, in order to enrich his own work's handling of theme and genre. This method allows Ausonius to draw the reader in in a fascinating way. The denial of the satiric outlook invites Ausonius' reader to adopt a similar view of the Satirist's text. But at the same time the oppositional nature of the technique reminds Ausonius' reader that the rejected satiric mode is crucial for experiencing and appreciating the full force of the Ausonian text.

It cannot be stressed enough that the Latin poets from Late Antiquity have only recently become the objects of serious literary study; certainly they have not yet found fixed spots in the canon of authors typically taught on any level. The view that late Latin is somehow a degenerate, lifeless, and bookish imitation of classical Latin literature, not worthy of serious literary enquiry, sadly is still common. The current state of scholarship on literary allusion in Vergil, no less, is such that J. Farrell recently could write of the lack of a modern study of Vergilian allusive technique: "Traditional Quellenforschung, then, in spite of its critical limitations, has left us with an ample collection of material on which to base the study of Vergilian allusion. What is needed is a suitable means of dealing with this mass of data." If this could

30 Farrell (n. 5), 7.
be said of Vergil, the one Latin poet whose claim to the title as the most widely read Latin author has not been questioned in roughly two thousand years, we can hardly be shocked if Ausonius and his contemporaries have not been the objects of studies as in-depth as Farrell’s. Students of Late Antique Latin poetry, nevertheless, can be thankful for similar endeavors at ‘Quellenforschung’, which have produced long lists of parallel passages. In the light of the vast number of echoes from classical poets in the works of Ausonius alone, no one could deny that Late Antique poetry was at its core no less allusive than its Augustan ancestor. Judgment of the merits and failings of Late Antique Latin poetry cannot proceed until we can acquire a fuller appreciation for the Late Antique art of allusion. The present study has barely scratched the surface of only one Late Antique poet’s treatment of only one classical poet; it is hoped that it may be offered as a contribution toward such an appreciation.

1. Vorbemerkungen

Zu den bedeutenden Werken des Epiphanius, 367 zum Bischof von Constantia (Salamis) auf Zypern geweiht, zählt das ‘Panarion’, das heißt ‘Arzneikästchen’ (geschrieben 374–377). Darin stellt der Verfasser achtzig sogenannte Häresien inhaltlich vor und versucht, sie zu widerlegen. Auf diese Weise möchte Epiphanius seinen Lesern ‘Gegengifte’ gegen die von ihm behandelten Häresien, die er mit wilden Tieren und Schlangen...

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