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2022

Discursive Constructions: Space and Time in Northern Italy in the Late Fourth Century

Cady, Alyssa

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS:
SPACE AND TIME IN NORTHERN ITALY IN THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

Volume I

Alyssa M. Cady

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

Adviser: AnneMarie Luijendijk

May 2022

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Abstract

Late Antique scholars have become increasingly interested in questions of regionality, time and landscape, as well as the intersection between oral and visual media. A fruitful angle from which to examine these topics proves to be the cult of saints in northern Italy in the late fourth century, due to the conception of saint as exemplar and to its manifestation in physical and discursive spaces. My dissertation compares three figures who provide different viewpoints on these issues, namely: Zeno of Verona, Ambrose of Milan, and the poet Prudentius. It examines lesser-known evidence, such as Prudentius' Tituli Historiarum, and provides the first English translations of four sermons of Zeno as well as Ambrose's Disticha. We begin with Zeno, whose tenure coincides with the earliest sermons in Latin, as well as the earliest martyr veneration and church-building in Verona. His Tractatus illuminate a tightrope upon which this bishop balanced pious intervention against the stubborn autonomy of his congregants. Ambrose, meanwhile, enjoyed far greater resources than his Veronese predecessor, and compares contemporary substitutes to historical exemplars whom he integrated into nascent ecclesiastical institutions. In Prudentius we see the rise of the elite Christian poet, whose concerns differed from episcopal programs of authoritative expansion. He periodizes history through the lens of triumph and decline, explaining contemporary practice through exemplars. In these figures, we see a generational and professional divide in their use of space and history as ideological canvases upon which to layer ideals of Christian ethics.

Abbreviations

ACO Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum

BKV Bibliothek der Kirchenväter

C. Just. Codex Justinianus

C. Th. Codex Theodosianus

CCLP Corpus Christianorum, Lingua Patrum

CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CPL Clavis Patrum Latinorum

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

ICVR Inscriptiones Christianae Vrbis Romae

LCL Loeb Classical Library

MGH Monumenta Germania Historia

PG Patrologia Graeca

PHI Packard Humanities Institute

PL Patrologiae Latina

PLS Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum

SAEMO Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera, Mediolani-Romae

SC Sources chrètiennes

SCBP Sacra Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum

TLL Thesaurus linguau latinae

TU Texte und Untersuchungen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction *6*

Chapter 1 | Excesses of Piety: Dissuasion through Space and Time in Zeno's *Tractatus* *37*

Chapter 2 | Praising Piety: Exhortation through Space and Time in Zeno's *Tractatus* *74*

Chapter 3 | Agnes in Milan: Space and Time in Ambrose's Virginity Discourse 105

Chapter 4 | Framing Exemplars in Ambrose's *Disticha* *128*

Chapter 5 | Framing the Christian Aristocrat in the Works of Prudentius *157*

Chapter 6 | *Cathemerinon* in Conversation: Funerary Discourse in the Late Latin West *182*

Conclusion *212*

Appendix A | Zeno of Verona, *Three Genera of Sacrifices* *228*

Appendix B | Zeno of Verona, *On the Resurrection* *238*

Appendix C | Zeno of Verona, *On the Birth of S. Archadius* *262*

Appendix D | Zeno of Verona, *On the Building of God's House by Solomon* 272

Bibliography *280*

INTRODUCTION

In the 360s, under the warmth of an August sun, an intrepid pilgrim could set out from Milan by oxcart and arrive at Verona in just under two weeks.[1] Though the traveler might enjoy the natural scenery as she passed along the *Via Gallica*, nestled as it's been at the base of the Alps since antiquity, there may have been little else to impress.[2] While the region can boast some of the oldest ecclesiastical structures in the world, anyone touring Verona in the third quarter of the fourth century would see the foundations of this nascent Christian landscape, not its heights. For it is only in the 360s and 370s that the city's Christian community begins to make itself known to historians, both archaeologically and intellectually.[3] Within these two decades emerge a few key moments in the history, socio-political position, and self-conception of Christians in the region. The earliest sermons in Latin, the oldest evidence for martyr veneration, and one of the first purpose-built churches in Verona arise together.[4] Equally noteworthy, responsibility for all three lies with a single individual: Zeno of Verona. We know this preacher from his own *Tractatus*, as well as a few sources scattered across antiquity. Yet just as Zeno has remained in the shadows of more illustrious men,[5] so too has the generation of bishops of which he is a part. In the words of Peter Brown:

> We are used to the more brilliant Latin Christianity of the late fourth and early fifth centuries…to approach the age that preceded it is like stepping out of bright sunlight into the shade of a catacomb. We must adjust our eyes to an unaccustomed dimness. Yet, like

[1] The route would take 13.6 days and cover approximately 163km (101 miles). See: Scheidel, Walter, and Elijah Meeks (eds.). "The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World." ORBIS. Stanford University Libraries, 2014. https://orbis.stanford.edu/.
[2] The *via gallica* eventually merged with the much larger *Via Postumia* in Verona. For its trajectory along the Alps, see: Ferrari, Sara, Gioia Zenoni, and Daniele Bursich. "Virtual paths for the enhancement of archaeological landscapes: the "Via Gallica" project." *Proceedings of TCL2016 Conference, INFOTA 2016* (2016): 185-198.
[3] See: Humphries (1999), 173; Castagnetti (1995), 526; Piva (1990), 46-47.
[4] Truzzi (1980), 220.
[5] Zeno is absent from Jerome and Gennadius' *Lives of Illustrious Men*.

> many apparently dim ages, the sixty years that fell between the conversion of Constantine and the election of Ambrose set the stage for the shimmering epoch that succeeded them.[6]

It is precisely this moment of adjustment that interests the present discussion. Against the backdrop of martyr cults, rhetoric, and Christianization emerges an unanswered question: how did the authors and aristocrats of the late fourth century Latin West conceptualize "history",[7] and how did these concepts manifest in the construction of a sacred landscape, both physical and imagined? A particularly fruitful angle from which to examine this question proves to be the veneration of the cult of saints in the city of Rome and northern Italy, due both to its manifestation within the late antique landscape over the course of late antiquity and to the conception of the martyrs themselves as models of Christian perfection.[8] The period beginning in the 360s and concluding just prior to the sack of Rome in 410 is especially significant. My dissertation compares the literary and visual production of three figures in the proliferation of the cult of saints, whose works provide different viewpoints on the questions raised above, namely: bishop Zeno of Verona, bishop Ambrose of Milan, and the poet Prudentius.

While Zeno stands at the very end of the "apparently dim age" highlighted by Brown in the passage above, at a time when Christianity was first making itself known in the region of northern Italy in the material intellectual record. The earliest instances of a Latin liturgy, as well as the oldest church-building in Verona, precede the better-known liturgical innovations of Ambrose in Milan and the mosaic pavement at Aquileia by a decade or more.[9] Likewise, it is

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[6] Brown (2012), 5.
[7] On the conception of the "Latin West", see: O'Loughlin, 81-98.
[8] Goodson, Caroline. "Archaeology and the Cult of Saints in the Middle Ages: Accessing the Sacred." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 126.1 (2014): https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.1818; Howard, Johnston and Geoff Hayward. *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, edited by James Howard-Johnston, et al., Oxford University Press, 2000; Sotinel, Claire. "Introduction." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, vol. 126 (2014): http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/1700.
[9] The earliest evidence for Ambrose's hymns dates to 386 (See: Fontaine and Jullien (1992), 16). On the Aquileia mosaic, see also Leatherbury's chart of early Christian mosaics containing inscriptions (2020), 46.

only in the late fourth century that we the rise of the elite Christian poet, emblematized in this discussion by Prudentius. For the Christians who watched Bishop Ambrose parade his miraculous recovery of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius through Milan's gates in 386,[10] or who recalled Prudentius' poem about kindly vicar at the shrine of Cassian at Imola at the turn of the fifth century,[11] they would see a more concretized and fiscally enriched Christianity than our traveler with whom we first set out for Verona. My dissertation compares the literary and visual culture of three figures in the proliferation of the cult of saints, whose works provide different viewpoints on the question raised above, namely: bishop Zeno of Verona, the poet Prudentius and bishop Ambrose of Milan. For in the span of forty years, from the tenure of Zeno in the 360s and 370s to the careers of Ambrose (c. 374-397) and Prudentius (died ca. 405), we see a crescendo of liturgical, poetic and architectural achievements in the Latin West. Throughout this dissertation, I show that the late fourth century saw a progressive reshaping of the physical and discursive landscape of the late Roman west through the rise of the (sub-)elite Christian. Comprised of bishops and aristocrats, these (sub-)elite Christians made tangible a pre-existing network of holy spaces centered on the cult of saints through their monumental building projects, as well as liturgical and poetic compositions. For while scholars such as Peter Brown have observed the significance of this period, the intersection of temporal-spatial constructions and the precise forms of rhetorical expression in episcopal and elite production merit further exploration.

I begin with Zeno of Verona (ca. 360-375), whose tenure as bishop coincided with the developments in the cultic presence, historical ideology, and episcopal authority of Christianity in Verona mentioned above.[12] Lacking the fiscal and sociopolitical resources to enforce the kinds

[10] See: Ambrose, *Ep.* 22.
[11] See: Prudentius, *Perist.* 9.
[12] Zeno's episcopate spanned ca. 360-375. I discuss means of dating in Part I of this dissertation.

of ethical and pietistic interventions he sought to instill in his congregation, Zeno turns to writing. His sermons, collectively known as the *Tractatus*, promote the bishop's understanding of Christian history. These he uses as a means of reforming certain beliefs and practices he finds offensive, encouraging the veneration of martyrs under his authority, and reinterpreting his new church typologically. While Zeno, an author of the third quarter of the fourth century, conceived of a martyrial age of human perfection, he accounted for the perceived imperfection of their own age as a product of impiety. His successors, meanwhile, took one of two paths. In Prudentius (d. 405) we see the rise of the elite Christian poet, whose concerns differed from those of the bishops and their programs of episcopal expansion. In his poetry, Prudentius constructs periods of human perfection and decline centered on paradigmatic, historical exemplars, whom he uses to justify and explain contemporary practice. Bishop Ambrose (c. 374-397), meanwhile, provides contemporary substitutes to historical exemplars whom the bishop could integrate into existing (though nascent) ecclesiastical institutions. To a much greater degree than Zeno, Ambrose successfully intervened in the sacred landscape of Milan to integrate the cult of saints into his own parish. In this dissertation, I argue that through a comparison of these three figures emerges a generational divide in the conception of human history and sacred space, but also one between layman and clergy. Each author utilizes space as an ideological canvas upon which he could paint and layer his ideals of Christian self-conception and ethics. I return to these three figures at the end of this introduction, describing the organization and argument of the chapters to follow. For the present moment, I embark on a short history of scholarship foregrounding the themes of this dissertation, followed by a brief account of the development of Christianity in the first through fourth centuries.

1. *Historical Context*

Any examination of the intersection of the cult of saints and temporal-spatial construction in the late Latin West must proceed from an understanding of the development of Christianity from the first through fourth centuries. Certainly, I limit this historical survey to the elements of Christianity's development most relevant to the present discussion: namely, Christianization,[13] patronization, ecclesiastical professionalization,[14] and the rise of the cult of saints. In what follows, I provide a brief overview of the development of Christianity in the Roman Empire before reviewing the scholarly literature regarding issues of time and space, with emphasis on rhetoricity and patronization.

Comprised of scattered congregations from the first through third centuries, the earliest assemblies of Christ believed that their worship of God would be rewarded in the apocalypse.[15] This worship excluded venerating other forms of the supernatural (in the broadest sense of the

[13] I follow Talloen's note that "the rise of Christianity—by which we mean its elevation to the dominant religion of the city as clearly visible in the material record—is seen as the result of an acculturation process called Christianization, which is defined here as the impact of Christian belief on local religious practices" (164).

[14] The term "professionalism", Norman Underwood points out, is a 19th century neologism "coined after the intense specialization of labor and education as industrial, capitalist societies developed new forms of social control built around occupations" ((2018), 62). To avoid an anachronistic application of the term to a late ancient context, Underwood states that: "Roman Professionalism is then a shorthand for observable principles of occupational self-control and comportment assigned to ancient occupations. Greeks and Romans praised and criticized occupation-holders for their respective qualities and their shortcomings constantly, but they did so along staunchly moralistic and traditionalist lines" (*Ibid.*). In the present discussion, then, I adapt Underwood's concept of "professionalism" to describe early Christian "professionalization", a historical process in which clerics interacted with societal expectations of "occupational comportment" within a larger, late antique economy, to "leverage recognizable attributes, training, and bona fides (symbolic, cultural, and social capital) for advancement in social fields" (*Ibid.*).

[15] On expectations of the apocalypse, see: 1 Corinthians 15; Fredriksen, Paula. "Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity: From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo." *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151-183; DePalma Digeser, Elizabeth, "Breaking the Apocalyptic Mold" In, *Heirs of Roman Persecution*. Ed. Éric Fournier and Wendy Meyer: 25-43. On the spread of early Christian congregations, see: Fousek, Jan et al. "Spatial constraints on the diffusion of religious innovations: The case of early Christianity in the Roman Empire." PLoS ONE 13 (2018): 1-14. See also: Scheidel W, Meeks E, Weiland J. *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*. Stanford University Libraries, 2012; Stark R. *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries*. HarperCollins, 1997.

term).[16] From the second to early fourth centuries, those who abstained from the empire's traditional cults sporadically drew the ire of a larger society that viewed its emperors as quasi-divine and its gods as potentially vengeful.[17] Dragged to the courts or attacked by the mob, these individuals were either compelled to sacrifice or condemned.[18] While many capitulated,[19] a portion of those who endured became saints.[20] A fluid body of holy persons, saints bridged the mundane and heavenly realms through the many cult sites and narratives attributing to them an intimacy with God and humanity.[21] Between divine perfection and human sin, so the story goes, saints could intercede on behalf of those who venerated them.[22] Likewise, the martyrs found expression in countless manifestations of literary and visual culture, from poetic hymns and

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[16] See: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 2.45; North, Lionel, "Jesus and Worship, God and Sacrifice." In *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, edited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2004: 186-202.

[17] From Pliny's correspondence with Trajan in *Letters* 10.96-97, we see the connection between Christian abstinence from traditional cultic practice and divine retribution. For the perceived proximity between the emperor and the gods, we may look to the examples of Aurelian and Constantine, both of whom had firm ties to the sun god, *Sol Invictus*. For Aurelian, see: Anon., *Aurelian* 25.1–6, in *Augustan History*; Eutropius, *An Abbreviated History of Rome* 9.15.1; Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Book on the Caesars* 35.7. For Constantine, see: Storch, Rudolph H. "The 'Eusebian Constantine.'" *Church History* 40, no. 2 (1971): 145–55. On the topic of Christianity, sacrifice and persecution, see: Boyarin, Daniel. *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999: 93-126.

[18] See, for instance, Eusebius of Caesarea, *Martyrs of Palestine* III; Mitchell, Stephen, "Maximinus and the Christians: A New Latin Inscription from Pisidia," *JRS* 78 (1988): 105-124. Jane McLarty summarizes early Christian martyrdom with primary source citations in "Early Christian Theologies of Martyrdom," 120-134. Of course, the practice of sacrifice for the purpose of appeasing the gods is but one element of a seemingly infinite composite of Greco-Roman "religion". On this composite, see: Rüpke, Jörg. *Religion of the Romans.* Trans. Richard Gordan. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007. On sacrifice in the Roman Empire, see: Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price (eds.). *Religions of Rome, vol. 2: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[19] When speaking on the Diocletian Persecution, which compelled empire-wide sacrifice, Wilhite explains that "The clergy were especially targeted, and they were commanded to "hand over [traditor]" the scriptures and other sacred items of the church. Any who did so were deemed *traditores*, a Latin word that only comes to mean "traitors" at this time. Their betrayal and their contact with idolatry means that they had contracted a demonic contagion, and so they could not be readmitted into the church without penance, Furthermore, any clergy who wish to return must be demoted to the laity" ((2017), 197).

[20] Castelli (2004), 33-69; Kreuger (2010), 6. In this dissertation, I use "martyr" to denote a person understood to have died under persecution, while "confessor" refers to an individual who survived persecution without lapsing; "saint" is a slightly broader term denoting a holy person who became venerated as martyrs and confessors did, but who may not have endured persecution.

[21] In *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* 28, Origen states that the martyr "will sit alongside, and reign with, and judge with the king of kings, the one drinking that cup which Jesus drank" (συγκαθιεῖ καὶ συμβασιλεύσει, καὶ συνδικάσει τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν βασιλευόντων, ὁ πιὼν τὸ ποτήριον ἐκεῖνο, ὅπερ ἔπιεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς). Translated by McLarty, "Early Christian Theologies of Martyrdom," 130.

[22] Brown (1981), 5-6, 69-85.

ethical treatises to gold-glass medallions and catacomb paintings.[23] For instance, narratives of martyr events became the subject of a new genre, hagiography, which purported to record the martyrs' endurance against persecution.[24] By the late-fourth century, many Christians interpreted the endurance of these martyrs as a triumph on a cosmic scale, the victory of God and his followers over Satan and those he had ensnared.[25] It is largely following the close of non-Christian imperial persecution that the cult of saints rose to prominence, the events and meanings of their deaths commemorated and ritualized by a triumphal church.[26]

To many late ancient Christians, this triumphalism emblematized the compounding Christianization of the empire following the reign of Constantine (c. 306-337). Scholars have long noted Eusebius of Caesarea, for example, who championed the emperor as Christ's favored military victor.[27] Serving in the courts of both Diocletian and Constantine, Lactantius was another first-hand witness to the reversal of fortunes experienced by Christians during and after the Great Persecution (303-311/313).[28] He, too, saw Constantine as a patron and hero of Christianity.[29] Such a perspective developed out of contemporary and later discourse on the emperor's legacy, the product of a process that is at once historical and rhetorical. Shane Bjornlie sums up this process in his work, *Constantine in the Sixth Century*:

> Constantine did eventually come to be seen as the tutelary figure in the association between Christianity and Roman Empire, but this was a representation of Constantine cultivated over time by church leaders and by subsequent emperors who sought a recognizable means for communicating legitimacy in an imperial world that was increasingly different from that which had produced the first Roman emperor. Certainly,

[23] See: Brown (1981), 119; Grig, (2004b), 215-230.
[24] For a collection of these hagiographical works in late antiquity, see: Rebillard, Éric. *Greek and Latin Narratives about the Ancient Martyrs.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press (1995), 2017.
[25] McLarty (2020), 129-130; Shaw (1993), 15; Perkins (1995), 32-33.
[26] Grig (2004a), 4.
[27] See: Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* I.5-6, 48; *ibid.* II.4.
[28] Barnes, (1973), 29-46; DePalma Digeser (2000), 107-144; Mackay (1999), 199.
[29] Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* 24: *suscepto imperio Constantinus Augustus nihil egit prius quam Christianos cultui ac deo suo reddere. haec fuit prima eius sanctio sanctae religionis restitutae*. See also: Lactantius, *Div. inst*. I.1.

> by the early fifth century, Constantine had become established in the late-antique imagination as a founding figure for Christian Empire.[30]

Bjornlie highlights the post-facto association of Constantine with a policy of proselytization that stands in opposition to the primary evidence, demonstrating that empire-wide Christianization was simply not a part of the imperial agenda.[31] At the same time, Constantine's legislative reforms and monumental building projects did have the effect of increasing the prestige of, and resources available to, ecclesiastical leaders.[32] While his policy of toleration extended to all religious groups across the empire, his promotion of Christianity constructed a privileged class of sub-elite priests and imperially sponsored landmarks upon a pre-existing network of exceptional significance to early Christian self-conception.[33] Perhaps the most discussed instance of the privileges afforded to Christianity resides in the *Codex Theodosianus* 16.2.1-16, which granted exemptions for the clergy and allowed the church to be named the beneficiary of estates.[34]

We see this on the ground, too, where the emperor and his immediate successors concretized their commitment to Christianity by shaping the sacred landscape of the Roman Empire in a limited yet consequential building program. This occurs where the imperial family built ecclesiastical structures in places that held great significance for Christians, such as the Church of St. Peter in Rome, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.[35] These physical interventions made tangible a sacred landscape

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[30] Bjornlie (2017), 92.
[31] See also: Brown (2012), 23, 32; Barnes (1981), 191.
[32] Brown (2012), 33-35.
[33] On the privileges Constantine bestowed upon Christians, see: Mitchell, 259-264; Brown (2012), 31-39. On Constantine's Christian building projects in the west, see: Mitchell, S. (2007), 333-334; Cameron, Av. (1993), 58; Lensky ((2016), 394-395).
[34] See, for instance: Elliott, T.G. "The Tax Exemptions Granted to Clerics by Constantine and Constantius II." Phoenix, vol. 32, no. 4 (1978): 326-336.
[35] See: Holloway, 120-156; Weber, Winfried. "Reflections on the Reconstruction of the Constantine Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem." *Antiquité tardive*, vol. 22 (2014): 105-110; Kelley, Justin. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Text and Archaeology: A Survey and Analysis of Past Excavations and Recent Archaeological Research with a Collection of Principal Historical Sources*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2019.

that, for the first time, developed out of imperial patronage.[36] Likewise, Constantine's legislative interventions had the downstream effect of attracting converts from the upper echelons of late Roman society.[37] These elite converts could continue to enjoy the traditional privileges afforded to them by their status as elites, but could also bring their own resources to the church. As Mark Edwards reminds us, Constantine's "policies and enactments on behalf of the church established the conditions in which Christianity could flourish and thus prepared his subjects for the Christianizing measures of his successors."[38] The larger point, then, is that it is no coincidence that we see the emergence of a Christian aristocracy in the generations after Constantine,[39] nor an increasingly hierarchical and professionalized clergy.[40] Likewise, the emergence of a Christian aristocracy developed in conjunction with the rise of the cult of saints, becoming fully intertwined at the end of the fourth century as these elite Christians wrote about the martyrs and built up spaces associated with their veneration.

The rise of the cult of saints in late antiquity lent itself to the perception that the martyrs, as exemplars of perfection in the face of persecution, were themselves relics of the past.[41] Looming in the background, however, was the lived experience of Christian imperfection.[42] On the one hand, authors such as Lactantius could look to the past for exemplars of faithfulness and instances of justice. His *De mortibus persecutorum* not only celebrates the abdication of

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[36] Armstrong (1967), 3-17; Rubenstein (1999), 71.
[37] On the impact of Constantine and his successors on the economy and administration of the late Roman Empire, see: Watts (2015), 59-80.
[38] Edwards, Mark. "The Beginnings of Christianization," In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine.* Edited by Noel Lenski. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005: 137-158.
[39] Salzman, 200-219; Humphries (1999), 171-172.
[40] Underwood (2018), 35-93, but see especially 38-42 and 87-93, on the development of a professional clergy in the third through fourth centuries.
[41] Grig (2004a), 18; Conigliaro (2014), 2.
[42] To name a few notable examples, Gregory of Nazianzus complains against corrupt clerics in his *Oration* 42, while Libanius (though not a Christian) speaks out against the violence of Christian mobs in his *Oration* 30. See: Susanna Elm, "A Programmatic Life: Gregory of Nazianzus' Orations 42 and 43 and the Constantinopolitan Elites," *Arethusa* 33 (2000), 411- 427; Michael Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman* Empire. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Diocletian and the accession of Constantine, but it also reinterprets historical events to construct contemporary notions of retribution and martyrial triumph. Paul Stephenson, in fact, has argued for the novelty of Lactantius' association of divine retribution with Christian triumphalism:

> Not only did Lactantius delight in the misfortune and demise of the persecuting emperors, he also attributed them to the intervention of the god of the Christians, defending the interests of the faithful. Such an approach rejected the very premise on which martyrs had accepted death at the hands of their persecutors: that their god did not meddle in earthly affairs or bring misfortune upon Roman emperors. This was the first step in articulating a new Christian triumphalistic rhetoric…[43]

Here, again, early Christians understood the martyrs as both imitators of divine perfection and harbingers of the resurrection, where the appropriation and reframing of biblical and para-biblical narratives reinforced this ideological shift. On the other hand, as idealistically as early Christian thinkers could render past and present, they nevertheless found it difficult to ignore the lapses of lay and elite Christians, alike.[44] While Lactantius, Eusebius and many others constructed and celebrated a new era of Christian prosperity grounded in part by the example of the martyrs, they nevertheless had to contend with the lived experience of Christians who navigated an ever-shifting array of ethics, cultic practices, and communal identities.[45] This struggle finds expression, to name but one example, in the realm of sexual mores. In his book, *From Shame to Sin*, Kyle Harper remarks that:

> The most astonishing development of late antiquity is the transformation of a radical sexual ideology, for centuries the possession of a small, strident band of vociferous dissenters, into a culture, a broadly shared public framework of values and meanings. The Christian vision of sexual humanity, incubated in the radical air of persecution, was forced, unexpectedly, into the mold of a regulatory system.[46]

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[43] Stephenson (2009), 109.
[44] Shaw (2011), 66-106.
[45] See, for instance Stroumsa ((2015), 1-18) on evolving practices and discourse on paideia, book culture, and sacrifices.
[46] Harper (2013), 135.

Here, again, Lactantius' intuitions aid our understanding of the late ancient world. After a lengthy lamentation of widespread sexual immorality, he reassures his audience that penance is possible: "Let no one desert or despair of himself if, overtaken by passion, driven by lust, deceived by error, or coerced by violence, he has fallen down the path of injustice."[47] From this passage, we see that early Christian discourse on sex and salvation not only departed from non-Christian norms, but it also became normalized as Christianity made inroads into society. This is true not only of sexual conventions, but of perceptions of history and landscape as well.

In the city of Rome and in northern Italy, notions of space and time introduced in the second and third centuries found further expression in the fourth century in a nascent Christian landscape. To be clear, this statement is not about presence but scale. Certain hallmarks of the early Jesus movement appear from the writings of the first century,[48] the catacombs of Rome dug out as early as the second,[49] and the earliest discernably Christian art arises in the third.[50] Yet it is only in the fourth century that we see the construction of the basilicas, baptistries, and other ecclesiastical spaces that speak to an increasingly centralized, professionalized, and affluent institution known as "the church".[51] The period between the Diocletian Persecution and the sack of Rome in 410 is one of redirection and acceleration, one in which the fiscal and political enrichment of the clergy catalyzed the progressive reshaping of the spaces in which late antiquarians worshipped, socialized, and competed.

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[47] Lactantius, *Inst*. 6.24.1. Translation found in Harper (2013), 136.
[48] The Pauline Epistles' emphasis on sexual continence and resurrection, to name just two.
[49] On Roman catacombs, see: Rutgers (2013), 497-521.
[50] The earliest paintings in the Catacombs of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (Rome) date to the third. See: Giuliani (2015), 8-10. The development of early Christian art in general, see: Jensen (2000), 64-93, 130-155.
[51] Jenn Cianca examines of the centrality of the house-church in early Christian worship from the first through third centuries in *Sacred Ritual, Profane Space: The Roman House as Early Christian Meeting Place*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018. See also: Webb (2001), 251. Giuliani notes the changes to the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter after "the Constantinian turning point" (2015), 10-14, 25.

This occurs simultaneously and as a result of the spread of Christianity throughout northern Italy. While Rome had been home to some of the earliest Christian communities in the Roman Empire,[52] the region experienced a relatively slow rate of Christian expansion.[53] There is no direct evidence to confirm the presence of Christian communities in northern Italy before the mid-third century, and attestations of ecclesiastical institutions across northern Italy are sparse before the late fourth.[54] Authors of the late fourth century and later express some awareness of the slow progression of Christianity northward. In his *Chronicon* 2.32, for instance, Sulpicius Severus (d. 425) admits that Christianity "had been accepted fairly late across the Alps" (*serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta*) – that is, at the turn of the third century.[55] Others simply attest to the existence of dioceses in the region while treating other subjects.[56] Athanasius and Hilary, for example, take for granted an episcopal presence in northern Italy during the Council of Serdica in 343/4.[57] In modern scholarship, Robert Mullen has compiled a list of written evidence for the presence of Christian across northern Italy. His findings attest to eight sites "confirmed" to have had a Christian presence by the mid-fourth century,[58] as well as seventeen "possible sites."[59] From Mullen's catalogue, the best-attested dioceses in northern Italy from before the late fourth century are at Aquileia, Brixia (Brescia), Mediolanum (Milan), Ravenna,

[52] Acts 18, 28; Irenaeus, *Adv. Her.* 3.3.
[53] Humphries (1999), 45, 105.
[54] Humphries (1999), 105; Lizzi, (1990), 156.
[55] See: de Senneville-Grave, Ghislaine. *Sulpice Sévère, Chroniques: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentarire*. Sources Chrétiennes 441. Paris: Le clerf, 1999.
[56] According to Humphries, the most important church councils for reconstructing northern Italian Christianization are at Rome in 313, Arles in 314, Serdica in 343, Milan in 355 and 392/3, Rimini in 359, Aquileia in 381 (Humphries (1999), 46, 174).
[57] Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos* 37; Hilary, *Ep.* B.II.4.
[58] For example, Aquileia boasts evidence of martyrs and deacons from the early fourth century. The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmen* 8.3.166) attribute the same three martyrs to the city, while the *Concilia Galliae* (14-21) lists the Aquileian Bishop Theodorus and Agathon the deacon at the synod of Arles in 314, and Hilary (*Epistle* B.II.4) accounts for Bishop Fortunat(ian)us of Aquileia at the Council of Serdica. See: Mullen, 213.
[59] Mullen (2003), 213-219.

and Verona.[60] In *Communities of the Blessed*, Mark Humphries surveys the "difficulties imposed by the traditional source material for early north Italian Christianity."[61] These sources are not only "lists of bishops at councils," but also epistolary and liturgical evidence of the kind that we see in Mullen.[62] In considering the archaeological and epigraphical data, Humphries identifies some twenty Christian communities irregularly scattered throughout the Po valley and in *Venetia et Histria*. These developed, he argues, along pre-existing networks of trade, administration, and social contact.[63] It is at this time, Humphries notes, that the nature of Christianization begins to change as bishops began to envision increasingly localized Christian communities, and thus became more systematic in their approach.[64]

Parts one and two of this dissertation deal with precisely these two periods of time, when Christianity made inroads into northern Italy up through the third quarter of the fourth century, and when Christianity was becoming the dominant socio-political force in the region just prior to the fifth. The fulcrum between these two periods seem to hinge upon Ambrose's bishopric. It is not the goal of this discussion to prove Humphries' perspective that:

> the later years of the fourth century were ones in which Christianity, on the face of it, extended its reach deeper into northern Italy. To be sure, the real explosion of self-

[60] Egypt provides a case with to compare to northern Italy. It is regarding Egypt that Darlene Brooks Hedstrom informs us, "The lack of recognizable Christian remains before the fourth century is counteracted by the presence of papyrological sources from the second century onward. However, it is a vexing position for the archaeologist and historian, as Late Antique textual sources, whether literary, historical, or documentary, are frequently silent on the Christianization of Egypt, the location of Christians in Roman Egypt, and the responses to the adoption of a new religion" ((2019), 667).
[61] Humphries (1999), 45-71.
[62] Humphries (1999), 70.
[63] Humphries (1999), 104-105. He further remarks, "That Christianity should exploit such pre-existing networks is not surprising: these matrices were the framework within which, to a greater or lesser extent, all private cults spread, as comparison with the expansion of Isis worship and Judaism has demonstrated" (105).
[64] Humphries summarizes the period by stating that "the later years of the fourth century were ones in which Christianity, on the face of it, extended its reach deeper into northern Italy. To be sure, the real explosion of self-conscious missionary effort seems to have come only in the wake of Ambrose's episcopate, but the achievements of this half-century ought not to be underestimated" *Ibid.*

> conscious missionary effort seems to have come only in the wake of Ambrose's episcopate, but the achievements of this half-century ought not to be underestimated.[65]

What this means for our purposes is that while the aristocratic Ambrose succeeded to a prestigious metropolitan See, Zeno faced an entirely different situation. His diocese was less esteemed and far poorer than his contemporary a fortnight to the east. In the generation following Zeno, a new Christian aristocracy arose with Ambrose and Prudentius. Though on the heels of Zeno, these two men found themselves in a much-changed situation.

2. *Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*

In the field of Late Antiquity, scholars have become increasingly interested in questions of regionality,[66] time and landscape,[67] as well as the intersection between oral and visual media.[68] In the study of late-fourth century Italy, research has trended toward better understandings of reading practices and the experiences of sacred spaces through their rhetoricity and visuality.[69] These studies build off the work of the previous four decades, much of which has

[65] Humphries (1999), 186.
[66] See, for instance, the *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* series, which includes: Burns, Thomas and John Eadie (eds). *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2001; Ellis, Linda and Frank Kidner (eds.). *Travel, Communication, and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2004; and Brakke, David, Deborah Deliyannis, and Edward Watts (eds.). *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
[67] Salzman, Michele Renee. *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990; Stern, Sacha. *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; O'Hogan (2016); Christie, Neil. *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2004; Bronwen Neil and Kosta Simic, *Memories of Utopia: The Revision of Histories and Landscapes in Late Antiquity*. London; New York: Routledge, 2019.
[68] Leatherbury (2020); De Nie, Giselle and Thomas Noble (eds.). *Envisioning Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages Dynamic Patterns in Texts and Images*. London: Routledge, 2012; Quiroga Puertas, Alberto (ed.). *Rhetorical Strategies in Late Antique Literature: Images, Metatexts and Interpretation.* Leiden: Brill, 2017.
[69] Coogan, Jeremiah. "Transforming Textuality: Porphyry, Eusebius, and Late Ancient Tables of Contents." *Studies in Late Antiquity* vol. 5, no. 1(2021): 6–27; Stroumsa (2015), 1-18; Valantasis, Richard (ed.). *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

emphasized the cult of saints,[70] imperial and ecclesiastical rhetoric,[71] and Christianization in Late Antiquity.[72] These trends toward regionality and experientiality have made room for the exploration of the development of notions of space and time. In this section, I detail the theoretical and methodical considerations of the present discussion.

Throughout this dissertation, I utilize the terms "public" and "private" in the context of episcopal authority and late fourth century notions of conflicting, hierarchical spheres of autonomy. Here, I will more directly describe the relationship between public and private in the development of ecclesiastical hierarchies, martyr veneration, and Christianization. Beginning with Sozomen's tale of the discovery of the forty martyrs, Kimberly Bowes examines the interplay of private and public spheres of religiosity in her book, *Private Worship, Public Values*. In book nine of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen (c. 400-450) regards the aristocratic Eusebia (d. 360) with suspicion of heresy. A "deaconess of the Macedonian sect", our historian reminds us, Eusebia was well-connected, wealthy, and, moreover, close to the martyrs. For on an estate in the environs of Constantinople, the lady housed the priceless relics of the forty soldiers martyred under Licinius at Sebaste (Armenia). At the end of her life, Eusebia bequeathed these relics and the estate in which they rested to monks of the *orthodox* faith, Sozomen emphasizes, under the condition that they bury relic and lady together. Unbeknownst to anyone, the monks carved out a

[70] Brown (1981); Hayward, Paul Antony and J. D Howard-Johnston. *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999; Davis, Stephen J. *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity.* Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008.
[71] Flower, Richard, and Morwenna Ludlow. *Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020; Frakes, Robert, Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, and Justin Stephens (eds.). *The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity: Religion and Politics in Byzantium, Europe and the Early Islamic World*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010; Cameron, Averil. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1996.
[72] Maxwell, Jaclyn. *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and His Congregation in Antioch*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009; Salzman, Michele Renee, Marianne Sághy, and Rita Testa. *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome: Conflict, Competition, and Coexistence in the Fourth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

"subterranean house of prayer" near her tomb but placed "an edifice" atop the grave of the martyrs that was "open to view". Together, Eusebia and her soldiers awaited the apocalypse in secret until none but a single monk could remember where they lay. If not for Saint Thyrsus' intervention into the dreams of the empress, Sozomen claims, the forty martyrs might have been lost to memory. Once excavated, their relics traveled to another estate-martyr shrine on the property of the consul Caesarius, who had previously interred his own belated wife near the tomb of her close companion, Eusebia.

Bowes explores the ritual, material, and written aspects of private worship from the fourth to mid-fifth centuries, emphasizing the centrality and significance of private worship to Christians in both urban centers and in rural communities. Yet Sozomen's writing reveals a discordant world of private and public practice where, as Bowes points out:

> The family and the household lay uneasily alongside the nascent church, as ancient habits of doing religion organized around the family and patronage failed to mesh with episcopal authority and clerical hierarchies…private churches and private rituals attracted accusations of heretical practice, accusations that resounded with increasing hysteria in imperial law courts and church councils. At the same time…the impresarios of private churches were lauded as examples of exemplary piety. Private cult was not simply a potent presence in late antique Christendom, but a matter of strenuous debate.[73]

In this passage, Bowes calls attention to the oft-conflicting spheres of private and public worship. As her prose implies, private worship was intimately connected to the domestic sphere. Through the late fourth century, minimally, it was the role of the family to oversee such rites as the burial of a kinsperson or the marriage of a relative, not the clergy.[74] Although the "public" sphere pertains to matters of business and state, from the grandeur of an emperor's triumph to the humble offering of a ship-hand just prior to setting sail, public worship evokes notions of

[73] Bowes (2008), 2.
[74] MacMullen (2014), 491-492; Rebillard (2009), 144–146; Bowes (2008), 4.

performance of piety in the view of non-kin. Whereas the syncretism characteristic of Greco-Roman piety allowed for the individualized expression of these familial rites, the increasingly dogmatic aspects of Christian monotheism could put private and public at odds.

In this dissertation, I use evidence from episcopal sermons and letters, as well as poetry in the form of hymns, epigrams, and *tituli historiarum*. I place these epistolary, liturgical and literary sources in conversation with the archaeological and material record: in Part I, I compare the rhetoric of Zeno's sermons to the sacred topography of Verona in the late fourth century; in Part II, I examine Ambrose's epigraphic verse within the context of his ecclesiastical and epigraphic construction in Milan; in Part III, I analyze Prudentius' discourse on burial by studying the common use of Tobit in funerary media in the catacombs of Rome. One limitation of this evidence is its (sub-)elite origins. As Ra'anan Bouston has recently remarked in the Spring edition of *Studies in Late Antiquity* (2022):

> If writing itself is one of the most outstanding—indeed revolutionary—inventions of civilization, then it is not surprising that the written sources produced by urban elites so often papered over the fractures in the institutions they controlled…[Elite literary texts] sublimate the competing interests and perspectives that inevitably pit rival elites against each other into idealized narratives of the proper functioning of power and authority.[75]

This papering and sublimation aptly describe the at times tense relationship between bishops and (sub-)elite laypeople in northern Italy and in Rome in the late fourth century. As we shall see, Zeno of Verona praises the generosity of the wealthy (*divites*) as he rebukes the goings on in their private lives. I will show that Ambrose of Milan, likewise, criticizes elite families for preventing their daughters from becoming consecrated virgins in his liturgy while using his pictorial poetry to position the clergy as the successors to paradigmatic authorities from scripture. The lay poet Prudentius, meanwhile, celebrates the conversation of the aristocracy in

[75] Boustan (2022), 3.

the city of Rome, versifies a virtual pilgrimage through northern Italy, and justifies contemporary Christian burial practices. In the evidence I examine, Prudentius never discusses the authority of the clergy, nor does he locate spaces under episcopal control as loci of sanctity; rather, Prudentius identifies scripture (as biblical precedent) and the martyrs (as relics and historical paradigms) as conduits for Christ and salvation.

Additionally, as Zeno and Ambrose are bishops, I am not examining the "lower echelons" of the clergy – or, rather, I only discuss exorcists, subdeacons, readers, and other clerics through the lens of episcopal rhetoric.[76] Over the course of the fourth century, the church grew in both congregants and resources, its rhetoric making headway into the popular consciousness of the empire. In no other figure do we find a more strident representative of this new, Christian consciousness than in the bishop. It was the episcopacy that argued so laboriously for the intrusion of the church into the private lives of their congregants, and who meticulously detailed their efforts in their liturgies, histories, and building projects. Such is the case of Sozomen, who at once celebrates the reincorporation of the forty martyrs into the body of the orthodox church while betraying anxiety over such matters as the cult of saints, female leadership in the church, and heretical worship. Such conflicting reports appear again and again in late antiquity. Sometime in the 360s and 370s, an exasperated Zeno of Verona rattled off a list of activities that seemed quotidian to some, but sacrilegious to him.[77] The private veneration of martyrs and the continuation of pagan practice on private estates were chief among them. In Ambrose, we see a strenuous attempt to convince the northern Italian elite families to allow their daughters to don the veil.[78] Yet his episcopal correspondence with Zeno's successor, Syagrius,

[76] Adamiak (2022), 143.
[77] Zeno of Verona, *Three Genera* 11.
[78] Ambrose, *De virg*.

reveals the presence of heretical thinkers in the homes of at least one of these consecrated virgins.[79] As Bowes explains, "The average late antique bishop was a rather anemic creature with an uncertain job description and more authority than actual power. Even the likes of an Augustine or an Ambrose was confronted with limited financial resources, uncooperative elites and imperial bureaucrats, and a systemic inability to translate theological dictates into real-world practice."[80] Thus, from episcopal documents emerges a tug-of-war, of sorts, between public and private spheres.

At the same time, evidence from bishops provides only one perspective on this game of piety. Elite Christian laity provide a similarly narrow view, but one that, nevertheless, widens our field of vision. As Sozomen's account of Eusebia and the forty martyrs shows, aristocrats exercised a high degree of social and fiscal capital. These resources could be in direct competition with a newly enriched body of episcopal voices, whereas at other times, they were mutually beneficial. With respect to the laity, I am slightly more expansive in scope. Prudentius is certainly an aristocrat, highly educated and wealthy enough to retire from public life to devote himself to writing poetry. While most of my discussion in Part III focuses upon this elite poet, I do place Prudentius' discourse on contemporary Christian burial practices in *Cathemerinon* 10 in conversation with a gold glass medallion discovered in the Catacombs of S. Callixtus. Moreover, I assume contact between elites and sub-elites, both in everyday lives (minimally, in places of worship, in public institutions such as the baths and in the forum, etc.) and in the *zeitgeist* (a spectrum of education in and awareness of a homogenized curriculum, such as in catechetical training and rhetorical or legal education).[81] Though Prudentius is a member of the elite, I

[79] Ambrose, *Ep.* V.
[80] Bowes (2008), 4.
[81] See discussion in Brown (2000), 331-345; Cribiore (2005), 220-252; Williams (2008), 25-62.

assume a degree of continuity between the practices and ideas expressed in *Cathemerinon* 10 and the sub-elite Christians who made use of Rome's catacombs in the late fourth century. [82] The sub-elite origins and use of the gold glass medallion therefore expand the non-clerical perspective I examine in Part III. The terms "elite" and "sub-elite" are ambiguous but receive due consideration in Peter Brown's article, "The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity" (2000). Brown points out that "elites" operated within an imperial system that demanded "a double disjuncture between the quasi-automatic claims of birth and inherited wealth and the 'true' nobility associated with education and office."[83] Brown reminds us, moreover, that the church "was firmly ensconced among the 'sub-elites' of the cities and the countryside" by the late fourth century.[84] These sub-elites were "confraternities of pious laymen dedicated to the upkeep of local shrines and to the care of the poor, [who] speak of themselves as *lamprotatoi*, *clarissimi*. But they are a carpenter, a weaver, some local farmers, a cantor, and a stuffer of cushions."[85] In this dissertation, then, I refer to elites and sub-elites within this spectrum of ambiguity. It must also be noted that the bishop under examination, Zeno and Ambrose, certainly had both elites and sub-elites in mind in their respective discourse on ethics, space, and history.

When viewed through the lens of intellectual history, I consider this evidence to have both primary and secondary characteristics. Although originating within the last few decades of the fourth century, the timespan between the pieces of evidence and the period they represent is paradoxical. For while these authors speak to contemporary issues and envisage a contemporary audience, they nevertheless purport to describe historical events and people. They are not eyewitnesses to the past, but rather rely upon the tacit acceptance of a chain of transmission from

[82] Deliyannis (2019), 47; Walker (2018), 130-131; Howells (2015), 60-61.
[83] Brown (2000), 332.
[84] Brown (2000), 341.
[85] Brown (2000), 341-342.

the time in question to the moment of transmission. The authors examined here achieve this more easily when speaking to the more distant past, such as when they refer to biblical episodes. Ambrose, for instance, need not refer to oral tradition nor divine revelation when assuming the historicity of the Binding of Isaac, nor the relatively more recent annunciation of Mary's pregnancy.[86] Yet this simple principle becomes more complicated – and often contested – when referring to recent events and present circumstances. Ambrose exemplifies this qualification, as well, when he adapts traditions about Mary, Agnes, and Thecla to bolster his persuasion of elite Milanese families to allow their daughters to be consecrated virgins.[87]

Thus, I am not staking a claim as "what happened", but rather what these authors *thought* about their view of "what happened." Of course, I am indebted to the re-conception of the nature of historical knowledge spurred on by postempiricism and postpositivism since the 1970s, which reintegrated literary theory into the study of history.[88] For my purposes, I am interested in what late antique authors – Zeno, Ambrose and Prudentius – made of the past as they entrenched their viewpoints into contemporary time and space through their audience's interaction with their cultural productions. The relationship between the events described and the justifications given focus our attention on the rhetorical strategies at play in the construction of history and space. Such is the case when Zeno, in his discourse on impropriety and impiety in *Three Genera*,

[86] See: Genesis 22; Lk. 1:26-38; Ambrose's *Dist.* 12(IV) and 3(XVIII), respectively. Translation in chapter 4.
[87] See: Hunter (2000), 285.
[88] The paradigm shift that resulted from these approaches, generally known as the "linguistic turn", focused historians upon subjective representation over objective truth. As Kathleen Canning explains in her discussion of the linguistic turn in feminist studies, "In the field of history, the term 'linguistic turn' denotes the historical analysis of representation as opposed to the pursuit of discernible, retrievable historical 'reality'." See: Canning, Kathleen. *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006: 65. She warns, however, that "in popular academic usage…the linguistic turn has become a catch-all for divergent critiques of established historical paradigms, narratives, and chronologies, encompassing not only poststructuralist literary criticism, linguistic theory and philosophy but also cultural and symbolic anthropology, new historicism, and gender history" (*Ibid.*).

discourages his audience from inventing martyrs for the sake of getting drunk in their tombs.[89] Reading against the oratorical grain, Zeno's admonitions suggest anxiety about martyr veneration under his nose and out of his hands. Such a rhetorical stance raises questions about the nature and proliferation of the cult of saints and the role of the bishop in Verona at the close of fourth century.[90]

Not only this, but we must also be mindful of the ways in which these concepts of history and space function structurally and didactically. By my observation, each piece of evidence performs some combination of the following: the promotion of martyr cult, ethical intervention, and the interpretation of historical events or cultic spaces. Zeno, Ambrose, and Prudentius attend to contemporary circumstances by way of temporal-spatial construction. They manipulate notions of history and sacred space to justify episcopal expansion (in the case of Zeno and Ambrose) or to explain or promote pietistic activity (in the case of the lay poet, Prudentius). This study therefore understands "history" as attending to *what has happened* in relation to *what currently happens*, where "space" addresses the intersection of *where it happened* and *who mediates the happening*. Thus, Prudentius utilizes both intersections when he uses the Book of Tobit to justify contemporary Christian burial practices in *Cathemerinon* 9. Likewise does Zeno's abstraction of cultic space in *Three Genera* invoke conceptions of episcopal authority and martyr veneration in Verona.

Two further terms, "time" and "landscape", also deserve clarification. "Landscape" refers to perceptions of space with reference to identifiable locations, even if wholly imaginary. Landscape can be ambiguous or highly specific, but it need not be "real" in the sense of

[89] Zeno, *Three Genera* 10-11.
[90] Consider Jim Butcher's enigmatic opening line in his novel, *Blood Rites*: "The building was on fire, and it wasn't my fault." Such a statement both reveals information and raises questions.

physically existing. Landscape is like a pincushion into which we embed discursive needles. It holds in place such constructs as "basilica", "memorial", and "cemetery", and it adapts to and shapes our experience of space. Take, for example, the shifting form of Jerusalem in early Christianity. Though a tangible space, how the holy city took shape and what it meant to those who shaped it changed significantly over the course of late antiquity.[91]

By extension, spaces comprise landscape and carry multiple valences at once. Space is not neutral, but culturally "read" and formed by its inhabitants and imaginers. Thus, we see demarcations of space as "private", "public", and "domestic" that connote use, users, structure, and meaning.[92] How late antique thinkers constructed space not only took physical and discursive form, but also communicated notions of morality, ritual, and doctrine. At the intersection of forms, connotations and demarcations of space lies discursive potential upon which bishops and other early Christian intellectuals (here, poets) capitalized. To this point, Kimberly Bowes describes the differing perceptions of space through the lens of private and public worship:

> Like Romans of all religious persuasions, Christians also engaged in private rituals apart from their communal groups, including eucharistic meals and private prayer…those private rituals were frequently the object of a preoccupied episcopal gaze. Unlike their polytheist contemporaries, Christian bishops and clergy regarded the 'private' of the home and the family as a potentially problematic space, distinctly different in quality than that supervised by communal authorities (20).

Private ritual took a variety of forms, from the veneration of ancestors to the joining of two families through marriage. We may look this "episcopal gaze" directly in the eye when viewing the rhetoric of Zeno and Ambrose, and we may hear their echoes in the late antique poet,

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[91] See: Aist, Rodney. *The Christian Topography of Early Islamic Jerusalem: The Evidence of Willibald of Eichstätt, 800-787 CE.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009; Regev, Eyal. *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

[92] Compare, for instance, the layout and function of a triclinium in Pompei to that of a barrack in Gaul.

Prudentius. Zeno and Ambrose intervene in the "private lives" of their parishioners by tying space to ethics and cultic practice; so too does Prudentius takes for granted a private space in his explication of Christian burial practices at the same time that he utilizes public space (the forum of Rome and its elite historical institutions) as a backdrop to martyrial triumph and a symbol of aristocratic Christianization.

All three figures utilize conceptions of space, as well as historical exempla, to examine contemporary categories of persons and practices. These historical exempla invoke the second term in need of examination: time. By "time", I refer to the relationship between events as envisioned by the author, the audience or both. There is narrative time, that which relates two or more events in a story, but also the subjective experience of time on the part of the audience. Both involve chronological constructs, the infinite manifestations of which include institutionalized divisions (events on a festal calendar, canonical hours in a day) and personal reflections (orientation towards the eschaton, commemoration of the dead). These temporal-spatial notions of *who*, *what*, *when* and *where* tether past to present, but likewise text to image. Each source evokes narrative imagery, whether through direct description or indirect implication, located in the past or simply out of sight of the present audience.

Modern scholars have become increasingly interested in this connection between text and image, especially within the trend toward regionality and experientiality. One example of scholarship on the textuality of late antique ecclesiastical spaces is Sean Leatherbury's *Inscribing Faith in Late Antiquity* (2020). After an examination of material texts, the framing of the author and the interaction with the audience, Leatherbury concludes that inscribed images draw upon received traditions to prime the audience for personal experience of the sacred:

> Once these verbal images converted viewers into readers, their words drew on the classical rhetorical strategies of ekphrasis as well as…Greek and Roman literature,

> encouraging visitors to move around sacred interiors in particular ways, reflect on the character of spaces, visit parts of buildings, and respond in directed but personal ways to their experiences. When paired with the rich range of figural and other images that appeared in the same buildings, especially with narrative and iconic images of biblical events and figures, inscriptions served to vivify and dramatize images and allow characters to speak, collapsing biblical and contemporary time and space to allow audiences direct access to sacred history and eschatological future.[93]

Leatherbury highlights the symbiotic relationship between text and image that mediates the audience's experience of time and space in ecclesiastical buildings. At the intersection of ekphrasis and biblical paraphrase, late antique *tituli* describe and interpret symbols, events, and spaces. Some sources, such as the *tituli* poems of Ambrose and Prudentius, function in relation to the images they describe. As *tituli historiarum* poetry, an ekphrastic genre of poetry arising in the fourth century, Ambrose's *Disticha* and Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* may be seen as extensions of the rise of monumental verse initiated by the imperial family in the mid-fourth century. Both works are collections of *tituli historiarum* poems purporting to describe biblical cycle images. Whereas the *Disticha* purportedly accompanied physical images in the Basilica Ambrosiana, Prudentius' *Disttochaeon* circulated independently in the manuscript tradition and likely never decorated a physical basilica.[94]

A cousin of *tituli* poetry are the epigrammatic inscriptions that likewise function in relation to the space in which their authors, such as Damasus and Ambrose, installed them. As Dennis Trout has argued, this lithification of verse in Rome "allowed imperial patrons to announce their cultural as well as civic and religious commitments in a city that had not yet fortified all its importance as a stage for the performance of emperorship."[95] The same statement

[93] Leatherbury (2020), 285.
[94] Lehmann (2010), 150; Dresken-Weiland, 64. For the opposite assumption, see Gnilka (2009a), 374. See also discussion in chapter 5.
[95] *Ibid.*, 88.

applies to Ambrose's physical *carmen epigraphicum* in Milan,[96] as well as the *tituli* poetry of Prudentius. Both *tituli* and epigrams guide the audience's interaction with sacred space through their historicized content, but they only achieve this through appeal to preconceptions of history and landscape. In his article, "Forms of Attention" (2012), Simon Goldhill considers the "focused, sublime form of attention" required of early Christian ekphrasis.[97] After establishing that ekphrasis "dramatizes a form of attention, the reflective gaze at an object,"[98] he highlights the "specifically Christian" knowledge needed to interpret the image:

> The Christian is not *ignarus rerum*, however humble and insignificant he may wish to present himself to be, but has to know that his redeemer liveth, and has to be able to see a figure of eternal truth in the particularities of architecture, a portrait, or an image of the Hebrew Bible – and to view from within a specifically Christian matrix of moral values…[99]

If Leatherbury emphasizes the subjective experience of an audience's interaction with textual images, Goldhill draws our attention to its pedagogical and didactic components. Yet consideration of temporal-spatial construction need not be confined to the physical realm, for *tituli* poems often referred to images that existed only in in the mind of its audience rather than in three-dimensional space. Such is the case with Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*. Even when taking the form of sermons or epistles, didactic rhetoric often reiterates and even constructs notions of time and space. Ambrose's attempts to create a class of consecrated virgins in Milan illustrate this point. Although his *De virginibus* does not emphasize the space in which the audience would have heard it, the liturgical form of the sermon establishes an ecclesiastical context as the setting for the rhetoric delivered. This is true, too, of the implicit ecclesiastical frame of the *tituli historiarum* genre, a feature which has to my knowledge gone unnoticed in modern scholarship.

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[96] For scholarly discussion of the Latin epigraphic poem in Late Antiquity, see: Gamberale, 481-505; Bernt, 71-72.
[97] Goldhill (2012), 112.
[98] *Ibid.*, 88.
[99] *Ibid.*, 112.

For Ambrose, this ecclesiastical frame expands the authority of the bishop over the sacred spaces of Milan; for Prudentius, meanwhile, the implied ecclesiastical frame of his *tituli* poems raises questions about the nature of elite, private worship. Does the frame of Prudentius' *tituli* presuppose a church controlled by the clergy, or might it apply equally if not more appropriately to a private/domestic place of worship? These subjects I will address in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation. Additionally, chapter 2 will examine Zeno of Verona's sermon on the renovation of his church, *God's House*, which I consider to be a prosaic predecessor to the *carmen epigraphicum* of Ambrose and Prudentius.

3. *Organization of the Dissertation*

Covering the period from the 360s and concluding just prior to the sack of Rome in 410, I begin this dissertation with Zeno of Verona. This bishop implemented his interventions through his sermons, known as the *Tractatus*, a collection of sermons and letters largely lacking translation into English.[100] Zeno's sermons describe the renovation of one of the earliest purpose-built churches in Verona, his promotion of the martyr Archadius to the exclusion of others, and his efforts to construe traditional funerary practices as impious. While Zeno laments his parish's (alleged) sinfulness and the limitations of his own authority, he nevertheless champions his congregation's ability to remodel its church in Verona. He turns to the martyrs as paradigmatic figures of perfection while simultaneously discouraging his congregation from impiety.

Despite his importance to the issues raised here and elsewhere in scholarship, Zeno is a remarkably understudied figure. I therefore begin Part I of this dissertation by contextualizing his tenure as bishop, as well as his congregation in Verona. In chapter one, I examine two sermons

[100] Jeanes provides translations for Zeno's paschal sermons ((1995), 100-145). This means that only nine of one-hundred and three tractates may be found in English.

that take a dissuasive tone: *De triplici genere sacrificiorum* (*Three Genera of Sacrifices*; hereafter, *Three Genera*) and *De resurrectione* (*On the Resurrection*; hereafter, *Resurrection*).

In the following chapter, I explore two sermons that encourage the adoption of particular practices, ethics, and beliefs. They are *De natali sancti archadii* (*On the Birth of Saint Archadius*; hereafter, *Archadius*) and *De aedificatione domus dei a Salomone* (*On the Building of God's House by Solomon*; hereafter, *God's House*). These more encouraging sermons utilize praise over rebuke and yet retain the same concerns for saintliness and spatiotemporal constructs as his more reproachful ones – especially regarding rhetoric that directly or implicitly targets the wealthy. In all four sermons, Zeno justifies his claims using similar approaches to history and space. While Zeno uses historical models with which to compare contemporary categories of congregant, he likewise deems spaces falling outside his supervision inherently suspect when involved with issues of ritual, sexuality, or wealth.

Zeno of Verona has received infrequent scholarly attention over the last century. Despite authoring the earliest extant Latin sermons and providing the earliest evidence for martyr cults in Verona, he is absent from most landmark studies of Christianization, patronization, and the cult of saints.[101] Moreover, most broad studies that do feature Zeno do so only in passing.[102] Although there has been a steady trickle of studies dedicated in part or in full to the Veronese bishop, they are limited in scope. In general, 20th century Anglophonic studies are preoccupied with issues of heresiology and Christology,[103] while French,[104] German,[105] and Italian[106] research

[101] These include Brown (2013); *Ibid.* (2012; Iricinschi and Zellentin (2008); Edward (2015); and Éric Fournier and Wendy Mayer (2019).
[102] Examples include MacMullen (2014), 112; Clark (2007), 167; Deliyannis (2019), 144; Dunbabin (2013), 245, n. 37; and Deliyannis (2010), 144.
[103] Stephanich (1948).
[104] See: Dulaey (1997); Fux (2003), 279); Dolbeau, (1985), Gryson (2007).
[105] See: Bigelmair (1934); Buchheit, (1990); Freidl, (1969); Kampling (1984); Hübner, (1975).
[106] See: Cervato (2018); Ederle (1954); Patuzzo (2010).

from the same period focuses on text criticism and church history. In the 21st century, Anglophonic and non-Anglophonic scholars alike have begun to incorporate Zeno into wider assessments of the cult of saints in Late Antiquity.[107] There also appears to be an uptick of scholarship that has appreciated Zeno's value to the field, particularly in the spheres of western liturgy,[108] Christianization of northern Italy,[109] and the development ecclesiastical institutions in the region.[110] Interestingly, the deepest well of scholarship on Zeno comes from unpublished theses.[111] Likewise, there is ample research on the medieval basilica of San Zeno in Verona, though this post-dates the scope of the present discussion and does not deal with the bishop himself.[112]

Due to the fact the Zeno is a relatively unknown figure whose sermons have yet to be published in English,[113] I include two appendices at the end of this dissertation. Appendices A-D provide full translations of the four works cited above. Although he became the patron saint of Verona and enjoyed much popularity in the Carolingian period,[114] Zeno's sermons did not leave the city until the 9th century.[115] This limited circulation most likely accounts for the lack of scholarly attention paid to Zeno, whose importance to scholarship lies in the antiquity of his *Tractatus*, which are the oldest Latin sermons in existence. Zeno's significance to the field also extends to the Christianization of the Latin West and the growth of its cult of saints, the

[107] See: Schoolman (2016), 147; Gnilka (2009b); Vocino (2014).
[108] See: Dümler (2013); Humphries (1997).
[109] Humphries (1999); Mullen (2003), 213, 217.
[110] McEachnie (2018), Dresken-Weiland (2018), Humphries (1997) utilize Zeno's testimony. Moreover, Johnson, L. ((2009), 8-9) briefly treats Zeno, as does Jensen (2010). More in-depth examinations include Sotinel (1997), Lizzi (1990), and Jeanes (1995).
[111] These include: Mascari (1996); Palanca (1972); and Stephanich, (1948); Lubian, (2016); Schneider (2008).
[112] These include: Passuello (2020); Cervato (1986); Fluke (2012); Cavalieri Manasse (2017); Bonazzi (2016).
[113] The exception to this is Jeanes (1995), which translates the Paschal sermons.
[114] See: La Rocca (1986), 31-78; Veronese (2020), 226; Humphries (1997), 70-72.
[115] See: Lôfstedt, 19-22.

increasing hierarchization and gentrification of its institutions directly preceding Ambrose of Milan, and the construction of a Christian landscape in the urban topographies of the region.

In Part II, I look westward to Ambrose of Milan. Charismatic and innovative, Ambrose was the first truly aristocratic bishop in the Latin West.[116] His ample resources, political connections, and dogmatic perspective enabled him to make dramatic interventions into the liturgy and landscape of Milan in the late fourth century. I discuss Ambrose's *De virginibus* and *Hymn* 8, both of which concern S. Agnes, two sources frequently cite in discussion of the rise of asceticism in the late Latin West, but which also shed light on the development of space and time in the same period. While I shed new light on the intersection of the cult of saints and temporal-spatial constructions through my analysis of Ambrose's use of Agnes, I also introduce his *Disticha* to the conversation. In chapter four, I focus on Ambrose's little-known *Disticha*. Excluding studies on the *tituli historiarum* genre, modern scholarship remains generally unaware of Ambrose's *tituli* poems. I hope to illuminate the significance of this poetry for the study of the relationship between text and image in late antiquity, as well as for the construction and concretization of episcopal rhetoric on the clergy, the consecrated virgin, and the cult of saints. In these sources, Ambrose utilizes the image of the righteous sufferer as an exemplum for his congregation to follow, while simultaneously construing both a hierarchized clergy as the successors to the righteous sufferers' legacy, and a class of consecrated virgins in Milan under his control.

In Part III, I examine Prudentius' construction of sacred history and space through his poetry, namely through excerpts in the *Cathemerinon*, *Liber Peristephanon*, and *Dittochaeon*. *Cathemerinon* testifies to Christian burial practices in the fourth century West, and therefore

[116] Brown (2012), 122.

lends itself well to a comparison with funerary media of the same period, such as gold glass medallions. *Liber Peristephanon*, meanwhile, may be viewed as a catalog and virtual tour guide to a nascent martyrial landscape in northern Italy, Spain, Gaul and the city of Rome. Its hymn to the martyr Lawrence evinces Prudentius' perception of a period of rapid Christianization and the resulting transformation of the landscape of Rome. Finally, *Dittochaeon* is of particular interest to this chapter as another instance of *tituli historiarum* poetry. An examination of *Dittochaeon's* framing and presentation of biblical scenes sheds light on early Christian notions of time and space, but also provides a productive comparison to Ambrose's *Disticha*, as well as Zeno's *God's House*.

Chapter One | Excesses of Piety:

Dissuasion through Space and Time in Zeno's Tractatus

When he rose to the episcopal office of Verona in the early 360s, Zeno found much about which to complain.[117] If we are to believe his sermons,[118] the Veronese community was of mixed faith and questionable ethics.[119] For some of his congregants found no contradiction in frequenting both mass and brothel, taking communion while consulting auguries, or giving alms in the church while defrauding the poor and the widow in court.[120] Scandalized, Zeno put his

[117] Zeno's tenure falls between 360 and 375. According to Hilary and Athanasius, Lucillus was the sixth bishop of Verona who attended the Council of Sardica in 344 and who was alive as late as 356 (See: *Collectanea antiariana Parisina* B, 2, 4 (CSEL 65, 134, 7 Feder)); Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos* 50 (PG 25, 337 A)). Zeno makes use of Hilary of Poitiers' commentary on the Psalms (c. 360) in his *Tract.* I.40, so he was composing sermons as early as 360/361. According to Carolingian sources, Zeno became the eighth bishop of Verona after the death of the successor to Bishop Lucillus (See: Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), 804; Miller (1993), 143, n. 1; Patuzzo (2010), 14)). Hilary died in 368, therefore the Lucillus he references as *Lucius ab Italia de Verona* could not be the 10th bishop of Verona of the same name (See: Gillot (1605), 408). In his *Epistle* V, Ambrose states that Zeno had passed away in recently – that is, within a few years before he penned the letter in 380.

[118] The *editio princeps* of Zeno's *Tractatus* is the edition of the Ballerini brothers of 1508, entitled *Dissertatio I, De genionos Tractatibus S. Zenonis et de eiusdem aetate; Dissertatio III, De Actiis sancti Zenonis et eiusdem culti*, reproduced in Migne's PL (11,25-82; 146-190). The critical editions to which scholars refer are those of Giuliari and Löfstedt (see bibliography). The most authoritative biographical accounts of Zeno remain Bigelmair's *Zeno von Verona* and Monceaux's *Littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* (see bibliography), although these are somewhat speculative given the paucity of sources directly attesting to the bishop. Indeed, Ambrose of Milan's *Epistle* V and the early 5th century bishop Petronius of Verona (or Bologna, c. 412) are the only two sources attesting to Zeno from Late Antiquity. On Petronius' sermons on Zeno, see: CPL 210-211; *Sermo Petronii Episcopi Veronensis in Natale Sancti Zenoni*, ed. Hamman, coll. 141-142; G. Morin, in *Revue Bénédictine* (1879): xiv. 3-8; Dolbeau, in *Revue Bénédictine* (1986): 27-29; E. Lodi, in *Miscell. Liturg. in onore G. Lecaro* (Rome. 1967): 296-300. To this group of sources must be added Gregory of Tours' passing reference to Zeno in his account of a miracle at the San Zeno cathedral (see: Gregory, *Dialogi libri IV* III.19, ed. A. De Vogüé, *Sources Chrétiennes* 260 (Paris, 1979): 346–8)). In addition to these first three figures, there are four sources originating in the eighth century. The first is a list of bishops embroidered on chasuble known as the Velo di Classe, a silk altar cloth dating to the 8th century from San Apollinare in Classe (near Ravenna). The list found the Casula was adopted Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), 804. See also: Miller (1993), 143 n. 1; Patuzzo (2010), 14. Second, is the brief reference to Zeno made by Paul the Deacon, who refers to Zeno as a confessor in his *Historia Langobardorum* 2, 23 (c. 787-796). Third is the far longer *Life* of Zeno written by Coronatus Notarius at the turn of the 9th century (see: CPL 209 = VerST 2: 358-59 = BHL 9001 = PL II: 199-204). Fourth and finally is panegyrical poem, the *Versus de Verona* (also known as the *Rhythmus de laudibus Verona*). Roughly contemporaneous to Coronatus' account, the *Versus* includes a list of the earliest bishops of Verona, of which Zeno is the eighth, and credits him with converting the city's inhabitants to Christianity through his preaching (MGH.PL I,119-122).

[119] The *Tractatus* largely deal with three subjects: first, the exposition of scripture and the promotion of righteous sufferers, particularly from the Hebrew Bible and the Hasmonean period; second, the conduct of Zeno's congregation, especially with respect to proper piety and the mortuary customs; finally, festal and catechetical practices, especially the celebration of Easter and the instruction of neophytes. See further: Monceaux, 369-371; Truzzi (1980), 200-223.

[120] Zeno, *Three Genera* 10-11.

faith in his abilities as preacher to convince his congregation that such behavior was not only contradictory, but also impious. Like a spotlight at the circus, his surviving sermons (collected in the *Tractatus*) illuminate a tightrope upon which this bishop balanced an agenda of pious reform against the stubborn autonomy of his parishioners.[121] Thus, Zeno's preaching may be read as an intrusion into the "private lives" of his audience, aimed at extending clerical authority over spaces and beliefs typically the prerogative of the late Roman household.[122] In the *Tractatus*, these spaces divide into land controlled by families (graves, private shrines, and estates) and ecclesiastical spaces overseen by Zeno in his role as bishop.[123] Zeno's rhetoric builds upon a mutually reinforcing relationship between perceptions of space/time and models of Christian piety, into which he sets normative perceptions of the ideal Christian against the lived experiences of the laity. Hence, his sermons either dissuade the audience from, or persuade it to adopt, practice and beliefs that he views as impacting personal salvation. I begin this chapter by contextualizing Zeno's reign in the 360s and 370s. I divide it into three parts: the first deals with the church of Verona during Zeno's tenure; the second treats the connection between space/time and piety in *Three Genera*; and the third expands upon this connection in *Resurrection*.

1. *The Church of Verona in Late Fourth Century Verona*

In the late-fourth century, Verona was home to around 25,000 people surrounded by a productive network of agricultural estates and modest farms.[124] Strategically settled in the shadows of the Alps, the city sat at the intersection of three roads that conveyed the military, economic, and itinerant activities of the region: the *Via Postumia*, *Via Claudia Augusta*, and *Via*

[121] For the history of the manuscript tradition, see: Dolbeau, 3-34.
[122] Bowes (2008), 18-20, 191-202; Sessa (2009), 70-85.
[123] Minimally, the church described in Zeno's *God's House* (*Tract.* 2.6).
[124] McEachnie, 10-11; Truzzi, 117.

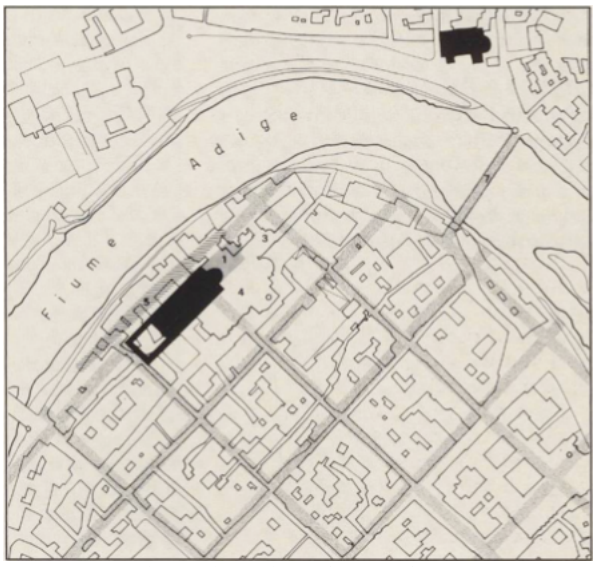


Figure 1: Basilica A (center). Tedone et al., 21.

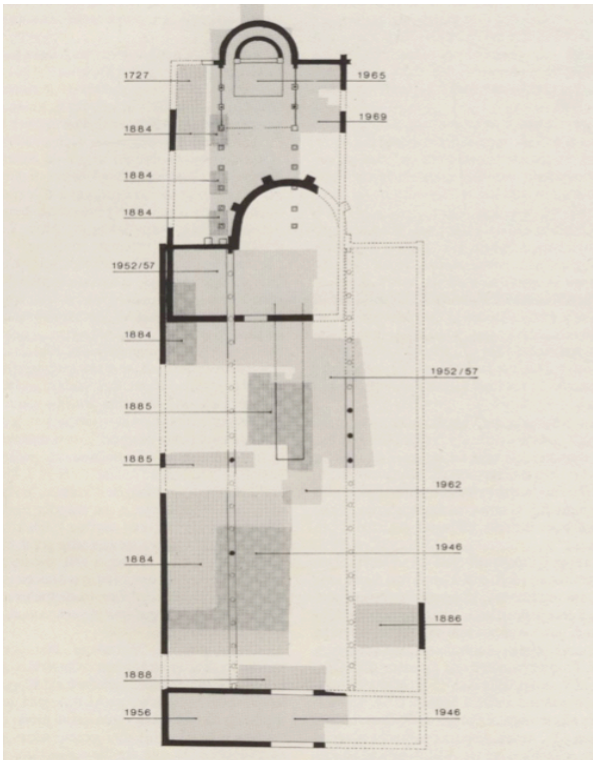


Figure 2: Basilicas A and B. Tedone et al., 23.

Gallica.[125] In antiquity as now, the Adige bisects Verona's urban center as it winds its way to the south and east. Cutting across the river, the Ponte Risorgamente carries the traveler eastward past the walls that ringed the city in the late fourth century, through the Porta Palio (Postumia)-Spianà, depositing them at the steps of the present-day San Zeno (Fig. 1).[126] Under this cathedral lie the remains of the two oldest churches known to the city, Basilicas A and B (Fig. 2). Located under the Sant'Elena of the larger San Zeno Cathedral complex, archeologists date Basilicas A and B to the fourth and fifth centuries, respectively.[127] The earlier of the two, Basilica A, underwent two stages: its initial construction in the mid-fourth century, and a renovation in the 360s or 370s.[128] Scholars have identified the second stage of Basilica A with the very same church described by the bishop in *God's House* (see chapter 2).[129] These

[125] Tosi, 259-70; Cavalieri Manasse and Bolla, 103-115.
[126] Cavalieri Manasse and Bolla, 111.
[127] Tedone et al. (1987), 22; Piva, 46-47.
[128] For a history of the excavations, see discussion in Tedone et al., 5-78.
[129] Piva, 46; Tedone et al., 22.

remains are the earliest evidence for church building in Verona and reveal the minimal presence of Christianity in the city's topography at the time of Zeno's reign. In his work, *Zeno, Gaudenzio, e Chromatio*, Carlo Truzzo has read Zeon's sermon on Archadius together with *God's House* to suggest that the bishop dedicated his church in honor of the martyr. Truzzi's supposition rests on the assumption that the church about which Zeno speaks is a new construction rather than a renovation. Yet Zeno never states that his church is a new construction, nor that he dedicated the church in honor of a martyr. Indeed, the initial construction of Basilica A occurred around the tenure of the sixth bishop of Verona, Lucillus, who attended the council of Sardica in 347.[130] Lying just outside the walls of the ancient city, its location beyond the river and among the city's cemeteries resembles the situation of the Constantinian basilicas a half-century earlier.[131] As an extramural basilica, Zeno's church would have lain outside its urban center, indicating that Christianity had yet to serve the civic and cultic needs of the majority in Verona.[132]

That Basilica A was an extramural church sets Zeno apart from later bishops in the region such as Bishops Gaudentius of Brescia (d. 410) and Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 407), whose churches stood within the walls of their respective Sees. They testify to the progressive Christianization of northern Italy in the four decades between Zeno and themselves, as well as to the means and will of its institutions to reshape late ancient cityscapes.[133] Due in no small to the concurrent Christianization of the empire's elites, it is only the third quarter of the fourth century that we see the emergence of an episcopal body in the Latin West that could transform the

[130] See: Mansi, J. D. (ed.). *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence: A. Zatta, 1759): 47.
[131] Humphries (1997), 72-73.
[132] Talloen, 190; Picard, 1-4; Krueger, 6. Cavalieri Manasse and Bolla find that this area was "clearly isolated from the urban center" from the first through fifth centuries (111; my translation).
[133] See discussion in Talloen (2019), 164.

landscape around them.[134] We see this in the building of intramural basilicas by bishops such as those listed above,[135] whereas earlier places of worship arose through the patronization of more elite households and imperial family members.[136] This rise in episcopal construction is a manifestation of the growing competition between (sub-)elites and the clergy, a struggle that may be observed in Zeno's sermons. So too does it appear beyond the liturgy of the Latin West, such as in episcopal renovation of the catacombs of Rome,[137] as well as in the excavation and translocation of relics in Milan.[138] These later bishops also provide a point of comparison in terms of the social, political, and cultic presence of Zeno and his congregation. As Robert McEachnie has written:

> [Zeno's] community was still a minority within the city, and the triumph of Christianization was not a foregone conclusion as it might have been for Chromatius or Gaudentius forty years later. He lived in a world where the Arian Auxentius, not Ambrose, was bishop of Milan and "pagan" practices in Verona were still normal. His works allow a unique window into 4th-century Italy north of Rome. The bishop here does not yet appear as a secular power, but as the guide for his community through biblical exposition and Christian ritual (457).[139]

McEachnie is likely correct that Zeno's congregation would have been a growing minority group in the city, even if I would critique his language of the "triumph of Christianity". If his observations are accurate then Zeno may have documented a rapid progression of Christianity in the city. Although he complains about the modesty and sparseness of his new church when compared to the temples of Jews and gentiles, it is notable that Zeno opines that his praise

[134] Humphries (1999), 170-171; Salzman (2002), 209.
[135] See: Mulryan (2014).
[136] According to Mulryan, the earliest *tituli* churches in Rome stand on top of *domus*, indicating that a single family donated the land to the congregation ((2014), 10). The earliest Christian basilicas, likewise, were either constructed or donated by the imperial family beginning with the consecration of the Lateran Basilica in Rome in 324. See: Holloway (2004), 57-119.
[137] For the case of Damasus, especially, see: Lewis (1969), 417-439.
[138] His discovery of the martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius, come to mind. See: Ambrose, *Ep.* 22; McLynn (1994), 212-215, 229.
[139] McEachnie (2018), 454.

"doubles the sacred height" (*arcem sacram laudibus geminare*, *God's House* 3.1.1) of the very church whose renovation in fact doubled its size.[140] Moreover, Zeno also perceives that the city's sacred topography was on shifting ground. This occurs when he claims that the whole world recently seems to be Christian, that temples are falling to ruin and that new churches were already too small to hold their congregations.[141]

Still, Zeno's descriptions of the socio-political position of his congregation comport to McEachnie's view of the bishop as a "guide" rather than a "secular power". Although we see an increasing presence of Christians in northern Italy in the material and intellectual record over the course of the fourth century, Thomas Matthews reminds us that "historically, the most notable achievement of the fourth century in church-political terms was the definition of the separation of church and state."[142] This may be seen in the trial and execution of Priscillian in 386, where Detlef Liebs observes the earliest instance of Catholic Christians utilizing the state juridical system to convict other Christians of *maleficium* (witchcraft) as "a pretext for punishing heresy".[143] Written around the same time as the Priscillian movement began attracting attention in the Iberian Peninsula, the *Tractatus* does not portray a bishop wielding judicial authority over his congregation. Rather than a homogenous cultic and dogmatic environment, Zeno's sermons illuminate a marketplace of ideas in which Jews, practitioners of Greco-Roman cult, and various Christian groups interacted in Verona in the 360s and 370s. In *Tract*. II.7.8, for instance, Zeno speaks of mixed-faith marriages whose household practiced elements of the Eucharist and traditional festivals. We also learn that "gentile-like" (*gentili*) institutions continued to function,

[140] Tedone and Lusuardi, 17-98; Piva, 46-47.
[141] *God's House* 14.1-2.
[142] Matthews (1999), 89.
[143] Liebs (2012), 193. See also Brown (1988), 372-373.

such as the Hippodrome, temples, and divinatory practices.[144] Scholars such as McEachnie, Brown, and Humphries remind us that Greco-Roman cults remained dominant in northern Italy throughout the fourth century.[145]

To this fact, I add that what constituted the beliefs and practices of these "gentile-like" institutions at this time was very much a matter of debate. Put another way, one person's honoring of her ancestors was, to a conservative bishop, a clear case of sacrilege.[146] It is equally possible that the ambiguity of the concept made it applicable to a wide range of activities that lay Christians might not have associated with impiety. By extension, rhetoric directed against traditional cult could have the double effect of targeting both practice and people by discouraging illicit behaviors while appealing to pre-existing networks of authority and patronage. In his discussion of Bishop Maximus of Turin (d. 365), Mark Humphries has described this disconnect between congregant and bishop as a clash of perspectives:

> Another point at issue here is the distance between what a bishop like Maximus thought an acceptable level of piety and that shared by ordinary Christians in his congregation. Maximus' tirades against rural paganism occur, after all, in a sequence of sermons aimed at persuading Piedmontese landowners to crush pagan worship on their rural estates. These local notables plainly did not see how their own devotion to Christ might be compromised by the pagan worship of their tenants, despite Maximus' protestations that they risked spiritual contamination…[147]

Zeno's frustrations with the behavior of his congregation may be compared to those of Maximus, whose situation matches that described in *Resurrection* and *Three Genera*. Here, Zeno complains of behaviors that his congregation clearly did not think problematic. Indeed, perhaps it is not

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[144] See: *Tract*. II.7.8; I.25.2; I.14.3; I.38.2; Brändle, https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.36_631_2/html. For gentili, see: *Archadius* 3 in Appendix C.
[145] See excerpt above, as well as Humphries (1999), 207–15; Brown (1988), 342; *Ibid.* (2012), 136.
[146] On the agape meal, see: Matthews (1999), 45.
[147] Humphries (1999), 176-177. See also: Maximus, *Sermones* 106–8. Humphries also points out to us "how Augustine and Peter Chrysologus were seething at the presence of pagan elements in civic festivals at Carthage and Ravenna" (*Ibid.*). See for reference: Augustine, Sermo 62. 6. 10; Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 155.

surprising then that Zeno weaponizes the ambiguity of being "gentile-like" to circumscribe the performance of idealized Christian ethics in his sermons.

Zeno is part of a broader trend of episcopal concern to curtail any practices and beliefs that conflicted with an idealized Christianity in the late fourth century. He stands in contradistinction to later bishops such as Augustine, who could eventually recruit imperial power to enforce his actions against the Donatists and Manichaeans.[148] Additionally, the earliest evidence testifying to Zeno comes from Ambrose's *Epistle* V to Syagrius of Verona, written around the year 380 and within a decade of Zeno's death (see below). In this letter, the Milanese bishop indicates that wealthier Christians in Verona housed and patronized various spiritual authorities, some of whom Ambrose accuses of being heretics. This leaves the impression that Zeno's intrusions necessarily took the form of rhetoric over coercion and focused upon those congregants whose wealth and autonomy served as boundaries to the bishop's trespass.

While the See of Verona was subordinate to Milan at this time, Zeno may not have turned westward for assistance with his reforms.[149] Not only did the Arian Auxentius occupy the See of Milan until Ambrose became bishop in 374, but the imperial family held ties to Arianism and resided in Milan through the late fourth century.[150] Thus, scholars prior to the 21st century have read Zeno through a heresiological lens. Palanca, for instance, claims that "It is evident that St. Zeno's main reason for composing these sermons was that of defending and asserting Christianity by exposing the errors of Arians, Photinians, Helvidians, and Jews."[151] It is true that Zeno wrote on doctrinal issues, clarifying points of contention or confusion about Christology,

[148] On Donatists, see: Wilhite, 210; Liebs, 176-185; Ployd, Adam. "For Their Own Good: Augustine and the Rhetoric of Beneficial Persecution." In, *Heirs of Roman Persecution* (2020): 95-11. On Manichaeans, see: Brand, Mattias. "In the Footsteps of the Apostles of Light." In, *Heirs of Roman Persecution* (2020): 112-134.
[149] By the time of Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594), Aquileia was the metropolis to which Verona was subordinate.
[150] Consider Ambrose's conflict with the imperial family in 386. See: Brown (1999), 346-348.
[151] Palanca (1972), 9.

Mariology, and baptism.[152] Yet while Zeno was concerned with ritual and ethics, he was no heresiologist.[153] Indeed, the *Tractatus* contains no work dedicated to heresy, nor do they name any other sects. Those tractates that do deal with doctrine come from the second book of Zeno's work, those comprising fragments or composites of only a few paragraphs. Thus Stephanich, whose research focuses upon Zeno's doctrinal interests, has cautioned that "a serious problem confronts one who attempts to formulate a clear-cut notion of his views on the eternal relations existing between the Father and the Son."[154] Moreover, when the bishop does deal with heretical or competing Christians, he does so vaguely.[155] From *Tract*. II.7, we gather that Zeno's beliefs correspond to pro-Nicene perspectives:

> *Alia* [*secta*] *modestius, sed mordacius nocens, dicit quidem Dei Filium Deum, sed non ex Patre nobilitatis perpetuitate progenitum; fuisseque tempus, quando non fuit.*
>
> The other is more modest, but more bitingly guilty, and [this sect] claims that the Son of God is indeed God but not begotten of the Father by the perpetuity of nobility; and that there was a time when he did not exist.[156]

Likewise, Zeno seems aware of Christians who advocated a conception of the Son's relationship to the Father that nominally corresponds to an Arian position. Indeed, Verona was certainly home to Arian clergymen. The Capitoline Library houses Arian sermons dated to around the year 500.[157] Even still, Zeno does not name these Christians and limits his description of their beliefs to a few brief lines.

Auxentius' successor, Ambrose of Milan, is the earliest witness to Zeno. Ambrose's *Epistle* V (c. 380) sheds light on the social complexities of Zeno's congregation within a few

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[152] See discussion in Brändle, https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.36_631_2/html.
[153] Palanca (1972), 9-15; Stephanich (1948), 10, 29, 60-62.
[154] Stephanich (1948), 28.
[155] See: *Tract.* II.7; Stephanich (1948), 40.
[156] As Stephanich points out, "Zeno speaks of the Son as being a distinct person, not as a mere attribute or latent and impersonal" (1948, 40) See also: *Tract*. II. 2; II.6; II.7.
[157] See: Biblioteca Capitolare LI (49) (CLA 4.504); Everett (2016), 62.

years of his death. His testimony reveals the presence of consecrated virgins in Verona, as well as the propensity of these holy women to leverage their popularity against their own bishops. Moved by the complaints of the Veronese community, Ambrose wrote to Zeno's successor, Bishop Syagrius, to rebuke him for impugning a consecrated virgin without due process.[158] Ambrose refutes the charges brought against the virgin, Indicia, whom Zeno himself had consecrated and had held in high esteem:

> *tu autem sine alicuius fratris consilio hoc judicium tibi solus vindicandum putaris; in quo tamen ante judicium proeiudicium feceris, ut puellam Zenonis sanctae memoriae iudicio probatam, eiusque sanctificatam benedictione, post tot annos, sine auctore criminationis, sine accusatore, sine professore delationis, in periculum reatus deducendam arbitrare.*
>
> Yet you, without the council of any brother, think that this judgment must be punished by you alone; regarding which, however, you did pre-judge before the trial, so that the maiden of Zeno, approved by the esteem of holy memory and consecrated by his blessing, after so many years, without the author of the accusation, without an accuser, and without a declarer of the accusation, would be put in danger of being found guilty.

Like two spotlights on a stage, Ambrose's *Epistle* V (c. 380) and Zeno's *Tractatus* cast light upon a scene of conflicting socio-political spheres while leaving their details as silhouettes in the dark. First, the bishop is responsible for overseeing the consecration of virgins, at least through the year 380.[159] Ambrose refers to Syagrius' predecessor as a bishop of holy memory and holds his good opinion of Indicia as evidence in her favor.[160] He informs Syagrius that the false charges made against Indicia came from heretics (*ab haereticis*), as well as those who had been

[158] *Ep*. V (PL 16, 930 A = CSEL 82.84). The dates of Syagrius' tenure remain elusive, but Humphries accepts 380 for the date of *Ep*. 5 ((1997), 70).
[159] On the *velatio* ceremony, see: Brown (1999), 356-357; Henry, Nathalie. "The Song of Songs and the Liturgy of the velatio in the Fourth Century: From Literary Metaphor to Liturgical Reality," in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999): 18- 28; Hunter (1999), 139-152.
[160] I can find very little information on the process of deconsecrating or excommunicating a virgin in northern Italy in the 360s and 370s.

cast out and debarred from her home (*qui domo eius eiecti atque eliminati forent*).[161] The enigmatic phrase, "*in periculum reatus deducendam arbitrare*," certainly does not refer to physical imprisonment but perhaps a process of de-consecration or excommunication.[162] As A. J. B. Sirks has remarked of the legal authority of the bishop in Late Antiquity, "Until the end of the fifth century a bishop was a private person and in this respect not different from any other person."[163] Ambrose acknowledges that Syagrius' condemnation of Indicia outraged the people of Verona, highlighting the instability of the relationship between a bishop and his community. The Veronese community, meanwhile, bypasses its own bishop by petitioning his superior, invoking a hierarchical network of episcopal authority. Though the precise nature of the relationship between the virgin and bishop remains unclear, Indicia not only retains popular support but also leverages it into episcopal concession. Finally, Syagrius apparently felt compelled to capitulate, fearing either violence from the mob or deposition by Ambrose. This situation is telling, for it exposes the limited authority of the bishop over consecrated virgins in his community.[164]

Though dealing with the formal examination of consecrated virgins, we should not take this correspondence as proof of a larger monastic community that Zeno oversaw. Occasionally, scholars claim that Zeno founded the first female monastery in Verona.[165] They point to Ambrose's *Epistle* V, but also to an 8th century *Life* by Coronatus Notarius, who refers to Zeno as *sedens in monasterio*.[166] This theory lacks evidentiary support, both internally and in the

[161] I return to this correspondence in chapter three, which deals with Ambrose's treatment of Agnes in his attempts to establish a community of consecrated virgins in Milan.
[162] McNamara (1984), 23. C.f. Beyenka (1954), 152.
[163] Sirks (2013), 81.
[164] At least until 390. See: Duchesne (1889), 408. English translation found in Duchesne (1904): 423.
[165] See, for instance, Kempf, Friedrich. *The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (Burnes & Oates, 1980): 378-379; Aungier, George. *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840): 9-10, n. 4; Palanca, 11-12.
[166] See: PL 11,200 B; CPL 209 = VerST 2: 358-59 = BHL 9001 = PL II: 199-204. Text in Marchi, Orlandi and Brenzoni, *Il Culto di San Zeno nel Veronese* (1972), 18-23; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5593;

contemporary historical record. We learn from the bishop that his congregation had enough resources to manumit prisoners of war (*Tract.* I.14.8), afford daily rations for its humbler congregants (*Tract.* I.10.5) and fund the construction of a church (*God's House* 1).[167] If a female monastery did exist in Verona, it is unclear why Zeno fails to tout it as he does other achievements. Likewise, Zeno appears far less interested in asceticism and ascetic persons than Ambrose of Milan, who wrote four treatises on virginity alone.[168] Although preachers like Tertullian and Cyprian – both major sources for Zeno – discuss consecrated virgins as early as the third century,[169] the theory that Zeno oversaw a formal nunnery also reads a Carolingian ecclesiastical infrastructure back into the fourth century.[170]

The earliest evidence for monasteries in northern Italy comes from Rufinus, who refers to ascetic communities at Aquileia and elsewhere only at the end of the fourth century.[171] Attestations to consecrated virgins in this region begin with Ambrose, Zeno, Eusebius of Vercelli and Jerome in the 360s and 370s, but the there is little to suggest that these virgins lived in formal communities under episcopal oversight as would be the case in later centuries.[172] The bishop's role in consecrating virgins speaks to an expansion of episcopal authority over holy persons when compared to earlier periods, yet also leaves uncertain the authority and resources

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Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 586. The dating of this manuscript and of Coronatus' *Life* is unclear. The *terminus post quem* is Gregory's dialogue (c. 593/4), while the *terminus ante quem* lies in the 9th century (*Life's* earliest manuscripts). On the dating of these works, see: Everette, 62-68. The only modern study known to me remains Vecchi, A., "I luoghi comuni nell'agiografia. Saggio sulla legenda Veronese di S. Zenone", *Augustinianum* 24 (1984): 143-66.

[167] Rapp argues that episcopal building, the ransoming of war prisoners, and the care of the poor were all activities associated with wealthy individuals with whom the bishops competed. See: Rapp (2005), 220-223, 229, 232.

[168] These are the *De Virginius*, *De virginitate*, *Exhortatio virginitatis* and *De institutione virginis*.

[169] See: Tertullian's *De virginibus velandis*, and Cyprian's *De habitu virginum*. See further: Shaw, Teresa. "Askesis and the Appearance of Holiness." *JECS* 6.3 (1998): 485-499; Daniel-Hughes, Carly. *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

[170] See: Miller (1993), 117-141.

[171] Rufinus, *Apol*. 1, 4; *Praef. in reg. s. Bas.* (*CChr* 20, 241).

[172] See: Ambrose on Zeno in *Ep.* V, VI; on Eusebius in *De virg.* 130; Jerome, *Ep.* 11.

exercised in overseeing ascetic communities.[173] Ambrose's *Epistle* V speaks only to their presence in Verona, episcopal oversight in the ritual of consecration, and the ability of the bishop to arbitrate violations of their vows.[174] This may seem extensive, but it must be set against the privileges, autonomy, and popularity that Indicia enjoyed. Gillian Clarke reminds us that "there was no need for an ascetic woman to live in a traditional household. Fourth-century experiments included a range of possibilities."[175] Indicia did not, it seems, live in a community of virgins under the supervision of the bishop; instead, she provided housing to more than one spiritual authority whom Ambrose considered to be a heretic. Thus, consecrated virgins could retain their autonomy, not only over their estates but those who set foot on them, as well. This comports to broader legal trends concerning the elite Roman woman in the fourth century, who, according to Jo Ann McNamara, "had achieved a position of unparalleled freedom and scope" and enjoyed "unlimited control of her person and property."[176]

Personal autonomy, whether that of the consecrated virgin or Christian lay person, over private property is significant for our discussion of Zeno's rhetoric because he frequently targeted it at the wealthier members of his congregation. Employing a carrot-and-stick technique of praising their donation of funds and land or by scolding them for their impiety, Zeno endeavored to link private property and domestic cult to illicit belief and practice. This focus on elites appears in sermons across northern Italy, as aristocrats came to dominate the literary and liturgical culture in the late-fourth and early-fifth centuries.[177] As Rita Lizzi has noted, Zeno's

[173] McNamara (1984), 18-24.
[174] I discuss Ambrose's treatment of consecrated virgins at greater length in chapter 4.
[175] Clark (1995), 40. These include the "individual ascetic…in a predominantly female household," "the all-female household of ladies and their women slaves, in which the social hierarchy was modified," "the celibate household of man and woman," and "the female community taking over a house or…accommodation built for the purpose."
[176] McNamara (1984), 11.
[177] Salzman (2002), 200-210.

interest in (sub-)elites matches the liturgical motives of other northern Italian bishops, such as Gaudentius of Brescia, Chromatius of Aquileia, Maximus of Turin and Ambrose of Milan:

> …to encourage conversion among the wealthy, the bishops became concerned with the style of their sermons, to satisfy the rhetorical requirements of the well-educated. For a number of topics, such as almsgiving, they also relied on traditional patterns of behavior among landowners, who were more inclined to donate in the tradition of euergetism than to pay tax."[178]

Rising to episcopal office in the decades directly preceding Ambrose of Milan, Zeno lacked the elite network, financial flexibility, and military backing that few contemporaries enjoyed, but which later bishops came to take for granted.[179] Zeno's sermons indicate that he frequently targeted the wealthier members of his congregation, to whom he referred as *dulcissimi flores mei* and *ecclesiae flores clarissimi ac dulces nostri.* These likely include the very same estate holders and benefactors whom he chastises for ignoring their tenants' "gentile-like practices and other allegedly nefarious activities.

2. *Tombs, Estates, and Brothels: Problematic Spaces in Three Genera*[180]

Three Genera helps to situate Zeno's rhetoric within the context of his congregation. In it, Zeno categorizes the types of people, practices, and positions against which he complains. It also establishes a relationship between piety and place, through which may be read a tension between bishop and parishioner in terms of wealth and autonomy. By connecting places of private worship and civic activity to sinfulness, Zeno entrenches his own ethics and authority into the "private lives" of his parish. This sets up my analysis of *Resurrection*, in which biblical

[178] Lizzi, 186.
[179] Rapp (2005), 274-301.
[180] In this sermon, Zeno constructs a taxonomy of sacrifices (Christian, pagan, and Jews), which further subdivide into specific forms of Jewish (sin offering), pagan (incense burning, haruspices), and Christian (prayer offering). This comports to a biological taxonomy of genera to species (for example, the wolf is the *canis lupus*), therefore I think it fitting to retain "genera" in the title rather than translate it.

figures become paradigmatic exemplars of Christian perfection against which contemporary categories may be compared; in this discussion, "contemporary categories" refers to discursively constructed categories of persons such as the poor (*pauper*), the widow (*uiduus*), and the wealthy (*divites*).[181] Into these categories Zeno embeds an ethics of salvation shaped and articulated by the bishop, enabling him to interconnect notions of righteousness, time, and space.

Zeno begins *Three Genera* by defining proper Christian sacrifice as the spiritual superior to the material nature of Jewish and "gentile" sacrifices.[182] In his opening remarks (lines 1.1-6), Zeno complains of "the Jew and the Christian who is worse than the Jew" – here signifying those Christians who "do not believe that the Son of God is God" (*ut Iudaeus et Iudaeo deterior Christianus dei filium deum esse non credant*). Moreover, he expresses his desire that these people were present so they might learn from his sermon (*Quos uellem adesse paulisper auremque praesenti commodare lectioni*). This statement performs the double duty of establishing an in- and out-group (proper Christians and everyone else) while linking piety to place (proper Christians are those present in the location where Zeno preaches). Invoking notions of place, piety, and autonomy, such categorization enables this bishop to construct contemporary categories that he evaluates through the lens of sacrifice. First, Zeno explains that there are three genera of sacrifices, where "the detestable one is of the gentiles, the rejected one is of the Jews, and the pure one is of the Christian people."[183] One image that Zeno uses to illustrate the dichotomy between spiritual and material sacrifice is anatomy, where he distinguishes offerings made by the hand from those of the mouth. While urging his congregation to "offer to God a sacrifice of praise,"[184] Zeno emphasizes the role of the hand of detestable and rejected sacrifices.

[181] For these categories, see: *Three Genera* 11; *Resurrection* 9; *God's House* 10.
[182] Probably an allusion to 1 Cor. 2:15, 9:11, 15:44, perhaps read through Tertullian's *De anima*.
[183] 3.4-5: *Detestabile est gentium, reprobum Iudaeorum, populi Christiani mundum*.
[184] 3.1: *Immola, inquit, deo sacrificium laudis*. He repeats this exhortation at 8.1-6.

This occurs in his biblical quotations at 4.4-5, 6.4-5, 7.1-5,[185] but he articulates this oral-hand dichotomy most fully at 9.2-8:

> *Nam si diis corporalibus sacrificium conuenit corporale, utique et spiritali deo sacrificium est necessarium spiritale; quod non ex sacculo, sed ex corde profertur; quod non bromosis pecudibus, sed suauissimis moribus comparatur; quod non cruentis manibus, sed sensibus mundis offertur; quod non iugulatur ut pereat, sed, sicut Isaac, immolatur ut uiuat…*
>
> For if a corporeal sacrifice is suitable for corporeal gods, certainly a spiritual sacrifice is necessary for a spiritual god, as well, because it does not come from the wallet but the heart, because it is not provided by stinking sheep but the most gratifying customs, because it is not offered by bloodied hands but by clean senses, because it is not killed so that it may perish but – like Isaac – sacrificed so that it may live…

In this excerpt, Zeno constructs a dichotomy between spiritual and material sacrifice, which he justifies by appeal to scriptural citation and by natural analogy (like corresponds to like). From this bishop's perspective, spiritual sacrifice suits a spiritual god and therefore demands conformity to praxis and dogma. Those who do not conform risk having their (oral) sacrifice be rejected by God and therefore lose the possibility of being saved.

The relegation of matter to spirit frequently appears in rhetoric distinguishing Christianity from other systems of worship across early Christian authors, as we will see again in Prudentius' poetry in Part III of this dissertation.[186] Zeno is certainly not the first Christian thinker to develop the notion of a spiritual sacrifice, nor was he innovative in contrasting it with the equally constructed notion of a bloody, material sacrifice. Around the year 335, for instance, Eusebius of Caesarea made such a comparison in his *Oration in Praise of Constantine*.[187] In the third century, North African Christians were particularly interested in the constructed dichotomy

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[185] See Appendix A for Zeno's biblical citations.
[186] See especially the discussion of *Cathemerinon* 10 in chapter 6.
[187] *Oratio Laud. Const.* 16.9,10. See: Barnes, Timothy D. *"Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' Life of Constantine*." In *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick.* Ed. Rowan Williams (Cambridge University Press, 1989): 94-123; Drake, Harold A. *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1975.

between spiritual and material sacrifice, notable for our purposes because scholars believe that Zeno received his education in North Africa before moving to northern Italy.[188] Everett Ferguson has compiled a dossier on of Christian discourse on spiritual sacrifice, a list that includes such North African thinkers as Tertullian, Cyprian and Lactantius – three of Zeno's preferred sources in his sermons.[189] It is not the purpose of this study to dwell on this point, but I note here that Zeno's conception of a "sacrifice of praise" may also be found in Lactantius and Tertullian.[190]

Moreover, while God's rejection of material offerings is a common trope in Christian perspectives on sacrifice in Late Antiquity,[191] Curtis Hutt has recently challenged modern scholastic assumptions that such views were ubiquitous in the periods of ancient and early Christianity.[192] No matter the "dominance of anti-sacrifice views in emergent Christianities,"[193] Hutt explains that "these claims are indicative of the fact that this practice, which was so problematic in the eyes of many Church fathers, was commonplace. It occurred not only in 'out of the way' venues but in great public spectacles."[194] To this point, Hutt cites the testimony of Paulinus of Nola, who describes the sacrifice of animals at the Tomb of St. Felix to support the poor, as well as the defense of animal sacrifice in no-less prominent thinkers than Augustine and Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594) – at least, when these sacrifices were made to the saints and not to idols.[195]

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[188] See discussion in Truzzi (1980), 50-53; Monceaux, 366-367.
[189] See: Ferguson (1980), 1184-1189.
[190] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.22; Lactantius, *Div. inst*. 6.25. See: Ferugson (1980), 1186, item 8.
[191] On this, see: Marcel Poorthuis, "Sacrifice as Concession in Christian and Jewish Sources: The Didascalia Apostolorum and Rabbinic Literature." In *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*. Ed. A. Houtman, M. Poorthuis, J. Schwartz, and Y. Turner (Brill, 2015): 170-191.
[192] Hutt argues that ritual sacrifice declined in the Roman world "as a product of the eventual ascendance of Christian religious traditions that flourished among the poor—especially women and slaves, who did not, could not, or would not sacrifice" and not "because of the moral squeamishness of philosophers and religious leaders who preferred to 'spiritualize' or allegorize them" (266).
[193] Hutt, 266.
[194] *Ibid.* 267.
[195] *Ibid*., see notes 61 through 63.

Yet Zeno contends that it is not simply those who offer sacrifices with "bloodied hands" that offend God, but those who engage in a host of other activities. In the sections directly following his discourse on sacrifice, Zeno describes litany of sacrilegious acts that take place within a matrix of place and motive. The act itself is blasphemous, but Zeno emphasizes the location of its performance while slandering the reasons motivating the performer to those acts. I quote at length Zeno's list of these impious Christians:

> [10.1] *Hic quaerite, Christiani, sacrificium uestrum an esse possit acceptum, qui uicinarum possessionum omnes glebulas, lapillos et surculos nostis, in praediis autem uestris fumantia undique sola fana non nostis, quae, si uera dicenda* [10.5] *sunt, dissimulando subtiliter custoditis. Probatio longe non est. Ius templorum ne quis uobis eripiat, cotidie litigatis.* [11.1] *Non hi solum, qui tales sunt, displicent deo, sed et illi, qui per sepulcra discurrunt, qui foetorosis prandia cadaueribus sacrificant mortuorum, qui amore luxuriandi atque bibendi in infamibus locis lagenis et calicibus subito sibi martyres* [11.5] *pepererunt, qui dies obseruant, qui Aegyptiacos de candidis faciunt, qui auguria captant salutemque suam pecudum uiolenter scissis in uentribus quaerunt, qui coniugale exasperant iugum affectuque calcato subditiciis personis, ut obumbrent furta turpissimae utilitatis, rem familiarem tuendam* [11.10] *committunt amore non fidei, sed libidinis, qui publicanas mulieres cum ui subiciunt sibi uiliores se esse quam illae sunt produnt, qui iracundia tument, qui litibus fremunt, qui calumniaas pariunt, qui pauperes, qui uiduas, qui pupillos exspoliant, qui profanis fabulis neglecta dei secta alios non bene auocantes* [11.15] *diuina sacramenta contaminant* (10.1-11.15).
>
> Now ask yourselves, Christians, whether your sacrifice is capable of being accepted, you who know every parcel of your neighbor's property, all the little pebbles and sprouts, but know nothing about the lonely shrines smoking everywhere on your estates, which, if truth be told,[196] you protect by feigning ignorance.[197] The proof is not far off: you litigate every day lest someone wrest *ius templorum* from you.[198] Not only do these people displease God, but also: those who roam about tombs; who sacrifice meals to the rancid cadavers of the dead;[199] who, from lust of basking and imbibing in infamous places for the sake of flasks and goblets, suddenly invent martyrs for themselves;[200] who observe certain days and discern Egyptian ones from clear;[201] who long for auguries and seek

[196] Compare to Gaudentius, *Tract*. 13.28.
[197] The BKV notes that Zeno presupposes a ban on temples and sacrifices, such as those issued in 354 and 356. See: 181, n. 1; *C. Just.* I, 11, 1; *C. Th.* XVI, 10, 6. Compare this position to Gaudentius, *Sermo* XIII.
[198] In Zeno and Ambrose, *ius templorum* refers to land and privileges enjoyed by temples. See: Cameron, *Last Pagans of Rome*, 43-45.
[199] On hostility to ancestor veneration (in Augustine), see: Markus (1990), 33-35, 109-121.
[200] See: Augustine's rhetoric against revelry in the martyrs' tombs in *Conf.* VI.2.2 and *Ep.* 22.3-4, 29.
[201] On the observation of "Egyptian days", see: Augustine, *Epist. ad Gal. expositio* 34. See further: Krauss, "Egyptian Calendars and Astronomy", In *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. by Alexander Jones and Liba Taub. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018: 131-143.

> their fortune in the sheep's violently torn entrails; who roughen up the marital yoke and injure by trampling with phony persons, so as to shade over their most shamefully useful tricks, they appoint a domestic to oversee their affairs in the desire for not faith but lust;[202] who subjects public prostitutes to his violence and reveals himself to be more worthless than those women; those who become enflamed with anger, clamor for legal conflicts, sue the poor, the widowed, and the orphaned, and rob them; those who pollute divine sacraments with profane fables while, worse still, leading others astray in neglect of God.[203]

Zeno attacks each contemporary example from two perspectives: moral and spatial. To select a few examples from the quotes passage, he targets the hypocrisy of landholding Christians, whom he claims feign ignorance about sacrifice while coveting their neighbors' estates. Similarly, Zeno opposes revelry in the tombs of martyrs whose legitimacy he questions, just as he accuses some people of defrauding the poor and the widow in court out of greed. Each instance links sinfulness to places that fall outside Zeno's authority – the private estate, the family grave, the court of law, and the brothel – to suspicious motivations. Traditionally, scholars have read this passage as a statement about the relationship between estate holders and their tenants, interpreting it as a bishop's command to his congregants to be more stringent with their tenants. While Zeno's reference to feigning ignorance about "lonely smoking shrines" may have carried this valence, the bishop's accusation likely targeted the sacrificial practices of the landholders as well.

Zeno's muddling of place and piety may be placed in a broader episcopal conversation in the late Latin West about the role and perspective of the church in expressions of piety. In his discussion of late antique funerary practices, Éric Rebillard highlights both the distinction between domestic and ecclesiastical expressions of piety, as well as the gradual encroachment of the church as a social authoritative institution into the domestic sphere throughout the Late Antique period. Rebillard argues that:

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[202] Essentially, men who use domestic servants or slaves for the purpose of extramarital intercourse.
[203] See: 2 Tim. 4:4; Cyprian, *Ep.* 22; Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, *Dei secta* 40; Prudentius, *Perist*. 10.125.

> It appears that the church was no more involved in developing ritual for death and burial than it was, for example, for marriage. These issues are important because we know that mourning is a social process and that ritual plays an important part in it. The role the church expected to play in this process is indicative of the one it intended to have in the lives of Christians generally…[and] the relationships of the Christian church and society [by the Middle Ages] were different from what they were in late antiquity.[204]

This encroachment as episcopal agenda may be seen in Zeno's rhetoric, especially where it concerns place and ritual. Moreover, his rhetoric may be placed in conversation with a bishop from the West a half century later: Augustine of Hippo (345-430). Rebillard finds that Augustine, in his work *On the Care of the Dead* (c. 422),[205] distinguished "private-domestic" expressions of piety (funerals, weddings, and ancestor veneration) from "church-sacred" expressions (the eucharist, alms, and prayer).[206] This distinction appears in the above passage from *Three Genera* 10-11, yet the line between private-domestic and church-sacred is by no means clear. The final lines are especially important, where Zeno highlights "those who pollute divine sacraments with profane fables while, worse still, leading others astray in aloof neglect of God."

Rhetorically speaking, Zeno's rhetoric draws a circle of sanctity around his church and problematizes piety taking place outside of it. In his discussion of Zeno's sermons, Carlo Truzzi has read Zeno's rhetoric against the veneration of new martyrs as a "pretext" (pretesto) for participating in the cult of the dead.[207] Thus, Zeno's statement in *Three Genera* 11 could perform the double duty of criticizing a competing school of Christians as well as cultic activities on private land. I draw this conclusion from the fact that each category of offensive person cited in the lines above this statement deal with the private lives of his congregation, such as sexual

[204] Rebillard (2009), 123-124.
[205] Also known as the *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (= CPL 307; CSEL 41; PL 40). I return to *De cura* in chapter 6.
[206] Rébilalrd (2009), 132.
[207] Truzzi (1980), 221, n. 86.

mores (the sexual use of prostitutes and domestic slaves) and the leveraging of judicial power (in property disputes or lawsuits against disenfranchised persons). Coupled with Zeno's inclusion of divine sacraments (*diuina sacramenta*), profane fables (*profanis fabulis*) and leading others astray (*dei secta alios auocantes*), the emphasis of his rhetoric on private spaces suggests that domestic expressions of piety included cultic activities that Augustine, writing a few decades later, would have considered to be under the auspices of the church. Zeno (ca. 360-375) therefore testifies to the nascent encroachment, identified by Rebillard, of the institution of the church into the private lives of its congregants when compared to Augustine, who became bishop of Hippo in 396 and who wrote *On the Care of the Dead* roughly fifty years after Zeno's death. Augustine's distinction of private-domestic from church-sacred speaks to a more formal division between private and ecclesiastical piety than is perceptible in Zeno's rhetoric in *Three Genera*.

In *Three Genera*, moreover, Zeno rhetorically constructs categories of space, persons, and piety as they attempted their intrusions into the private lives of their congregations in the mid- to late fourth century. As Rebillard notes, "Some senior clerics hated the cult of the dead/continued practice of pagan funerary cults by Christian families."[208] Just as in the veneration of the unnamed martyrs in *Three Genera*, Zeno criticizes private worship in *Resurrection* – here, connoting those views and practices that differ from what he envisions to be orthodox, as well as those that take place in spaces outside of his influence. This brings Peter Brown's words into relief when he states that "The ideal of the imitation of the saints was usually invoked…to spoil the fun — to criticize what were presented, by preachers and moralists, as the more 'earthy', less religious forms of Catholic worship."[209] It is not that Zeno takes issue with the cult of saints, *per se*, but rather the misapplication of worship outside his

[208] Rebillard (2009), 137.
[209] Brown (2003), 5.

authority. He never names any martyr in Verona save for Archadius, whose cult he introduces to the region in the *passio* I discuss in chapter two.[210]

Such an omission hints at the presence of martyr veneration that Zeno opposed, possibly because it was under the control of either rival Christian groups or wealthier members of his congregation. This is, of course, speculation. Yet Zeno's testimony suggests two possibilities: either he did not believe that martyr veneration was taking place outside of his parish but in Verona, or he did. I find the second possibility more likely for several reasons. First, Zeno frames his list of those who offend God as a catalog of practices that take place in real life. There is no sense here that Zeno believes these deviants to be hypothetical, but rather that these individuals embody the practices that this bishop contends are antithetical to salvation. Zeno imbues his rhetoric against the practice of novel martyr veneration with a moralistic tone, arguing that it is only for nefarious motives that deviants would worship new martyrs in the first place. Not only this, but those who offend God in their martyr veneration are at the top of his list. That is, they are the first group of deviants that Zeno cites, following directly after his prohibition against material or bloody sacrifice.

To approach the problem another way, if there is no objection to the supposition that Zeno testifies to the presence of brothels in Verona, or to sexual misconduct perpetrated against domestic slaves, or to the phenomenon of leveraging judicial power against others (through lawsuits), then why should an objection be raised to the possibility of martyr veneration? Indeed, Zeno need not have been attesting to actual practice – he need only be under the impression *that these practices were taking place.* By extension, while there is no material evidence for the veneration of martyrs in Verona prior to the posthumous cult of Zeno, himself,[211] this material

[210] Conant (2010), 10.
[211] Everett, 62; Truzzi (1980), 220.

lacuna extends equally to the cult of Archadius that this very bishop attempted to promote. Without Zeno's testimony – itself, in fact, the oldest evidence for the martyr Archadius – we lose the earliest witness to the importation of North African martyr cults to the region of Northern Italy.[212] Notably, though Zeno directs his rhetoric against the sudden invention of martyrs, he himself introduces a new martyr – Archadius – to his congregation. Not only this, but the lack of archaeological evidence attesting to Archadius' cult might also suggest that his efforts failed. What is more, Zeno's rebuke of the worship of novel martyrs might seem doubtful, except for the fact that scholars of the cult of saints in the Latin West might already be aware of a famous instance of this very phenomenon: Ambrose of Milan's discovery of the martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius. The Milanese bishop expended great effort to legitimize and promote these martyrs, recording miracles at the moment of their discovery, parading them through the city in a triumphal procession (in front of the Arian emperor, no less), and depositing the material remains he found in the Basilica Ambrosiana. Clearly, the sudden invention of martyrs did in fact take place in the late fourth century. Finally, Zeno rhetoric consistently targeted the wealthier members of his congregation, particularly those who could afford family estates, and this rhetoric links private spaces to impious worship. These estate holders sue one another in court but feign ignorance about the smoking shrines on their lands, a hazy language that suggests the practice of sacrifice and private devotion. As Derek Kreuger states, "Aristocratic families also acquired relics both for private devotion and to demonstrate their own power."[213] If this is the case, Zeno's omission of any specific spaces of martyrial worship could have been aimed at

[212] Zeno was most likely from Mauretania, himself. See: Conant (2010), 10, but also see his broader discussion from pages 9 to 14. At this time, Mauretania roughly stretched from central Algeria to northern Morocco.
[213] Kreuger, 8.

curtailing the private devotion on private estates. With all of this in mind, I find it likely that Zeno at least believed in the veneration of martyrs outside that took place outside his control.

Another cause for Zeno's concern could have been the allegedly excessive celebration that often accompanied late Roman mortuary customs, and which might resemble "pagan" observance in the eyes of a conservative bishop. Peter Brown discusses the ways in which lay Christians interacted with the cult of saints, highlighting their preference for participation over imitation. Critiquing the tendency in modern scholarship to read Augustine back into earlier views on the cult of saints, he argues:

> [Many Christians] regarded the triumph of the martyrs over pain and death as a unique manifestation of the power of God, in which believers participated, not through imitation but through celebrations reminiscent of the joy of pagan festivals… the enjoyment of the cult of the saints remained a problematic issue in Christian circles, as it had not been, to so great an extent, among pagans. Preachers at such festivals, even at the most euphoric of them, were careful to point out how little Christian occasions resembled what they considered to be the coarser junketings of Jews and pagans (*Ibid.*, 1-2).

Such a description accurately describes the stance of Zeno. Finding it necessary to change the relationship between his congregation and the saints, Zeno urges his hearers to move from celebration to emulation of Christianity's heroes. In traditional Greco-Roman cult, the hero was to be cheered on in the arena; in the cult of saints, the martyr was to be followed on the path to salvation. This shift moves the Christian from observer to participant, demanding the same piety as the saint but to a less extreme degree. It is then no surprise that Zeno urges his congregation to imitate the martyr Archadius in his *passio* on the saint, nor that he might oppose the "sudden invention of martyrs" in *Three Genera*. Equally noteworthy is the connection between specificity of place and impious conduct. Not only does Zeno fail to specify the name and location of the novel martyrs, but he also states that those who venerate them only do so for the sake of revelry. Similarly, Zeno rebukes the tacit condonement of pagan practice while simultaneously linking

the issue to places of domestic worship (here, private estates). Consistently, Zeno invokes issues of wealth, autonomy, and kinship through the place of private worship. This raises a host of possible circumstances. Both cases could have targeted Zeno's wealthier congregants, who may have maintained shrines on their family's land. This is certainly the case where Zeno explicitly rebukes land-holding congregants. It is likely that he considered these private shrines, whether dedicated to martyrs, deities, or ancestors, to facilitate worship outside of his supervision.

3. *Zeno's De Resurrectione: Problematizing Piety in the Past and Present*

In the passage quoted from *Three Genera*, each instance of impiety invokes categories of people – the poor, the widow, the estate holder, the prostitute – to which Zeno may compare historical examples. Emphasizing the relationship between the living and the dead, Zeno's *Resurrection* reinterprets such customs as ancestor worship and mourning as inherently problematic.[214] Zeno rhetoric against improper understandings of the resurrection may be compared to that of Cyprian and Ambrose,[215] the earlier of which is a major source for Zeno and the latter of which assumed the office of bishop in Milan around the time of Zeno's death.[216] Zeno's interventions into the sphere of mourning deal not only with salvation and ethics, but also with the proper use of sacred spaces and a normative understanding of Christian history. In *Resurrection* historical exempla take the form of scriptural quotations from authorities such as Paul and Jesus, but also biblical narratives like the penitent thief and the Witch of Endor.

Resurrection begins with a long exposition justifying the belief in the resurrection through a trinitarian perspective. Zeno tethers to this position, however, an argument demonizing

[214] *De Resurrectione* (PHI 1.2.1 = BKV XIV).
[215] See: Cyprian, *De mortalitate* 20 (CCh 3A); Amrose, *De excessu fratris* 2,12-13 (CSEL 73).
[216] On Zeno's use of Cyprian, see: Ederle, 121; McEachnie, 455; Truzzi (1980), 60-63; Monceaux, 366.

the practice of ancestor worship on the grounds that it is an extension of the cultic activities of gentiles. In the following excerpt, *Res.* 1.1-3, Zeno urges his congregation to accept the (his) truth of the resurrection, as denying its veracity diminishes a view of God's omnipotence:

> *Quisquis resurrectionem negat, uitam suam, semet ipse condemnat. Cur enim mereatur felicitatem futuri temporis cernere, quem uideas sacrilega incredulitate dei potentiae derogare? Sed hoc amore criminum faciunt, ut putent impunita fore quae clanculo gerunt*
>
> Whoever denies the resurrection, denies his own life and condemns himself. Why indeed would he deserve to discern the happiness of a future time, whom you see call into question the power of God with sacrilegious disbelief? But truly, they bring this about through love of criminality, so they assume that what they do in private will remain unpunished.

Most notable for our purposes is the connection between sacrilegious belief (denial of the resurrection) and the personal autonomy (expressed by *quae clanculo gerunt*). *Clanculo* is a postclassical term expressing secrecy and refers to actions performed outside the view or knowledge of others.[217] Thusly does Macrobius characterize a poet who studied "secretly" (*clanculo*) with the result that his sources are "difficult to recognize" (*difficile sit cognitu*).[218] So too does Ammianus Marcellinus use the term in *History* 11.13 to describe a battle scene, in which solders trying to cross a moat were either killed or repelled by enemies who had "secretly burst through the rear gates" (*erumpebant clanculo per posticas*), and again in *History* 26.5 to describe the would-be-emperor and fugitive, Procopius, who travels to Constantinople "as secretly as possible" (*quantum fieri poterat clanculo*). Zeno's rhetoric retains these valences of limited perspective and consequence of secrecy, wherein personal or familial piety not only occur without the supervision of the bishop but also bear consequences for salvation. Unlike the examples listed above, for Zeno privacy is an illusion sustained by sin. The individual who

[217] See: Augustine, *Ep.* 54; Apuleius, *Meta.* 3, 9, 10, 26.
[218] Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.18.

supposes herself free to believe whatever she will not only offends God but comes to this belief through a desire for sin. What emerges from this claim is the intermediary position of the bishop between humanity and the divine, where individual salvation depends upon the performance of proper piety and the maintenance of correct thought.

This mirrors Zeno's unfavorable disposition toward clandestine martyr worship in the tombs that we saw in *Three Genera*, where Zeno condemns a slew of activities such as visits to the brothels, the worship of a martyr for sake of intoxication, and the continued practice of sacrifice on elite estates. The concern for both the illicit worship of unnamed martyrs and the tolerance for allegedly gentile-like practices resurfaces in *Resurrection* 2.1-3, shortly after Zeno connects trinitarian doctrine to autonomous piety and sinful imperfection:

> *Gentes, quae ista non credunt, tamen cum libamine infausto ad sepulcra concurrunt et a mortuis, quos in quiete tacitae noctis agnouerint, expeti a se aliquotiens alimenta contendunt; ac sic fidem rei quam reprobant faciunt.*
>
> The people who don't believe these things still sprint toward the graves with inauspicious libations, and often strive to demand sustenance from the dead, whom they often recognize in the quiet of a silent night;[219] and thusly do they cause the faith of the thing which they avoid.

In this passage, Zeno sets up a mutually inclusive relationship between motivation, belief and action, where sacrilege, sinfulness and unorthodox belief co-occur. Those people who disbelieve the truth (belief) are held to be identical to those who make demands on the dead (motivation) in clandestine rituals (act). I suggest the initial passage cited from *Res*. 1 assists in the interpretation of the final clause. This tri-partite error (motive, belief, and act), Zeno argues, stems from "a love of criminality" (motive) wherein the Christian "denies his own life and condemns himself" (act). Zeno explicitly connects both motive and act to "sacrilegious disbelief. Yet what is it that the

[219] It is interesting that Zeno describes (allegedly illicit) martyr veneration as taking place "in the quiet of a silent night" in *Res.* 2, but accuses martyr venerators of debauchery in *Three Genera* 11.

Christian brings about through this tri-partite error? I suggest that it is, to quote *Res.*13, "gentile-like foolishness" (*gentili uanitate*), an ambiguous concept that spans notions of sacrifice, sexual mores, charitable giving, and mourning practices, as we will see.

After establishing the relationship between belief in the trinity and the proper expression of piety, Zeno transitions to a series of historical precedents that he frames as supporting his position. He introduces this framework by exhorting his parish to reflect on the historical record: "Understand, too, the other examples and at least the more certain ones" (*Accipe et alia exempla et quidem certiora*, *Res.* 8). While Zeno betrays some ambivalence about the veracity of the record with the phrase, *quidem certiora*, he nevertheless sets up the following examples as supporting his interventions. In chapters 8 through 11, Zeno makes five appeals to historical exempla. The first of these derives from 1 Sam. 9-12, which describes the prophet Samuel's anointment of Saul after Israel sinfully demanded that God give them a king (*Res.* 8). The latter three exempla derive from the Gospel of Luke; they are the transfiguration scene (Lk. 9:28-36; *Res.* 9),[220] the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31; *Res.* 9-10), and the penitent thief (Lk. 23:33-43; *Res*. 11).[221] Zeno's framing of these exempla as supporting his interventions demands exploration. I therefore treat here two of his exempla: the Witch of Endor episode from 1 Samuel, and the parable of Lazarus and the rich man.

Zeno's treatment of the 1 Samuel episode deals with the theme of secrecy and autonomy. Saul has sought out the Witch of Endor in secret since he himself had expelled all the seers from his kingdom after God abandoned him. Zeno does not adopt this language explicitly, but I wonder if the nature of Saul's visit to the witch would have been viewed as an implicit statement

[220] See also Mt. 17:1-8, Mk. 9:2-8. These versions are roughly parallel..
[221] Compare the Lukan version to those in Matthew (27:44) and Mark (15:32), in which both thieves mock Jesus. John's rendition is brief, stating only that two thieves were crucified alongside Jesus (19:18).

on private piety. What is clear is that God knows what resides in the human heart, therefore the Witch of Endor episode might have stood as a warning against holding errant beliefs in private. While 1 Samuel's stance on divine justice seems a logical exemplum for Zeno's purposes, its use in justifying the belief in the resurrection also fits well within his program of intervention because it deals with the summoning of the prophet's ghost:

> *Primo in libro Regnorum Samuel, egregius ille sacerdos, mortis iam lege dispunctus, Sauli regi se desideranti sine ambiguitate non tantum suam praesentiam exhibet, sed etiam ad consulta respondet liberiusque canit mortuus, quam canere consueuerat uiuus; unde libet exclamare: "Profectus potius est iste quam mortuus"* [*Res.* 8].[222]
>
> According to the first Book of Kings, the excellent priest Samuel, by then having already been examined under law of death,[223] not only showed his presence to King Saul without ambiguity, but likewise responds to what is asked and more freely sings after having died than was his custom to sing when he was alive. Whence one may exclaim: "He departed more than he died!"

Here, the summoning of Samuel's ghost becomes a key piece of evidence for supporting Zeno's view of the resurrection. Zeno affirms that Samuel was blameless before his death, that he carried out God's will, that he appeared to Saul in his post-mortem form, and that he prophesied more freely as a ghost than in his lifetime. These last two affirmations are significant for Zeno's position on the resurrection and polemic against private piety.

In the first place, Zeno envisions Samuel as appearing to Saul in his *unambiguous*, post-mortem form. That is, as a resurrected person retaining both soul and body, and who resides with God in the afterlife; rather than a simple image of the prophet, the spirit is the prophet *himself*. This provides Zeno with a historical precedent for the state of the disembodied soul, as well as for placing biblical (pre-New Testament) history in continuity with contemporary circumstances.

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[222] A likely reference to Tertullian, *De patientia* IX.3: *Profectio est, quam putas mortem*. See: Borleffs, J. W. Ph. CCSL 1 (1954): 319-341.

[223] This likely refers to the beginning of the farewell address (1 Samuel 12:1-14), when Samuel asks the people of Israel to bring any witnesses against him who can claim he defrauded them or otherwise acted against the Law.

This framing of history requires the congregation to accept that Zeno's interpretation of Witch of Endor episode – that the ghost of Samuel enjoys the fruits of his pious labor while Saul experiences alienation from God – as analogous to their own experiences. These dichotomous outcomes – salvation and perdition – then serve to support Zeno's stance on the resurrection while underscoring both the stakes of proper piety (salvation) and the construction of a historical ideology (historical precedent). The theme of secrecy, moreover, underscores the connection between place, impiety, and autonomy.

In the second place, the exemplum from 1 Samuel reinforces Zeno's polemic against traditional mortuary customs on the grounds that they conflict with correct belief and practice. By imagining the exclamation that Samuel "departed more than he died", Zeno not only buttresses the continuity between the Old Testament and present circumstances, but he also advances the claim that the dead continue to live in on in the afterlife. Subsequently, the posthumous prophesying of Samuel fits well within in a fourth-century, Christian understanding of the saints as intercessory figures occupying an intermediary space between God and humanity.[224] I do not mean to suggest that Zeno urged his congregation to venerate Samuel as a saint in any formal sense. Rather, his reference to the biblical figure only makes sense if the congregation was already familiar with the Witch of Endor episode from their attendance in church services or from private study. Zeno thus reinterprets the seer's ghost as a historical precedent for Christian resurrection, grounded in contemporary understandings of the cult of saints and the role of intercessory figures who occupy a privileged position near to God.[225]

[224] Brown (1981), 53-56.
[225] It is also notable that Saul's fall from grace relates to improper sacrifice. Though Zeno does not reference this explicitly, I wonder if the audience would have recognized the theme as a warning to those who engaged in the burning of incense, the pouring of libations, etc., against which Zeno argued. See: 1 Sam. 15:22-25).

Whereas his appeals to historical precedents enabled Zeno to argue for the veracity of the resurrection, the second rhetorical strategy under examination in this segment is his use of contemporary categories to associate ancestor worship and other mortuary customs with impiety. Having set his historical paradigms for proper Christian piety, he can now address his contemporary circumstances. First, he associates grief with impiety:

> *Cum haec ita sint, resurrectionem futuram cur, Christiane, non credis? Cur de huius mundi labe in Meliora migrantes tam pertinaciter plangis? Pro nefas* [*Res.* 13].
>
> When these things are so, why don't you believe in the future resurrection, Christian? Why do you so grimly mourn those journeying from the debacle of this world to a better one? Because of sin!

Zeno then develops this theme by turning to two especially pitiable cases: the mourning mother and the bereaved widow. Both deal with excessive grief and performative aspects of gender, but more important to Zeno's rhetoric is that they raise distinct issues of the resurrection.[226] Zeno treats the mourning mother thus:

> *Hinc mater scissa ueste, laniatis crinibus, laniatis et genis, totum crebris ictibus liuida pectus gentili uanitate circa amissi cadauer bacchatur insana nec Maccabaeae matris memoriam recolit, quae spe succincta futurorum Antiocho saeuiente libenter semel septem filios non dicam extulit, sed ipsa potius feliciter suis hortamentis occidit, religiose confidens deo filios se genuisse, non mundo* [13].
>
> Here a mother, dress torn, hair pulled to pieces, and cheeks mangled, her whole breast bruised from repeated blows, raves over the corpse of her departed child with gentile-like foolishness rather than reflecting on the Maccabean mother, who gladly, in the encircling hope of the future despite Antiochus' raging, did not carry her sons to burial seven times, I'll say, but more accurately she happily killed them herself with her praises, reverently trusting that she gave birth to her sons through God, not the world.

The grief of the mourning mother complicates the resurrection in two ways. In the first place, it prevents her from imitating Zeno's saintly paradigms (here, the Maccabean mother). Here as in

[226] Compare Zeno's rhetoric against excessive to grief to that of Prudentiua in *Cathemerinon* 10 (see chapter 6), as well as John Chrysostom in Antioch in *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, 85.5. On John Chrysostom's anti-grief rhetoric, see Rebillard (2009), 132-133.

his discussion of Samuel, Zeno effects a dramatic reversal of life and death; just as Samuel departed more than he died (*Profectus potius est iste quam mortuus*), the Maccabean mother more happily killed her children herself (*sed ipsa potius feliciter suis hortamentis occidit*). He chides the mourning mother of his own time for failing to reflect on the Maccabean mother (*Maccabaeae matris memoriam recolit*). He construes the latter as a historical exemplar of to which the contemporary mourning mother should compare herself, but also one whose faith and endurance the rest of the congregation should strive to emulate. Second, the contemporary mourning mother's excessive grief implies an improper understanding of the resurrection that more closely resembles non-Christian understandings of the soul's life after death. Rather than portray her as a dutiful parent, Zeno describes the mourning mother as raving (*bacchatur*, *Resurrection* 13) and full of gentile-like foolishness (*gentili uanitate*) to undercut any associations between grief and piety. The verb *bacchatur* carried strong associations with female expressions of grief and piety in the late ancient world and, as Margaret MacDonald has shown in her work on "the hysterical woman", such excess drew the attention and hostility of (male) Christian authorities.[227] As we shall see in Part III in Prudentius' use of the neologism, *ululamina*,[228] Zeno likely uses *bacchatur* ("rave") to reproach women who grieve excessively – as he does again in in *Resurrection* 14 with *ululatibus*. As with *bacchatur*, ululation connotes the raving noises emitted at the rites of Bacchus, Magna Mater, funerals and in other cultic contexts. Thus, Zeno uses both *uluamina* and *bacchatur* to critique female piety by linking traditional funerary roles with gentile-like worship. By extension, such critique also threatens male audience members with the double threat of behaving like both a gentile *and* a woman.

[227] MacDonald (1996), 109, 115-17.
[228] *Ululamina* seems to be a neologism of Prudentius' invention that combines *ulula* (screetch) and *mina* (ill-omen). See: Rubenbauer, "ēiulātus, -ūs m." *TLL Online*, vol. 5.2 (De Gruyter, 1932): 313; *Ibid.*, "mina et mna, -ae f." *TLL Online*, vol. 8(De Gruyter, 1954): 990-991.

In like manner does Zeno rebuke the bereaved widow, the second example of a contemporary category pertaining to his interventions in the mortuary practices of his congregation. In the following passage, Zeno councils the "brothers" (*fratres*) of the congregation against unnecessary and ungodly displays of grief:

> *Hinc uxor amissi mariti desolationem se ferre non posse testator…inuidiosis uocibus deo concinnat inuidiam, solemnia ipsa diuina, quibus a sacerdotibus dei quiescentes commendari consuerunt…tanto ambitiosior in dolore quam ditior—sane post momentum misera (atque utinam semel!) nimio dolore nuptura. Hic, hic quemadmodum se quis possit excusare, non uideo. Non deest enim qui dicere possit: 'Si est resurrectio, quare plangis? Si amore mariti facis, cur postmodum nubis?' Exsecrabilis res est, fratres, nec coniugio seruare caritatem nec deo fidem. Haec etiam uiros reprehensio manet* [*Res.* 14].
>
> Here, a wife testifies that she is unable to bear the anguish of her departed husband, and she moans the cold side of her wrongly expanded bed. With odious words to God, she concocts her hatred and disrupts the sacred rites themselves, in which those sleeping are usually entrusted to God by the priests…and however great her wealth, so much greater is her pain – truly, the wretch will remarry (if only it were once!) after a moment of excessive grief. Thus, I don't see how anyone could excuse her. For there is no lack of people who may say: "If the resurrection exists, how are you mourning? And if you do so out of love for your husband, why then do you remarry?" It is an accursed thing, brothers, to protect neither the love of your husband nor your faith in God. This reprimand also extends to men.

Zeno implicates the bereaved widow in transgressing the relationship between congregant, clergy and the divine. Indeed, he claims that such an excessive display of grief "disrupts the sacred rites themselves, in which those sleeping are accustomed to be entrusted to God by the priests" (*solemnia ipsa diuina, quibus a sacerdotibus dei quiescentes commendari consuerunt*). This implies to me that Zeno casts the clergy, himself included, in the role of those responsible for the care of the dead. By claiming that the priests are those whom the dead, *themselves*, entrust to convey their souls to God, Zeno positions the clergy into the mortuary sphere traditionally reserved for the family. I view this as a return to the discourse on private and non-private worship initiated by Zeno at the beginning of the sermon, where he spoke out against beliefs that deviate from those that he espoused. As previously noted, episcopal expansion into traditionally

domestic spheres of piety is a gradual process beginning in the fourth century and not fully realized until the Middle Ages.[229]

While it is not the focus of this discussion to analyze the gendered aspects of Zeno's rhetoric, his use of contemporary categories necessarily warrants a brief discussion of the ways in which Zeno argues for the clergy's authority over the private sphere of belief and piety, and the ways in which he justifies his ethical interventions. To do so, Zeno ventures into the realm of sexual slander, proffering a view of the widow as one who grieves out of excessive passion rather than loyalty, a fact confirmed in Zeno's mind by the practice of remarriage. Just as damning, the widow accumulates not only husbands but personal wealth through her plurality of husbands, an invective Zeno utilizes to invoke a host of Christian evaluations of female modesty and desire, be they sexual or financial. He addresses this rhetoric to the brothers (*fratres*) of the congregation and further exclaims at the end of *Res.* 14: "It is an accursed thing, brothers, to protect neither the love of your husband nor your faith in God. This reprimand also extends to men" (*Exsecrabilis res est, fratres, nec coniugio seruare caritatem nec deo fidem. Haec etiam uiros reprehensio manet*). What interests me here is the general prohibition against female displays of grief that is *directed* at the male members of the audience, to which Zeno adds that the same standards apply to them as much as to women – though almost as an afterthought. I would venture that his rhetorical strategy here is two pronged: first, his stereotyped form of the bereaved widow as passionate and sinful serves to discourage women from observing traditional roles in funerary rituals;[230] second, Zeno's direct address to the men of the congregation serves to dissuade them from marrying a widow out of concern that she may display the same lack of loyalty and temperance toward them should they themselves pass away.

[229] Rebillard (2009), 123-124.
[230] Brown (1981), 28–29.

Using historical exempla and contemporary categories, Zeno thus argues for his understanding of the resurrection and episcopal intrusion into the private sphere of piety and mortuary traditions. His framing and interpretation of these past and present figures as paradigmatic models of Christian piety constitute a construction of time involving a multitude of gendered, martyrial, doctrinal, and ethical commitments. Zeno also portrays these commitments as if they were mutually dependent; not only does each point rest upon the other but, taken together, they necessitate a wholesale acceptance on the part of the audience. Put another way, the congregant cannot simply affirm the resurrection but must also then limit their displays of grief and refer to the bishop's authority in areas concerning the care of the dead. What is missing from this rhetoric, seemingly, is a discussion of sacred space. If Zeno envisions a greater role for the clergy in the performance of funerary rites and discourages the bereaved widow from intruding upon them, then it stands to reason that he likewise imagines a particular space in which these rites take place that is under his auspices. As in the previous sermons discussed in this chapter, however, Zeno maintains an abstracted view of sacred spaces when compared to his more elaborate construction of Christian history. Indeed, spatial abstraction remains a feature of Zeno's writing when dealing with both historical and contemporary subjects. His sermon that most explicitly deals with space, the *De Aedificatione Domus Dei a Salomone* (*On the Building of God's House by Solomon*), will therefore be an item of discussion in the following chapter.

4. *Concluding Thoughts: From Dissuasion to Persuasion in Space and Time*

In this chapter, I examined both *Three Genera* and *Resurrection* through the intersection of ethical discourse and constructions of space and history. The success of this rhetoric relies upon Zeno's framing and explication of history and space, which itself invokes and reinforces

pre-existent constructs of saintliness, veneration, and doctrine. In *Resurrection* and *Three Genera*, one can read a tension between Zeno's ideals of perfection and the lived experience of his parish, but also the limits of the bishop's sphere of authority. What emerges is an image of a bishop endeavoring to control the conduct of his congregation through a perceptual construction of space and time, but whose ability to physically intervene in the space around him is limited by the very people upon whom he depends for financial support.[231] Zeno's discourse on the imperfections of his parish reveals the limits of his authority, where he may be seen to intrude upon the autonomy and property of his wealthier congregants. Thus, there exist dueling narratives in Zeno's work: one that tells the story of the triumph of orthodoxy in northern Italy, and another that laments the willful impiety of his parish.

In both *Three Genera* and Resurrection, these spaces included brothels, cemeteries, and private estates, to which Zeno joins (dis)belief and disposition (toward or against sin) to private practice (ancestor worship and martyr veneration). His concern for the proper use of space is clear in Zeno's invective against worship in the cemeteries; whether these cemeteries included martyrs (as he may have implied in *Three Genera*) is less so. It seems reasonable to conclude that his congregation did not connect ancestor worship to paganism and that the practice was popular enough to warrant a sermon correcting the error. What is especially noteworthy for my purposes, then, is the rhetorical effort Zeno expended to recast the perception of the cemetery and the ancestral tomb as a place of damning sacrilege rather than one of pious familial duty. Equally noteworthy, Zeno did not condemn the cult of saints outright, but rather promoted martyr worship in his own church, as we will see in the following chapter. An examination of the two dissuasive sermons reveals that Zeno sought to bring his wealthier congregants to heel; his

[231] On episcopal dependence on the donations of the wealthy, see: Brown (1988), 344.

ethical and practical concerns target these more elite church goers by disrupting kinship ties, problematizing private devotion, and regulating the worship and emulation of Christian heroes. Zeno is not content to limit himself to threats of perdition, either, but instead develops this connection between private piety and pagan practice using a variety of rhetorical strategies, including two more relevant ones to my study: biblical exempla and contemporary categories. Zeno's historical exempla allow him to construct a view of sacred history that not only bolsters his ethical interventions, but also requires his parish to accept his framing and interpretation of the past. Following this, I showed that Zeno's appeals to the contemporary categories of the mourning mother and the bereaved widow not only underscore his stance on the relationship between mind, disposition, and practice, but also proffer a normative view on the use of sacred spaces relative to their location under or outside the auspices of the bishop. The following chapter will then deal with Zeno's more encouraging sermons – the *passio* on Archadius, in which Zeno introduces a new martyr cult to his congregants, and *God's House*, in which he celebrates the consecration of a newly constructed church.

Chapter Two | Praising Piety:

Exhortation through Space and Time in Zeno's Tractatus

The previous chapter examined two sermons in which Zeno discourages his audience from engaging in certain practices or from holding erroneous beliefs that he considered problematic for achieving salvation. In *Three Genera*, Zeno engages in a moralizing and historicizing discourse that dissuades his congregation from impious activities, such as excessive displays of grief and revelry in the tombs of martyrs, emphasizing the location in which these nefarious acts take place. *Resurrection*, meanwhile, utilizes contemporary categories and biblical exempla to argue for the impiety of those same practices and beliefs. The present chapter considers just the opposite; it assesses Zeno's exhortations to his community to adopt certain practices or beliefs that will merit salvation. It first examines Zeno's sermon *Archadius*, which introduces the cult of the Mauretanian martyr to the Verona. Not only is this the earliest evidence for martyr veneration in the city, but the sermon also provides a lens through which observe the intersection of the bishop's historical construction, spatial interpretation, and ethical intervention.[232] When compared to Zeno's discourse on martyr veneration in *Three Genera* and *Resurrection*, *Archadius* suggests the presence of cults outside episcopal authority. Yet Zeno not only dislocates martyr veneration from any precise cultic site, but his attestation to multiple *martyria* enshrining Archadius' dismembered limbs also raises questions about cultic veneration without sacred spaces or relics. This chapter next examines the sermon most explicitly interested in the interpretation of sacred space: *God's House*, which celebrates the construction of one of the earliest purpose-built churches in Verona. By extension, it is also the one that most explicitly

[232] In fact, Jonathan Conant informs us that Zeno's *Archadius* is "outside of Rome, the earliest evidence we have for the spread of African cults to Italy" (10).

celebrates the concretization of ecclesiastical spaces as a triumph on a cosmic scale while simultaneously downplaying – rather than emphasizing – the imperfections of its audience. In *God's House*, we see Zeno scale back the moralizing discourse that he aims at his wealthier congregants in *Three Genera* and *Resurrection*, choosing instead to praise their generosity and their piety. Thus, dissuasion and persuasion work together to augment Zeno's authority by categorizing space along moralistic and pietistic terms.

1. *The "Twin-Exchange" of Martyr Veneration in Zeno's Archadius*

Zeno's categories work in tandem with historical exemplars and contemporary categories to curb the autonomy and private piety of, especially, the wealthy as a means of controlling their behavior and gaining access to their resources in a time before the integration of the church into the broader political, social, and cultic systems of the late Roman west. The importation of the cult of saints from North Africa to Rome and northern Italy is a feature of the late fourth century, and scholars have indentified North Africa as Zeno's place of origin.[233] Indeed, in his discussion of Zeno's use of Cyprian and the "Italo-African" version of the Latin scriptures, Paul Monceaux highlights the diffusion of North African bishops into the region in the mid- to late fourth century, exemplified by Augustine of Hippo, but also Victorinus, Virgilius of Trent, and Damasus I.[234] In nine chapters, Zeno's *passio* narrates the glorious gore of the flight, trial, and execution of Archadius of Mauretania. The sermon opens with an exhortation to the audience to commemorate the triumphal deeds of the martyr and to use his trials as inspiration to earn their own place in heaven. The body of the work contextualizes his persecution, describing the

[233] See discussion in Truzzi (1980), 50-53; Monceaux, 366-367.
[234] Lewis (1969), 417-439; Everett, 61; Lizzi, 161-164. For the version of the New Testament available to North African Christians such as Zeno and Cyprien, see: by H. von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika sur Zeit Cyprians*, TU 33 (Leipzig, 1909): 367–610.

martyr's initial flight from the violence, the conditions under which he turns himself in, and the extraordinary abuses exacted upon his body before his eventual beheading. Zeno concludes the sermon by emphasizing the triumph of God through the martyr's endurance, citing the martyria that house his dismembered relics as well his dual presence on heaven and earth, and compares his victory to Eleazar and the mother of 2 Maccabees. In the following passage, we see that Zeno introduces the cult of Archadius from north Africa to the region of Verona by urging his congregation to celebrate Archadius' deeds:

> *Dum beati Archadii martyris gesta annalibus triumphanda mandamus, in agonem immortalis laudis Christianus semper ardor animatur. Erit geminum de religiositate commercium, cum ad caeleste praemium populus accenditur et de martyris meritis non siletur.*
>
> As long as we commit the deeds which must be celebrated to the chronicles of the blessed martyr, Archadius, Christian zeal is ever animated for the struggle of immortal praise. It will be a two-fold exchange of esteem for divine law, when the people are enflamed for the heavenly reward and do not remain silent about the martyr's deeds (I.39.1).

Here, Zeno proposes a reciprocal relationship between the congregant and the saint, wherein the Christian becomes motivated by the example of the martyr while the martyr receives his or her due glory. Zeno characterizes the martyr's deeds as both triumphant and requiring veneration (*triumphanda*), envisioning a heavenly chronicle that faithfully records the "merits of the martyr" (*martyris meritis*).[235] Through the selection and moralization of history, Zeno renders the narrative paradigmatic for contemporary Christian practice. Not only does he argue that the congregant *must* venerate the martyr so to become "enflamed for the heavenly reward" (*ad caeleste praemium…accenditur*), but such a portrayal allows Zeno to expand upon the types of behavior that Archadius engaged necessary to achieve salvation.

[235] Another mention of a historical record appears in 5.9 (*cum sciamus apostolica fide esse perscriptum*).

This feature arises too in the conclusion of the narrative, in which Zeno underscores the extent of the martyr's suffering and by further framing his endurance as a victory of God over evil. For instance, in chapter 6 Zeno emphasizes that the torture exacted upon the martyr's body exceeded normal judicial procedure, where the judge becomes so enraged that he orders Archadius' limbs to be amputated from his body so that he may appear as a "living cadaver" (*uiuum cadauer*). In chapter 9.1-11, Zeno reaffirms both the immortality and the materiality of the saint, establishing two historical precedents to which Archadius' example may be compared:

> *Numerent martyria, qui possunt numerare supplicia, et in uno corpore quantum diabolus publicatus est furere, tantum agnoscatur dominus triumphasse. Sed durat inter haec martyris spiritus et morarum numerositate seruatus perstat uiuus, parte sui corporis iam sepultus. O dignus gloriosi exitus finis! Ascensurus altitudinem caeli corporis sui impedimenta praemittit et exsequiis funeris ipse praecedit. Cui haec est conparanda confessio? Maccabaeorum est iungenda numero, Eleazari est adaequanda proposito, conparanda consilio. Archadius beatissimus martyr adhuc demoratur in saeculo et iam martyr recitatur in caelo*.
>
> Those who may count the martyrdoms are able to count his tortures; and as much as the devil was known to rage in one body, so much is the Lord recognized to have triumphed! But amidst these tortures, the martyr's life endures and, alive, he perseveres as he is protected by a great number of *martyria*, as part of his body has already been buried. Oh, a worthy end to his glorious death! Already about to ascend to the top of the sky, he sends grievances ahead of his body and proceeds with his own funeral. To what can his confession be compared? It must be placed next to the number of Maccabees; it must be thought equal to Eleazar's conduct after a comparative debate. Archadius, the most blessed martyr, remains on earth and is already recorded as a martyr in heaven!

Zeno's portrayal of the martyr's endurance as the victory of good over evil is common to late antique martyr narratives. Still, this has implications for ways in which Zeno situates sacred history in the landscape of the late Roman Empire as understood by his congregation. Namely, through *Archadius*, Zeno introduces a conception of space rooted in a historical episode of martyrial endurance. Not only does he tether this to notions of salvation and cosmic triumph, but Zeno also locates it in a recognizable if imagined space within the late ancient Mediterranean. Yet Zeno glosses over two spatial details: the location of Archadius' martyrdom and the

subsequent site(s) of his veneration and relics. If Zeno claims that the deeds of Archadius *must* be celebrated by his congregation, where on earth might they do so?

What is notable for the present discussion is Zeno's insistence that Archadius has received partial burial in multiple *martyria*, as well as the historical comparisons he makes to 2 Maccabees. Archadius' partial burial attests, at least rhetorically, to the material remains of the martyr and several sites of veneration (*martyria*). The Christian veneration of relics began at least as early as the second century.[236] By the fourth century, some holy persons expressed awareness that their bodies could be vulnerable to posthumous dismemberment as part of a burgeoning trade of relics.[237] While Zeno explicitly connects these *martyria* to the pieces of Archadius that they "protect" (*seruatus*), he never once suggests that his church is in possession of the martyr's remains. This is a fact noted by Carlo Truzzi, who also observes that Zeno's enigmatic phrase *in suis martyribus computat tot* ("[God] counts the total in his martyrs") in *God's House* 6 (see section 2 below) refers to martyrs and not to relics.[238] This raises a question: how does one introduce a martyr's cult without his or her relics? Derek Kreuger simply answers that, "Without a body, it was difficult, although not impossible, to have a cult," and he likewise reminds us that, "in the later fourth century, elite families controlled much of the trade in relics" (8).[239] Given that there is no evidence for the veneration of Archadius after Zeno's sermon, it seems that Zeno's efforts failed.

This situation might also suggest that Zeno introduced the cult of Archadius to supplant competing cults in the area. Zeno assumed the role of bishop in the 360s, when the Arian

[236] Thunø, 150.
[237] Kreuger reminds us of Saint Anthony, who "specifically forbade his closest followers from revealing the location of his grave lest the faithful seek to gather up his body and keep it in their houses" (7). On the trade of relics, see: Kreuger, 8-15; Thunø, 152-153.
[238] Truzzi (1980), 221.
[239] A sentiment echoed by Hayne (1994), 210.

Auxentius occupied the See of Milan, and both *Three Genera* and *Resurrection* suggest the presence of Arians in Verona during his reign.[240] What is more, Ambrose's *Ep.* V informs us that "heretical" thinkers frequented the home of the consecrated virgin, Indicia. This demonstrates the presence of competing thinkers in Verona during Zeno's reign as well as the personal autonomy of more elite congregants even when integrated, to an extent, into existing ecclesiastical infrastructures (like the consecrated virgin). Notably, the Capitular Library in Verona houses at least one Arian sermon dating to the fifth century. Discovered in the early 20th century, this sermon appears at the end of MS LI (foll. 133-136), a sixth-century manuscript used in the 1785 edition of the works of Maximus or Turin.[241] C. H. Turner identified this sermon as Arian:

> No one can read through this document without seeing at once that it is Arian; for the "heretics" to the preacher are those who say that "the Father and the Son are equal" (2. 4, 6. 17), and "how can the begotten be equal to the Unbegotten, the visible to the Invisible, the servant to his Master, the suppliant and advocate to his Superior?"[242]

Turner's identification of the sermon as Arian on the basis of these statement appears to me to be sound. Notably, Turner further remarks that "the sermon is not only Arian; it is, if I guess rightly, Arian of the earliest and most successful period of Latin Arianism, between 350 and 400, or even between 350 and 380."[243] If his speculations are correct, that would mean that the sermon is roughly contemporaneous to Zeno's tenure as bishop. It is possible that Zeno had Arian cults in mind in *Three Genera* or in *Resurrection*, or perhaps he targeted veneration on the estates of his wealthier parishioners. Moreover, Zeno's comparison of Archadius to the Maccabean martyrs and to Eleazar certainly fits the tone of a *passio* but might also indicates that the cult of saints was undeveloped in Verona at this time when compared to regions such as north Africa and Asia

[240] See: *Three Genera* 1.1-6; *Res.*1-2; McEachnie (2018), 454.
[241] See: Turner (1911), 19.
[242] Turner (1911), 20).
[243] *Ibid*. 20-21.

Minor.[244] This may have then obliged Zeno to compare Archadius to better-known figures who had already been subsumed into a Christian conception of history. Zeno's comparison implies that the Maccabean martyrs had greater recognition in the late Latin West – or, at least in Verona – than did the martyrs post-dating the New Testament.[245]

What is clear is Zeno's emphasis on the righteous conduct of Archadius as a model for his congregation to follow. He constructs a mutually exclusive relationship between the performance of sacrifice and the Eucharist, listing the types of actions that he sees as diametrically opposed to Christianity in 2.6-14:

> *Scatebat per tecta culminum publicum scelus nec fuerat locus, in quo non erat pro religione sacrilegium. Cogebatur Christi populus uanis superstitionibus interesse atque in cultum nefandi ritus nunc aut libamina inceste profundere aut ornatus sertis uictimas trahere aut grauia nidoribus tura succendere aut inter fumidos ignes pallenti aruina, funesto sanguine perlitare, ut illiciti administratione ministerii Christi panis mentibus possit expelli.*
>
> Public wickedness was billowing out from the rooftops and there was no place in which sacrilege did not come before reverence. Christ's people were forced to participate in vain superstition and the worship of abominable ritual, to either pour out libations unchastely, or drag victims adorned with wreaths, or light heavily scented frankincense, or make an offering with deadly blood while the fat grew pale in the hazy fire, so that it might be possible to spew the bread of Christ from the mind with the performance of forbidden service.

Zeno's condemnation of animal sacrifice is unsurprising, given the dichotomy between "spiritual" and "material" sacrifice in *Three Genera* 9.2-8. His prohibition against libation pouring and the burning of incense, however, is notable because such practices were so integral to ancestor veneration. Ramsay MacMullen, for instance, describes the process of venerating

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[244] See: Sághy (2012), 247-249, 252-255; Denzey Lewis, 418-429; Trout (2003), 527-528.
[245] In Latin sources, Hippolytus and Cyprian treats the Maccabean martyrs, as do the *Martyrdom of Saints Montanus and Lucius* and the *Matryrdom of Saints Marian and James*, in the third century. Likewise, Ambrose and Augustine treat them in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. On the reception of the Maccabean martyrs in Late Antiquity across a variety of written sources (Hebrew, Latin, Syriac, and Greek), see: Tolonen (2011). On the imagery of the Maccabees in the fourth century in northern Italy, see: McGrath (1965), 257-261.

ancestors, writing: "On an altar, 'The Giving' offered perfume and in since the occasion was always a meal…[the dead] must have their share of wine, splashed on altars or graves and insured by pipes that ran down to their bones or ashes."[246] Thus, Zeno's elaboration upon the types of illicit activities pagans forced upon Christians of the past may be a rhetorical stance against contemporary Christians in his parish. Throughout the *Tractatus*, he takes issue with the improper worship of one's ancestors, as may be read in his prohibition against excessive grief in *Res.* 13. As in chapter 1, we see that Zeno weaponizes the concept of traditional cults to curtail the autonomous piety of his congregation. Elsewhere in his sermons, he claims that traditional cultic practice is still popular, and he expresses misgivings about intermarriage between Christians and non-Christian.[247]

Save for the veneration of Archadius and the Maccabean martyrs, whose legacies seem firmly under Zeno's control, he casts any veneration of the dead under the shade of impiety. Interestingly, Zeno portrays the practice of such rites as antithetical to salvation, yet he allows for a degree of imperfection in the martyr that he is careful to mitigate. In so doing, Zeno encourages his audience to adopt two practices: material renunciation and imitation of saintly paradigms:

> *Sed dum bellum duri certaminis geritur et familia domini caelo spectante probatur, Archadius beatissimus martyr huius inopinati sacrilegii horrore percussus paululum distulit pugnam, iam debitus ad coronam* [3].
>
> But while the battle of harsh combat was waged, and the Lord's family was tested by the observing sky, the blessed martyr Archadius delayed the battle just a little, having been struck by the dread of his unforeseen sacrilege – though he was already destined for the crown.

[246] MacMullen, 492-493.
[247] See: *Tract.* I.6.8, 13, 27.

Zeno tells his audience that Archadius flees the city out of fear of persecution. Yet he makes clear that this momentary lapse in judgment is in fact a twin act of virtue. On the one hand, Zeno informs us in the following lines that Archadius only fled "once all of his resources had been cast aside and his worldly roots severed" (*amputatis radicibus saeculi delitescens secessionis*). This statement has the double effect of encouraging the audience to cast aside their own resources – most probably, by donating them to the church – and foreshadowing the means of Archadius' martyrdom. Indeed, the judge dismembers the saint's body just as the martyr, himself, "amputates" his wealth. On the other hand, though Archadius initially flees, persecution, he does so by following a historical precedent established in the gospels. Thusly does Zeno make clear when he exlplains at 3.9-10: "he would be motivated by example of a gospel precedent that one should flee" (*secedendo euangelicae iussionis animaretur exemplo*). This may be an allusion to Mt. 10:23, when Jesus instructs his disciples that they should flee persecution. Zeno's rhetoric then establishes for his audience the double virtue of charity and adherence to biblical precedent.

While it seems that Zeno's efforts to introduce a cult for Archadius in Verona failed, in the next section we will see this bishop celebrate the completion of renovations to his congregation's church in his sermon, *God's House*.[248] Though his tone is festive, Zeno's sermon betrays anxiety about the sparseness of the space when compared to the more opulent temples of gentiles and Jews.[249] While this is the work in which Zeno engages most directly with the landscape of Verona, he still abstracts sacred space by interpreting the building typologically. This hermeneutic enables Zeno to propose a reversal of opulence and glorification that rests on the same dichotomy between spirit and matter found in each sermon examined thus far. That is, God rejects the more opulent temples of non-Christians in favor of living temples (*uiua*

[248] Tedone and Lusuardi, 19-97; Piva, 46-47. C.f. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, P. III, Milano 1826: 100-102.
[249] Sotinel (1997), 141-147; Truzzi, 220-221.

templa).[250] This Zeno does by invoking conceptions of the time and space, as well as categorization of persons. Finally, it is in these notions of the living church and categories of persons (the poor, the rich, the widow…) that Zeno embeds a paraenetic discourse aimed at expanding the role of the bishop in his congregant's salvation.

2. *The Rhetoric of Edification in God's House*

Zeno opens *God's House* in a congratulatory tone, informing his "dearest brothers" (*fratres dilectissimi*) that he wishes "to use the triumphal sermon in a certain manner and double the sacred height of the new building with praise" (*triumphali quodam modo uti sermone nouique operis arcem sacram laudibus geminare*, 1.1). From the outset, then, Zeno establishes the tone, audience, and technique of the rhetoric to follow. He portrays his speech as capable of augmenting the building around him, encouraging his congregants to envision themselves within a grander structure. As Claire Sotinel has remarked, Zeno's symbolic interpretation of a sacred space was not unique to him – indeed, she shows that Augustine also argued that the physical beauty of a church is distinct from God's residence therein.[251] Yet Augustine was active several decades after Zeno, and thus lived in a different context than the Veronese bishop. As such, Zeno's comparison of the church to non-Christian institutions, as well as his development of notions of space and time in the context of categories of congregant and clergy, merit exploration.

Just as his congregation should offer God a "sacrifice of praise" (*sacrificium laudis*) in *Three Genera* 3.1, so too will his praise "double the sacred height" of the church. These introductory statements prime the audience to perceive speech, and especially praise, as edifying

[250] *God's House* 4.5
[251] See: Sontel (1997), 145; Augustine, *Sermo* 15 (CCL 41).

in both senses of the word.[252] As we shall see, Zeno fuses both valences of edification by exhorting his congregants to imagine themselves as the building blocks of a living church. First, however, Zeno must acknowledge an uncomfortable fact: his church is modest when compared to the more opulent temples of gentiles and Jews. From lines 1.3-9, Zeno admits:

> *quae dei sunt, tamen praecipuum non est, quod cum gentibus uel Iudaeis potest esse commune; nam et illi, si liceat uel si uelint,*[253] *fortassis cultius synagogas aedificent, cultius erigant capitolia,*[254] *sed in his omnibus operibus uero iudicio structores magis possunt placere quam sacerdotes.*
>
> …what you have in common with the gentiles or even the Jews is not special; for perhaps even they, if it were permitted or should they desire, could build a more ornate synagogue, or erect more elaborate *capitolia*, but in true judgment builders are better able to give pleasure to all these buildings than priests.

Zeno acknowledges the relative humility of the new church when compared to other places of worship. When looking at the archaeological record, we find that Zeno's congregation would have occupied the second stage of Basilica A, which enlarged the floor from 16.9m by 37.5m to 29.2m by 72.8m.[255]

[252] Sotinel (1997), 141; Truzzi (1980), 220.
[253] *Si liceat uel si uelint* possibly alludes to *C. Theod.* 16.10.2 of 341 CE, by which Emperor Constans (337-350) sought to curb the worship of Rome's traditional gods through the restriction of temple building. See: Humphries (2018), 61-63, 73-80.
[254] The smallest hill in Rome and the location of both its temple to Jupiter and two important sacrifices: that of the consuls'at the beginning of the year and that terminating the Roman triumph. Many colonies reproduced their own *capitolium*. See: Tertullian, *Apol*. 6; Buchi and Cavalieri Manasse, 15-17.
[255] Tedone and Lusuardi, 17-98; Piva, 46-47; Bonetto J. *Archeologia delle Regioni d'Italia*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, Instituto, 2009: 72, 446.



Figure 3: Basilica A – Mosaic Pavement, Second Stage. Photo by José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro / CC BY-SA 4.0

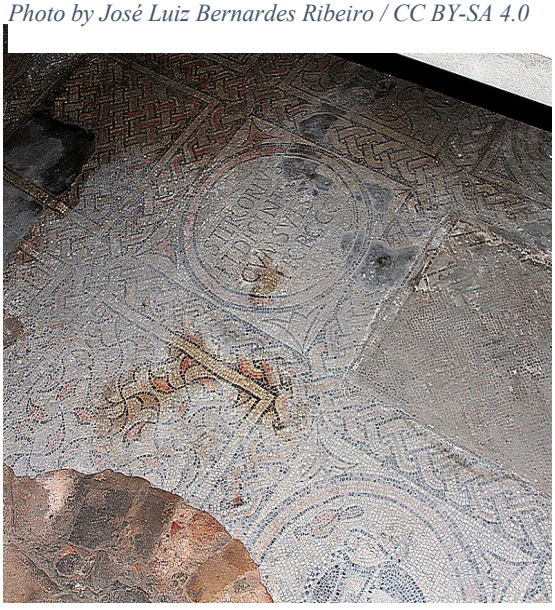


Figure 4: Basilica A – Inscription. Photo by José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro / CC BY-SA 4.0

This basilica had three naves with alternating columns and pillars, an apse, and a concentric ring of benches that sat atop a mosaic pavement comprised guilloche borders surrounding square panels with cultic, geometric, and natural imagery.[256] More specifically, the imagery includes grapes and vines, birds, fish, geometric lattices and other designs. Aside from geometric symbols, the mandorla and the amphora are particularly popular (as in Fig. 3).

At the bottom of Figure 4, we see another amphora – here depicted within a medallion and flanked by at least one bird. At the top of the image appears another medallion encasing a dedicatory inscription. Indeed, dedicatory inscriptions have been found near the presbytery of the complex, as well as in the north-western nave.[257] Tedone et al. speculate that these dedicatory inscriptions contain the names of the very same benefactors (*divites*) whom Zeno praises in *God's House* 10.[258] I discuss Zeno's

[256] Brugnoli (1987), 6-8;
[257] See: Forlati Tamaro B. "Scavi e scoperte negli ultimi dieci anni nelle Venezie, 1958-1968." In *Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Matera, 25-31 1969): 185-197; E. Mangani, F. Rebecchi F., and M. J. Strazzulla (Eds.). *Emilia, Venezie. Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (Bari, 1981): 168-169; Bolla, Margherita. *Archeolgica a Verona*. Milan: Electa, 2000: 52-57; Tedone et al. (1987), 19, but especially 43-87, which contain images and reconstructions of the surviving mosaic pavement.
[258] Tedone et al. (1987), 32.

rhetoric regarding the *divites* at the end of this section, but the presence of at least five dedicatory inscriptions within the mosaic pavement – of which only a fraction survives – speaks both to the multiplicity of funding sources needed to fund the renovation and to the desire of those funders to present themselves as benefactors of the church.

The mosaic pavement of Basilica A is especially noteworthy, too, because it is the earliest instance of a mosaic in a church of which I am aware and because it helps specify the economic resources available for the renovation. In the first place, Beat Brenk has claimed that "Not a single source, neither the *Liber Pontificalis*, nor the church-fathers nor the epigrams of bishop Damasus allow us the assumption of a mosaic in a church before ca. 380."[259] The mosaic pavement of Basilica A, dating to the 360s or 370s, pushes this date back by a decade or more and predates the more famous mosaic at the Basilica alla Beligna at Aquileia (early 5th century).[260] Moreover, Brenk speculates that the appearance of mosaic pavements in church floors may have been a direct result of pressure from elite patrons and benefactors:

> On the other hand, there are mosaics preserved before ca. 380 in private Christian Imperial and non-Imperial mausolea such as S. Costanza and Centcelles (which was probably a reception room), and a little later S. Aquilino (before 402). It seems that it was less problematic to decorate a private building with Christian mosaics than an official church building. Thus it is possible that private Christian - sometimes imperial - patrons favored the mosaic technique and mosaic images. It is not farfetched to hypothesize that private Christian patrons encouraged bishops to introduce mosaic-images into basilica churches.[261]

The guilloche borders and cultic imagery of the mosaic pavements of Basilica A resemble the design of mosaic pavements of private (sub-)elite space across the Roman Empire in the late fourth century. In his discussion of Aquileia, moreover, Peter Brown has remarked that the

[259] Brenk (2014), 652.
[260] See chart in Leatherbury (2020), 46.
[261] Brenk, 652-653.

"pavement (and, one suspects, the entire building) had been funded by lay donors working in collaboration with their bishop."[262] He adds that the total cost of the Aquileia mosaic would have been small for a senator, but "the equivalent of the annual income of eighty poor families, or of the combined yearly salaries of ten teachers of Latin grammar."[263] The enlarged space would have allowed for perhaps a few hundred people, twice the size of the original basilica. Though this is comparatively small group in a city of 25,000 people,[264] it nevertheless suggests a rapid growth of the congregation's size from the first church's initial construction in the mid-fourth century to its enlargement in the 360s or 370s. This is especially true when placed in comparison with the basilica at Aquileia, which measured 18.66 by 40.66m but which was built in the first quarter of the third century.[265] I would also note that the mosaic pavement of Basilica A may be added to Sean Leatherbury's study of mosaic inscriptions in basilica contexts, the earliest of which are the Basilica of St. Paul in Philippi (Greece, late fourth century) and the Basilica alla Beligna at Aquileia.[266]

As we shall see, the situation described by Brown matches that of Zeno in Verona, wherein his reliance upon the financial generosity of his congregation at times put him at odds with the ethical and pietistic innovations he attempted into the private spaces and cultic activities of his parishioners. Zeno's discourse on space involves three interrelated positions: 1) though gentile and Jewish temples are more luxurious, they are now in decline; 2) the opulence of these temples is moot because God prefers living temples; 3) congregants comprise the building blocks of the living church, but only the righteous ones. First, Zeno situates the greater resources of

[262] Brown (2012), 40.
[263] Brown (2012), 40.
[264] McEachnie, 10-11; Truzzi, 117.
[265] Sotinel (2006), 72–89.
[266] See again Leatherbury (2020), 46.

Jews and gentiles in the past, claiming that their temples are now in ruins because Christianity has become so popular in chapter 2:

> *Quid, quod aut nullum aut perrarum est per omnem ecclesiam dei orationis loci membrum, quod possit quamuis ruina in se mergentibus idolatriae aedibus nunc usque aliquatenus comparari? Nam et Salomonis accepimus templum luculento opere fuisse constructum atque ita elaboratum, ut nesciret inspector, in eo quid potissimum miraretur: magnitudinem, opus, ornatum anne materiam; ita enim in unum decorem uniuersa conuenerant, ut legitima domus dei caduca illa ambitio putaretur. Quod si ita esset, inter memorata impar cultu semper ecclesia inueniretur.*
>
> And isn't there no (or very rarely a single) prayer room throughout the entire assembly of God that up until very recently could be compared even to the ruins of the idol temples that collapse in on themselves? For we know that God's Temple was built by Solomon as a brilliant work and therefore labored over so that the viewer would not know at what and how he should be particularly amazed – whether the magnitude, the work, or the richly adorned material. Thusly indeed did they all fit together into one grace. But if it were so, an assembly would always be found among those remembered for inferior worship.

Zeno views his congregation as living at the dawn of a new period of human history in which church spaces have only "recently" been impressive enough to be compared to the ruins of gentile and Jewish temples. This constructs a notion of Christian triumphalism, in which traditional cultic practice is on the decline. In the previous passage, Zeno grouped the synagogue with the *capitolium*, the center of civic and cultic activity of the Roman city.[267] When looking at the archaeological record, Humphries informs us of an inscription describing the restoration of a statue in Verona's *capitolium* by the provincial governor between 379 and 383.[268] He reads this inscription as evidence that "temples and shrines seem to have fallen into disuse not because of direct, dramatic, and destructive Christian action, but rather as a result of a long-drawn-out process of abandonment as the numbers of pagans dwindled over time."[269] Nevertheless, such

[267] See note 13 on the *capitolium*.
[268] Humphries (2019), 63; CIL 5.3332: *statuam in capitolio diu iacentem*.
[269] *Ibid.*

restoration work in the forum suggests that the *Capitolia* continued to function in the fourth century and that the Veronese community maintained its buildings.

Humphries' remarks leave the impression that, while Christianity was not dominant in the city in the late fourth century, Zeno may have been correct in his observation that at least some temples were falling to ruin. This stands in opposition to the rhetoric we saw in *Three Genera* and *Resurrection*, in which Zeno complains about the frequency of unorthodox practices. The phrase, "But if it were so, the church would always be found among those remembered for inferior worship", expands upon the historical comparison between the new church and the older institutions. This constructs for the congregation a collective memory of the deficiency of the non-Christian worship of the past, which the audience may then map onto contemporary non-Christians. It reinforces categories of group identity and its associated spaces (Christian and not Christian), but also suggests to the audience that these newly consecrated spaces and the pious behavior of the congregation, itself, might be commemorated by later generations. Moreover, I read *Quod si… inueniretur* as an anti-Jewish statement, where Zeno views contemporary Jews as having inconstant faith because (in Zeno's estimation) they prefer inane sacrifices to following Christ.[270] This would be consistent with Zeno's rhetoric in *Three Genera*, where Zeno blends historical and contemporary comparison by rendering the spectrum of Jewishness in antiquity into a single, monolithic relic spanning the biblical timeline up to his lifetime.[271]

[270] It should be noted that the so-called Jewish revolt against Constantius Gallus took place from 351-352, originated in Galilee and possibly led to the destruction of the city of Sepphoris, as well as Tiberias and Lod. While a reconstruction of these events is difficult, it is possible that Jewish unrest in Palestina and the placement of a permanent Roman garrison in the region of Galilee could have contributed to the perception of Jewish decline. See: Geiger, Joseph. "The Last Jewish Revolt against Rome: A Reconsideration." *Scripta Classica Israelica* 5 (1979): 250-257; Schäfer, Peter. "Der Aufstand gegen Gallus Caesar," in: J.W. van Henten *et al.*, eds., *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of J.C.H. Lebram* (1986): 184–201; Bijovsky, Gabriela. "Numismatic Evidence for the Gallus Revolt: The Hoard from Lod." (2007): 187-203

[271] This is common in early Christian authors, and it reappears in the discussion of Prudentius' work in Part III.

Zeno's triumphal period, however, is itself moderated by the possibility of new Jewish and non-Christian structures, whose potential to overshadow the newly constructed church Zeno must neutralize. While he admits that non-Christian institutions might have more resources or construct more impressive buildings, Zeno mitigates their competitive potential by reassuring the congregation of their mundanity. The beauty of these non-Christian spaces is "not special" (*praecipuum non est*), it is only the builders who achieve this superficial beauty and not those who use the space. Claire Sotinel has argued that Zeno "n'est pas seulement original parce qu'il accepte cette comparaison entre édifices de culte chrétiens et temples païens. Il évoque aussi, en des termes assez singuliers, les qualités architecturales de l'édifice dont il célèbre l'achèvement."[272] That is, Zeno is innovative not only because he accepts the comparison between non-Christian and Christian places of worship, but also because he invokes the particular features of the church that he celebrates.[273] Zeno acknowledges that non-Christian spaces were often more impressive than Christian ones, an admission that may speak to a general perception throughout the region. Sotinel further speculates that the purpose of this rhetoric was to prevent his aristocratic congregants from "la tentation du retour aux cultes traditionnels," but also that "l'évêque et les païens de Vérone peuvent partager les mêmes appreciations esthétiques."[274] To paraphrase, Sotinel sees in *God's House* Zeno's effort to prevent the aristocracy from performing sacrifice and other practices, as well as the same aesthetic tastes shared between Zeno and his more elite congregants.

The luxury of God's House and non-Christian institutions stands as a historical example of style over substance, cases to which the congregation should compare itself and its own place

[272] Sotinel (1997), 143.
[273] Sotinel argues that this differs from Zeno's predecessors, such as Origen (*ibid.*, 142).
[274] Sotinel (1997), 144.

of worship.[275] Zeno argues that the modesty of his church legitimizes it as a sacred space because God prefers what is spiritual to what is material, and therefore rejects the more opulent temples of non-Christians. In chapter 3, he claims:

> *Sed haec saecularia sine legitimo ac deuoto cultore nec sufficientia nec necessaria honori suo protestatur deus…*
>
> But these secular [structures] are testified by God's honor as neither sufficient nor necessary, without a legitimate and consecrated worshipper…

Here, Zeno makes the point that it is the holiness of those who utilize the space that consecrate it, and not the superficial luxury of its architecture or décor. This position allows Zeno to interpret the new church and the congregation symbolically rather than literally. In language akin to what we saw in *Three Genera* 3.1, where Zeno urges his congregants to offer God a "sacrifice of praise" (*sacrificium laudis*), here Zeno gives new shape to the building through his preaching. This bishop uses many terms to refer to the church and its congregation: as seen below, it is one of many living temples (*viva templa*); it is comprised of an assembly (*ecclesia*); it is a house of God (*domus Dei*). Framing the structure as a living church Zeno exhorts his audience to see themselves as foundational, literally, to its construction. We see this in chapter 4:

> *Reprobat ergo tam inmensum, tam insigne, tam opulens templum, quia in eo uerum non erat templum. Etenim hominum conciliabulum est contextio ista parietum, fidelis autem populus dei templum…Et uerum est, nam sicut idolis insensatis similia templa conueniunt, ita uiuenti deo uiua templa sunt necessaria. In his enim solis sacerdotum dei structura et propria est et perennis, qua et Iudaeos et gentes uel ceteros antecedimus.*
>
> Therefore, he rejects so immense, so remarkable, so opulent a temple because it was not the true temple. Indeed, that joining of walls is a meeting house of people, but the temple of God is of faithful people…And it is true! For just as senseless temples are suitable for senseless idols, so too are living temples necessary for the living God. Truly, in these alone is the masonry of God's priests both proper and perennial, by which we surpass the Jews, nations and the rest.

[275] *Ibid.*, 143.

Using 1 Cor. 3:16 as a prooftext, Zeno reinforces a dichotomous categorization of matter and spirit, life and death, and truth and falseness to argue for the supremacy of Christianity over other systems of worship. Zeno then follows up his claims about the insufficiency of pagan and Jewish spaces with a series of biblical quotes, from Is. 66 1:2, Lk. 13:34-35, and Lk. 21:6. Unlike the material (and therefore soulless) instantiations of gentile and Jewish worship, Zeno likens the congregation itself to living temples. In essence, like accompanies like, where the holiness of the worshipper matches the subject of worship (and opposes the material space).

The congregation then becomes the living embodiment of the church, adorning the walls with its own holiness. This reinterpretation of sparseness as holiness, as well as congregant as decoration, becomes more explicit in chapters 5 through 7. This occurs first when Zeno describes the congregation as the decoration that edifies the building:

> *Incomparabilis autem gloria ac uere deo digna, cum uno consensu, una fide alter alterum commendans deuotione consimili conuertuntur ad deum et sacerdos et templum. Exsultate igitur, fratres, aedificationemque uestram aede ista de nouella cognoscite, cuius quoque capacitatem felici numero fecistis angustam* [5].
>
> But the glory is incomparable and worthy of God's truths if – as one commends the other with one consensus, in one faith – priest and temple are turned toward God by a similar devotion. Therefore rejoice, brothers! Recognize your own edification in this new temple, whose capacity you have made small with your blessed number**.**

Here, Zeno introduces a mutually reinforcing relationship of holiness between congregant and church. He reassures the audience of its heavenly reward and encourages its members to realize their own edification (*aedificationemque uestram*) within the walls of the new space, tethering the community and its hopes for salvation to the space in which it worships. This is the opposite of what we saw in *Three Genera* and *Resurrection*, where private space becomes problematic and becomes associated with impiety. Such rhetoric also enables Zeno to situate the priest in an

intermediary position between divinity and humanity, where the clergy act as the keepers of the living church.

Zeno stresses the importance of the reciprocity and unity of a Christian body in making it "worthy" (*digna*) of Christ, arguing for a dichotomy between priest and temple in which "one commends the other with one consensus, in one faith" (*cum uno consensu, una fide alter alterum commendans*). It is the priest (*sacerdos*) who turns with the temple (*templum*) toward God, just as it is the priest who presides over the temple itself. The congregation is not absent from this imagery; rather, Zeno likens them to the very building in which they stand. Each congregant becomes an edifice (*aedificationem*) through his or her worship in the temple (*aede*). Such rhetoric of edification renders the congregant an integral, yet *inert*, part of the holy space. That is, while the congregation undergoes a metamorphosis in its transformation to building block of the church, thereby losing agency, the priest remains the same. The likening of congregant to temple not only authorizes the bishop's control (as it is the clergy who oversees the church) but also collapses any socio-cultural boundaries amongst the congregation be rendering it a monolith in both senses of the word. Gone are the discursive categories of the rich, the poor and the merchants – there is only the clergy and the church.

By extension, Zeno's appeals to Shepherd of Hermas and Revelation invite the audience to envision itself as part of the heavenly kingdom. This rhetoric of edification continues in chapters 6 and 7. Maintaining the same dichotomies of life, truth, and wealth from chapter 4, Zeno uses his historical exempla and symbolic reinterpretation to subvert the positive associations with opulent decoration. This time, however, he compares the congregation and the new church to features of the Jerusalem Temple found in the Shepherd of Hermas:[276]

[276] Osiek, Carolyn. *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary*. Ed. Helmut Koester. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999.

> *In totius fabricae fundamentis non sicut in Iudaeae templo plurimi,*[277] *sed magnus, praeclarus, pretiosus ac speciosus unus est lapis, qui quadrae turris totam solus sustinet molem.*[278] *Cui non innumerabilis uarie famulatur acies ualidissima columnarum, quia illi septem solae sufficiunt;*[279] *non aeneum inhaeret mare,*[280] *quia illi perennis fontis sui uiuum inest mare, non quod naufragos faciat, sed quod naufragos ad uitam suauem perducat; non aurum, non argentum, quia in suis martyribus computat totum* [6].
>
> Just as in the Jewish Temple, in the whole building's foundation there are not many but one great, splendid and spectacular stone, which supports the entire weight of the square tower, which innumerable, very sturdy rows of columns do not support in different ways because those seven alone are enough. There is no bronze sea connected to it because the living sea of its eternally bubbling spring is in involved, not one that causes shipwrecks but leads the shipwrecked to a blessed life. It is neither gold, nor silver, because [Christ] calculates the whole sum in his martyrs.

Zeno's use of the Shepherd of Hermas allows him to establish the concept of a superior, Christian Temple that will supersede God's House.[281] By construing the congregation as edifications in themselves, Zeno draws from Hermas' paraenetic discourse on the evaluation of Christians as building materials for the heavenly Tower. In the Similitudes 9, for instance, Hermas describes the Temple as a Tower constructed of many stones but whose foundation has become a single stone. Elsewhere, the Shepherd of Hermas explains that these seven women are not only the columns who support the church, but also embodiments of the virtues necessary for the Christian – here imagined as a stone – to be found suitable for incorporation into the

[277] Here, Zeno utilizes descriptions of the Temple from 1 Kings 5 and 7, and Eph. 2, and 2 Chron. 5.
[278] See: *Shep. Herm.*, *Vis*. III, 8, 9. The text made its way into Latin at the turn of the fourth century. See: Tornau, Christian and Paolo Cecconi, *The Shepherd of Hermas in Latin*. De Gruyter, Inc., 2014: 4-38.
[279] See: Prov. 9:1.
[280] See: Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "God's House: The Politics of Ritual Space." In *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeological and the Religion of Israel*. Ed. Gittler. Eisenbrauns, 2002: 83-94; Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "'Who Is the King of Glory?' God's House and Its Symbolism." In *God's House and Its Symbolism*. Ed. Michael Coogan, J. C. Exum, and L. E. Stager. Westminster John Knox, 1994: 18-31.
[281] Although the BKV identifies the Shepherd of Hermas as a possible source, it privileges the accounts of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles (1 Kings 5:17, 7:6-39; 2 Chronicles 4:2-5) for the entire passage – save for its interpretation of the congregant as church found in Ephesians 2:20, whether direct or indirect. I find that these biblical descriptions are too generic to sufficiently account for Zeno's testimony. Meanwhile, the Shepherd of Hermas' imagery and allegorical reading of the Temple more precisely matches that of Zeno. While 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles and Zeno all agree that the Temple was built of fine stones (*praeclarus, pretiosus ac speciosus*), the allegorical interpretation of the building process and the imagery used to describe the Temple do not match. Absent from the biblical sources are Tower imagery, the likening of the congregation to building materials, the seven columns and the single foundation stone. The Shepherd of Hermas matches each aspect of this language.

heavenly Tower. In Visions 3:3-8, for instance, the wise woman explains who they are and their significance for salvation. It is unclear to what extent Zeno' congregation would have been familiar with the Shepherd of Hermas. Save for his direct quotations, Zeno consistently references (rather than elaborates upon) his sources across the sermons that I have studied. This tendency leaves open a spectrum of possibility of their import into Zeno's rhetoric – from the detailed recall of the sequences of building and exegesis in Hermas, to an understanding of the sermon totally free from its source material. I imagine that the full range of this spectrum would have been present across Zeno's congregation. A well-read congregant might recall the virtues associated with the seven columns, but also some of the broader themes of the source. For example, given that education corresponds to higher socioeconomic status, Zeno's invocation of the Tower and associated imagery might have encouraged the wealthier members his congregation to reflect upon Hermas' emphasis on charitable giving as means of attaining a place in the heavenly Tower.[282] At the opposite end of this spectrum, a congregant unfamiliar with Hermas would still leave with the interpretation of the individual as a piece of the church, itself, as well as the favorable comparison between contemporary Christian church and historical Jewish Temple.

The significance of this lithic specification lies in the intended lesson of the sermon, which emphasizes the completeness and unity of the building as analogous to the congregation and its church as a unified body under a perfect divinity. Grounding his comparisons in physical descriptions of a new Temple from the Shepherd of Hermas, Zeno advances his claims about the superiority of the church by highlighting two features of the Temple: the foundation of the building (*fabricae fundamentis*) and the bronze sea (*aeneum mare*). The "single stone" (*unus*

[282] Consider, for instance, Hermas' parable of the vine and elm (poor and wealthy) from the Similitudes 2 [51].

lapis) contrasts with the "many" (*plurimi*), where the *plurimi* characterizes the Jerusalem Temple as a less perfect place of worship. The reference to the seven columns would be understood by some congregants as an exhortation to strive toward the virtues laid out in Visions 3, but even without this textual background the symbolic meaning of the seven columns would be implied by its juxtaposition to the Jerusalem Temple. Likewise, the "bronze sea" (*aeneum mare*) – that is, the basin located in the tabernacle and used for the ritual washing of the priests – would further clarify this symbolic interpretation of the church through the preference for baptism over the sacrificial purification.[283] Just as he stated that a living temple befits a living god (*uiuenti deo uiua templa*) in chapter 4, Zeno distinguishes Judaism from Christianity through a life/death dichotomy once again. In this passage, he reinterprets the name given to this ritual basin both literally and spiritually. Whereas the bronze sea (here, a metaphor for Judaism) is one that "shipwrecks" (*naufragos*) the soul and leads to perdition, the currents of the "living sea" (*uiuum mare*; here, Christianity) lead to salvation and eternal life. The grandeur of God's House, with its enormity and opulent architectural features, therefore, contrasts with the modesty, unity, and supremacy of the church of Verona.

Yet it is not simply materially and spiritually that the two religious spaces differ – it is also in their legacies. Zeno assures the audience that the heavenly Tower is explicitly *not* bedecked in inert silver and gold, but rather living martyrs, whom God uses to calculate the total value of the space (*non aurum, non argentum, quia in suis martyribus computat totum*). Just as the congregation is likened to buildings and, through Zeno's citation of Hermas, encouraged to imagine itself as fitting into the heavenly Tower, so too are the martyrs reimagined as priceless

[283] See: Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "God's House: The Politics of Ritual Space." In *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*. Ed. Gittler. Eisenbrauns, 2002: 83-94; Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "'Who Is the King of Glory?' God's House and Its Symbolism." In *God's House and Its Symbolism*. Ed. Michael Coogan, J. C. Exum, and L. E. Stager. Westminster John Knox, 1994: 18-31.

ornaments. They are the antitheses to the precious metals of the Jerusalem Temple, the spiritual successors to the earthly imperfections of the past. Yet for all his efforts to leave such material preoccupations behind him, Zeno remains concerned to prove that the heavenly kingdom is also bedecked in luxurious items, as we will see in the following passage.

Zeno brings his description of the church to a crescendo in chapter 7. Here, Zeno departs from the Shepherd of Hermas' Tower to explore the heavenly kingdom of Revelation,[284] leaving behind any reference to the tangible space that he purports to describe. Even so, he retains the themes of building and edification, highlighting the luxurious goods that comprise the heavenly kingdom in chapter 7:

> *Non fenestrarum lumen implorat, quia sol aeternus in eo manet. Inaestimabilia unius plenitudinis tria illi sunt membra, unum secretarium et patentes semper duodecim portae, quas ab hostili defendit impulsu in modum tau litterae prominens lignum. O res uere miranda! Cotidie aedificatur et cotidie dedicatur; floribus perpetuis ac diuersis gemmis, lapidibus, margaritis per momenta distinguitur et quia opus est uiuum, tectum non habet nisi caelum*.
>
> [Christ] does not ask for the light of windows because the sun shines eternal in him. Those priceless three parts are of one whole: one *secretarium*[285] and twelve gates that are always open, which the prominent wooden sign of the letter tau protects from an enemy surge. Oh, truly these things must be admired! Every day it is built and every day it is consecrated; and over time it is adorned with perpetual flowers and different gems, with jewels and with pearls, and because the building is alive it has no roof except the sky.

In his rhetoric of edification, Zeno assures his congregants that they will have transcended their earthly modesty to enter a place adorned with flowers and precious gems – quite the departure from the virtues associated with sparseness the Zeno touted in the earlier passages and evidence of his embarrassment over the new church's lack of impressive features. Zeno's reliance upon

[284] Hermas is quite clear that there is only *one gate* rather than the twelve of Revelation, while the latter states that "I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev. 21:22).
[285] A *secretarium* is "an audience hall in which the bishop presided as judge" (Brown (2013), 78). Zeno's use of the term raises questions about the relationship between secular and episcopal jurisdictions in the 360s and 370s. Is this a projection of his ambitions or a statement about his authority in real life?

Revelation 21:1-2, 6, and 23-25 is clear, what with its twelve open gates, luminescent Christ, sign of Christ, and precious materials. Zeno transcends the early structure he purports to describe to take his congregation on a heavenly journey. He invites the audience to envision itself as a part of the heavenly kingdom, comprised of a single sanctuary (*secretarium*) and twelve open gates protected by a wooden tau and adorned with un-withering flowers and precious jewels. The sense of *secretarium* is somewhat murky here, but likely functions to link the heavenly Tower of Hermas with the New Jerusalem and Christianized tabernacle of Revelation.[286] Zeno thus seems comfortable hybridizing his sources in pursuit of the larger themes of living spaces, material reversal,[287] and edification of the congregant.

Zeno's invocation of the letter tau in chapter seven (*tau litterae*) is most likely a hybridized reference to Revelation and Ezekiel that reifies this rhetoric of edification but is perhaps a nod to the physical decoration of the church, as well. To the first point, I propose that Zeno follows an early Christian tradition of reading wooden objects from the Old Testament as foreshadowing the cross, but especially the letter tau.[288] Larry Hurtado has argued that the

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[286] Hermas uses *secretum* only once to refer to a place rather than the Tower (*Visions* 3), but not *secretarium* or any of its variants. Revelation, meanwhile, describes the heavenly Kingdom as a *civitas* (the New Jerusalem), a *tabernaculum* (tabernacle), and a place with *murum magnum et altum, habent portas duodecim* (a great and high wall, having twelve gates) with *fundamenta duodecim* (twelve foundations). The term *secretarium*, to my knowledge, does not feature in the Revelation of the *VL*, indicating that Zeno utilized the term independently from his source materials. By Zeno's lifetime, the term could refer more generally to a secret or solitary place, but also referred to a council chamber of judges (Cod. Th. 1, 7, 1; *Cod. Just. 3, 24, 3*; *9, 3, 16*; *Lact. Mort. Pers. 15*) or (in church settings) a consistory or conclave (*Sulp. Sev. S. Mart. 2, 1*; *Paul. Nol. Ep. 32, 16*). If this is the case, then the *secretarium* might be compared to the *episcopalis audientia* first described in the Justinian Code, or to the *iudicium episcopale* in the Theodosian Code. Describing two terms as synonymous, A. J. B. Sirks contexualizes the *episcopalis audientia* by stating that "Basically it concerns a way of deciding a dispute, next to the official way of entering the official hierarchy of courts of local judge, the provincial judge, the diocesan vicar, and then the prefect, either in last resort (*vice sacra iudicans*) or as one but last phase before the emperor as supreme judge. Yet deferring the decision to one or more persons in the unofficial capacity of arbitrator was far from usual. It was commonly known by the name of *arbitrium* and the agreement to do so was a *compromissum* (actually two promises). The decision was called a *sententia*, as with state courts. Abeyance could be ensured by mutual penal stipulations, included or combined with the *compromissum*. This meant that if one party did not follow the *sententia*, the other could sue him before a state court for breach of promise, for the promised sum. As such, arbitration had its advantages" ((2013), 79).

[287] That is, the relationship between sparseness and opulence on heaven and earth.

[288] On this topic, see: Hurtado (2006), 207-26.

depiction and use of the tau as a protective symbol of the crucifixion has precedent in early Christian thought from before the fourth century.[289] Origen, for instance, discusses the tau's relationship to perfection, fulfillment of the Law, and its perceived foreshadowing of the crucifixion.[290] In *Against Marcion* III:22, moreover, Tertullian claims that God would imprint the letter tau upon those entering through the heavenly gates. *God's House* combines two concepts found in Revelation: the seal of God upon the blessed in 7:3 and God's self-description as the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, alpha and omega, in 1:8, 21:6, and 22:13. While tau does *not* appear in the place of omega in the *Vetus Latina* (*VL*) manuscripts of Revelation, early Christian authors often ascribed the tau to the sign of God in Ezekiel 9:4.[291] Thus, Zeno's tau in *God's House* may follow this tradition and, subsequently, stand in the place of both the omega and the seal of the blessed in Revelation. From this lens, the tau as the seal of the blessed reifies Zeno's rhetoric of edification by imprinting upon his congregants a vision of the holy city that they themselves have become building material for and which itself has been engraved with the seal of the blessed.

Aside from its rhetorical function, I suggest that Zeno's reference to the letter tau may have described a physical cross displayed in the church, a protective emblem against incursions from hostile forces just outside the boundaries of the Western Roman Empire. This is the reading of the tau that Zeno gives us in *God's House*, in which the letter stands as a "wooden sign of the cross" (*tau litterae prominens lignum*) that protects the building it adorns from an enemy surge (*ab hostili defendit impulsu*). It also appears on the bread dole handed out to congregants in

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[289] *Ibid.* 207.
[290] See: *Selecta in Ezechiël* 9 (= PG 13, 800D-801A).
[291] See, for example, Jerome's Ep. 18 A, 1, 3 (Ez. 9:4), which reads: *quam in Ezechiel dominus iubet tau litterae inperessione* [sic] *signari* (whom in Ezekiel the Lord commanded to be sealed with the mark of the letter tau). Gregory, too, reads the tau this way: *Signa tau super fronts* [sic] *vivorum gementium et dolentium* (the tau mark of the foreheads of those living in grief and pain; GREG.M.moral.30 (Migne, 1978) 25, 27)).
See: BREPOLS' *Vetus Latina Database*: http://apps.brepolis.net.ezproxy.princeton.edu/vld/Intro.aspx.

God's House 10.5. Indeed, Zeno and his congregation would have been viscerally aware of the vulnerability of the northern cities of the empire to enemy incursions.[292] In the 350s through 370s, for instance, Rome a series of battles with Alamanni, alone.[293] Likewise, Verona was the location of imperial *fabricae* (forges for weapons and amor), making it the target of Alaric's forces in 401.[294] Yet even if the community was untroubled by its proximity to hostile forces and the protective qualities of the cross were reserved for its enemies in the resurrection, crosses were common in church architecture and decoration.[295] Moreover, Zeno assures us that the letter tau is made of wood, a detail that does not appear in Revelation or Ezekiel but which comports to a reading of the letter through the lens of the crucifixion. This detail, likewise, might also fit with the description of a church that could not afford to adorn its walls with anything more precious than wooden relics and rhetorical traditions. The mosaic pavement of Basilica A might stand against this interpretation in the sense that it required, by way of analogy to the mosaic pavements at Aquileia, a pool of resources that would seem meager to a wealthy Roman senator but that would surpass the yearly income of dozens of poorer congregants.[296]

Finally, Zeno ends his sermon by praising certain groups such as the poor (*pauperes*), the rich (*divites*), and saintly men of means (*sancti diuites*). Such categories enable him to make normative claims about the ethics expected of each category of person, expectations which invoke notions of space and the rhetoric of edification. In chapter 10, Zeno addresses a long list of categories of person:

> *Exsultate, diuites, praerogationibus crebris et iustis ueri diuites facti; promotioni etenim caelestis uestrae dignitatis debetur diuini operis perennis ista laudatio. Exsultate, pauperes [spiritu]: per uos et in uobis dei maior est domus; nam et omnibus aequales*

[292] See discussion in Cameron, 36-43.
[293] Drinkwater, 217-306.
[294] Saggioro, 505–34.
[295] See, for instance: Lewis, 205-219.
[296] Brown (2012), 40.

> *estis et pedaturas omnes uestri corporis ambitu superatis; denique sancti diuites pauci sunt, uos plures estis.*
>
> Rejoice, you rich: those who have become truly rich through repeated prayer and donations! Indeed, that praise of the divine works is owed to the benefit of your godly dignity. Rejoice, you poor: through you and in you the house of God had increased! For you are both equal to everyone and you surpass everyone in the course of your body. And finally, as there are a few saintly men of means, you are the greater in number.

In the passage, Zeno plays with themes of wealth, speech and ethics. The *divites* constitute the wealthier members of his congregation. Perhaps they are the very same men whom he impugns in *Three Genera* for allowing pagan practice on their estates, for employing domestics for the purpose of committing adultery, and other impious practices made possible by their economic position. At the same time, they very likely are the people upon whom Zeno depends for financial support.[297] Thus, his preaching walks the line between rebuking the wealthy and praising them. This may be seen in a careful reading of the juxtaposition between the *divites*, the *pauperes*, and the *sancti divites*.

Playing on the dichotomy between matter and spirit established early in *God's House*, Zeno exhorts the *divites* to rejoice that they have become "truly rich" – *not* because of their privileged socioeconomic position but through "continuous prayer and donations." Thus, the *divites* merit a place in the heavenly kingdom by transferring their wealth to the church (and its bishop), as well as by making devotional speech-acts to God. Yet the statement that "praise…is owed to the benefit of your godly dignity," likewise acknowledges that the source of the church's funding is located with the *divites*. Without their support, there would be no church to praise (*laudatio*). This is the same expression Zeno uses at the beginning of the sermon, when he claims that "by his praises" he will "double the sacred height of the new building" (*nouique operis arcem sacram laudibus geminare*, 3.1.1). Thus, the debt of gratitude owed to the *divites* comes

[297] Brown (2012), 41; Bowes, 219; Rapp (2005), 220-226; Brown (1981); 61.

about only through the donation of their wealth, which in turn gives rise to the living church of which the wealthy are only one part to a whole congregation.

Indeed, Zeno stresses the equality of the *divites* and the rest of the congregation in his treatment of the *pauperes* in the following lines. Exhorting them to take part in the celebration, Zeno claims that they increase the size of the congregation with their numbers, but also by their status as "the poor". This category of congregant edifies the living church, as Zeno makes clear, through their own bodies – a rhetorical stance that invokes nascent notions of "the poor" as well as asceticism in the late Latin West. In his discussion of Cyprian, Peter Brown has written:

> Pious giving was never a random expression of compassion. The leaders of the churches were careful to steer it toward a clear purpose. Pious giving was mobilized to maintain the resilience of the churches in times of persecution – to support those put in prison by the authorities and to provide shelter for refugees from other cities. Poorer members of the congregation who had stood firm at a time when others had lapsed were rewarded by being singled out to be the recipients of alms raised by collections among the faithful.[298]

Brown's association with the endurance of the poor in time of persecution and beneficial giving by wealthier congregants brings the notion of emulating righteous sufferers even closer to home. In effect, Zeno's conception of the surpassing poor ("*pauperes*", "*superatis*") enables him to move from biblical to contemporary exemplars whom the congregation should emulate. Quite cleverly, it also sets the *divites* in the position of emulating the poor and gaining "true wealth" through the donation of their resources. Thus, it is only through the enrichment of the bishop at the hands of the elite – those very same people whose private lands and piety Zeno linked to impiety in *Three Genera* and *Resurrection*. Finally, Zeno cites the holiest of all congregants: the *sancti divites*. The rapid succession from *divites*, to *pauperes*, to *sancti divites* suggests that it is the members of this latter category who sit atop the hierarchy of Zeno's edifying praise. Though

[298] Brown (2012), 42.

there are only "a few saintly men of means", they are "the greater in number". Of course, there are several ways to interpret this statement, but I suggest that Zeno reserves his highest praise – which, we should remember, is not only means by which the congregant makes sacrifice to God, but also is the vehicle for edifying both space and hearer – for those who have made the greatest donations to the church.

3. *Concluding Thoughts*

While Zeno engages with precise instances of history framing and interpretation, his work has a more complicated relationship to both the landscape of Verona and a discursive understanding of holy spaces. At times Zeno dislocates historical moments from their spatial contexts. His sermon introducing the cult of Archadius of Mauretania makes no reference to a precise location, neither to the martyr event itself nor to contemporary sites of veneration. When compared to the rhetoric of *Three Genera*, which dissuaded his audience from venerating new martyrs, *Archadius* suggests that Zeno strove to shape the cultic landscape of Verona by promoting martyr veneration under his control. Likewise, his comparison of the more recent martyr to righteous sufferers from 2 Maccabees provides paradigmatic exemplars upon which the audience should model their own actions. Not only this, but the assumed familiarity of the audience with Eleazar and the Maccabean mother is suggestive. It is possible that these righteous sufferers were popular in Verona and perhaps had a cultic presence in the city; the speculation that Zeno keeps other martyrs in the dark likewise suggests competition with other Christian groups in the city. Yet Zeno does focus on the description and exposition of a single space in at least one instance. In *God's House*, Zeno engages in a historical exposition on the Temple of Jerusalem while simultaneously reinterpreting several passages from scripture to construct a

normative relationship between parishioner, history and sacred space. In the sermon, Zeno inaugurates a nascent triumphalism linked to the ratio of churches to non-Christian religious spaces, as well as to the enactment of proper piety on the part of the congregation. Unlike the Christians thinkers of the following decades – who speak of a triumphalism characterized by the conversion of the Roman elite and the obliteration of its ancestral institutions – Zeno's triumphal tone is tempered by a recognition of the modesty and rarity of such Christian spaces.[299] These ethical and rhetorical interventions in the perception of space, time and ethics speak to the limitations that Zeno faced during his reign, due in large part to notions of the bishop's role in the lives of his congregation in the mid- to late fourth century and the lack of financial resources available to him.

[299] I discuss this feature in the poetry of Prudentius in Part III.

But I will see whether the martyrs arose for their advantage or for ours.

~ Ambrose, *Epistle* 61

Chapter Three | Agnes in Milan:

Space and Time in Ambrose's Discourse on Virginity

Part II of this dissertation deals with the impact of Bishop Ambrose (c. 374-397) upon the temporal-spatial ideology and landscape of Milan. Ambrose's interventions into the landscape and liturgy of Milan reveal an agenda of reform and expansion centered on episcopal authority, Christian ethics, and memorialization. Just as Zeno promoted or suppressed martyrs and their cults, so too did Ambrose patronize some martyrs at the expense of others. Humphries has remarked that Ambrose was of "pivotal importance" to the development of "the systematic cult" in northern Italy, which he brought about in part through "his skills as a provincial governor".[300] Like Damasus before him, [301] Ambrose utilized ecclesiastical spaces as theaters to stage his political and ecclesiastical engagements, depicting himself as a divinely inspired patron of the cult of saints in the face of imperial and schismatic opposition. His is then a single voice in a chorus of late antique Christians whose commemoration of the saints involved self-inscription, ethical intervention, and spatial-temporal ideology. Ambrose is as much a part of this trend as he is unique in the degree to which he represents it, embodying an early instance of the financial and political power that bishops would take for granted in later centuries.[302] Part II examines Ambrose's use of the cult of saints and constructions of space, history, and categories of person through his discourse on Agnes (chapter 3), as well as the aesthetic program of his little-known

[300] Humphries (1999), 54. He further notes that, "The only secure evidence for veneration of saints at Milan prior to Ambrose's episcopate relates to SS Nabor and Felix, whose shrine in the cemetery west of the city walls is mentioned at the time of the discovery of Protasius and Gervasius" (56); Paul. Med., *V. Ambr.* 14.
[301] On Damasus and the catacombs of Rome, see: Sághy (2012), 251-67; Sághy (2000), 273-287; Trout (2003), 527.
[302] Brown (2012), 81.

Disticha (chapter 4). While scholars often cite Ambrose's *De virginibus* and his hymn to Saint Agnes (*Hymn* 8) in discussions of western asceticism and consecrated virgins,[303] his treatment of Agnes within the context of his constructions of landscape and history has yet to be explored. In both his discourse on Agnes and his *Disticha*, Ambrose utilizes overlapping notions of history, space, and exemplars to situate contemporary categories of person (the virgin, the saint, and the priest) into a developing ecclesiastical infrastructure. This allows him to consolidate a spectrum of ascetic women into consecrated virgins and everyone else, as well as promote the cult of Agnes over that of Thecla, another female ascetic from the past.

1. *Background*

Ambrose was born to an aristocratic family in 337/339 CE. His father, who had risen to Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, died when Ambrose was a child. His mother relocated the family to Rome thereafter. As might be expected from the son of a politician, Ambrose entered civil service and eventually became the governor of Aemilia-Liguria, moving to Milan where the position was then headquartered.[304] At the time of his arrival, the Arian bishop Auxentius occupied the Milanese see in a denominationally divided community.[305] While Milan's inhabitants were majority Catholic, the imperial court, the clergy and the army were largely Arian.[306] In 373/374, then-governor Ambrose intervened in a conflict between Arians and

[303] See, for example: Burrus (1995); Hunter (1999); *Ibid.* (2000); Brown (1988), 341-65; Cooper (1996), 75, 78, 103); Undheim (2018), chapter 2; Poche, 68-96.
[304] See: Rousseau, Philip. "Ambrose." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2015: online content.
[305] Auxentius' predecessor, Dionysius, was deposed at the Council of Milan in 355. While in residence there, the pro-Arian emperor, Constantius II, convened the council to condemn the pro-Nicene Athanasius (then Patriarch of Alexandria) and his supporters in northern Italy. This council not only saw the exile of Dionsius, along with Euesebius of Vercelli and Lucifer of Cagliari, but also the compromise of Liberius and Fortunatianus of Aquileia.
[306] Barnes (2002), 235. Compare against McLynn, who states that Milan was majority Arian ((1994) 10, 43, 112-116). For my part, I find Barnes more persuasive (see pp. 233-237). Dijkstra notes that "His emphasis on the Trinity reflects Ambrose's strife against the Arians, who until the reign of Theodosius had a lot of influence even at the Christian imperial court" ((2016), 140).

Catholics shortly after the death of the Arian bishop; though only a catechumen, the public apparently demanded Ambrose's appointment to bishop and, after some protest, he underwent baptism and assumed the role from 374 to his death in 397.[307] Although widely accepted by scholars, Timothy Barnes has challenged Ambrose's self-representation by utilizing evidence from the oft-overlooked letter of Basil of Caesarea to Ambrose (*Ep*. 197).[308] He argues that "Ambrose was by no means snatched unwillingly from his secular career, but chose to make himself available as a partisan catholic candidate for the see of Milan."[309] Ambrose's tenure reveals a charismatic and innovative thinker whose political boldness and commitment to Catholicism only increased over time. From keeping the peace between Christian factions in 373/74 to staging a small-scale revolt in 383 – not to mention forcing an emperor into a public penance only a decade later[310] – Ambrose is well-known for his rhetorical and political potency.[311]

What set Ambrose apart from earlier bishops such as Zeno were means and opportunity. He was, to the first point, rich. In so fortunate a position as controlling his family's vast resources, Ambrose could mobilize these funds to suite his purposes, be they supporting the poor

[307] The notion that Ambrose found himself "carried off" (*raptus*) to the bishopric appears in both the *De officiis* and *De Paenitentia.* See: *De offic.* 1.1.4 [PL 16.27]: *raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium; De paen*. 2.8.72 [CSEL 73.192/3]: *raptus de tribunalibus, abductus vanitatibus saeculi huius.* The term *raptus* connotes being carried off in marriage; thus, Ambrose portrays himself as being forcibly married to the church. This conception merits further study. On *raptus*, see; S. Lee and T.H. Feeley, "The Identifiable Victim Effect: A Meta-analytic Review." *Social Influence* 11.3 (2016): 199–215.

[308] While the second half of this letter is a later compilation, the first "not only shows that Ambrose described his election in these terms when writing to Basil shortly afterwards, but also disproves the assertion that in 374 'it was to Ambrose's intense chagrin that he found himself snatched away from a promising secular career and thrust into the Church's ministry'" (Barnes (2002), 233; quoting A. Lenox-Conyngham, "The Judgement of Ambrose the Bishop on Ambrose the Roman Governor," *StPat* 17.1 (1982): 62).

[309] Barnes (2002), 236.

[310] On Ambrose's dealings with Theodosius in this respect, see: Humphries (2018), 75-76; Brown (1992), 108-109; Ambrose, *Epistle* 74.

[311] Ambrose also acted as tutor to the emperors Valentinian I (364–375), Gratian (375–383), and Valentinian II (383–392) as well as Theodosius (379–395).

or building ecclesiastical infrastructure.[312] Ambrose was a staunchly pro-Nicene bishop with the education and political connections to overwhelm his opponents, but also one who came to power at the right moment. Ruled by a boy-emperor and his mother, who themselves subscribed to a minority sect of Christianity in a city to which the imperial court had only recently moved, the court was a vulnerable position.[313] This provided Ambrose with the opportunity. As Peter Brown points out, "Ambrose was not only the first aristocratic bishop in the Latin West. He was the first great faction fighter to find himself at the head of a major see close to the center of power... [his ordination] marked the beginning of the end of the low-profile Christianity of the previous generations."[314] These previous generations of Western Christians had sought to carve out space for themselves in the cityscapes of the empire by excavating extramural catacombs,[315] assembling under the patronage of wealthy congregants and emperors, and aggregating their resources to construct their own basilicas and baptistries.[316] Their motivations were personal and local, and their sacred spaces dotted the urban topography like drips of paint on a canvas that was, overwhelmingly, *not* Christian.

In the last quarter of the fourth century, by contrast, Ambrose's motivations were far more ambitious – for he eyed the disparate peoples of the empire through a totalizing, Catholicizing lens.[317] Ambrose, like the generation before him, did not yet inhabit a world in which Christianity was the majority. In her article, "Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy," Rita Lizzi shows us the limitations of the Milanese bishop's power to enforce conversion by comparison to the sermons of Maximus of Turin, whose tenure

[312] See discussion in Brown (2012), 31-52. While his sister was a consecrated virgin, his brother was a celibate layman.
[313] See discussion in Dudden (1985), 70-85; Chin (2010), 549.
[314] Brown (2012), 122.
[315] See discussion in Rutgers (2000), 5-8; *Ibid.* (2013), 497-506; Walker (2018), 125-140.
[316] Bowes, 127-129, 189-201; Brown (2012), 84-89; Yasin (2005), 433-457.
[317] Marcos, 117-133. Brown states that the notion of a universal Christian empire begins with Augustine (2003), 91.

fell at the turn of the fifth century.[318] Her work demonstrates that the acceleration of Christian conversion took place following Ambrose's episcopacy, when missionary activity likewise increased. Not only this, but she also points to the importance of the reshaping of the northern Italian landscape, arguing that "The large-scale building program carried out by the bishops over a timespan of twenty years is the best evidence that their preaching was, in fact, chiefly aimed at winning a consensus of the notables."[319] Early in his tenure, Ambrose began construction on the extramural Basilica Martyrum (modern Basilica Ambrosiana, c. 395/396) in the *Coemeterium ad Martyres* near the Milanese circus.[320] This was the first of three (or four) monumental churches that the bishop built in Milan as part of a large-scale building program.[321] Between 380 and 386 – that is, within a decade or so after Zeno of Verona – Ambrose oversaw the construction of the Basilica Apostolorum (San Nazario) near the Porta Romana. The Basilica Virginum, meanwhile, was completed shortly after Ambrose's death in 397.

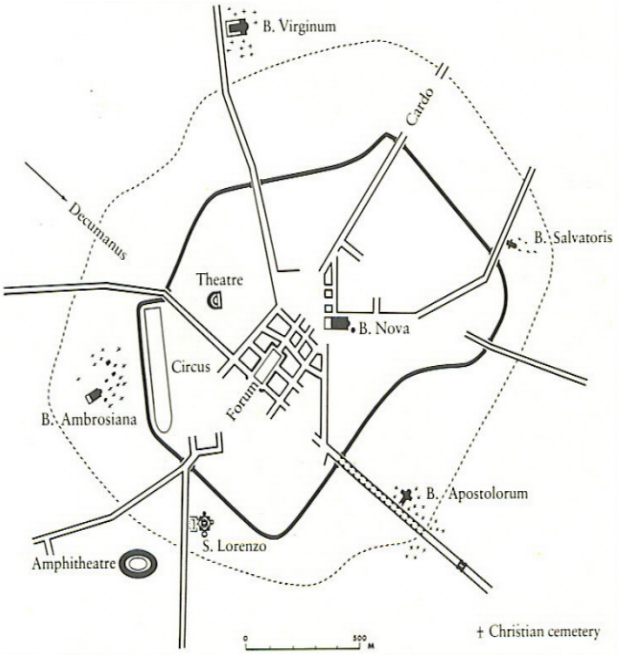


Figure 4: Milan, c. 400. Schneider, St. Ambrose, 133.

No less significant to this discussion is the sacralizing effect of his decoration of these ecclesiastical spaces. This involved the discovery and importation of martyr relics, as well as the installation of visual and inscriptional media. Through his excavations in the sacred cemeteries at the outskirts of

[318] Lizzi writes that "new legislation made it possible to pursue Christianization via coercion, forsaking the gradual approach taken in the past. Although he considered himself a follower of Ambrose, therefore, Maximus embodied a profoundly different concept of the Church (156-157).
[319] Lizzi, 157.
[320] The oratory of San Vittore Ciel D'Oro, the resting place of Ambrose' brother Satyrus (d. 375), stood close by.
[321] The Basilica Salvatoris may have been a part of Ambrose's construction or a later one. See: Edwards, L., 102.

Milan, Ambrose recovered several skeletons whom he identified as the previously unknown martyrs. These include Protasius and Gervasius, as well as Nazarius and Celsus, and Ambrose likewise imported the relics of Saint Vitalis from Bologna to the city.[322] Apart from participating in the trade of sacred relics, Ambrose also demonstrates a vested interest in the arrangement of epigraphic and visual media for the ecclesiastical spaces under his control. In the Baptistry of St. Thecla and the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Nazaro), for instance, Ambrose installed eight and five distichs apiece.[323] Yet he reserved his most elaborate composition for the Basilica Ambrosiana (Basilica Martyrum); known collectively as the *Disticha*. This work consists of the titular distichs that accompanied a series of images depicting scenes from biblical history.

2. *Saint Agnes*

Already in use before Ambrose's tenure (374–397) was the octagonal Baptistry of San Giovanni at the church of Saint Thecla (c. 350),[324] constructed under Emperor Constans just in time for the Council of Milan in 355.[325] Though the earliest interior of the baptistry was likely destroyed during renovations in the fifth century, Robin Jensen speculates that it resembled the contemporary mausoleum of S. Aquilinio (associated with the basilica of San Lorenzo in Milan).[326] The Baptistry of San Giovanni was attached to one of the largest and earliest cathedrals in the West at the time, not only located within the city's walls but also the seat of Auxentius, Ambrose's Arian predecessor.[327] Ambrose never refers to St. Thecla by name, unlike

[322] Thunø, 156-159; Disjkstra (2015), 142-144, 229 (n. 660); Chin (2010), 549-555.
[323] For St. Thecla, see: *Versus Ambrosi ad fontem eiusdem ecclesiae* [Sanctae Thec., CIL V.2, p. 617, n. 2 (= ILCV 1841 = CLE 908)]; for the Basilica Apostolorum, see: *Item Ambrosii in ecclesia Sancti Nazarii martyris*, CIL V.2, p. 617, n. 3 (= ILCV 1800 = CLE 906).
[324] This is a different baptistry than the one in which Ambrose underwent baptism. See: Jensen (2011), 195, n. 509.
[325] Though Krautheimer associates the baptistry at St. Thecla with Ambrose. See: Krautheimer (1983), 77.
[326] Jensen (2011), 196. For the plans of each complex, see: Krautheimer (1981), 78–84.
[327] Constructed in the early fourth century, the Baptistry of San Stefano predates the San Giovanni. It located under the Cathedral of Milan (the modern Duomo di Milano), which itself was built atop the late antique Santa Maria

the Basilica Portiana, but simply as "the new basilica, the intramural one, which is bigger" (*basilica nova, hoc est intramurana, qui maior est*).[328] Some scholars believe this obfuscation of Thecla's name was intentional. Richard Krauthmeier, for instance, has suggested that the Cappadocian Auxentius introduced Thecla to the region when he immigrated from Alexandria.[329] Building off this argument, Léonie Hayne surmises that:

> [Ambrose] successfully defied an imperial order to surrender the basilica [Portiana] to the Arians, but his later building activities were surely linked to his desire for Catholic churches that had never been contaminated by heresy. Martyrs' relics were naturally needed, and his discovery in 386 of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, followed immediately by healing miracles, must have gone a long way to upstage Thecla's cathedral. Ambrose in fact was buried with them in the church that later bore his name [the Basilica Ambrosiana], not in the cathedral.[330]

The degree to which Ambrose viewed the Basilica Nova as "contaminated" is debatable, but I find Hayne's account of his political motivations is persuasive. Ambrose's preference for Agnes over Thecla might speak to a contest of cults articulated through sacred spaces.[331]

This hypothesis is supported by the liturgical evidence, in which Ambrose promotes Agnes over Thecla. First, I consider Ambrose's treatment of Thecla in relation to Mary and the anonymous Antiochene martyr. I then explore his treatment of Agnes. Ambrose considers Thecla in chapter three of the second book of *De virginibus*, which places her alongside his other female exemplars, Mary, Agnes and a more recent (*recens*) Antiochene martyr.[332] In chapter two, Ambrose establishes Mary as the primary exemplar of female chastity who leads others in a

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Maggiora, to which the baptistry was attached. This is the oldest extant octagonal font and served as a model for future baptistries. See: Silvia Lusuardi Siena and Marco Sannazaro, "I battisteri del complesso episcopale Milanese alla luce delle recenti indagini archeologiche." *ACIAC* 8 (2001): 647–74; Bruno Maria Apollonj-Ghetti, "Le Cattedrali di Milano ed i relativi battisteri." *RivAC* 63 (1987): 28–32; Mario Mirabella Roberti, "Battistero di S. Stefano alle Fonti." In *Il duomo di Milano: Dizionario storico artistico e religioso* (Milan: 1986): 79.

[328] Ambrose, *Ep*. 1.

[329] Krautheimer (1983), 70.

[330] Hayne (1994), 210.

[331] It should be noted that, in Ambrose's treatments of Thecla, he emphasizes her virginity above all else. See: Ambrose, *De Virg.* 2; Ep. 63.

[332] Ambrose, *De virg*. 2.3.

triumphal procession to the bridal chamber of Christ, the groom. In the following chapter, he contrasts Thecla with the mother of Christ; whereas Mary demonstrates to the virgin how to live a virtuous life, Ambrose claims that Thecla models how to die virtuously (*De virg.* 2.3). This raises a problem for Ambrose. Virginia Burrus has argued that "here Ambrose must succeed in obscuring the awkward narrative fact of Thecla's triumphant survival of persecution. It is by juxtaposing Thecla's story with that of the Antiochene martyr that Ambrose brings Thecla directly, and Mary indirectly, under the control of the late fourth-century tale of the virgin martyr, with its necessary fatal conclusion."[333] While Thecla cannot compare to the mother of God, Ambrose declares, she is an exemplar for virgins because she retained her virginity through persecution and became the disciple of the Apostle to the Gentiles, Paul (*Ibid.*). He then connects past to present by comparing this historical exemplar, Thecla, to an anonymous Antiochene martyr from more recent times:

> *Hujuscemodi recens vobis exemplum profero, ut intelligatis Apostolum non unius esse doctorem, sed omnium.*
>
> I will set before you a recent example of this sort, so that you may understand that the apostle is the teacher not of one, but of all.[334]

Burrus argues that Ambrose "includes [the anonymous Antiochene's] striking tale in order to demonstrate that Mary and Thecla are not unattainable models of the past."[335] While it may be the case that this recent martyr served to model enduring virginity in contemporary circumstances, I suggest that the passage carries an additional valence. This is the only reference to a martyr killed in recent memory in the *De virginibus* and, given the martyr's anonymity and her Antiochene origins, it is possible that Ambrose uses her story to subvert the popularity of

[333] Burrus (1995), 31.
[334] *De virg*. 2.3. Text and translation may be found in Burrus (1995), 31.
[335] Burrus (1995), 31.

Thecla. In the first place, he leaves out the name of this martyr. This not only diminishes the potential for the martyr to become the subject of cultic veneration, but it also downplays the uniqueness of Thecla's story by suggesting that she is only one of several Antiochene martyrs. Although Ambrose acknowledges that Thecla was the one "whom the teacher of the gentiles instructed," he nevertheless downplays her proximity to Paul with the phrase, *non unius*. By emphasizing the universality of Paul's teachings, Ambrose communicates that Thecla did not achieve a unique status amongst exemplary women. This rhetoric lends credibility to the notion that he suppressed her cult, and I show in the following section that he favors Agnes.

One caveat before proceeding. If this is the case, one wonders why Ambrose would install an epigraphic poem in the baptistry associated with Thecla's cult and his Arian predecessor, Auxentius.[336] Comprised of eight couplets, the poem accounts for the octagonal shape of the baptistry by connecting the space to health (*salus*), light (*luce*), Christ's power over death (*resurgentis Xri[ist]i, qui claustra resolvit mortis*), and absolution through baptism (*Huc veniant alacres: quamvis tenebrosus adire audeat, abscedet candidior nivibus*).[337] While the epigraphic poem speaks to the importance of baptism, it makes no mention of Thecla whatsoever. I therefore suggest that Ambrose suppressed the Antiochene saint in favor of her Roman cousin through a combination of epigraphic omission, liturgical relegation, and spatial construction. Put another way, Ambrose promoted Agnes in his hymns, sermons, and church building, while either omitting Thecla in spaces previously associated with her or relegating her behind Agnes.

[336] A transcription of this poem dated to the eighth century now resides at the Vatican Library. See futher: Jensen (2011), 197.
[337] Text and translation may be found in Jensen (2011), 197.

2A De Virginibus

Already mentioned above, *De virginibus* (also known as *On Virgins*, c. 377/9 CE) is Ambrose's earliest extant work, a composite of sermons reworked into a single, cohesive treatise.[338] Neil McLynn has observed that Ambrose authored *De virginibus* when he was still establishing himself amongst the amongst a body of clergy who were sympathetic to the previous bishop, the Arian Auxentius.[339] He argues that Ambrose utilized the notion of the consecrated virgin to secure his position. Indeed, scholars have long noted tendency for men of the late fourth century, inspired by the monastic movements of the period, to exegetically dissect the bodies of both pious and impious women. Here, I am indebted to previous scholars for examining Ambrose's interaction with Thecla and Agnes through the intersection of gender and politics, within the context of the "virgin bride as literary trope" and his "apologetic strategies…to destabilize conventional gender roles."[340] Virginia Burrus, for instance, has remarked upon the tendency in the post-Constantinian church to chain the consecrated virgin to the image of the maiden martyr in a period when imperial persecution of Christian were largely a relic of the past.[341] She demonstrates that Ambrose's work "defends the church's right to remove the sexual bodies of elite Roman daughters from one sphere of social interchange by inscribing virginity with the seductively heroic drama of martyrdom, on the one hand, and the reassuringly patriarchal vow of marriage, on the other."[342]

Such phenomena created a class of virgins and monks who were the recipients of intense episcopal discourse aimed at extending the bishop's authority over the lives of, and access to,

[338] PL 16.279-316, CPL 147. Its manuscripts are MS. Bodl. 196, MS. Bodl. 199, MS. Bodl. 768, MS. Canon. Pat. Lat. 157, MS. Lat. th. d. 5, MS. Rawl. A. 376, and MS. Wood empt. 24. See: Faller, Otto. *S. Ambrosii de virginibus*. Bonnae: Sumptibus Petri Hanstein, 1933.
[339] See: McLynn (1994), 60-68.
[340] See, respectively: Hunter (2000), 283; Burrus (1995), 30. See also discussion in Poche (2015), 68-104.
[341] Burrus (1995), 25.
[342] Burrus (1995), 31.

these holy persons. As we recall from the discussion in chapter 1, Ambrose rebukes Bishop Syagrius of Verona for improperly impugning the virgin Indicia in his *Epistle* V (c. 380). The letter demonstrates that episcopal authority over consecrated virgins was by no means absolute.[343] At least in the case of Indicia, certain consecrated virgins not only came from wealthy families but also retained autonomy over their homes.[344] The presence of "heretics" in Indicia's home evokes the concept of a marketplace of ideas, where various spiritual and philosophical authorities could receive the patronage of wealthy benefactors, including room and board in the homes of their patrons. Interactions with these myriad figures could render the patron/ess suspect, and, as in the case of Indicia, could result in false charges brought against them if their relationships with their clients deteriorated. These charges likewise reveals that the bishops of northern Italy could, by the year 380, exercise some punitive measures over consecrated virgins. Ambrose's statement, "*in periculum reatus deducendam arbitrare*" probably does not refer to imprisonment, but rather de-consecration of the virgin and possibly excommunication from the Christian community. There is very little evidence for the process of de-consecration in the final decades of the fourth century, however, bishops did occasionally discuss the consequences of sexual violence perpetrated against consecrated virgins.[345] Accusations of sexual misconduct on the part of consecrated virgins likewise appear sporadically in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.[346] In his subsequent letter, *Epistle* VI, Ambrose chastises Syagrius for subjecting Indicia to the threat of ridicule and loss of reputation.[347] Yet the process of the trial (*Quae sint in nostro judicio decursa*, VI.1) and the consequences of a

[343] This is broadly true of ascetics and bishops in the fourth-century Latin West. See: McNamara, 18-24.
[344] See discussion in Clark (1995), 40; McNamara, 11.
[345] Augustine, *Ep*. 111.1 (CSEL 34.2); *De civitate Dei* I.16 (CCSL 47). See also discussion in Vihervalli (2022), 6-7.
[346] See survey of epistolary and liturgical evidence in Shanzer, 396-397, 402. On the sexuality of virgins, see also: Burrus (1994), 27-51; Castelli (1986), 61-88; Cooper (1996), 74-83.
[347] Ambrose, *Ep.* VI.1: *ut exponatur ludibrio, et procacitatis notetur*.

sentence if found guilty (*Itane oportuit inoratam atque inauditam virginitatis causam adjudicari*, *Ibid.*) remain elusive.

With the political dimensions of Ambrose's discourse on female virginity in mind, I turn my attention to the examination of the spatial and temporal aspects of Ambrose's rhetoric on Agnes.[348] Though Ambrose directs the composite text towards the consecrated virgins in Milan, he initially addressed the sermons comprising *De virginibus* to the wider community. This concern for the conduct of the congregation repeatedly appears, especially where Ambrose attempts to persuade the wealthier congregants to allow their daughters to take a vow of chastity.[349] Appealing to the image of the church as the virgin bride of Christ, he extolls the heightened holiness of the consecrated virgin over the rest of the community, including non-consecrated but celibate Christians. For the ritualized consecration of virgins not only added to a community of semi-sacred persons to whom access was arbitrated by the bishop, but also cultivated an institutionalized pathway toward sacredness at whose center stood the clergy. According to Maxwell Johnson, there are no liturgical texts for the rite of general Christian initiation from Rome in the fourth or fifth century.[350] Rather, Johnson argues that this distinguishes the Latin West from other regions in the Empire:

> One significant difference that occurs in describing and interpreting the Western rites, however, is that, unlike the numerous catechetical and mystagogical sources available for

[348] The historicity of the various legends surrounding Saint Agnes is as murky as the legends themselves are varied. None of the fourth century sources on her martyrdom agree. These are: Damasus' hymn to Agnes (3); Prudentius' *Peristephanon* XIV; Augustine's *Sermo* CCLXXIII, 6, PL, XXXVIII, 1251; and Ambrose's *De Virginibus* and hymn to the martyr (8). While the historicity of the martyr, herself, may be obscure, the archaeological record documents her popularity and importance in the mid- to late-fourth century. The Basilica di Sant' Agnese fuori le Mura, for instance, was consecrated in her honor in 354 and held to located near her burial place in Rome. Likewise, the Sant'Agnese in Agone in the Piazza Navona in Rome was built on top of her alleged place of martyrdom.
[349] Hunter has remarked that "Ambrose's *De virginibus* and his later treatise, *De virginitate*, both indicate that at Milan there was considerable resistance to Ambrose's efforts to foster the practice of ascetic renunciation. The context of Ambrose's remarks in De virginibus, therefore, is one of controversy over the ascetic life, and the use of marital imagery is central to Ambrose's apologetic argument on behalf of asceticsm" (*Virgins*, 285).
[350] Johnson (1999), 125.

> the Christian East, only the single witness of Ambrose of Milan's catecheses is available for the West (*Ibid.*).

The same statement applies to the rite of consecration. Not only was this ritual modelled on the Roman wedding ceremony, but the bishop was integral both to its performance and to mediating the "new formal relationship of the virgin to Christ and to the Christian community."[351] Of course, this new relationship between virgin and community not only afforded a special status to those who had taken the veil (the *virgo velata*). It also necessitated the mediation of that relationship on the part of the bishop,[352] who now occupied a role that Hunter has described as "quasi-parental" and "a new *paterfamilias*" (289). Nor should we be surprised that Ambrose was responsible for establishing ascetic communities for men as well. From Augustine, we learn that Ambrose oversaw a monastery near Milan.[353] Both the rite of consecration and the construction of ascetic communities in the Latin West emerge only in the late fourth century.[354]

Indeed, Ambrose affirms his paternal responsibility at several places in *De Virginius* and his three other treatises on the subject, such as *De virginitate*, *Exhortatio virginitatis* and *De institutione virginis*. In *De institutione virginis* (c. 391), for instance, Ambrose celebrated the veiling of the consecrated virgin, Ambrosia, "she whom I offer in my role as priest, whom I commend [to Christ] with fatherly affection."[355] Ambrose dedicated *De virginibus* to his sister and consecrated virgin, Marcellina, ostensibly performing it on the anniversary of Agnes'

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[351] Hunter (2000), 288. He adds that the "bishop customarily presided at the ceremony, bestowed the veil [*flammeum*], offered the liturgical benediction, and delivered a sermon of exhortation."
[352] Recall discussion from chapter 1 on the relationship between Ambrose, Syagrius, Indicia, and the Veronese community, pp. 13-17.
[353] Augustine, *Conf*. vii.6: *Erat monasterium Mediolani plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis moenia, sub Ambrosio nutritore*.
[354] Consecrated virgins become a subject of ecclesiastical councils at this time. In the 397, for example, the Council of Hippo decreed that the bishops would be responsible finding suitable Christian women to care for consecrated virgins if their parents should die. See also: Rufinus, *Apol*. 1, 4; *Praef. in reg. s. Bas.* (*CChr* 20, 241).
[355] *De inst. virg.* 107 [*PL* 16, 331]: *quam sacerdotali offero, affect patrio commendo*. See: Hunter (2000), 289.

death.[356] Ambrose's treatment of her martyrdom is more evocation than retelling, referencing both the late childhood of the saint and her composed resilience against her torturers, and yet glossing over most of the details:

> She is said to have suffered martyrdom when twelve years old. The more hateful was the cruelty, which spared not so tender an age, the greater in truth was the power of faith which found evidence even in that age. Was there room for a wound in that small body? And she who had no room for the blow of the steel had that wherewith to conquer the steel….Or if she were unwillingly hurried to the altars, she was ready to stretch forth her hands to Christ at the sacrificial fires, and at the sacrilegious altars themselves, to make the sign of the Lord the Conqueror, or again to place her neck and both her hands in the iron bands, but no band could enclose such slender limbs.[357]

Ambrose underscores Agnes' youth and her small frame to stress the enormity of her achievement. He makes extensive use of triumphal language, framing Agnes' ordeal as a battle from which she emerges victorious despite these obstacles. He claims that "In devotion beyond her age, in virtue above nature, she seems to me to have borne not so much a human name, as a token of martyrdom, whereby she showed what she was to be."[358]

This language of conquest and victory has cosmic significance. Agnes' transcendence allows Ambrose to connect the saint's triumph to both virginity and the history of humanity. Ambrose claims that Agnes' death is a "new kind of martyrdom! Not yet of fit age for punishment but already ripe for victory, difficult to contend with but easy to be crowned, she filled the office of teaching valor while having the disadvantage of youth."[359] Agnes' martyrdom

[356] *On Virginity* I.2, III.10. The English translations used are Kate Wilkinson's ((2015), 99-104) and that found in H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H.T.F. Duckworth. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, Vol. 10. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1896.). Ambrose's work is indebted to Athanasius' *Letter to Virgins*, and both rely upon classical models of heralding and attribution to a more authoritative predecessor. In turn, Ambrose's work on virgins influenced Augustine's writing on the subject.
[357] *On Virgins* 2.7.
[358] *On Virgins* 2.5.
[359] *On Virgins* 2.8.

is novel for its irony: her youth exceeds that of other martyrs, yet her endurance exceeded that of her torturers. He explicitly tethers this endurance to her virginity:

> Virginity has brought from heaven that which it may imitate on earth. And not unfittingly has she sought her manner of life from heaven, who has found for herself a Spouse in heaven. She, passing beyond the clouds, air, angels, and stars, has found the Word of God in the very bosom of the Father, and has drawn Him into herself with her whole heart…

Erotic imagery aside, Ambrose argues that virginity is a heavenly way of life that Agnes had adopted deliberately. Virginity takes on additional meaning when Ambrose ascribes it to Mary, writing, "Who, then, can deny that this mode of life has its source in heaven, which we don't easily find on earth, except since God came down into the members of an earthly body? Then a Virgin conceived, and the Word became flesh that flesh might become God."[360] Mary not only becomes the paradigmatic, procreative virgin through whom Christ arrived on earth, but also a historical exemplum. Likewise, in following the examples set by Mary and Christ, Agnes' actions take on a paradigmatic role for Ambrose's contemporary audience of consecrated virgins, clergymen and lay Christians.[361] Indeed, Ambrose casts Agnes as a model for his audience to follow because she "filled the office of teaching valor" through her martyrdom, yet it is of course his interpretation and deliberate curation of her memory that gives rise to the norms and expectations espoused in the work. Kate Wilkinson, for example, deals with the theme of feminine silence in *On Virgins*. She argues that,

> "In [Ambrose's] picture of the virtues of Mary, which is to be a mirror for the virgin, the virtues of modest speech predominate in the initial description... The gait, gestures, and tonality of the 'silent' woman are indicators, signs meant to be read, expected to be seen by an audience. A modest woman is recognizable not because she merely keeps quiet; she is recognizable because her silence is the right kind of silence, accompanied by the right bearing and gestures. It is an evident silence, a shining silence."[362]

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[360] *On Virgins* 1.2.8.
[361] On Ambrose's use of Thecla, see Burrus (1995), 32.
[362] Wilkinson (2015), 101-102.

Following this line of thought, Ambrose can then claim that true, heavenly virginity originated within – and is exclusive to – Christianity. He develops this point further in his juxtaposition of Agnes and non-Christian exemplars, whom he works to discredit. I will not discuss each example of this, but I will develop one such case: that of the enduring, yet lusty Pythagorean. This virgin was able to endure a torturous interrogation, yet failed to protect her chastity when she gave in to her carnal desires:

> *Eadem tamen forti animo, sed tumenti utero, exemplum taciturnitatis et proluuium castitatis, uicta est cupiditatibus, quae tormentis uinci nequiuit. Igitur quae mentis potuit tegere secretum corporis non texit opprobrium. Vicit naturam, sed non tenuit disciplinam. Quam uellet in uoce momentum sui pudoris existere!*
>
> She has a strong will but a swelling belly, this exemplar of silence and discharge of chastity. But she whom torture could not conquer, was conquered by lust. Although her mind could conceal a secret, her body could not conceal her shame. She overcame nature, but did not hold to her training. How she might wish the power of her chastity to be evident in her voice![363]

In the next passage, Ambrose compares the Pythagorean's failures to the successes of Agnes, who "did not withhold speech because of fear, but held back on account of the prize. For there was nothing she might fear to reveal, since her confession was religious, not criminal. That other woman concealed a great secret, this girl witnessed to God in her very being, for she was still too young to testify."[364] In appealing to historical precedents as both models for (im)proper behavior and signs of future rewards, Ambrose is able to construct a narrative that operates at several temporal layers, namely the historical-mythical past of Agnes and the Pythagorean, the immediate present of the reader (assumedly consecrated virgins such as Marcellina, but also lay people), and the future expectations of heavenly salvation. Furthermore, appeals to historical

[363] *On Virgins* 1.14.18. Translation by Wilkinson (2015), 101.
[364] *On Virgins*. I.4.19: "*non sibi linguam propter metum abstulit, sed propter tropaeum reseruauit. Nihil enim habuit quod prodi timeret, cuius non erat criminosa, sed religiosa confessio. Itaque illa secretum tantummodo celauit, haec probauit deum, quem quia aetas nondum poterat confiteri, natura confessa est*" (translation by Wilkinson, 101).

paradigms allow Ambrose to use the two women as analogies for all of humanity: true virginity is not only heavenly, but innately Christian, whereas false virginity is mundane, fleeting and tragic.[365]

2B Agnes Beatae Virginis (Hymn 8)

In addition to his sermons, Ambrose is the author of the earliest Latin Christian hymns, which were so influential that they became the subject of imitation both in his own lifetime and in the centuries after.[366] This problematizes the attribution of the collection, not to mention the fact that the oldest surviving manuscripts preserving the hymns dates to the eighth century.[367] While these manuscripts contain some forty anonymous hymns purporting to be from Milan, sources contemporary to Ambrose attest to just four of them.[368] Over time, scholarly consensus has attributed several hymns about the martyrs to Ambrose, though their date and order of composition is unclear.[369] The *Agnes Beatae Virginis* (*Hymn* 8) is one of these authenticated poems, and scholars speculate that Ambrose had already inserted his hymns into the liturgy

[365] Wilkinson has also analyzed this passage for its treatment of female silence, writing: "But the exempla have in common the idea that a woman's virtue could be publicly displayed via a performance of silence, in both cases in one of antiquity's central rhetorical performance spaces, the trial. One performs poorly, inconsistently while the other performs well, but the Pythagorean woman and the Christian girl give silence as the chaste woman's ideal performance in the space of masculine eloquence" (101).

[366] Dijkstra has described the form of the poems in the following way: "The hymns consist of verse pairs, each of which forms a unity in style and content. Every hymn has eight strophes of four lines. They are written in iambic dimeters, a classical meter that was easily felt by the people, used to a Latin language that had become accentual" ((2016), 141). Charlet likewise observes that "Ambrose blends neo-classical and neo-baroque through simplicity, the density of the texture and the clarity of his hymns, as does Prudentius (mixing of genres and tones, his taste for the marvelous and for metamorphosis and miniatures, but then his subordination of that to his dedication of the work God in the prologue and epilogue, a unity shared with Horace in the *Ars Poetica* demanded of the classical poem)" ((1988), 81-82).

[367] Fontaine and Charlet (1992), 93.

[368] They are the *Aeterne rerum conditor* (1), *Iam surgit hora tertia* (3), *Deus creator omnium* (4) *and Intende, qui regis Israel* (5).

[369] These are the hymns to Agnes (8); Victor, Nabor and Felix (10); Protasius and Gervasius (11); Peter and Paul (12); and Laurentius (13). See: Dijkstra (2016), 140.

before the conflict of 386.[370] In the week of Easter in 386, the boy emperor, Valentinian II, and his mother, Justina, demanded the use of a basilica for the celebration of an Arian mass.[371] Ambrose refused their command and clandestinely orchestrated a demonstration in the Basilica Portiana, where his followers seized and nearly killed an Arian clergyman.[372] Eventually, Ambrose and his faction were successful in retaining control of the Basilica Portiana. Both Ambrose and Augustine emphasize the importance of hymnal singing in maintaining morale during the sit-ins, when the congregation faced imperial forces.[373] From this point, on, the hymns became a mainstay of the Milanese liturgy for the entire congregation.

While I can find no direct link between this struggle over church spaces and the rhetoric of the Hymn to Agnes, the theme of persecution is suggestive. In his own recollection of the ordeal, Ambrose tells us that he was ready for martyrdom as he waited for imperial soldiers to arrest him.[374] Implicit in the framing of Ambrose's hymns is the role of the bishop as intermediary between mundane and divine; this is given by Ambrose's construction and dissemination of his hymns to his parish. Yet Ambrose's rhetoric in the hymn likewise bolsters the claim that the clergy have authority over the construction and interpretation of history, as well as the ideology and orthopraxy derived from it. This extends to the physical and discursive construction of sacred spaces in Milan and its hinterlands. Here, the commemoration and occasional discovery of a martyr becomes embedded within a wider understanding of the appropriate places of commemoration. The emphasis on these three features of blessedness, virginity, and historicity serve to frame the reading of the hymn and underscore Ambrose's

[370] This is based on testimony from Augustine (see quotation of Aug. *Conf.* 9,7,15), who references the singing of hymns in the struggle between Ambrose and Empress Justina for control of the Basilica Portiana. See: Dijkstra (2016), 140-141.
[371] Fontaine and Charlet, 18, 97-102.
[372] Humphries (1999), 40.
[373] See: Augustine, Confessions 9.7.15; Fontaine (1992), 16-21; Lafferty, 49-50.
[374] *Ep*. 60 to Marcellina. See: Beyenka, 367-368.

ethical, temporal, and authoritative interests in his congregation and the wider Milanese community. The hymn opens with the information that it is the anniversary of Agnes' death:

> *Agnes beatae virginis natalis est, quo spiritum caelo refudit debitum pio sacrata sanguine* (*Hymn* 8, 1-4).
>
> This is the anniversary of Agnes the Blessed Virgin, where she returned her worthy spirit to heaven, having been consecrated by her pious blood.

While the allusions to baptism and consecrated virgins is immediate and clear, what also arises from this introduction is Ambrose's interest in annualizing the commemoration of Agnes' legacy. This is a legacy that he has helped shape, to be sure, but also one that his congregation reimagines as they perform the hymn within a space that he controls. Just as Zeno abstracted the details, timing, and location of the death of Arcadius, so too does Ambrose treat Agnes with the same lack of specificity. The only location mentioned here is heaven (*caelo*), a place whose description and accessibility are shaped to some degree by the preaching of the bishop and the visual media of the church. Instead, Ambrose prefers a moralizing discourse that casts the consecrated virgin back into the mythical age of the martyrs. At the same time, he utilizes the martyr as a historical mouthpiece that bolsters his efforts to instantiate a class of consecrated virgins in the Milanese community.

Just as in *De virginibus*, Ambrose utilizes the image of Agnes as a historical exemplum in *Hymn* 8. In the second stanza of the hymn, Ambrose highlights the paradoxical state of Agnes' corporeal immaturity and spiritual maturity. Through the following "double opposition asyndétique",[375] Ambrose favorably compares the young girl to the *senex* to subvert audience expectations surrounding gender, age, and physical endurance at lines 8, 5-9:[376]

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[375] Fontaine and Charlet, 384.

[376] In Ep. 72, for instance, Ambrose writes "*Pueritia fidei non probatur, paruuli etiam Christum intrepido aduersus persecutores ore confessi sunt.*"

> *matura martyrio fuit, matura nondum nuptiis. nutabat in viris fides cedebat et fessus senex*.
>
> Already ripe for martyrdom, without being ripe for the wedding feast. Faith faltered in the adult, the old man gave in, exhausted.

When examined in the context of wider martyrial worship in the fourth century, however, the image of the girl-saint seems less subversive. Indeed, modern scholarship has demonstrated the propensity for late antique Christian men to use women's bodies to do work, be it intellectual, theological, or otherwise.[377] A byproduct of this tendency is to fossilize the legacy of (especially female) martyrs. Here, the fossilization of Agnes as a historical paradigm tokenizes the saintly virgin as the expression of female piety, *par excellence*, but also requires that a male opponent stand against her. Fictive as the hymnal episode may be, it nevertheless portrays an unenduring counterpart to Agnes – what is nubile, vulnerable, and triumphant set against what is hardened, experienced, and, ultimately, conquered.[378]

Moreover, in *Hymn* 8 we may read *senex* with two eyes. That is, *senex* may refer to Agnes' torturer and executioner, or even to a would-be martyr. Read the first way, the Agnes narrative depicts a contest between girl and adult male. That the *senex* is here attempting to Agnes to sacrifice to a god implies, from a narrative perspective, that the man believes in the reality of that god. As such, the contest is not between girl and man, but rather God and god.[379] The fact that Agnes endures the ordeal with her faith (and chastity) intact suggests that the unnamed god has failed to assist the *senex*, who is unable to endure as he inflicts pain upon a child, as much as it is the piety of *senex* himself that is insufficient. This is dissimilar to the *senex*

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[377] Prudentius' Eulalia in *Perist.* 3, as well as Thecla in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, spring to mind.
[378] This also appears in *De virginibus* 1,2,8: *nouum martyrii genus: nondum idonea poenae et iam matura uictoriae...magisterium uirtutis impleuit, quae praeiudicium uehebat aetatis*. In his discussion, Nauroy understands this passage to have inspired the hymnal verse to which it corresponds ((Fontaine, 1992), 385).
[379] The portrayal of martyrdom as a contest between marginalized person and Roman state, or between good and evil, is common to Late Antique hagiographies. See: Shaw (1993): 3-45; DePalma Degiser (2020), 25-31.

of *De virginibus*, where Ambrose identifies the old man as Agnes' torturer. Gérard Nauroy reads *senex* as torturer in the hymn, and he is likely correct that Ambrose is playing with the *puer-senex* topos identified by E. R. Curtius.[380] Read the second way, it is the girl saint who stands as a superior model for piety over and against the failed *holy man*. While male martyrs of course received ample attention from worshippers, the multiple valences of *senex* might encourage the audience to reflect on female chastity as a means of achieving even greater faith than the lay man. The *puer-senex* topos does not exclude the *senex* from being a failed martyr, it merely positions the girl as the truly pious of the two. In either case, the triumph of a pubescent girl over an unnamed god and a mortal male underscores virginal purity as the source of Agnes' superhuman strength. Yet female chastity, with its implications for episcopal intermediacy, is simply the moral import that Ambrose conveys through his appropriation of the Agnes legend.

While the hymn certainly projects an idealized prototype of the consecrated virgin favored by Ambrose back into the age of the martyrs, it likewise invokes an intercessory relationship between layperson and saint with temporal and spatial connotations. This is where discourse and tangibility meet, where sacredness of space becomes trans-locational. From the martyr's death day to the shrines and tombs that littered the empire's roadways and extramural cemeteries, the landscape of the fourth century may be imagined as an ever-brightening network of lights on a darkened map. Each point illuminates a sacred past that reminded onlookers that they were not alone in the night. This was a system that Ambrose could invoke, with all sincerity, to illuminate both his congregation and his basilicas. By dislocating the cult of Agnes from its origins in the city of Rome, Ambrose could shape and embed her legacy within his own overarching episcopal program just as he fits the hymn itself into the liturgical programs of the

[380] Curtius (1973), 98. See discussion in Nauroy (Fontaine, 1992), 384-385.

basilicas under his control. Thus, like Zeno's promotion of the cult of Archadius in the 360s and 370s,[381] the site of Agnes' veneration need not be centered on the ground upon which her blood was spilled, but rather where that moment of death could be imagined. Put another way, the annualized performance of Agnes' death in the liturgical calendar drew from the pool of her sacred blood in Rome and poured it out over Milan. While her martyrdom took place in the more recent past (that is, between Christ's crucifixion and Ambrose's lifetime), the temporality of its commemoration became fixed to a festal and *clerical* calendar.[382] Once again, we see the appropriation of the temporal and spatial elements of the martyrs for the purposes of the episcopacy. It is the bishop who routinized the commemoration of the martyrs, devised the means of venerating them, and who made meaning out of their deaths for their congregations to consider. His efforts to create a class of consecrated virgin in Milan, as well as his oversight of the city's festal calendar, speak to these aspects of his authoritative program. This process likewise involved the building of ecclesiastical spaces, as well as the discovery and relocation of relics to consecrate them.[383]

3. *Concluding Thoughts*

The historical and the social aspects of his rhetoric centered on two persons whom Ambrose could render paradigmatic and firmly under episcopal authority: the consecrated virgin and the righteous sufferer. His hymns and sermons reveal the historical, spatial, and ethical commitments that Ambrose wished to promote in his community. In this chapter, I examined Ambrose's treatment of Saint Agnes in the basilicas of Milan, as well as in his *De Virgibinus* and

[381] See chapter 2.
[382] See discussion in Lafferty (2003), 22-24, 49-62.
[383] These include the relics of the alleged saints, Protasius and Gervasius, to the Basilica Ambrosiana.

Agnes Beatae Virginis (Hymn 8). Through his treatment with the cult of Thecla, one may see that Ambrose's agenda involved intrusion into the Milanese cityscape and its environs. Not only does Ambrose promote Agnes through his innovations upon the Milanese liturgy, but he also suppressed Thecla by omitting her name in spaces associated with her cult and by minimizing her accomplishment when compared to Agnes. Moreover, his liturgical innovations focused on creating a sense of shared history grounded in categories of historical persons. The first of these pertains to the consecrated virgin and positions Agnes as a model for the kind of female asceticism that Ambrose promoted. By examining his treatment of Agnes, one may see that these commitments couple with Ambrose's promotion of the cult of saints to craft a program of episcopal expansion through the intermediary position of the bishop between to humanity and divinity. Thus, the second of these categories deals with the role of the clergy in facilitating worship and holiness. Ambrose renders the bishop necessary to both the ethical conduct of varying types of Christians and the proper worship of the divine and semi-divine. This occurs in his treatment of Agnes and Thecla, but also in his *Disticha*, the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR | FRAMING EXEMPLARS IN AMBROSE'S DISTICHA

Ambrose's *Disticha* is a collection of poems in the genre of *tituli historiarum*, or epigraphic poems purporting to describe depictions of biblical episodes in the Basilica Ambrosiana.[384] Ambrose's *Disticha* is one of only four extant examples of biblical cycle *tituli*,[385] which describe not only biblical episodes, but occasionally portraits and imperial propagandic imagery.[386] As a genre, *tituli historiarum* has received uneven attention by scholars.[387] While the *tituli* of Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola, for instance, have been the subjects of numerous studies,[388] Ambrose's *Disticha* remains in the dark.[389] This is perhaps due to the shadow cast upon his epigraphic poetry by the monumental stature of his written corpus.[390] This body of written work has shifted attention away from his artistic and architectural activities.[391] In this chapter, I provide the first translation of Ambrose's *Disticha* into English and demonstrate the ways in which his pictorial poetry constructs paradigmatic exemplars within a physical and imagined ecclesiastical frame.[392] To my knowledge, neither the implicit ecclesiastical framing of *tituli* poetry nor the impact of this discursive framing upon the reading of the poems have yet been studied. Moreover, I propose a new conception of the *tituli* that moves beyond questions of

[384] Lubian (2017), 6-7; Visonà (2008), 151.
[385] The other three examples are Prudentius' 48 hexametric tetrastics of the *Dittochaeon* (also known simply as *Tituli historiarum*), the nine elegiac couplets of pseudo-Claudian's *Miracula Christi*, and the *Tristicha historiarum testamenti ueteris et noui*, the 24 hexametric tristics of Elpidius Rusticus. Paulinus of Nola also describes his *tituli* in *Ep.* 32.
[386] The following chapter examines Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*, which depicts all types of images cited above, save for portraiture. An example of portraiture in *tituli historiarum* poetry may be found at the Saint Martin's, overseen by Paulinus of Nola. See: van Dael (1999), 127-129; Chazelle (1990),144; Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard (2013), 185-206. Hereafter, I refer to this author simply as "Hebert".
[387] See discussion in Di Stefano (2013), 88-123; Pillinger (1980), 5-7; Dijkstra (2016), 49-58; Leatherbury (2020), 189-202.
[388] In addition to those cited in notes 3 and 4, these include but are not at all limited to: Goldhill (2012); Duggan (1989); Trout (1999); Charlet (1993); and Krautheimer (1999).
[389] See discussion in Lubian (2017), 5-45, but especially 13-15 and 22-32; Arnulf (1997), 111-115.
[390] As I will discuss, Ambrose's epigraphic poetry includes not only the *Disticha* but other instances of inscribed verse.
[391] An effect noted by Dijkstra ((2016), 138) and Cagiano de Azevedo ((1963), 55).
[392] The only translation of Ambrose's *Disticha* of which I am aware is Francisco Lubian's Italian translation from 2017, entitled, *Disticha sancti Ambrosii* (see bibliography). It is the first and only monograph of the *tituli* to date.

completeness,[393] to one of thematic hybridization in which Ambrose portrayed New and Old Testament scenes together. Here, the latter become interpretive guides for the former in order to underscore Ambrose's conceptions of space, time, and social hierarchies. The use of New Testament episodes to interpret (his view of) Old Testament ones is a heuristic through which Ambrose constructs historical and contemporary categories of persons that underscore nascent ecclesiastical hierarchies, such as the clergy and the consecrated virgin. Thus, I show how Ambrose uses history and space to portray priests as the successors to biblical authority, as well as promote an ascetic view of (especially female) piety.

1. *The Genre of Tituli historiarum*

Whether coupled with physical or fictive images, *tituli historiarium* poems use ekphrasis to guide their audience through a historical event, portrait of an important person, or a sacred space.[394] Conventionally, they appear in hexameters or elegiacs and always in distichs (a couplet, or pair of verse lines).[395] A cousin of the contemporary biblical paraphrase, both genres appropriate and reframe biblical and apocryphal narratives within a Christian context.[396] Zeno's *God's House*, for instance, could be considered a prosaic predecessor to Ambrose's poetic inscriptions in the sense of describing and interpreting a sacred space.[397] It is a feature of classical and late antique ekphrases that they usually appear independently from the objects they purport to describe – nor did the objects and spaces described need to have physically existed.[398] Exceptions to this rule are those *tituli* poems situated within the iconographic programs of

[393] Dijkstra (2016), 139; Merkle (1896), 186-195.
[394] See discussion in Wagner (1996), 1-40.
[395] Herbert (2013), 187. Compare these *tituli* to the picture-poems of the early fourth century in Squire (2016).
[396] For the genre of biblical paraphrase, see: Roberts and Frischmuth (1985), 98-99.
[397] See chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[398] Goldhill (2012), 91.

ecclesiastical buildings, such as at the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (c. 440), the San Paolo fuori le mura (5th century) in Rome, and the Sant'Apollinare in Ravenna.[399] Yet even when strictly literary, *tituli* poems promote a sense of movement through an imagined space that invoked notions of history. As Micheal Roberts has stated, "Sacred space not only admits the coexistence of distinct places, but also the common presence of discrete historical events."[400] One such example is Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*, a subject of the following chapter, which the poet divided chronologically between Old and New Testament scenes. While it is unlikely that the *Dittochaeon* appeared in a physical space,[401] Prudentius' *tituli* encourage readers to imagine themselves as following the pictorial program of a basilica.[402] As for Ambrose's *Disticha*, there division of Old and New Testament scenes is a mix of temporal and spatial layers that span biblical episodes to fourth-century circumstances. Such blurring of spatial and temporal contexts obscures the ordering of the scenes (as they would have appeared in the Basilica Ambrosiana), rendering any suggestions to the sequence of viewing speculative – even leaving aside the fact that the only manuscript attesting to the *Disticha* is now lost. Reading the program of the *Disticha* altogether, irrespective of order, nevertheless leads to fruitful discoveries regarding the interplay of space and time, as well as text and image.

Over the past thirty years, scholars have made several major contributions to the study of late antique ekphrasis. The first is the problematization of a strict division of text and image.[403] Second, that the reading of ekphrastic texts (and their corresponding images) is culturally and contextually dependent. Since the 1960s, scholars such as Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and

[399] Leatherbury (2020), 192-193 (see nn. 39-41 for bibliographic references).
[400] Roberts (1993), 193.
[401] See discussion in chapter 5.
[402] The direction of early Christian iconography in basilicas usually ran from left to right, such as in the Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Classe (near Ravenna) and Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (see: Van Dael (1999), 130).
[403] Leatherbury (2020); Wagner (1996); Nodelman (1993); Squire (2016); Mitchell (1994). C.f. Brown (1997).

Umberto Eco have problematized the notion of an author as an autonomous individual, preferring view the author as an ideological construct originating within a larger system of societal and literary conventions, as well as in discourse around said author.[404] At the same time, these scholars questioned the relationship between audience and reception, arguing that the meaning of a work is not fixed by an author and received by an ideal reader, but rather dependent upon the social context of the audience. Thus, Peter Wagner is correct about ekphrasis' "Janus face" when he writes that:

> as a form of mimesis, [ekphrasis] stages a paradoxical performance, promising to give voice to the allegedly silent image even while attempting to overcome the power of the image by transforming and inscribing it…a paradox that is closely linked with the verbal, rhetorical, nature of writing (whether it is literary or critical) and the assumption that there is an essential difference between image and text.[405]

Indeed, scholars of late antiquity have often placed primacy of text over image even when considering iconography, citing the "bookishness" of early Christianity,[406] the development and concern over canon in the fourth and fifth century,[407] or simply preferring what is stated to what is envisioned.[408] I find this preference to be too rigid; for as interested as early Christians were in their books, two defining features of the period – the construction of great basilicas and the rise of the cult of saints – found visual expression in architecture, mosaics, frescoes, relics, medallions, tapestries, and limitless other media. Such is Tom Mitchell's conclusion when he writes that "there is, semantically speaking (that is, in the pragmatics of communication, symbolic behavior, expression, signification) no essential difference between texts and

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[404] See: Barthes (1968); *Ibid.* (1977); Eco (1962, revised 1976); *Ibid.* (1989); Foucault (1969); *Ibid.* (1979). On more recent receptions of these ideas, see Burk (1998).
[405] Wagner (1996), 13.
[406] On the "bookishness" of late antique Christianity, see: Clark (2007), 117-138; Grafton and Williams (2008), 233-244 (though they do not use the term "bookishness").
[407] Williams (2008), 167-200.
[408] Peter Brown exemplifies this position in his article "Images as Substitute for Writing" (1997).

images."[409] The relationship between literary and visual is not hierarchical in *tituli* poems, but symbiotic. Making meaning of the *tituli* and the images they purport to describe depends upon the audience's fluency in a language of "formalized conventional references."[410] As such, the poetry and visual iconography comment on and frame one another; where both rely upon the observer's ability to recall source material, make connections between scenes, and draw the desired ethical, credal or devotional conclusions. It is therefore essential for text and image to work together, to complement one another's features and guide the audience through a carefully considered program with didactic and ideological features.

While Barthes and others are certainly right in their assessments of the author and audience as cultural and discursive constructs, the culture of paideia in Late Antiquity produced authors and audiences who shared a common curriculum that was mutually intelligible across the late Roman Empire.[411] If this common curriculum were a prism, then the sermons, epistles, poetry and visual culture of interest to this discussion are some of that prism's refractions. What is more, these shoots of light might appear differently depending upon the audience, and the authors responsible for them sought to color their audience's viewing. To put it more concretely, Early Christian authors of the fourth century were highly sensitive to the problem of open interpretation. Mike Chin's analysis of Jerome's correspondence with Paulinus of Nola, for instance, highlights this point. In speaking about the late antique commentarial practice that "isolated the line, line segment, or individual part of speech and surrounded it with linguistic, historical, or cultural meaning…to project depths of meaning invisible at the text's surface," Chin argues that "the art of scripture presents Jerome with a serious problem: simply that the

[409] Mitchell (1994), 161; Squire (2016), 10; Nodelman (1993), 15-18.
[410] Nodelman (1993), 10.
[411] Cribiore (2005), 220-252.

paths into the projected utopia may be mapped very differently by different readers."[412] Of course, the degree to which the reader accepts the framing, interpretation, and presentation before them depends upon the individual's familiarity with precisely those same elements of the poem/image. Interpretive *tituli*, however, function explicitly to "close" the text/image pair – as does ekphrastic poetry, sermons and epistles on narrative imagery, etc. While the notion that an ideal reader does not exist is certainly persuasive, the late antique institution of paideia nevertheless produced an educated elite body whose knowledge of scriptural and classical sources was thoroughly homogenized.[413] This feature of late ancient education may not have produced an ideal reader, but it certainly led to an audience whose members fell on a spectrum from uneducated to erudite. Indeed, I provide a translation of Ambrose's 21 *tituli* poems in the following section, after which I address questions of attribution and visual imagery, the implicit ecclesiastical framing of the *tituli*, and the ways in which cues in the poems point the audience towards a perspective of the content described.

1. *The Disticha in Translation*

I follow the order of the *tituli* poems given by François Juret and adopted by Sebastian Merkle (in the 19th century) and Francisco Lubian, whose 2017 edition in the CCLP has replaced the one published by Merkle in the PLS.[414] Below is my translation of the *Disticha*, with textual variance, relevant parallels (largely from Merkle and Lubian), and associated scripture in the footnotes. I include the order proposed by the SAEMO (1979-1994) edition in parentheses,

[412] Chin (2007), 109.
[413] See: Clark (2007), 126; Williams (2008), 25-62.
[414] See: PLS, vol. 1, 1896; CCLP 0165, ed. F. Lubian (*Lingua Patrum*, 10, 2017): 104, 106. Likewise, Lubian's text may be found online in the Brepolis Latin Database in *Library of Latin Texts – Series A* (http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PAMB8DIST_).

following Lubian's text (including punctuation and capitalization).[415] Moreover, I have added titles to identify each poem. For ease of reading, I footnote any text critical remarks after the number of each poem and any significant parallels after the title.[416] J denotes the Juret edition, B denotes the Biraghi, T denotes Traube, and M denotes Merkle.

1.(XIX)[417] *Transfiguration*[418] Maiestate sua rutilans Sapientia vibrat / Discipulisque Deum, si possint cernere, monstrat	Glowing Wisdom flashes her majesty and, if they're able to see, she reveals God to the disciples.
2.(XXI)[419] *Beloved John*[420] Aspice Johannem recubantem in pectore Christi, / Unde Deum verbum assumpsit pietate fateri.	See John reclining on the chest of Christ, Whence he took up the Word of God to praise his goodness.
3.(XVIII) *Annunciation*[421] Angelus affatur Mariam, quae, parca loquendi, / Ora verecundo soluit suffusa rubore.	The angel addresses Mary, who, needing to say little,[422] frees her face from needing to be modest, her blush spread.

[415] I have not opted to add a space between a word and its suffixed "-que", nor have I adopted Lubian's orthographic preference for "u" over "v". Likewise, all capitalized nouns (excluding proper nouns and letters beginning lines and sentences) follow Lubian.
[416] Though a later addition to the text, Juret's codex begins with an incipit: *Incipiunt disticha S. Ambrosii de Diversis rebus quae in basilica Ambrosiana Scripta Sunt* (The distichs of S. Ambrose begin with the different things that were written in the Basilica Ambrosiana).
[417] Juret's only special heading occurs here, where he has written: *Transfiguratio Domini in monte*. This is not an early title, but "undoubtedly" appeared in Juret's codex (Merkle (1896), 214). J/M: *sapientia*.
[418] The Transfiguration appears in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 17:1–8, Mk 9:2–8, Lk 9:28–36), as well as the Second Epistle of Peter (2 Peter 1:16–18). See also: Ambrose, *De virginit.* 19.133; *De incarn.* 4.29.
[419] *Fateri* can mean confess (+ acc), as well as praise (+ dat). The passage could also be rendered, though less likely: "Whence he began to confess the Word of Good in his piety."
[420] See: Jn 13, 23, 25; Ambrose, *Ep*. 65 (*ad Simplicianus*); *Ibid. De incarn.* 4.29.
[421] See: Lk 1:26, 2:8; C.f. Vergil, *Georg.* 1.430; Ambrose, *De Virginit.* 2.2.7; *Ibid. Expos. in Luc.* 2.8.
[422] Literally: "moderate of needing to speak".

4.(V)[423] *Rebecca, Bride of Gentiles* [424] Praestolatur ovans sponsamde gentibus / Isaac, Ecce Rebecca venit sublimi vecta camelo.	Rejoicing, Isaac awaits the bride of the gentiles. Behold! Rebecca comes riding on a high camel.
5.(VI) [425] *Jacob's Virtuous Fraud*[426] Jacob fraude bona, patri dum suggerit escas, / Praecipit eulogiam, per dulcia frustra lucratus.	Jacob, through virtuous fraud, brings meat to his father and receives the blessing first, having won sweet things in vain.
6.(XVII) *Lions Honor Saints, Vates*[427] Ecce feri norunt sanctis deferre leones / Atque famem cohibere metu, vatemque vereri.	Behold! The ferocious lions knew to defer to the saints and likewise to curb their hunger in fear and revere the *vatem*.
7.(VIII)[428] *Joseph: Star, Cross of Christ*[429] Ioseph manipulus Christi crux, stellaque Christus / Quem sol, luna Deum caeli stellae quoque adorant.	Joseph is the standard, the cross of Christ, and the star Christ, whom the sun, moon, and the God of heaven and earth adore.
8.(IX)[430] *Jacob's Truth, Brotherly Envy*[431] Ficta quidem Jacob natis, sed vera loquutus, / Bestia germano quod sit mens invida fratri	Fictions indeed did Jacob [contrive], but the truth has been stated: The real beast is the jealous mind of a brother.

[423] J: *oves sponsae*; T: *ovans sponsam*; B: *ovans sponsae.* On this and *praesolatur*, see: Lubian (2017), 135-137.
[424] See: Genesis 24, 63; Ambrose, *De Abrah.* 1, 92; C.f. *Ibid.* Ep. 50.16; Ovid, *Amor.* 1.5.19.
[425] *Praeripit* probably doesn't replace *praecipit*, though Ambr. *De Jacob* 2, 10 has: *ut praeripiat benedictionem*. *Per*: J: *sed*, with the note "*al. Esau*", perhaps to correct *sibi* (whose abbreviation could be mistaken for *sed*). J: *lucratur*.
[426] See: Genesis 27; Ambrose, *De Jac.* 2.10.
[427] See: Daniel 6.
[428] Both verses are corrupt. After Joseph, J writes "*" to indicate that textual confusion. B: *stolaque*. J: *quem sol luna Deum * terrae quoque adorant*, with the marginal note: *al. caeli stellae*. J/M*: coeli terrae*. Though *manipulus* could be rendered "legion" or "bundle", here it likely refers to the standards of a legion. Joseph, prefiguring Christ, and the cross then fuse to become a standard or symbol of divine might and protection.
[429] See: Genesis 37:9.
[430] J: *natis* is uncertain. Jacob may have deceived Isaac and defrauded Esau, but with divine assent. The second line functions as the interpretive guide to the Jacob's act of fraud. *Germano* ("real", "brother") may be a pun.
[431] See: Genesis 32, 33, 35, 36.

9.(X)[432] *Joseph's Slavery*[433] Praelati invidia fratrum quoque pectore movit: / Servitioque datus patrio dilectus amore.	The brothers' jealousy of the favorite stirred in their heart, and into slavery he was sold because of his father's love.
10.(XI) *Joseph and the Matrona*[434] Nil status inferior praeclaris moribus obstat: / Deformem dominae condemnat servus amorem.	Lower status in no way hinders noble character: The slave condemns the debased affection of the *domina*.
11.(II)[435] *Abraham's Shoot*[436] Aetherium spectare polum patriarcha iubetur / Stellarumque modo subolem sperare micantem.	The patriarch is ordered to observe the sky, and now to look for the flashing shoot of the stars.
12.(IV) *Binding of Isaac*[437] Offert progeniem sanctis altaribus Habran: / Patris ei est pietas, caro non parcere nato.	He presents his progeny on the sacred altar at Hebron. It is the father's faith that does not spare his dear son.
13.(III) *Sarah and Hebron Receive Christ*[438] Hospitio largus Christum quoque suscipit Habran, / Sarra pudore latens fida pietate ministrat.	In hospitality, bountiful Hebron likewise receives Christ, Faithful Sarah, hidden in modesty, serves in piety.
14.(VII)[439] *Shepherds: Jacob to Vates*[440] Pascit oves Iacob varias. Vos discite, vates, / Diverso populos virtutem adsuescere cultu.	Jacob pastures his various sheep. Learn that you, *vates*, familiarize peoples different in worship with virtue.

[432] J: *novit*.
[433] See: Genesis 37; Ambrose, *De Jos.* 5.
[434] See: Genesis 39; Ambrose, *De Jos.* 30; *Ibid.* 23; *De Offic.* 2.20.
[435] *Subolem*: shoot, offspring. "Shoot" renders the double meaning of "offspring" and a "shooting star".
[436] See: Genesis 23:17-20; 2 Sam. 5, 2, 15; 1 Kings 2; Ambrose, *De Abrah.* I.20, 33, 37, II.36; Vergil, *Aen.* 6, 724f.
[437] See: Genesis 22; Ambrose, *De Abrah.* 1.74; *Ibid*. Ep. 58.14; *Ibid*., Ep. 83.5-6.
[438] See: Genesis 18; Ambrose, *De Abrah.* I.33-37.
[439] J: *dicite*.
[440] See: Lk 8:42-48; 19:1-10; Ambrose, *In Luc.* l. 6.56, 8.80-81.

15.(XX)[441] *Gospel Exemplars*[442] Zacheus in ramo est, rapti iam prodigus auri; / Feminaque immundum miratur stare cruorem.	Zacchaeus is in the tree, already wasteful of his stolen gold; And the unclean woman was amazed that the bleeding stopped.
16.(XV)[443] *Isaiah: Prophecy and Lions*[444] Disparibus victum populis praenunciat unum / Isias vates, socians armenta leoni.	Isaiah prophesied of one victim to the disparate nations, *vates*, as he joined the lion's herd.
17.(XVI)[445] *Jeremiah and the Lamb*[446] Hic est Hieremias, sacratus matris in alvo, / Hostia cui Dominus specie monstratur agnus	Here is sacred Jeremiah in his mother's womb, The Lord in sacrificial appearance was revealed to be a lamb.
18.(XIII) *Elijah Ascends* Helias ascendit equos currusque volantes, / Raptus in aetheriam, meritis coelestibus aulam.	Elijah ascended on flying chariots and horses, born aloft to the celestial temple once the heavens were earned.
19.(I) *Noah's Ark, Symbols of Peace*[447] Arca Noe nostri typus est, et Spiritus ales, / Qui pacem populis ramo praetendit olivae.	Noah's ark is our exemplar, and it is a winged soul, which spreads peace from the bough of the olive tree.

[441] J: *femina quem immunda miratur stare * curem* (* indicate that something is wrong with the text).
[442] See: Lk 19 (for Zacchaeus); Mt 9:20–22, Mk 5:25–34, and Lk 8:43–48 (for the hemorrhagic woman).
[443] J: *sociant*.
[444] See: Isaiah 65.25; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* 5.6: So great is the grace of the waters, which the calves and lions shun, that to these the prophecy of the holiness of the church is rightly agreed upon; then the wolves and the lambs will feed together; the lion and the ox will eat the straw together. And no wonder, since even in the church waters operate it so that the wickedness of robbers, washed away, is compared to the innocent.
[445] M: *monstratur ut agnus*; J: 17b. J: *saepe monstravit ut agnus.*
[446] See: Jeremiah 1.5, 11.19: *et ego quasi agnus mansuetus, qui portatur ad victimam* (Jerome: "But all teachers agree that here Jeremias represents the person of Christ and is his example." See: Merkle (1896), 220, n. 17.
[447] See: Vergil, *Aen.* 8.116, 11.332: Ps 54, 7. C.f. Ambrose, *De Luc*. II, n. 92.

20.(XII)[448] *Absalom Hangs*[449] Pendet Abessalon astrictus in arbore guttur, / Ne caelum parricida ferus macularet humumque.	Absalom hangs from a tree, his neck noosed, Lest the parricidal savage[450] pollute sky and soil.
21.(XIV) *Jonah and the Whale*[451] Excipit innocuo viventem belua morsu / Cetus et ad terram Ionam gravis adtulit alvo.	The sea beast swallowed up the living man with a harmless bite, and the engorged whale brought Jonah to land in its belly.

2. *Ambrose's Disticha: History of Scholarship*

Ambrose's *tituli* have a storied history. Discovered in a single manuscript by French canon and historian, Francois Juret (c. 1553-1626), the *Disticha* first appears in publication in the third volume of the SCBP (2nd ed., 1859).[452] In the meantime, Juret's manuscript has vanished in a cloud of smoke.[453] Occasionally referred to as a *codex deperditus* (a lost or destroyed

[448] J: *Abisalon*; B: *adstrictus*; J/M: *coelum.*
[449] This is a parallel between the death of Absalon (= Abessalon, Absalom) and Judas' suicide. See: Ps 3 in the Vulgate; Ambrose, *De exc. Satyri* 2. Merkle notes that *astrictus guttur* does not correspond to the biblical account, strengthening the association of the passage with Judas ((1896), 221). C.f. Prudentius, *Hamar.*, 577-580.
[450] Literally, "the savage one who commits parricide."
[451] See: Ambrose, *Hexaem*. 5.85; Vergil, *Aen*. 6, 516f.
[452] Margeurin de la Bigne published the SBSP in eight volumes in 1575, with an additional volume in 1579 and later editions in 1589 – the earlier of which contained the *tituli*. The 17th century likewise saw an expansion of the SBSP in 1677 and 1694, respectively. Bigne sought to collect and edit as many early Christian authors as possible, but with the dogmatic end of eliminating Protestant "corruption" from the texts. The *Disticha* does not appear in the Maurini Fathers' SAEMO; thus, it is absent from Migne's LP (vols. 14-15). The *Disticha* first became integrated into the broader corpus with Merkle's publication of the first *Supplementum* of 1858 (PLS vol. 1, col. 587-589). It also appears in Paolo Ballerini's *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi, Ecclesiæ Patris Ac Doctors Opera Omni* (1875), and follows Biraghi's order and literary parallels. For a more detailed publication history and manuscript tradition, see: Piolin (1870), 16-67; Lubian (2017), 1-45.
[453] The circumstances of the manuscript's disappearance are hazy. Dying at the age of 73, Juret took ill near the end of his life and ordered his personal library destroyed to thwart his brother's efforts to sue for control over his collection. In his edition of the letters of de la Bigne, Peter Burman informs us that "With respect to Juret's papers, there is no more reason for laboring…the good man had carefully taken precautions lest any of his papers should come to posterity, for at last, because of the illness by which he fell asleep [died], he ordered his entire paper collection to be burned before him… because he equally could bear the command of the juror, that his brother, unskilled in these matters, had sued him too religiously" (*De Jureti schedis non est cur labores amplius… sed vir bonus sedulo caverat, ne quid schedarum suarum ad posteros perveniret, ultimo enim, quo decubuit, morbo chartaceam suam omnem supellectilem coram se comburi jussit…quod aeque ferret Jureti mandato fratrem harum rerum imperitum nimium religiose suisse obsecutum* (687). Juret's surviving documents passed from William

manuscript), I simply refer to it as the "Juret Codex".[454] As a consequence of its destruction, all editions post-dating the SCBP have relied upon Juret's *editio princeps*.[455]

A long and storied debate on the attribution of the *Disticha* has hence ensued.[456] Luigi Biraghi, author of the second publication of the text in 1862, affirmed the authenticity of the couplets by comparison with the rest of Ambrose's work.[457] Sebastion Merkle soon after published a second, highly praised edition of the *tituli* poems in the PLS (vol. 1) in 1896.[458] Merkle strongly supported the Ambrosian attribution and substantially added to the catalogue of parallels between the *Disticha* and Ambrose's other works.[459] Additionally, a single verse of the *tituli* poems came to light in two 9th century Carolingian manuscripts through the work of Ludwig Traube in 1892.[460] While Traube argued that the verse originated with Prudentius, Merkle and Günter Bernt have shown that this Prudentian attribution rests on a corrupted manuscript tradition of Gennadius' additions to the *Live of Illustrious Men*.[461] They both identify the verse with Ambrose and trust Juret's report of the manuscript.[462]

Harvey (1578-1657) to the Royal College of Physicians, where another fire destroyed much of it in 1666. The surviving materials eventually fell into the possession of the French jurist cum scholar, Jean Bouhier (c. 1673-1746).

[454] In the manuscript, *Disticha* appeared along with the Pseudo-Tertullian poem *De Jonaet Nineye* (see: Gnilka (2009), 123).

[455] See further: Lubian (2017), 7.

[456] For a bibliography of the loudest voices in this debate, see: Dijkstra (2016), 139, n. 290; Merkle (1896), 185-188.

[457] Lubian credits Biraghi with "healing many of the most evident corruption of the first edition" ((2017), 7). Lubian also demonstrates that the *tituli* closely comport to the writing of Ambrose (*Ibid.*, 21-23).

[458] While Merkle argues that Juret faithfully transcribed the text of the codex, he acknowledges that Juret's idiosyncrasies have hindered scholarly consensus on attribution and dating. He laments, "it is very regrettable that Juret, in accordance with the manner or bad habits of some older editors, did not disclose the place of discovery or any even superficial description of the old codices from which he claimed the *tituli*" (my translation from the German; Merkle (1896), 186-187). On the credibility of Juret's edition, Gnilka argues that there is no reason for doubt unless explicit evidence surfaces ((2009), 123-125). Lubian concurs ((2017), 6, 13).

[459] Merkle (1896), 185-198. It is Gnilka's opinion that "The two editors [Merkle and Biraghi] left no doubt about the authenticity of the distiches, i.e. the authorship of Ambrosius" ((2009) 123).

[460] See: Traube (1920), 81; Jungmann (1881), 20.

[461] See Merkle (1896), 195-198; Bernt (1968), 66 (especially n. 20).

[462] Anecdotally, I should note that contemporaries of Juret praised him and his scholarship. His mentor, the celebrated lawyer and scholar, Pièrre Pithou (known also as Pithoeus, c. 1539-1596) once wrote: "*Christiana, Franc. luretus...edenda suscepit, cui et nos olim quicquid eius generis habuimus, lubentes merito commisimus* (Pithoeus (1596), 457).

The question remained, however, if indeed the decorations in the church in Milan had featured interpretative and descriptive poems from Ambrose below them. Skeptics pointed to the limited influence of the *Disticha* in the literature and liturgy following Ambrose's life, as well as to their absence in medieval catalogs of inscriptions.[463] Although these epigraphic poems did not gain a popularity anywhere near that of Ambrose's hymns, Christian Gnilka has credited the *Disticha* with popularizing the use of *vates* in place of *episcopus* and *sacerdos* in the epigraphy of northern Italy in the 5th through 6th centuries.[464] Even if medieval syllogs do not record the *Disticha*, the Sylloge Laureshamensis (early 9th century) accounts for other instances of Ambrosian inscriptional poetry.[465] This document records four epigraphs dedicated to the baptistry of St. Thecla and the Basilica Apostolorum (both in Milan). It also documents an epitaph apiece for Ambrose's brother, Satyrus, and Dedalia, wife of the consul Manlius.[466] Scholars such as Merkle point out that "the call for old syllogs…presupposes a greater trust in the durability of the monuments than is justified by experience."[467] Francisco Lubian, too, reasons that the "the historical-antiquarian interests and the working method of the jurist" would

[463] These include those produced by the jurist, Andrea Alciato, who systematically recorded Milanese inscriptions in the first half of the 16th century. See: Bregman, Alvan. *Emblemata: The Emblem Books of Andrea Alciato*. Newtown, PA: Bird & Bull Press, 2007; Bianchi, D. "L'opera letteraria e storica di Andrea Alciato." *Archivio storico lombardo*, 4.20 (1913):47–57.
[464] See: Gnilka (2009), 126-137.
[465] See: Sylloge Laureshamensis III (fol. 41r-53v), found in Cod. Vatican City, Vat. Pal. lat. 833. The Sylloge Laureshamensis is one of the Lombard syllogae, which catalogued liturgical practices and *loca sanctorum* (places of the saints) for other pilgrims to follow, or classical inscriptions that included notable figures, government positions, and metrical inscriptions. The Sylloge Laureshamensis records a journey between Rome and Ivrea (a still-extant town in the Piedmont region of northwestern Italy), the author including inscriptions on his way through Milan.
[466] For Thecla, see: *Versus Ambrosi ad fontem eiusdem ecclesiae* [Sanctae Thec., CIL V.2, p. 617, n. 2 (= ILCV 1841 = CLE 908)]; for the Basilica Apostolorum, see: *Item Ambrosii in ecclesia Sancti Nazarii martyris*, CIL V.2, p. 617, n. 3 (= ILCV 1800 = CLE 906); for the epitaph of Satyrus, see: *Item Ambrosianum*, CIL V.2, p. 617, n. 5 (= ILCV 2165 = CLE 1421); for the epitaph of Manlia Dedalia, see: *Epithaphium Ambrosianum*, CIL V.2, p. 686, n. 6240 (= ILCV 1700 = CLE 1434). The early 9th century *Responsa contra peruersas Claudii Taurinensis episcopti sententias*, written by Dungal at the request of Lothair I, likewise mentions the epitaph of Satyrus. For a discussion of the Laureshamense corpus, see: Lubian (2017), 9.
[467] I have translated from the German, which I give here: "Schon das Bisherige aber genügt für den Beweis, dass der Ruf nach alten Syllogen...ein grösseres Vertrauen auf die Dauerhaftigkeit der Monumente voraussetzt, als durch die Erfahrung gerechtfertigt ist" (Merkle (1896), 192). He addresses this issue again on p. 201.

most probably have left out the *tituli* from his collection even if he had had access to them, and that his earliest manuscript evidence for the *tituli* would have come from only the ninth century or later.[468] Ultimately, Merkle and Lubian find that the *tituli* simply disappeared from the material record at an early date. After so many renovations to the Basilica Ambrosiana over the centuries, the loss of material evidence is to be expected.[469]

Art historians have also taken issue with the images that the *tituli* evoked, claiming that the New Testament scenes – particularly the Transfiguration and the Annunciation – were a later innovation. One of these objectors, F. X. Kraus, so argued this in the 1980s. He based this claim on the grounds that none of the images appear in early Christian art until after the fourth century.[470] This objection falls flat.[471] It is true that the Transfiguration scene did not become popular in the eastern half of the empire until the sixth century, nor the western half until the fifteenth.[472] Nevertheless, it appears in northern Italy no later than the sixth century and as early as the mid-fourth. Two examples should suffice to demonstrate this point: the Brescia Casket (see Fig. 1) and the semi-apse mosaic of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (see Fig. 5).[473] The Brescia Casket (also known as the Lipsanotheca) is a northern Italian ivory box encompassed by a complex array of scriptural scenes and dated to the second half of the fourth century.[474] On its

[468] Lubian (2017), 10.
[469] Even Ambrose's more famous poetic composition, the hymns, can boast of manuscript evidence from only the 8th century. See: Dijkstra (2016), 139. On renovations to the Basilica Ambrosiana from the Late Antique to early Modern period, see: Lusuardi Siena (1997), 34-35; Stanga and Spinelli (2018), 1245-1253; Bella (2013); Capponi (1994), 55-76; *Ibid*. (1995), 223-239.
[470] F. X. Kraus, *Gesh. Der christl. Kunst* I (Freib. 1986), p. 386.
[471] Dresken-Weiland (2018), 63. The only possible exception is the Last Supper scene, where John *recubans in pectore Christi*. This, however, does comport to contemporary testimony on banqueting from Sulpicius Severus, Sidonius Apollinarus, and others. See: Merkle (1896): 204-206.
[472] Stone (2010), 201.
[473] Four other examples are worth mentioning: the sixth century Transfiguration scene depicted in at St. Catherine's (Mt. Sinai); the Stephanie Church in Naples (presently destroyed but recorded by John the Deacon in his *Chronicon Episcoporum Sanctae Neopolitani Ecclesia* (9c) XXII); possibly, the canon table of the Rabbula Gospels from c. 586 (Plut. l. 56, fol. 7r); and on an exterior wall of the Basilica of Euphrasius (Croatia), from roughly 540-560.
[474] See: Tkacz (2002); McGrath (1965); Kollwitz (1933); Soper (1943); Watson (1981).

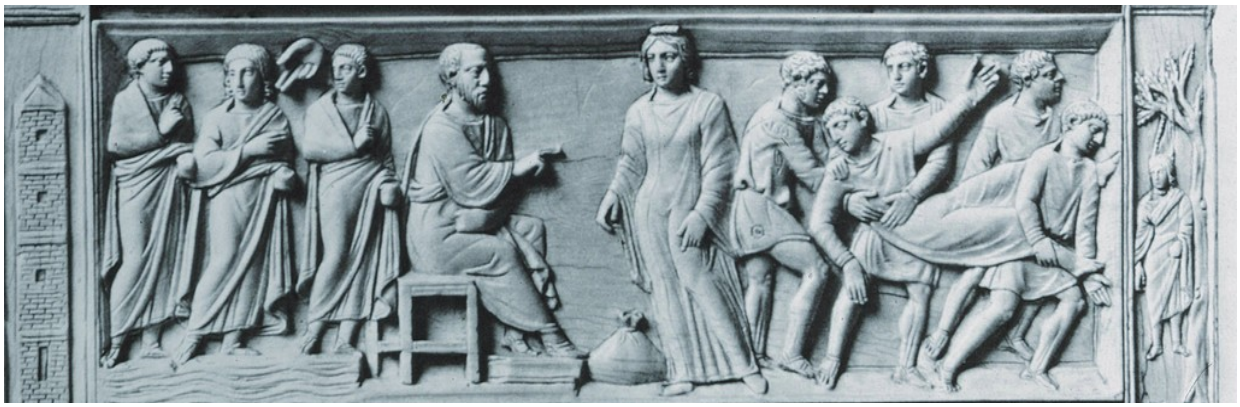


Figure 5: Lipsanotheca of Brescia, Old and New Testament scenes back. 2nd half 4th C. Artstor.

back panel is a middle register comprised of two scenes. Scholars debate the identification of the leftmost scene as the Transfiguration. Supporters point to the hand of God, the trio (as Jesus, Moses, and Elijah), and the raised platform (as a mountain or cloud).[475] Skeptics note the absence of the disciples and an explicit cloud or mountain – though they themselves fail to account for the raised platform with its airy façade.[476] The second example comes from the environs of Ravenna, in the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (c. 549). Here, the Transfiguration appears without question.



Figure 6: Transfiguration with Saint Apollinaris, apsidal vault. Mosaic. Artstor.

[475] Kollwitz (1933), 28-29; Soper (1938), 177.
[476] Watson, (1981) 295, n. 25.

Above the paschal imagery rests a bejeweled cross flanked by stars, the hand of God, and Moses and Elijah embedded in cloud cover; in the center of this cross lies a medallion with a portrait of Jesus. To my knowledge, no scholar has ever questioned the identification of this scene with the Transfiguration. Nira Stone has shown that the Transfiguration imagery was not fixed in Western or Eastern iconography even in the sixth century, but rather drew from non-Christian scenes and symbols of eternal life and apotheoses in (especially funerary) art.[477] She identifies the elements of the Transfiguration scene which would have been the most difficult to portray: the voice of God, the metamorphosis of Christ, and the cloud.[478]

A comparison of various depictions of the Transfiguration demonstrates that certain elements like the mandorla and the hand of God evoked aspects of the narrative such as clouds and divine presence, respectively.[479] Given that this iconography was by no means stable, I suggest that Ambrose's *Disticha* evoked the same scene by Lady Wisdom, light, and the presence of the Apostles. When comparing the Transfiguration *titulus* (*Dist.* 1) to the Brescia Casket and the apse mosaic of the Sant'Apollinare, one may see that Ambrose gives preference to the role of Wisdom in revealing Christ as God to the disciples over the inclusion of Elijah and Moses.[480] The emphasis on sightedness and understanding in personal revelation indicates a didactic function of the poetry,[481] but also suggests that the iconography of the Transfiguration scene could shift to fit the context at hand. If these three exempla are the earliest depictions of the Transfiguration, then variability is common and art historical *comparanda* do not preclude the *tituli* from a late fourth century date.[482] A century after Merkle, Giuseppe Visonà has

[477] Stone (2010), 203.
[478] *Ibid.*, 205
[479] *Ibid.*, 209.
[480] *Dist.* 1(IXX). *Glowing wisdom flashes her majesty. / If they can see, she reveals God to the disciples.* See below.
[481] See: Dresken-Weiland (2018), 63-65; Bernt (1968), 71-72.
[482] The Annunciation appears in Christian art during and prior to the fourth century. The earliest known depiction of the annunciation (3rd CE) survives in the Catacomb of Priscilla. See: Taylor (2013), 21-38.

analyzed literary, monumental, and art historical evidence to assess the attribution of *Disticha* to Ambrose. His survey shows that:

> around 400 AD both the *Tituli* genre and the use of representing biblical cycles on the walls of basilicas are attested and, in highlighting the iconographic program of the sequence of couplets, it shows that, even if it does not provide specific positive proof, under the aspect of the literary and exegetical coordinates there are substantial indications in support of the Ambrosian authenticity and few contraindications.[483]

Much like Merkle, Lubian, Traube, Gnilka, and Visonà, I consider the arguments against Ambrosian attribution to be circumstantial. While the loss of Juret's codex is regrettable, the evidence that remains – namely, the *tituli* of the *editio princeps* and the indirect attestations maintained by Traube and Gnilka – provide enough material to cross-reference the poems against Ambrose's corpus. In all *tituli*, Ambrose's diction, imagery, ethics, and Christology parallel that of his securely attested works. Moreover, it is well-established that Ambrose utilized both oral and visual means of expression, and the evidence altogether demonstrates that he played a direct role in the iconography and epigraphy of ecclesiastical spaces in Milan.[484]

The *tituli*, moreover, are not Ambrose's only inscriptional poetry. Indeed, he arranged for an epitaph apiece to his brother, Satyrus, and Dedalia.[485] Likewise, he composed eight distichs for the octagonal baptistry of S. Thecla, as well as five elegiac distichs for the Basilica Apostolorum (Church of the Apostles, known today as S. Nazaro) describing the construction of the cruciform basilica and the deposition of the relics of S. Nazario under the apse altar.[486] Ambrose considered the care of ecclesiastical buildings to be the duty of the clergy, comparing

[483] Visonà (2008), 151. My translation from the Italian.
[484] This possibly includes the "sarcophagus of Stilico", the doors of the Basilica Ambrosiana, and the Brescia Casket. Dijkstra rejects arguments for any "direct influence" of Ambrose on the design of the sarcophagus of Stilico, even allowing for the possibility that the bishop's sermons could have indirectly shaped it ((2016), 138, n. 289).
[485] See note 23.
[486] See note 23.

the conservation of sacred décor to the protection of the poor.[487] Roald Dijkstra likewise affirms his hand in crafting the *Disticha* given Ambrose's personal involvement in the decoration and iconography of ecclesiastical spaces,[488] a point repeated by other scholars.[489] In conjunction with his better-attested inscriptional poetry, it would be fitting for a bishop as concerned with ethics, dogma and praxis to author *tituli historiarum* poetry for the decoration of his own basilica.

Scholars postulate that the *Disticha* did in fact accompany physical images in the Basilica Ambrosiana, a presumption based on notes ascribing the *tituli* to this basilica which François Juret purported to have transcribed from his lost manuscript.[490] Unless new evidence comes to light, it is impossible to determine whether Juret's manuscript was accurate in its ascription of the *tituli* to the Ambrosiana. Nevertheless, Ambrose's repeated address to the clergy [*vates*] indicates a Milanese audience well versed in liturgy and scripture. Other elements of the *Disticha*, such as the ascetic reading of scripture and the categorization of gender, likewise suggests an orientation toward a larger Christian community of clerics, ascetics and lay people.

3. *Ambrose's Disticha: Hybridization over Completion*

In this section, I introduce a new categorization of the poems of Ambrose's *Disticha* based on the mixed temporal layers of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the contemporary circumstances of Ambrose's late fourth century audience. Some scholars have argued that modern editions of Ambrose's *tituli* are incomplete.[491] This claim rests on the division of the poems between four New Testament scenes and seventeen from the Old.[492] Yet a simple division

[487] Ambrose, *De offic.* 2.21. See discussion in Lubian (2017), 15.
[488] Dijkstra (2016), 138.
[489] See discussion in Cagiano de Azevedo (1963), 55-76.
[490] Arnulf (1997), 26; Visonà (2008), 151.
[491] Dijkstra (2016), 139; Merkle (1896), 186-195; Dresken-Weiland (2018), 63.
[492] Scholars universally divide *Disticha* in this way. See: Lubian (2017), 1-5.

such as this fails to consider the ways in which the *tituli* tether these scenes together within individual poems. I propose a new conception of the *tituli* which encouraged the audience to view the Old and New Testaments together, as well as to consider events from the Old Testament as models for both the scenes from the New Testament and contemporary Christian circumstances. While the *Disticha* certainly reiterates a division between the two testaments, it does so within individual poems by blending the temporal layers of the ancient past of the Old Testament, the more recent past of the New, and the present of the audience. This blending does not support the hypothesis that the collection is incomplete, nor does it necessarily testify to the opposite. Rather, in leaving behind the old division of the poems and setting aside the question of completion, one can better appreciate the paraenetic and temporal-spatial ideology embedded into the *tituli* and their corresponding imagery.

The *Disticha* contains 21 *tituli*. Four of these poems describe New Testament scenes without reference to either the Old Testament or Ambrose's present;[493] these are the Transfiguration (*Dist.* 1), the Last Supper (*Dist.* 2), the Annunciation (*Dist.* 3), and two miracles of Christ (*Dist.* 15). The miracles *titulus* is the only one of these four that provides description without explicit interpretation or allusion (beyond the narratives they describe), though the terms *prodigus* and *miratur* are suggestive. This poem depicts Zacchaeus the tax collector in the tree and the healing of the hemorrhagic woman. Amy-Jill Levine has recently challenged scholastic consensus that the hemorrhagic woman would have been read as "marginal" and "unclean", and that her healing by Jesus both affirms her humanity and dismisses contemporary purity codes.[494] Though her remarks deal with the social context of the Gospel of Matthew regarding the healing

[493] Into "Ambrose's present" I lump both an authorial conception of the present and an atemporal present that extends beyond the bishop's conception.
[494] Levine (2011), 71.

of the hemorrhagic woman and the raising of the dead girl in Matthew 9.18-26, her argument that "the bodies of women serve as figuration for Jesus' own body as it hangs upon the cross and rises from the tomb" might also fit the context of Ambrose's miracles *titulus*.[495]

The other three *tituli* add narrative elements, highlight motifs and events, and interpret the content they describe. The Last Supper scene, for instance, focuses on John's internalization of the Word of God through his intimacy with Jesus. The Transfiguration, meanwhile, never references Elijah, Moses, or other details of the scene, but rather the role of a personified Wisdom in revealing Jesus' divinity to those who can see it. All four of these scenes emphasize Christ's role in salvation, his divinity and power, and the intermediary position of the disciples as the recipients and communicators of the Word of God.

I categorize the remainder of the *tituli* as either strictly Old Testament or mixed Testaments. There are eight strictly Old Testament scenes spanning the Binding of Isaac to Jonah and the Whale. Although there are no explicit Christological features in these poems, they may all be read to prefigure Christ. For instance, the timespan begins with the covenant of Abraham and ends with the trials of Jonah, a narrative that fourth century Christians understood as a model for salvation and that appears in both the visual and intellectual record. The Jonah narrative appears in a fresco series at the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter, in Rome, for instance.[496] Moreover, Jerome authored a *Commentary on Jonah* (396 CE) for an erudite "reader community in Rome and Aquileia."[497] Katharina Bracht has recently argued that "Jerome presents the most important guideline for his interpretation: Jonah is a *typus Saluatoris*, a "type of the Savior" and, by his stay within the belly of the sea monster, he depicted the resurrection of Christ in

[495] Levine (2011), 70.
[496] See: Lamberton, Clark. "The Development of Christian Symbolism as Illustrated in Roman Catacomb Painting." *AJA* 15.4 (1911): 507–522.
[497] Bracht (2020), 543. In *Ion*. 1.3b., Jerome refers to his audience as erudite (*eruditas*).

advance."[498] At the same time, some of Ambrose's *tituli* have interpretive guides built into them, such as the *titulus* on Joseph's refusal of the Egyptian *domina* (*Dist.* 10). Here, Ambrose has framed the scene as an instance of cosmic irony: while it is Joseph who faces imprisonment, it is really the *domina's* lust (*amorem*) that has condemned her soul. This is a moralistic reading of the narrative that fits well with Ambrose's promotion of asceticism, which we saw in the previous chapter.

Eight *tituli* are mixed in the sense that they depict an Old Testament episode with New Testament or contemporary four-century elements. The most interesting aspect of these *tituli* is their "temporal chaining", by which I mean the tendency in these mixed poems to link periods of time together. This occurs in three ways: 1) the projection of Christ into Old Testament scenes; 2) the direct address and honored position of the clergy [*vates*; 3)] the interpretive guide embedded in the verse, often taking the form of salvific or moralizing discourse. The first is the most easily explained. In one *titulus* (*Dist.* 13), Sarah and an ambiguously personified Hebron receive and host Christ in a Christological reinterpretation of the three messengers from Genesis 18. Second, several *tituli* refer to *vates*, a particularly honored group in the poems. Though usually translated as "prophets" or "seers", Ambrose uses *vates* in place of *episcopus* or *sacerdos*, strongly implicating the clergy as the heirs to the biblical patriarchs and disciples, and thus the intermediaries between humanity and the divine. Lions revere them along with the saints (*Dist.* 6), and a few *tituli* directly address them as the continuers of biblical legacy (*Dist.* 14; *Dist.* 16). In one example (*Dist.*14), just as Jacob pastured his flocks, so too does the poem charge this group with the pastoral care of peoples of differing worship (*Diverso populos virtutem adsuescere cultu*). Third and finally, several poems have interpretive elements that

[498] Bracht (2020), 545.

guide the reader toward a Christological or moralistic reading, but one based in Ambrose's own portrayal of history. This occurs, for instance, in the *titulus* on Isaac and Rebecca, whom the poem labels the "bride of gentiles" (*sponsamde gentibus*). It is a peculiar feature of Ambrose's work to understand Rebecca as a gentile, even though Genesis 24 makes it clear that she is Abraham's kin.[499]

4. *The Implied Ecclesiastical Frame of Tituli Poetry*

As an instance of *tituli historiarum*, Ambrose's *Disticha* is part of an ekphrastic genre of poetry describing physical or fictive images that either decorated the interiors of late antique basilicas or circulated independently as literature. In general, the poems follow the rule of irreducible complexity, using the barest details to establish the setting to free up narrative space for framing and interpretation. In this way, *tituli* may be compared to the picture-poems of Optation in the early fourth century. Indeed, Michael Squire has discussed the way in which picture-poems leave an impression of an image in like manner as verbal and visual media:

> The individual letters of the poem consequently function like the tessellated pieces of a mosaic; indeed, the very forms figured within the poems parallel the different verbal, decorative and iconic designs found in contemporary mosaics of the early fourth century.[500]

Whereas picture-poems comprise "individual letters", *tituli* poetry depict their imagery through discrete packets of information that reveal setting, plot, ideology and character. By extension, Ambrose uses space to demarcate boundaries and categories of persons. This is particularly true of gender and the clergy, where a dichotomy between domestic and public spaces reinforces his conception of women as matrons and ascetics. So too does the direct address of the clergy [*vates*]

[499] Colish (2006), 18. See: Ambrose, *Exp. Ps*. 118.2. C.f. Ambrose, *In Luc.* 6.23.
[500] Squire (2016), 187-188.

situate the audience in an ecclesiastical framing of the scenes depicted in the *tituli*. Here, space and time collide; by projecting the clergy [*vates*] as the successors to biblical heroes and by constructing scales of propriety for women, Ambrose promotes a view of episcopal expansion grounded in historical precedent.

The persuasiveness of this rhetoric may lie in two aspects of the genre, itself. First, *tituli historiarum* imply an ecclesiastical frame (however imagined) for the images described which themselves often take place in a remote past.[501] As a form of epigraphic verse, these poems take on an "intrinsically public nature."[502] Thus, *tituli* poetry may be viewed as an extension of ecclesiastical efforts to exercise authority over sacred spaces, but also to promote their own ideology through the construction of space and time. These temporal-spatial commitments hinge upon figures and personifications from scripture, especially Genesis and Luke, as well as the depicted and implied setting of the poems. While each poem prefigures or describes biblical or apocryphal events, not only do certain *tituli* directly address the collection's contemporary audience but they also elide the age of the martyrs completely. Though Ambrose neglects to mention a single martyr postdating the life of Jesus, he still positions righteous sufferers from the Old Testament as predecessors of the clergy and ascetic persons in his own day. By rendering these episodes as prefigurations of Christ's mission, as well as by directly addressing contemporary groups of Christians (the *vates*, for instance), Ambrose constructs cycles of suffering figures to support his program of episcopal expansion.

As a genre, furthermore, *tituli historiarum* take place in ecclesiastical settings, whether physically or fictitiously. Regardless of whether these images took physical form, they occupy an (imagined) ecclesiastical space. More recent studies have examined *tituli* poetry as virtual

[501] I explore this ecclesiastical frame in greater detail in chapter 5, in which I explore Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*.
[502] Trout (2016), 79.

pilgrimage literature.[503] Blake Leyerle, for instance, has noted that in the Latin West the "real city to visit is, apparently, the city of the book."[504] Still, scholars have yet to explore the secondary space occupied by *tituli* without physical context: the space in which the audience imagines itself to observe the images. That is, the focus of authors such as Simon Goldhill and Cillian O'Hagan is on the experience of the audience as it interacts with the images described, rather than the space in which the described images would have been on display – namely, an ecclesiastical space. This is unsurprising, both because *tituli historiarum* poetry is not as well studied as other forms of late antique media and because the extent to which a late antique Christian audience would have imagined itself to observe the images also has yet been examined.

Ambrose's *Disticha* contains internal reference that establish an ecclesiastical setting, which guide the audience's encounter with the poems of the *Disticha*, themselves. I have already noted that the *tituli* directly address the clergy [*vates*], but the poems also direct the readers' attention through language that invites them to envision themselves as if they were viewing an object. Verbs such as *aspice* (see!)[505] and *ecce* (behold!)[506] point the reader to elements in a pictorial narrative, transforming the reader into a virtual viewer by directing his or her implicit gaze toward pictorial elements within the ecclesiastical frame. The same may be said of the expressions *hic est,*[507] which points the viewer toward an imagined depiction of Jeremiah, and *nostri typus est.*[508]

Moreover, these poems situate their narratives in paschal, wilderness, celestial, or even maritime settings. The majority of *Disticha's* scenes take place either in the wilderness, outside

[503] Hillel (1998), 215-227; Goldhill (2012), 92-93; O'Hogan (2016), 23; Hunt (1982), 192-194.
[504] Leyerle (1996), 132. It should be noted that Leyerle is speaking specifically of Paulinus of Nola.
[505] *Dist.* 2
[506] *Dist*. 6 and 4.
[507] *Dist.* 17.
[508] *Dist.* 19.

in public spaces, or at the thresholds of domestic spaces. In her discussion of the decoration of baptismal fonts, Robin Jensen has remarked that "Bishop Eustorgius of Milan (343-350) apparently equipped the baptismal font of San Stefano with a device that simulated rain falling into the pool. These special features indicate a strong desire to conjure up an outdoor ambience within an indoor setting."[509] Jensen does not comment further upon this "strong desire", but the valences of an "outdoor ambience" in the intersection between interior church decoration and historical construction fit the situation of Ambrose's *Disticha*. While the depiction of wilderness scenes of course partially stems from the setting in which they take place, such preference for wilderness might have stood in contrast to the ecclesiastical context in which the audience interacted with the poems. Thus, Ambrose's appeal to wilderness might also constitute an appeal to a period of sacred history mediated through the physical positioning of his poetry within ecclesiastical frames.

In addition to this desire for outdoor ambiences, Ambrose's *tituli* poems portray two women at the thresholds of domestic spaces; this occurs at *Dist.* 3 with the Annunciation to Mary and Sarah at Hebron in *Dist.* 13. Moreover, Rebecca may be said to approach a new domestic space as she becomes a part of Isaac's household in *Dist.* 4, while the *matrona*'s abortive seduction attempt takes place within her own him in *Dist*. 13. Another domestic space occurs at *Dist*. 2, where John reclines upon the chest of Christ. Finally, Jeremiah appears in his mother's womb in *Dist*. 17. In her introduction to *Sacred Thresholds*, Emilie van Opstall has recently written that:

> Doorways functioned as physical passages from the profane and the sacred (and back), with thresholds demarcating boundaries in between and with doors that excluded and included. The spatial transition from the profane to the sacred was often divided into zones of gradually increasing (or decreasing) sanctity…The crossing of liminal space

[509] Jensen (2012), 380, see especially n. 27. See also: Jensen (2011), 194-195.

> brought a person into a liminal state, out of the ordinary, no longer fully part of the profane sphere and not yet part of the divine sphere. Often spatial and temporal liminality coincided, especially when the architectural space was used for rituals, such as processions. The imagery of sacred gateways, doors and thresholds was also used in a metaphorical sense to describe the preliminary phases paving the way to esoteric knowledge or preparing for a spiritual encounter with the divine.[510]

Van Opstall's observations about the liminality of the threshold, help situate Ambrose's depictions of domestic borders and spaces. In *Dist.* 3, 4, and 17, women act as hostesses to divine presence either by receiving them within their homes or within their very bodies. By extension, the lusty *matrona* corrupts the domestic space in which she appears, literally expelling the saintly Jacob from her home after falsely accusing him of sexual violence. Finally, the Last Supper scene of *Dist.* 2 not only depicts a domestic space receiving a divine presence, but also frames John's intimacy with Christ as an expression of the extent to which he has internalized the Word of God. Here, the poems' ecclesiastical frame might underscore the proximity of the viewer to the sacred in the sense of likewise passing through a physical door into a sacred space (the church itself) and discursively peering into a historical window into the sacred.

Van Opstall's remarks likewise contextualize the coinciding liminality of space and time of the threshold, in the sense that the ecclesiastical framing of the narrative episode provides a window into which the observer may view sacred history. In each case where Ambrose depicts a past event, he relegates the setting of the story behind his commentary. Exceptions to this are the Last Supper, Jeremiah's infancy, the *domina's* accusation of Joseph, Jacob's fraud, and the reception of Christ by Sarah. Apart from the Last Supper, every one of these exceptional poems takes place at the limits of a domestic space, whereas the Last Supper scene occurs within the home. The Last Supper seems to be the only one of these that exclusively depict men – perhaps due to its convivial setting. Thus, space in these *tituli* dictates interactions between genders

[510] Opstall (2020), 5.

(marriage, conception, sexual impropriety). The only woman *not* appearing in a domestic or sexual context is the hemorrhagic woman, but it may be the very malfunction of her body (explicitly linked to female menstruation) that excludes her from a traditional domestic scene. It is telling, then, that the miracle recalled in the poem sees her restored to an unmarked status via her faith in Jesus.[511]

5. *Concluding Thoughts*

The extent to which an ecclesiastical frame ensured proper reading is debatable, but it's important to remember that Ambrose was an active bishop. Not only did he instruct and baptize catechumens,[512] but he also composed the earliest extant Latin hymns,[513] installed his own epigraphic compositions into the sacred spaces of Milan and participated in the discovery and trade of martyrs' relics.[514] Given that he addresses the *vates*, his preferred term for *episcopus* and *sacerdos*, it seems to me that he already imagines a reader fully under his auspices – even ordained and instructed by him.[515] His categorization of women hints at his discourse on virginity and his efforts to create a category of consecrated virgins in Milan. Thus, I think it safe to assume a spectrum of educated – if not *ideal* – audience members. Simon Goldhill for instance, has remarked that as a form of late antique ekphrasis, *tituli* "require the focused, sublime form of attention…but also demand a knowledge that is specifically Christian."[516] As already noted, it is common that the objects or spaces described only existed in the mind of the

[511] On this, see: Levine, Amy-Jill, and Marianne Blickenstaff. *A Feminist Companion to Matthew.* Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001: 70-87; Love, Stuart L. *Jesus and Marginal Women: The Gospel of Matthew in Social-Scientific Perspective.* Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009: 113-136.
[512] Johnson (1999), 125.
[513] Dijkstra ((2016), 141); Charlet (1988), 81-82.
[514] See note 23. On Ambrose and the trade of relics, see: Thunø, 156-159; Disjkstra (2015), 142-144, 229 (n. 660); Chin (2010), 549-555.
[515] See: Gnilka (2009), 126-137.
[516] Goldhill (2012), 112.

audience, where, as Gaëlle Herbert remarks, "the image or images are, so to speak, inscribed in the text and discovered by the staging of a fictitious gaze."[517] Though speaking in reference to Prudentius' ekphrastic poetry, Herbert continues on to say that "In this process, the path of the gaze leads to an identification of the watcher and the watched. Contemplating the painting or fresco becomes a spiritual exercise made possible indefinitely by reading the poem. It is part of a temporality which is only extended by the [poem's] account…"[518] In the *tituli*, as much as in other visual media such as Roman portraiture, there is an awareness and orientation toward the viewer.[519] In my view, *tituli* poems construct "history" by emphasizing and reframing beliefs, narratives, and practices set in the past for a contemporary audience.

I therefore find that there are two types of time in *tituli* poetry: that of the narrative(s) described and that of the audience. Likewise, the genre constructs "space" in two ways: the space described, framed and interpreted through a variety of hermeneutics, and the space in which the audience interacts with the *tituli*. The audience may read the *tituli* alongside a series of physical images, in which case they are physically present in an ecclesiastical space such as a basilica or baptistry. On the other hand, many *tituli* circulated independently in the manuscript tradition, and therefore guide the audience through two types of imagined space – that of the space described, and that of the ecclesiastical space associated with *tituli* poems. This imagined, ecclesiastical space receives the least attention in the poems themselves. This is the case with Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*, where the *tituli* never reference the space in which they themselves are read.

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[517] Herbert (2013), 187: "*l'image ou les images sont pour ainsi dire inscrites dans le texte et découvertes par la mise en scène d'un regard fictif.*"
[518] Herbert (2013), 196: "*Dans ce processus, le parcours du regard entraîne une identification du regardant et du regardé. La contemplation du tableau ou de la fresque devient un exercice spirituel rendu indéfiniment possible par la lecture du poème. Elle s'inscrit dans une temporalité qui n'est que prolongée par le récit…*"
[519] Nodelman (1975), 10-20. See also Michael Squire's application of Nodelman's work ((2016), 179–240).

Significantly, Ambrose positions his audience in an ecclesiastical space by frequently addressing the audience.

In few authors may be found such an enthusiastic proponent of the notion of a triumphant Christian empire than in Prudentius (died ca. 405).[520] It is perhaps fortunate that he did not live to see the Visigothic sack of his beloved Rome in 410, an event that so dramatically challenged orthodox triumphalism that it inspired Augustine to write *City of God*.[521] Prudentius may then be seen as a relic in his own right, a fossilized perspective of an emergent Christian empire whose self-conception drew from the maintenance of its borders and the theological unity (however imagined) of the inhabitants within them.[522] Such a self-conception depended and elaborated upon pre-existing notions of triumph over persecution, namely in paradigms of endurance found in biblical and post-biblical exemplars (i.e., the saints).[523] Christian triumphalism is a special feature of Prudentius' writing. Jean-Louis Charlet once wrote of Prudentius' poetry:

> *Contra Symmachum* sings the triumph of Christianity over paganism, light over darkness, Roman civilization over barbarism, youth over age, life over death – all elements of a single battle. By becoming Christian, Rome has regenerated herself, and her triumph will be eternal. The same triumphal tone emerges when Prudentius turns to the spiritual life: the military triumph of the Virtues in the *Psychomachia*; the victory of the martyrs in the *Peristephanon*, and of orthodoxy in *Apotheosis* and *Hamartigenia*; the victory of the Cross in *Cathemerinon* 9.[524]

To assess the intersection of triumphalism, space, and history in Prudentius' poetry, this chapter explores both *Dittochaeon* and *Liber Peristephanon*.[525] Despite its popularity in Late Antiquity

[520] Though he has rivals. See, for instance, Louis Feldman's analysis of Eusebius and the *Testimonium Flavianum* in Josephus' *Antiquities* ((2011), 13-30). For the most up to date texts, see: Cunningham, M.P. *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina* (CCSL 126; Turnhout, 1966).
[521] Augustine, *City of God* 1-3. See: O'Donnell (1999), 219. Christian *apologia* for the sack of Rome may be seen in Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel* III.1; *Ibid*., *Ep.* CXXVII; Jordanes, XXX.156; Zosimus, History V.40.
[522] Humphries (2018), 74-80. See also Ambrose *Ep.* 74.
[523] Brown (1981), 71-85; *Ibid.* (2013), 72.
[524] Charlet (1988), 80.
[525] The *Dittochaeon* is variously known as *Two-Fold Nourishment*, *Double Testament*, or *Scenes from History*; *Liber Perisetpahnon* also also known as *Crown of the Martyrs*.

and in the Middle Ages, *Dittochaeon* is often overlooked by scholars of early Christianity.[526] An instance of the *tituli historiarum* genre, *Dittochaeon* envisions a complicated interplay of space, time, and experience with which the audience is asked to engage. In reading these poems, the audience embarks on an imagined journey spanning the episodes of biblical space and time. From this literary-visual form, Prudentius furthers a triumphalist view of Christian statehood embedded into a cosmological schema of alienation and reconciliation with God. Similarly, *Liber Peristephanon* is a kind of virtual pilgrimage that guides its audience through a far more recent and localized network of sacred spaces.[527] In his exploration of the Hymn to Lawrence (*Perist*. 2), Prudentius transports the audience to Rome at the hour of the saint's martyrdom. Here, the Eternal City serves as a thematic backdrop to the endurance of the saint, but also as a marker of Christianity's inroads to the empire's most prestigious and ancient civic institutions. Through the isolation of this triumphal moment, Prudentius brings the audience up to the immediate past to prove the irrevocable progress of Christianity through the empire.

1. *Dittochaeon: Framing Triumph*

I examine three features of Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*. First, the ecclesiastical framing taken for granted by the poems, themselves, but ignored in modern scholarship.[528] Second, Prudentius' periodization of human history into an age of triumph and one of decline, exemplifying a hermeneutic and structural approach to the composition of the quatrains whereby the latter couplet interprets the historical setting established by the first. Finally, I examine the discursive landscape involved in the iconographic program into which Prudentius fits his

[526] Gehl (1993), 143-144; Pillinger (1980), 5-7.
[527] Hillel (1998), 215-227; Goldhill (2012), 92-93; O'Hogan (2016), 23; Hunt (1982), 192-194.
[528] For instance, Bastiaensen totally ignores the work in his survey of Prudentian scholarship ((), 101-134.

ideological commitments about the primacy of Christians over Jews and the triumph of the saints. Just as Ambrose's *Disticha* examined in the previous chapter, Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* is also an instance of *tituli historiarum*, a poetic genre grounded in physical or imagined ecclesiastical spaces.[529] The work consists of forty-eight quatrains that describe a series of biblical scenes,[530] beginning with the temptation of Adam and Eve in Genesis I and concluding with the seven seals of Revelation 4. In *Dittochaeon*, Prudentius emphasizes and inter-relates the most salient themes, practices and beliefs to his conception of Christianity through the condensing of biblical history and its interpretation through contemporary circumstances.

Though some scholars have suggested that the poems accompanied physical images in a real church,[531] others believe that Prudentius substituted the basilica for the codex in circulating his *tituli* independently from any physical space.[532] Thomas Lehmann, for instance, has demonstrated that the clerestory of late antique basilicas would have been too small to accommodate Prudentius' *tituli*, of which there are forty-eight.[533] I find Renate Pillinger's argument that Prudentius based the imagery of *Dittochaeon* upon *tituli* picture-poems in physical churches to be persuasive;[534] however, this does not necessitate that the poet composed these *tituli* for a physical basilica – especially one that would need to fit an iconographic program of forty-eight paintings.[535] Rather, I prefer arguments in favor of a strictly literary (by which I mean manuscript) circulation, and I have two suggestions to make in favor of this reading.

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[529] See discussion in chapter 4.
[530] The forty-ninth quatrain, *Dittochaeon* 43, is absent from the early manuscript tradition and did not appear in printed editions until the 16th century.
[531] Gnilka (2009a, 125), Pillinger ((1980), 12-15) and Bernt ((1968), 30) assume that *Dittochaeon* would have been installed in a basilica.
[532] Smolek ((2015), 82), O'Hogan ((2016), 150), and Dresken-Weiland ((2018), 64) dispute this claim. For an in-depth discussion of the issue, see: Lubian (2014) 165–202.
[533] Lehmann (2010), 108-126.
[534] Pillinger (1980), 12-18, 132-133.
[535] Consider the Basilica Ambrosiana, for instance, which may have housed some 21 *tituli* poems. See chapter 4.

As I established in the previous chapter, *tituli historiarum* poetry takes for granted an ecclesiastical framing of the images described. This genre invites its readers to envision themselves as if touring the paintings of a basilica – even when wholly divorced from a physical location. This should not be surprising, given Simon Goldhill's argument that classical and late antique ekphrases normally did *not* describe physical objects but rather imagined ones.[536] By extension, a strictly literary circulation of the *tituli* would comport to the idealization of space and time readily apparent in the poems. This is true of the language Prudentius uses to direct the audience's "fictitious gaze", as Gaëlle Herbert calls it,[537] as well as the implications of space born from those verbal directions. Cillian O'Hogan has discussed the issue of whether Prudentius' *tituli* "were designed to accompany paintings," pointing to *Dittochaeon* 8 and 17:

> On the one hand, the many allegorical and deictic references [of *Ditt.* 17] would appear to lend support to the theory that the poems accompanied images… On the other hand, however, it is frequently unclear whether what is described in a given verse could indeed be depicted in a single image [such as in *Ditt.* 8].[538]

I believe the haziness of space identified by O'Hogan may be clarified by reading the *tituli* as describing imagined paintings (or similar media) within an implicit and idealized ecclesiastical frame. Prudentius' focalizing language allows the audience to imagine the scene described while at the same time emphasizing elements of setting, plot, character, or interpretation by directing the fictitious gaze toward elements of that description. Reading the *tituli* this way rectifies the apparent incongruity of space between *Dittochaeon* 8 and 17, which narrate Samson's ignition of the foxes/Philistine and God's appearance to Moses as a burning bush, respectively. Thus, *Dittochaeon* 8's imagery of Samson capturing foxes (*uulpes Samson capit*) need not be more

[536] Goldhill (2012), 91.
[537] Herbert (2013), 187.
[538] O'Hogan ((2016), 149.

grounded in physical imagery than *Dittochaeon* 17's fiery God (*inuolitans Deus*), who commands a youthful (*iuuenum*) Moses to take up the rod that eventually becomes a snake (*caput iussus uirgam; fit uipera uirga*).[539] Thus, *tituli historiarum* poetry uses for its canvas the minds of its audience, transforming the reader into an imaginative viewer.

Reading the *tituli* as commenting upon fictitious depictions likewise moves the vuewer beyond the realm of physicality and into the ideal, where an ecclesiastical framing both situates and interprets the imagery described. This provides nuance to Cillian O'Hogan's understanding of Prudentius' other work as verbal pilgrimage literature:

> The textual space in which his fame exists is, ultimately, superior to the physical world, in which [the martyr] is bounded by the tomb in which he rests. In other words, the written word, linked as it is with the kingdom of heaven, becomes divine and eternal, while the physical world is reduced to the merely transitory.[540]

If we let go the question of the "realness" of the implied basilica, we may better appreciate its function, aesthetics, socio-political position, and didactic potential. We see this in the example from Prudentius' predecessor, Zeno, whose rhetoric of edification examined in chapter 2 moves from the real to ideal with no less rhetorical potency than if his church really did lack windows "because the sun shines eternal in [Christ]."[541] Such an ecclesiastical framing of the *tituli* hints at the extent to which the church as an institution had successfully positioned itself as the mediator and facilitator of interactions with the divine,[542] not only in terms of the laity's relationship to God but also in terms of the construction of a shared history and ethics through righteous exemplars.[543]

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[539] After which point, he takes off his shoes and rushes to take Pharoah's place (*soluit uincla pedum; properat Pharaonis ad arcem*).
[540] O'Hogan (2016), 23.
[541] Zeno, *God's House* 7.
[542] Sessa (2009), 79-85; Yasin (2005), 433-434.
[543] Brown (1981), 6-12; *Ibid.* (1983), 1-25.

Structurally, such an approach enables us to examine another feature of the poems brought out by O'Hogan's juxtaposition of these two couplets: the interpretive commentary of the second stanza upon the former. In every single *titulus* of *Dittochaeon*, Prudentius establishes a biblical episode in the first stanza before interpreting it through the second, which almost always speak to contemporary circumstances. This may be seen in both *Dittochaeon* 8 and 17, where the poet explains that the incinerated foxes are in truth analogs for contemporary heresy (*uulpes nunc heresis*) and that Moses (as a precursor to Jesus) rushes to take Pharoah's place (*properat Pharaonis ad arcem*). We see from these examples that, like the *God's House* of Zeno and Ambrose's *Disticha*,[544] Prudentius is concerned with leading his audience to the proper interaction with, and interpretation of, sacred spaces and historical episodes. By positioning the imagery within the framework of an imagined basilica, moreover, Prudentius renders ecclesiastical spaces atemporal; in essence, what the frame portrays occurred in the past, but the audience constructs the frame's ecclesiastical setting with every reading of the poems. Necessarily, this ecclesiastical framing relies upon an audience whose minds have been molded by Christian (and perhaps classical) pedagogy through catechism, attendance in church or in private chapels, etc.[545] To return to the earlier analogy, the minds of the *tituli's* imaginative viewers are no blank canvases, but rather monochrome sculptures in need of color and polishing.

Although Prudentius attempts to paint a variety of positions upon his audience, this chapter examines the ways in which he grounds the relationship between Christian triumphalism and saintliness in the *tituli's* division of human history into two eras: one of decline, and one of triumph. Put another way, the poet periodizes history through humanity's alienation from or reconciliation with God, capped at either end by humanity's crossing of the

[544] See discussion in chapters 2 and 4.
[545] See Brown (1983), 1-25.

threshold of paradise – first by its expulsion from Eden, second by its entrance into heaven. This historical schema hinges upon a triumphal midpoint – the incarnation of Christ – from which point reconciliation with God becomes possible.[546] Prudentius bases these eras on Paul's division of human history into periods *sub lege* and *sub gratia*,[547] which he envisions as spanning two discrete periods of human and cosmological history.[548] Prudentius characterizes these two periods of human history by the presence or absence of Christ. The first period begins with the temptation of Adam and Eve and ends with the life of Jesus. From this point emerges a second era, one of peace and triumph, spanning Jesus' incarnation to the apocalypse. Indeed, *Dittochaeon* begins with the temptation of Eve and the expulsion of humanity from Eden:

> *Eva columba fuit tunc candida; nigra deinde / facta per anguinum malesuada fraude venenum / tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus Adam; / dat nudis ficulna draco mox tegmina victor* (*Ditt.* 1).
>
> Eve was then as white as a dove; but after having been blackened with serpentine venom by means of seductive deceit, she stained the innocent Adam with sordid stains. Soon after, the victorious snake gives them fig-leaf coverings for their nakedness.[549]

The scene Prudentius describes here constructs various dichotomies and themes, some of which are present in the source material and others which Prudentius imports from the New Testament. Prudentius weaves these themes of pollution, liquid, victory, and disobedience into the fall

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[546] Smith (2015), 121-122.

[547] See: Romans 6:14: *Peccatum enim vobis non dominabitur, non enim estis sub lege, sed sub gratia* ("For sin shall no longer be your master, because you are not under the law, but under grace"). See further: Puffer, Matthew. "Human Dignity after Augustine's 'Imago Dei': On the Sources and Uses of Two Ethical Terms." *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 37.1 (2017): 65–82; Fredriksen, Paula. "Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity from John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo." *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151-183.

[548] A related periodization of *sub lege* and *sub gratia* appeared in the Middle Ages. In his exegetical work on the Song of Songs, for example, Honorius Augustodunensis (c. 1080-1165, also known as Honorius of Autun) interpreted the work allegorically as the marriage of Christ and Church, dividing the world into four eras: *ante legem* (before the Law), *sub lege* (under the law), *sub gratia* (under grace), and *sub antichristo* (under the anti-Christ). See: Emmerson, R. "Apocalypse and/as History." In *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500–1500*. Ed. J. Jahner Steiner and E. Tyler (Cambridge University Press, 2019): 51-66; Condon, Christopher. *Sub Lege to Sub Gratia: An Iconographic Study of Van Eyck's Annunciation*. Ph.D. Thesis: Gettysburg College, 2018.

[549] Genesis 2-3. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

narrative. This sets up the beginning of the age of decline, so close on the heels of the very creation of time: humanity, once so innocent in paradise, has become alienated from God and salvation through its preoccupation with the serpent and its refusal to obey God's commands.

Prudentius develops these themes over the course of the work, framing specific moments as climactic events which usher forth new moments and eras. Prudentius' ecclesiastical framing further resembles Zeno and Ambrose in his categorization of groups of people. In *Dittochaeon*, this categorization may be seen in his fossilized notion of Jewry, in which characters in biblical episodes become atemporal relics that Prudentius uses to discuss contemporary circumstances. In the first half *Dittochaeon*, he is particularly concerned with the continued decline of humanity and the nation of Israel, which he later uses to foreshadow the coming of Christ as well as characterize Christianity as both distinct from and super to Judaism. In *Dittochaeon* 10, Moses receives the Law, yet discovers that those who wander the wastelands with him have sinned yet again in the presence of God:

> *Fumat montis apex divinis ignibus, in quo / scripta decem verbis saxorum pagina Moysi / traditur; ille suos suscepta lege revisit. / forma sed his vituli solus deus et deus aurum.*
>
> The summit of the mountain fumes with the divine fire, in which place Moses is given the stone tablets inscribed with the ten commandments. Once the Law is received, he returns to his people, but their only god is in the form of a calf, and their god is gold.[550]

Just as Adam and Eve at the beginning of time, in this passage, humanity has been given a chance at reconciliation with God through obedience to his commands. Once again, Prudentius assures the reader, humanity has failed to listen and has become enamored with a sacrilegious idol. Notable here is the elaboration upon the themes present in *Dittochaeon* 1. Humanity, now described as "Moses' people" (*ille suos*) continue to disobey God, this time through the worship

[550] Exodus 19, 32.

of precious metals.[551] Meanwhile, Moses himself becomes incorporated into Christian history as a paradigmatic figure who followed the commands of God. I elaborate on this point in my discussion of *Peristephanon*, but for now it is the contrast between Moses and the people of Israel that is at issue. Notably, Prudentius leaves out the specific identification of the golden calf with polytheistic worship, preferring instead to highlight the material that comprises the idol. This identification of disobedience and sin with a preoccupation with gold over God allows Prudentius to set up a dichotomy between things spiritual and mundane, a dichotomy integral to the framing of the martyrs and his conception of humanity's path to salvation. Prudentius construes the age of decline through anti-Jewish rhetoric and the categorization of Jewish patriarchs from the nation of Israel, the former of which he appropriates for the use of Christian triumphalism and the latter of which he uses as examples of continued sinfulness, disobedience from God, and moralizing discourse. This is the direct insertion of ideology into space and time, where Prudentius' *tituli* evoke an imagined landscape set in the distance past that he frames through an imagined space.

The second half of the work utilizes scenes from the New Testament, suggesting a division of human history from Adam and Eve to the annunciation of Mary's pregnancy, and from the birth of Christ to the resurrection. While the first era depicts many scenes of further alienation from God, such as the Israelite's preoccupation with gold over the Law, Prudentius establishes the latter epoch as one of peace and reconciliation with God. Evoking the themes of liquid and victory, reconciliation is achieved through two means: martyrdom or baptism. For

[551] I confess that I find early Christian attitudes to precious metals as sinful yet befitting of God and kings quite puzzling. On the preoccupation with gold and silver in the early church, Brenk has noted that, "The Church as an institution was not in a position to discuss or explain this matter officially. Bishops communicated in whispers. This explains the total absence of sources or voices expressing at least some embarrassment. But the embarrassment has now become ours!" ((2014), 652).

Prudentius, the latter path serves as a stand-in for all the accompanying credal, ethical and ritual commitments of fourth-century Christians. To illustrate this, Prudentius makes extensive use of liquid imagery with references to ambrosia, water and blood. The release of blood and water appears in *Dittochaeon* 42, which describes the passion of Christ:

> *Traiectus per utrumque latus laticem atque cruorem / Christus agit: sanguis victoria, lympha lavacrum est. / tunc duo discordant crucibus hinc inde latrones / contiguis: negat ille Deum, fert iste coronam.*
>
> Pierced through either side, Christ spills water and blood. The blood is victory, the water baptism. Then two thieves on crosses on either side of him disagree with one another; the one denies God, the other wins the crown.[552]

Prudentius guides the reader's interpretation of the narrative through both iconographic and textual commentary. Hence, he asserts two vehicles for salvation. First, martyrdom or, as will be shown, the intercession of the martyr on one's behalf. It is here that we see the development of witnessing Christ's divinity under duress as a salvific achievement, *per se*, that then becomes tethered to the concept of martyrdom through the reference to the crown (*coronam*).[553] Christ sacrifices himself for the sins of humanity in order than they be reunified with God, and it is the recognition or denial of Christ's divinity that thereafter divides the world into those who would be saved and those who would perish. Strengthening this position is the inclusion of the two thieves, one who fails to accept Christ and the other who departs from the world victorious. Second is baptism, which cleanses the individual of his or her sins. This scene then converses with *Dittochaeon* 1, where Adam and Eve became "blackened" (*nigra…facta*) and "stained" (*tinxit*, *maculis*) – polluting qualities that characterize their alienation from God and yet are

[552] John 19; Luke 23.
[553] Shaw (1993), 37-39.

washed away in baptismal waters.[554] Martyrdom and righteous practice (here, baptism) are the two paths to salvation open to humanity.

Prudentius emphasizes his periodization of human history by depicting the ascension of Christ to heaven. In *Dittochaeon* 44, he describes a new era of peace symbolized by the olive tree and the ambrosian liquid. Prudentius locates the place of ascension to Mount Olivet, utilizing pre-existing associations of the olive tree and ambrosia with peace and divinity:[555]

> *Montis oliviferi Christus de vertice sursum / ad Patrem rediit signans vestigia pacis./ frondibus aeternis praepinguis liquitur umor, / qui probat infusum terris de chrismate donum.*
>
> Christ returns on high to his Father from the olive-bearing mountain, stamping footprints of peace. A sumptuous fluid flows forth from the eternal branches, which proves that the gift of the ointment has been poured onto the earth.[556]

With Christ's crucifixion and ascension, the age of decline ends and the age of triumph begins. Here as in his description of David's kingship, Prudentius elaborates upon scripture by incorporating local traditions about the sacral landscape of the Roman Empire. Indeed, Ambrose claims that the aristocratic Poimenia constructed a church around Jesus' footprints on the Mount of Olives between 384 and 390.[557] Such traditions could have influenced Prudentius' understanding of the sacral landscape about which he was writing, and which was enjoying a booming pilgrimage industry during his lifetime. As a depiction of Christian history in the western Roman Empire at the turn of the fifth century, the *Dittochaeon* and the scenes which it

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[554] This passage may also converse with *Peristephanon* 2:357-384, which recalls the preoccupation of the Hebrews with the golden calf over the Law and refers to them as *inquinata* (stained). I will discuss this passage below. The cleansing nature of water occurs throughout the series. See: *Ditt.* 13, 14, 17, 22, and 33.
[555] See also *Cath*. 3.55.
[556] Acts I, 9-12.
[557] Kirk (2004), 115. In section 12 of *Ep.* 108, Ambrose references the noblewoman Paula's visit to Mount Olivet to see the place of Jesus' ascension. Section 9 further describes the pilgrimage to the holy sites of Jerusalem where she found the pillar to which Jesus had been tied and beaten while being interrogated at the palace of the high priest, Caiaphas (described in *Ditt.* 40).

accompanied may be said to take the audience on an imagined, supplemental pilgrimage to these very sites. Though out of reach to most Christians, the inclusion of these sites serves as a locus of Christian self-fashioning through which ideology becomes concrete.[558]

Prudentius' description of these sites in the *Dittochaeon* further underscores the periodization of human history by authenticating and reinforcing the cultic significance of the sites. This cultic significance itself depends upon the historical and cosmological import assigned to the very events which the sites commemorate. For instance, the significance of Stephen for the cult of saints lies in a Christian understanding of him as the first martyr.[559] Prudentius uses this temporal construction to describe the triumphal era as one characterized by the victory of the martyrs over Christianity's persecutors in *Dittochaeon* 45:

> *Primus init Stephanus mercedem sanguinis imbri/ adflictus lapidum; Christum tamen ille cruentus / inter saxa rogat ne sit lapidatio fraudi / hostibus. o primae pietas miranda coronae!*
>
> Stephen is the first to enter the reward for blood, being dashed down under a rain of stones. But while he is bleeding amid the stones, he asks Christ that the stoning may not be laid to his enemies' charge. How marvelous the love shown by the first who won the crown![560]

Following in Christ's footsteps both literally and metaphorically, Stephen is rewarded for his endurance of persecution with his ascension to heaven, just like the penitent thief in *Dittochaeon* 42. Moreover, Stephen's appeal to Christ on his persecutors' behalf simultaneously illuminates the martyr's virtuous character and highlights the intercessory position of the martyr between the divine and humankind.[561] Therefore, Prudentius carefully constructs a path to salvation through martyrdom linked by Christ's own crucifixion and consideration of the martyr's appeal, an

[558] Pullan (2010), 398-400.
[559] Bovon (2003), 288-315. On Stephen in the first century through Tertullian, see: Matthew (2010), 132-137.
[560] Acts 7.
[561] Brown (2013), 154-155.

appeal that is justified by Stephen's self-sacrificing faithfulness and characterized in triumphal language (*o primae pietas miranda coronae*). The second, triumphal era of human history concludes with the apocalypse of Revelation, which *Dittochaon* 49 envisions as the bloodied Lamb attended by a heavenly court of martyrs as he ushers in the apocalypse.

2. *Liber Peristephanon: Martyrial Facilitators, Aristocratic Christianization*

Prudentius uses not only biblical material to describe the two anthropological eras, but also post-biblical traditions about the martyrs. His work that most extensively addresses the cult of saints, the *Liber Peristephanon* (hereafter, *Peristephanon*), is not only useful in elaborating upon the eras of triumph and decline, but also in underscoring Prudentius' didactic fusion of literary and visual media through the selection and commemoration of heroic episodes. The importance of the martyrs to Prudentius' historical schema manifests in two ways: first, he uses martyr narratives as paradigmatic examples of late antique Christian piety, which he then uses to proffer a path to salvation that he conceives of as the reconciliation with God after the age of decline. Next, the triumph of the martyrs becomes emblematic for the success of Christianity and the inevitability of the apocalypse, at which point the faithful become reconciled to Christ, and Prudentius' literary activity embeds itself in both the literary and visual culture of the period as a part of the conversion of the aristocracy.

Peristephanon picks up where the *Dittochaeon* leaves off, marking a break in the conception of the recent past with the more ancient (i.e., biblical and apocryphal). Prudentius subdivides the triumphal era into the recent past (the period of the enduring martyrs, initiated by the death of Stephen) and the audience's present (the period in between the heroes and the apocalypse, typified by the Christianization of the empire). *Peristephanon* is concerned with the

interpretation of sacred spaces and the commemoration of Christianity's mythic past, though the poet largely confines its scope to martyrs of the second and third century in northern Italy and in Spain. Unlike Zeno and Ambrose, Prudentius was no bishop with a martyrial network to redesign and autograph. Rather, he was an aristocratic poet who drew upon a nascent sacral landscape that he experienced first-hand, but who also maintained correspondence with at least one bishop and who clearly associated Christianization with the construction of ecclesiastical spaces.[562] Indeed, it is over the course of the fourth century that monumental, Christian building projects began to crop up in the cities of these regions, but it as the end of this century and the beginning of the next that the building of such massive structures accelerated under the auspices of a reigning bishop, a member of the aristocracy, or the imperial family.[563] In *Dittochaeon*, Prudentius invites the audience to imagine his quatrains in the iconographic program of an idealized basilica. In the same way, the elegiacs of the *Peristephanon* guides the reader on a tour through a sacred landscape that is largely imagined, yet in the process of being built both physically and discursively.[564] For a tangible example, the *inscriptio* of Prudentius' *Peristephanon* 8 reads: "From the place in which the martyrs were buried, now a baptistry in Calahorra" (*De loco in quo martyres passi sunt nunc baptisterium est Calagorra*), suggesting that the poem was to be displayed there.[565] While one of most visually descriptive of the poems, the hymn to Cassian, does not have archaeological evidence corresponding to a cult site until the mid-fifth century.[566] This is then a nascent Christian landscape in the process of being built up in Late Antiquity.

[562] The poet addresses his hymn on the martyr, Hippolytus, to Bishop Valerianus of Calahorra (in Spain) circa 400. Valerianus had asked Prudentius to compile a record the inscriptions bearing the names of saints that he encountered while on pilgrimage from Spain to the city of Rome. See: Prudentius, *Perist.* 11; Gnilka (2013), 119-120.
[563] Mitchell, S. (2007), 333-334; Lensky ((2016), 394-395); Humphries (1999), 170-171; Salzman (2002), 209.
[564] Hershkowitz (2017), 155; Grabar (1968), 95.
[565] Cunningham (1976), 58.
[566] See: *Perist*. IX (CCSL 126; Gordini, G. "Cassiano d'Imola, santo, martire." *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 3 (1963): 909-912.

Whereas the *Dittochaeon* largely focused on Christianizing biblical figures and elaborating upon the decline of humanity up to the point of the passion of Christ and of Stephen, *Peristephanon* is almost exclusively interested in elaborating upon this triumphal age as one comprised of martyrs. Thus, in Prudentius' poetry may be found, as Elizabeth Castelli has written:

> a desire to situate contemporary readers/hearers in continuous relation to events of the distant and more recent past in which divine activity has touched human existence directly. The writer promises that the text will create an intimacy between those who suffered, those who were direct witnesses to that suffering, and those who hear or read about it all later. The writing is about bringing the reader into the event, and situating that event within a continuous historical passage.[567]

Nevertheless, imperfection features in the *Peristephanon* in two ways: first, as a personal experience on the part of the poetic narrator; second, in a generalized sense when compared to exemplary Christian behavior, which Prudentius emphasizes in the past and minimizes in the present. By making repeated comparisons between Lawrence and more ancient historical figures and events, Prudentius underscores his periodization of human history and appropriate biblical narratives.

His repetitious use of Stephen and Moses serve to frame certain narratives as precise moments in Christian history as having cosmic importance for their relationship to salvation. Obeisance then becomes paramount to reconciliation with God, while disobedience becomes the means through which the wicked lose their spiritual sight and fall into perdition. In *Peristephanon* 2, Prudentius compares the martyr Lawrence to Moses and Stephen, drawing upon the themes of sightedness, obeisance and alienation that may be found in the *Dittochaeon*. In *Peris* 2.357-384,

[567] Castelli (1995), 7.

the poet describes the torture of Lawrence by focusing his grace, rather than on the suffering of the martyr:

> *haec fante praefecto truces hinc inde tortores parant nudare amictu martyrem, vincire membra et tendere. illi os decore splenduit fulgorque circumfusus est. talem revertens legifer de monte vultum detulit, Iudaea quem plebs aureobove inquinata et decolor expavit et faciem retro detorsit inpatiens Dei. talemque et ille praetulit oris corusci gloriam Stephanus per imbrem saxeum caelos apertos intuens. inluminatum hoc eminus recens piatis fratribus, baptisma quos nuper datum Christi capaces fecerat; ast inpiorum caecitas, os oblitum noctis situ nigrante sub velamina obducta, clarum non videt, Aegyptiae plagae in modum. quae, cum tenebris barbarous damnaret, Hebraeis diem sudo exhibebat lumine.*
>
> As the prefect was speaking, the savage torturers then prepared to strip the martyr of his clothes, and to bind and stretch out his limbs. His face gleamed with grace and was encircled with light. Such was the face of the lawgiver [Moses] when he descended from the mountain, while the Jewish nation – a stained people polluted by the golden calf – became afraid, and turned its unenduring face away from God.[568] Such excellent glory did Stephen himself display on his brilliant face through the stony torrent while intent upon the uncovered heavens.[569] A long time later, this has been revealed to those newly cleansed brothers, whom baptism has recently rendered fit for the gift of Christ; yet the blindness of the wicked, face lost in the night and covered beneath a veil in blackening neglect, it does not see the brightness – just like the Egyptian plagues that, while condemning the barbarians to darkness, supplied the day with light for the Hebrews.[570]

The passage begins with expressions of power and cruelty on the part of the Roman state. Yet Prudentius practically glosses over the details of the torture and humiliation wrought upon Lawrence. Rather than cower or beg for mercy from the judge, his face gleams with a self-possessed grace. It is the image of the face (in order: *os, vultum, faciem, oris, os*) that Prudentius uses to articulate these themes of sights, obeisance, and grace in the face of adversity. It is here that Prudentius begins a series of historical comparisons, reinterpreting biblical scenes through a Christian lens and drawing on the same ecclesiastical framework and cosmic schema as in *Dittochaeon*. After establishing Lawrence's countenance, Prudentius draws an explicit

[568] Ex. 32, 34. See also *Ditto.* 10.
[569] Acts 7, 55. See also *Ditto.* 45.
[570] See also *Ditto.* 9.

comparison between the martyr and another biblical figure used in the *tituli* – Moses – using the same facial description (*talem…legifer…vultum*). *Legifer* allows Prudentius to recall Moses' role in the period of exile, as well as contrast his obeisance to God with the behavior of the Jewish people (*Iudaea…plebs*), who willfully turned their own faces away from the divine (*faciem retro detorsit inpatiens Dei*).[571] Jews become a historical artefact that Prudentius uses throughout his poetry to argue for Judaism's continued rejection of God (and Christ) and thus the supersessionary nature of Christianity. Through this lens, the event stands at a pivotal moment in human history; already exiled from Eden and yet given a second chance at reconciliation to God through the Law, humanity fails yet again to obey and, in consequence, finds themselves even further removed from God. That is, through an early Christian lens, God provided the Law to the gold-worshipping Hebrews (whom Prudentius here compares to the avaricious judge) to reconcile them to the divine, whereas Stephen followed in Christ's footsteps by being martyred. Moses, meanwhile, is one of many biblical figures that Prudentius appropriated as models for Christian piety as a righteous sufferer. Moses features for the poet as a saint in the sense of a human being who regained proximity to God through his obedience and enduring righteousness.

The next historical reference takes the audience to a more intermediate past, long after the trials of Moses but before those of Lawrence, by recalling another famous figure – this time from the New Testament. Prudentius likens Lawrence's face at the moment of his own murder to that of Stephen, whom he views as the first martyr and whose death helped to usher in a new era of peace and triumph in *Dittochaeon*. The parallelism and dramatic reversal of lightness and reconciliation is less explicit in the Stephen extract as compared to the one of Moses, but still implied by the reference to the "stony torrent" (*per imbrem saxeum*). It is somewhat ambiguous

[571] Please see note 30 for the curious paradox of early Christian perceptions of precious metals as both sinful and befitting of God.

whether Prudentius considered the stone throwers and "the Jewish nation" to be an artefact in the same way as in the Moses episode. When read alongside the rest of his work, however, I speculate that Prudentius uses the concept of a *Iudaea plebs* as a timeless, anthropological category to make generalizing, anti-Jewish claims about salvation and Christian history.[572] Moreover, the similarity of language between the *Dittochaeon* 45 and *Peristephanon* 2 in describing the saint's focus upon the heavens as he endures his execution underscores the consistent framing and interpretation of both biblical and post-biblical lore, as well as Prudentius' particular construction of history through a Christian lens.

Prudentius embeds a final historical reference within a logical digression to the present, a concept which itself is more complicated than at first glance. In this section, I discuss the complex temporality of this digression prior to its content, and then problematize the concept of the present while reading the content and framing through it. The poet establishes this forward shift in time in two ways. First, he lengthens the distance between the periods of the saints (the times of Moses, Stephen, and Lawrence) and the present through the word *eminus* ("a long time later"). Second, *inluminatum…recens* ("newly illuminated") and *baptisma…nuper* ("recently baptized") make it clear that Prudentius is speaking to the present moment; not only is he speaking to the present, but *inluminatum* and *baptisma* provide context for the activities that virtuous Christians now engage in – that is, instruction and baptism. Virtuous Christian practice then requires the formal rites of baptism and catechism, but also involves the reframing and interpretation of the past as it relates to the present. The activities of Moses must be understood through the martyrdom of Lawrence, whose death in turn only makes sense through the lens of the stoning of Stephen and, ultimately, the crucifixion of Jesus. Thus, there was the time when saints

[572] See: Boyarin, Daniel. "Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism." *JECS* 6.4 (1998): 577-627.

and martyrs were made (the past), and then there is the time when they are commemorated by those who are baptized (the present).

Prudentius restricts his critique of human sinfulness to figures from the past, to competing groups in the present, and to his own failures. In the passage above, Prudentius relies upon a moralizing discourse of faces and sightedness with a final historical comparison established by contrasting the recently illuminated/baptized with the "blindness of the wicked" (*inpiorum caecitas*).[573] In another scene included in *Dittochaeon*, Prudentius then likens the state of the *inpiorum* to the Egyptians of the Passover narrative through twist of dramatic irony: while the "blackening neglect" (*situ nigrante*) to the wicked is rather illumination to the righteous, the "Egyptian plagues" (*Aegyptiae plagae*) to some bring light to others (*diem sudo exhibebat lumine*). The poet highlights the impiety of certain groups from biblical lore while constructing a generalized group of the *inpiorum*. The passage implies that these *inpiorum* reject either baptism or this Christian framing of the past, which could extend to a variety of groups or individuals – be they Jewish, pagan or Christian. The text leaves open a range of possibilities for who could be identified among the *inpiorum*, and I would suppose that the utopic ideals of Christian triumphalism imagine a generalized and minimized non-Christian "other" as a way of acknowledging the limitations of its ideology. In so doing, Prudentius constructs a notion of perfection to which Christians may aspire but never attain. The martyrs, themselves, are relics to be venerated – the modern Christian is a baptized, venerating Christian.

While the themes of triumph and alienation reinforce Prudentius' periodization of human history, these in turn manifest in a physical and discursive landscape that he renders in visual terms. Prudentius frames the *Peristephanon* as a textual monument to the heroes of a mythic

[573] On sightedness in martyr narratives, see Castelli (1995), 2.

history that places the audience in continuity within an idealized past and apocalyptic future. His Christianity is a triumphal one in which Rome is a newly baptized city to which pilgrims travel through a network of commemorative landmarks, such as the catacombs, tombs and shrines that lined the roads to and from the city. The notions of religious landscapes, the construction of history through the lens of the cult of saints, and widespread aristocratic conversion to Christianity presents in *Peristephanon* 2.501-529. This passage occurs just after the death of the martyr at the hands of a Roman judge who condemned Lawrence after he the martyr tricked him (ll. 109-184); after being commanded to produce all the wealth of his church, he presented to the judge the "truer gold" (*aurum verius*) of the church – the poor and the lame, to whom the church's wealth went to support.[574] Enraged, the judge has Lawrence executed, after which Prudentius reframes the scene from one of judicious tragedy to one of cosmic consequence:

> *sic dimicans Laurentius / non ense praecinxit latus, / hostile sed ferrum retro / torquens in auctorem tulit. / dum daemon invictum Dei / testem lacessit proelio, / perfossus ipse concidit / et stratus aeternum iacet. / mors illa sancti martyris / mors vera templorum fuit; / tunc Vesta Palladios Lares / inpune sensit deseri. / quidquid Quiritum sueverat / orare simpuvium Numae, / Christi frequentans atria / hymnis resultat martyrem. / ipsa et senatus lumina, / quondam luperci aut flamines, / apostolorum et martyrum / exosculantur limina. / videmus inlustres domos, / sexu ex utroque nobiles, / offerre votis pignera / clarissimorum liberum. / vittatus olim pontifex / adscitur in signum crucis, / aedemque, Laurenti, tuam / Vestalis intrat Claudia*
>
> In this way, Lawrence did not parry by wielding a sword at his side, but he won by turning the enemy's iron against its owner. As the demon assailed the unconquered witness of God, he collapsed, [the demon] himself stabbed, and lay strewn out forever in ruins. This death of the sacred martyr was in truth the destruction of the temples: thereafter, Vesta sensed that her Palladian lares had been deserted with impunity; each one of the Quirites who used to beseech the sacrificial cup of Numa now resound the martyrs with hymns as he frequents the halls of Christ; even the very lights of the senate, once priests of the Lupercal or other festivals, are kissing the thresholds of the apostles and martyrs; we see illustrious houses, noble from both parents, presenting their brightest children with vows which you [Lawrence] consecrate; the high-priest who formerly wore the ritual vitta is admitted into the sign of the cross, and from the temple, Lawrence, enters a Vestal Claudia your precincts.

[574] Note the themes shared by *Peristephanon* and *Dittochaeon*, here being light, precious metals, and dramatic irony.

Earlier in the episode, Prudentius construed the persecution of the martyr as a cosmic battle between good and evil, highlighting the sinners' preoccupation with earthly materials in contrast to the saintlier attentions of Lawrence and his impoverished parishioners (ll. 53-109). At the point of Lawrence's death, the Prudentius uses dramatic irony to reverse the act of killing. It is not Lawrence who is destroyed, but the evil demon. In fact, the martyr's death is the very mechanism by which he gains immortality. Next, the poet extends this dramatic irony by qualifying the meaning of the demon's death; the demon should not only be thought of as a satanic force, but also as a metonymy for paganism as whole.

From this perspective, paganism's killing blow is ultimately rendered a suicide described through two interconnected themes: the landscape of Rome and the conversion of its aristocracy. First, Prudentius states that the death of the demon is in fact the destruction of the temples (*mors vera templorum fuit*). After revealing that it is the temples that are truly ruined, Prudentius elaborates upon this premise by citing specific examples of traditional Roman pietistic institutions that are now themselves in decline.[575] Second, Prudentius describes the decline of pagan institutions through the conversion of the aristocracy. The institutions referenced in the passage all carry associations with the elite of Rome. This merits elaboration. The Vestal college was comprised of six priestess central to Rome's civic religious practice before Gratian disendowed them and the other priestly colleges in 382.[576] The college was thought to have been founded by Numa, the mythical architect of Roman ancestral pietistic institutions, such as the festal calendar, and was one of the oldest colleges in Rome.[577] The Vestals traditionally selected

[575] On the different priesthoods of Rome and private piety, see: Bowes (2008), 22.
[576] Prudentius treats the Vestals unfavorably in *Contra Symmachum* II, 1064-132.
[577] It also housed the *Palladium*, the small wooden image of Athena-Minerva, and other cultic items. The *Palladium* thought to have been sent by Zeus to Dardanus, the mythical founder of Troy and the city to which Romans identified their own founder and protagonist of Vergil's epic, Aeneas.

new priestesses, moreover, from the children of aristocratic, patrician families.[578] Additionally, *Quirites* was the term used for the Latins and Sabines, considered the earliest inhabitants of Rome according to mythology. While *populus Romani* became the more popular expression by the end of the republic, the term *Quirites* still carried the valence of the voting citizenry of Rome (the *ius Quiritum* conferred citizenship rights to an individual). The senate, being comprised of elite men, would have served as priests throughout the year and at festivals, such as the Lupercalia (a festival connected to fertility and the foundation of Rome). The Lupercal itself was held to be the place where Rome's founding twins, Romulus and Remus, were nourished by a wolf.[579] Every one of these institutions references not only the foundation of Rome and the origins of its religious traditions, but also the earliest Roman citizens. This recalls Jacob Latham's remarks about the intersection between cultic topographies and commemoration, where:

> The heroes of the republic who were commemorated with monuments were also lionized in texts creating a complex interplay between place and narrative. The city then, staged history in a double sense: the city-scape functioned as the theater in which historical action took place, and later the city 'remembered' or 'rehearsed' that history in its statues, monuments, and even rituals… At Rome, sanctuaries and temples were not only ritually constituted spaces for the performance of ritual, but also monuments of memory and history…That is, narrative and ritual constituted Rome's landscape of memory as much as buildings and monuments, even as Roman history and Roman religion were embodied and embedded in places, buildings and monuments.[580]

Even more explicit, after highlighting these institutions, Prudentius simply states that while the "lights of the senate" (*senatus lumina)* now venerate the martyrs, Rome's "illustrious houses" (*inlustres domos*) prepare the next generation of Christians by consecrating their "brightest children" (*clarissimorum liberum*) to God. In just a few clauses, Prudentius has recalled

[578] By legend, the first Vestals were selected by Numa, himself.
[579] On the Lupercalia and elite Roman Christians, see: McLynn (2008), 151-175.
[580] Latham (2016), 25.

millennia of Roman history and elite self-identification before boldly declaring a new era of Christian triumphalism articulated through the endurance of the martyrs and the veneration of their cults on the part of the newly converted aristocracy. The triumph of the martyr and his or her veneration by the elite then becomes emblematic for the conversation of the empire and underscore the periodization of human history into two eras of triumph and decline. Prudentius concludes by returning to Lawrence, whom the poet envisions as presiding over the consecration of the next generation of Christians through the conversion of Rome's elite.

3. *Concluding Thoughts*

Prudentius was not alone in this perspective. At the other end of the empire, in Antioch, the rhetor Libanius complained about "drop-outs" at his school.[581] Similarly did Ausonius, in Bordeaux, lament the dissolution of a cherished friendship.[582] Who were these "drop-outs" and bad friends? Some were elite Christian converts such as Basil and Paulinus of Nola, who found themselves called to a new kind of civic and religious life, as Edward Watts describes:

> The significance of Paulinus' renunciation of the world is then underlined by his response to the criticisms of an older, establishment figure. Although he too was a Christian, Ausonius came to represent a member of the conventional elite who thrived by working within the bounds of the fourth-century imperial system. Paulinus then represents a new Christian order against the aristocratic ideals recognizably embodied by Ausonius.[583]

This chapter has explored Prudentius' framing and interpretation of biblical and martyrological narratives and themes embedded into the intellectual and physical landscape of the west. Prudentius grounds this relationship between history and martyrdom in the periodization of

[581] See: Watts (2015), 217-220; Libanius, *Or*. 3.27-33, 31.42. On students leaving Libanius' school, as well as the authenticity of correspondence between Basil and Libanius, see: Cribiore (2007), 94-96 (see especially nn. 84-87).
[582] See: Trout (1999), 68-89.
[583] Watts (2015), 217.

human history into two overarching era – one of decline, and one of triumph. Through the compression and framing of "history" involving anti-Jewish rhetoric and Christianization of the empire, the martyrs become paradigmatic models for the virtues, practices and beliefs. Just as the quatrains of the *Dittochaeon* were imagined as part of the iconographic program of an idealized church, the elegiacs of the *Peristephanon* guides the reader on a tour through a sacred landscape that is largely imagined, yet in the process of being built both physically and discursively.

The following and final chapter of this dissertation assesses the practical and historical commitments of Prudentius' rhetoric within a broader matrix of rituals, beliefs, and cultic production. Centered upon late fourth century Christian burial practices of the Roman west, this chapter places *Cathemerinon* 10 in conversation with a gold glass medallion discovered in the catacombs of S. Callixtus. While Prudentius' hymn proports to explain and justify contemporary Christian burial practices through the (quasi-)apocryphal book of Tobit, the gold glass medallion in question similarly utilizes the story of Tobit within a larger biblical cycle. Aside from their shared source, both pieces of evidence condense and inter-relate pre-New Testament narratives from a Christological perspective, refashioning them into historical sequences grounded in physical spaces and contemporary cultic practice. Additionally, both Prudentius and the medallion envision pathway to salvation dependent upon a precise framing of history; while *Cathemerinon* remains consistent with the two-era schema of *Dittochaeon*, the medallion likewise asserts a Christological framing of history in agreement with Prudentius' poetry. This demonstrates the extent to which triumphalism had permeated the self-conception of late fourth-century Christians across literary and funerary media, but it also supports the inroads into the middle and upper echelons of Roman society that Prudentius described in his hymn to Lawrence.

CHAPTER SIX | CATHEMERINON IN CONVERSATION:

FUNERARY DISCOURSE IN THE LATE LATIN WEST

Along the *Via Appia*, a few kilometers south of the Colosseum and the Baths of Caracalla, lies an ancient burial ground known as the Catacombs of St. Callixtus. A favorite amongst tourists and scholars, this subterranean structure boasts an impressive number of popes and martyrs whom the cemetery served as a resting place from antiquity to the Middle Ages.[584] In the walls of these and other catacombs in Rome, a sharp-eyed visitor might spot the subtle glint of gold from the medallions that the living used to commemorate the dead.[585] This chapter places a single gold glass medallion from the St. Callixtus catacombs in conversation with Prudentius' discourse on burial in *Cathemerinon* 10.[586] The emergence of an aristocratic laity in the late fourth century produced a body of Christian literature concerned with, among other matters, the place of burial and grief in salvation. Prudentius is one such layman. His *Cathemerinon* develops categories of devotional time, while its tenth hymn justifies and explains contemporary burial practice through the Book of Tobit.[587] As a cultic item originating in a sub-elite funerary context,[588] the gold glass medallion provides a material counterpart to this aristocratic literary activity, its iconography consisting of a biblical cycle that likewise makes similar use of the Tobit narrative. Reaching an apex of popularity in the late fourth century, these

[584] Indeed, this complex is also known as the "Crypt of the Popes" and has held the bodies of saints and bishops since the third century. See: Carragáin, Éamonn and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, eds. *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*. Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. (2007): 59.
[585] Whitehouse (1996), 4-12; Howells (2015), 60-66.
[586] Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, acc. no. 16.174.2. See: Vopel 1899, no. 85; Avery 1921, 172-73, fig. 2; Morey-Ferrari 1959, 72-73, no. 448; *Age of Spirituality* (1979), 430-31, no. 388; Grig 2004, 207, fig. 1. On the catacombs, see: Matthews (1990), 63, 64, 73.
[587] Jerome's Latin translation of the Book of Tobit would have been in circulation by the time Prudentius wrote *Cathemerinon*. See: Skemp (2000), 15–16; Littman, Robert, "14.1 Textual History of Tobit", in *Textual History of the Bible.* Ed. Armin Lange (2020).
[588] Deliyannis (2019), 47; Walker (2018), 130-131; Howells (2015), 60-61.

medallions were part of a broad matrix of Christian burial customs regularly practiced by the deceased's kin and occasionally targeted by their bishop's sermons. Indeed, concurrent to the rise of the gold glass medallion in funerary contexts is the emergence of episcopal rhetoric directed against traditional mortuary customs, particularly excessive displays of grief and the veneration of one's ancestors.[589] Bishops such as Augustine and Zeno of Verona typify this opposition and thus serve as useful points of comparison to Prudentius and the gold glass medallion.[590] In Parts I and II of this dissertation, I was able to place the rhetoric of Zeno and Ambrose in conversation with the archaeological record to a certain degree – largely with respect to basilicas that over which they exercised control. While Prudentius' poetry does reference physical spaces, I am interested here in elite and sub-elite expressions of private piety, here specifically referring to domestic mortuary customs.

While disruptions to the production of the gold glass medallion originate with the sack of Rome in 410, research has yet to explain why the production of such a popular cultic item failed to resume in the following decades.[591] Scholars typically focus on the disruption rather than its aftermath, crediting episcopal rhetoric as a cause of the decline and not its discontinuation.[592] It is impossible to quantify the efficacy of this rhetoric in dissuading Christians from ancestor veneration and excessive grief, not only because of the destruction of the material record over time but also because surviving commentary on the practice is largely penned by authors hostile

[589] I distinguish this episcopal opposition from classical sources that take issue with excessive emotion. See Valerie Hope's discussion of grief and masculinity in ancient Rome, which directs us to Seneca (*Ep*. 99.16; *Marc*. 7.1), Cicero (*Fam*. 9.20.3) and others ((2017), 39-70).
[590] Brown (2003), 4.
[591] Approximately 500 of these medallions survive today, residing in three major institutions: the Vatican, which houses 219 of these medallions; the British Museum, which holds 55 pieces; and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which contains 36. See further: Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, Vols. 1–3. Rome, 1864, 1867, 1877; Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome. History, decoration, inscriptions*, 3rd ed., trans. Cristina Carla Stella and Lori-Ann Touchette (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2009); Howells (2015), 3-7.
[592] Walker, "Gold-Glass", 130-131; Howells (2015), 58, 65.

to it. Bearing these limitations in mind, I suggest that episcopal discourse against ancestor veneration and excessive grieving could have played a part in the failure to resume use of the gold glass medallion, coupled with the expansion of episcopal authority over traditionally domestic rites in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. This is the conclusion I draw from a comparison of the medallion and Prudentius with rhetoric of Zeno and Augustine, who sought to situate the bishop in a position of authority over domestic rites and spaces.[593] To establish a basis of comparison, this chapter utilizes evidence from Augustine's *On the Care of the Dead* and Zeno's *Three Genera*. An analysis of the rhetoric of salvation employed in both hymn and medallion suggests that ecclesiastical discourse against ancestor veneration and excessive grief had become persuasive by the fifth century.

I view this rhetoric in terms of a conflict between public and private spheres of activity,[594] as well as a byproduct of an ecclesiastical re-conception of kinship in an increasingly Christian empire. Whereas the medallion emphasizes the salvation of a single individual within a family tomb (Fig. 7), Prudentius expands on the notion of kinship to argue that all Christians are reciprocally bound to care for one another's burial. Likewise, Augustine and Zeno position the episcopacy at the head of a novel kinship group, extending to themselves the authority to oversee rites typically reserved for the family.[595] While



Figure 7: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, acc. no. 16.174.2

[593] See discussion in Bowes, 18-20.
[594] Bowes (2008), 17-20; 217-226.
[595] Sessa (2011), 247–73.

Cath. 10 describes early Christian burial in general terms, it says nothing of the use of gold glass nor ancestor veneration. Likewise, the hymn fails to mention any negative associations of mortuary practices with ecclesiastical rhetoric. If one were to base her understanding of early Christian burial solely upon *Cathemerinon*, she would have no idea that such medallions existed, not to mention debates about ancestor veneration or displays of grief.

1. *Cathemerinon 10*

The focus of *Cathemerinon* is the organization and explication of devotional time.[596] It consists of twelve hymns divided into two categories. The first six poems refer to points in the day (the rise and fall of the sun, mealtimes, the lighting of lamps and bedtime), and the latter six address discrete events that fall within a given year (fasting, prayer and burial customs, as well as Christmas and Epiphany). *Cath.* 10 utilizes the time of burial to justify and explain contemporary Christian mortuary practices as devotional activities. It begins with God's division of spirit and matter (ll. 1-39), ascribing the quality of life to the former and death to the latter. This grounds Prudentius' justification for customary burial practices at lines 40-68, where he introduces the importance of funerary spaces in the care of the dead. The righteous sufferer, Tobit, appears in the third portion of the hymn. From lines 69-112, Prudentius treats Tobit as a model for Christian ethics, paying mind to the miraculous healing of his blindness and his care of an unknown Hebrew's corpse. Immediately following this appears a brief argument against grieving the deceased (ll. 113-148), which leads into a closing prayer on the care of the dead and the salvation of the soul (ll. 149-172).

[596] *Cathemerinon* is a transliteration from the Greek genitive plural of χαθημερινά meaning "daily matters".

Throughout the hymn, Prudentius engages with the themes of triumph, redemption, and *pietas* – a dutiful, respectful care towards the divine, the state, and especially one's parents and ancestors – toward the entombed.[597] Stefan Heid notes that:

> *Pietas* toward the ancestors had already been a fundamental aspect of traditional Roman culture, and the Christians emulated this. Their care for the dead was based in the first instance on the family as in the Roman tradition. In those cases where family connections had been disrupted as a consequence of converting to Christianity, for example with slaves, foreigners, or the persecuted, the community also became involved.[598]

We see *pietas* play an important role in *Cathemerinon*. Prudentius emphasizes the distinction between body and spirit, the performance of burial rites and the spaces those rites occur, the victory of biblical exemplars over death, and the reciprocally beneficial relationship between the living and the dead in the high path (*via ardua*) to salvation.[599] When speaking about the concern for the stranger's corpse, Prudentius explains that Christians mourn the dead under "the same law" (*lex eadem*) as if they were "under a single fate" (*sorte sub una*).[600] This law not only obliges Christians to unite in duty, but "in a stranger's death to grieve for the loss of our own kin."[601] Consequently, Christians represent a novel kinship group bound to one another by familial duty and divine law, though strangers.[602] This common law is reciprocally beneficial in that its fulfillment leads to salvation. That is, Christian kinship groups ought to bury their dead properly, not because it will appease the deceased (as in traditional ancestral cult) but because it fulfills the duty (*pietas*) set forth by God and emulate righteous exemplars of the past.

Cath. 10 begins with the premise that God created humanity by uniting two elements, one spiritual and the other material. Prudentius contrasts soul and body as living (spirit) and dying

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[597] Heid (2007), 430-431; see also: Cicero, *De inventione* 2.22.66.
[598] Heid (2007), 430.
[599] *Cath.* 10.191.
[600] Lines 65-66: *quia lex eadem monet omnes gemitum dare sorte sub una.*
[601] Line 67-68: *cognataque funera nobis aliena in morte dolere.*
[602] Bowes (2008), 10, 191; Heid (430-431), .

(matter), where God, as unifier of life and death, acts as the bond between them (ll. 1-15). At the passing of the individual, soul and body return to the elements from which they derived. Though all mundane things come to an end, God gives his followers eternal life and allows their bodies to rise again at the resurrection (ll. 15-20). Prudentius explains this process in moral terms. Although it is the soul that enjoys the quality of life, soul and body reciprocally influence one another. While soul and body return to their original states, they are drawn towards one another other to the extent that the individual was concerned with spiritual or earthly matters while alive. The body of a wicked person will create a kind of black hole, an event horizon from which the soul cannot escape as its material preoccupations drag it down to the earth. Likewise, the righteous soul will elevate the body during the resurrection and will make use of its body once again, when it crosses the threshold into Paradise (ll. 25-30).

This dichotomous relationship between the living soul and the mortal body provides the foundation on which the poet builds his claims about early Christian mortuary practices. The Christian corpse does not simply decay, but rather lies dormant until the spirit ascends to heaven at the resurrection. This upward mobility of the body substantiates the importance Prudentius places on proper burial rites, both in terms of the performance of those rites by the mourners and the spaces in which those rites occur:

> *quae pigra cadavera pridem tumulis putrefacta iacebant, volucres rapientur in auras, animas comitata priores. hinc maxima cura sepulcris inpenditur, hinc resolutos honor ultimus accipit artus et funeris ambitus ornat…quidnam sibi saxa cavata, quid pulchra volunt monumenta, nisi quod res creditur illis non mortua, sed data somno?*
>
> Dispirited corpses that have lain putrefying in their tombs for some time will be snatched up into the air in the company of their earlier souls. For this reason, the greatest care is devoted to the graves; for this reason, the body receives the highest honor, and the funeral procession enriches it…For what do these hollowed out stones and illustrious monuments

> desire for themselves, if not that something is entrusted to them that is not dead but surrendered to sleep? (*Cath.* 10.41-66).[603]

These funeral rites (*funera*) necessarily take place in tombs (*saxa cavata*) and celebrated monuments (*pulchra monumenta*), curated spaces whose significance lies in the relationship between soul and body. Without this tug-of-war between spirit and matter, funereal spaces become voids of hollow stone. Both the funeral procession and the destination to which it travels serve the body because of its connection to the soul. Prudentius states this directly when he writes that Christians take care (*pietas*) of the body "because they believe that all that are now sunk in cold slumber will presently be alive".[604] The poet emphasizes that this concern for the dead extends to strangers, which has the effect of delocalizing burial spaces and condensing the funeral rites. Whenever one discovers a stranger's corpse, the Christian "covers them with a mound of earth" and "offers in love a work of kindliness to Christ."[605] It is neither the magnitude of the procession nor the grandeur of the tomb, then, that secures the body for the coming resurrection. Rather, it is the shared sense of kinship brought about by *pietas.*

Prudentius appeals to historical precedent to support his claims by citing the Book of Tobit. For Prudentius, salvation is the reconciliation with God in an *idealized* space (heaven) through the performance of piety at *localized* spaces such as shrines, churches, hearths and cemeteries.[606] This moralistic, historical reading enables Prudentius to cite precedent for contemporary Christian practice. In *Cath.* 10, Tobit becomes a paradigmatic figure for *pietas*. Lines 69-112 utilize two episodes from the Tobit narrative, the healing of his blindness and his

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[603] The elided lines describe the preparation and preservation of the body before burial, such as the practice of covering the corpse with white linen (*candore lintea*) and myrrh (*myrrha*). All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
[604] Lines 58-60: *credens fore protinus omnia viva quae nunc gelidus sopor urget*.
[605] Lines 61-64: *qui iacta cadavera passim miserans tegit aggere terrae, opus exhibet ille benignum Christo pius omnipotenti.*
[606] On relationship between domestic and ecclesiastical Christian spaces in the city of Rome in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, see: Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values*, 61-103.

burial of a stranger's corpse. From lines 69-80, the poet sews them into a discursive quilt, juxtaposing the stranger's burial with the healing of Tobit's blindness. He then stitches the two scenes together through the thread of righteous action and divine reward, inserting a Christian ethic that justifies the burial of a stranger by the miraculous healing that results:

> *sancti sator ille Tobiae, sacer ac venerabilis heros, dapibus iam rite paratis / ius praetulit exequiarum. iam stantibus ille ministris cyathos et fercula liquit, studioque accinctus humandi fleto dedit ossa sepulcro. veniunt mox praemia caelo, pretiumque rependitur ingens; nam lumina nescia solis deus inlita felle serenat.*
>
> That father of saintly Tobias, holy and august, although his banquet had just been solemnly prepared, preferred the law of funerals. Though his servants were standing by, that man [Tobit] deserted the ladles and trays;[607] and, having been made ready with zeal, in tears he committed the bones of one needing burial to the grave. From heaven his rewards soon came, and a vast sum was measured out; for God enlightened his ignorant eyes to the sun by anointing them with gall.[608]

In the previous section, Prudentius established that *pietas* bid the Christian to consider even strangers kin, thus requiring them to perform the customary burial rites as the deceased lay dormant until the resurrection. In Prudentius' hymn, Tobit interrupts his own banquet to preside over the stranger's burial because he was a Hebrew and therefore a kinsman. The father of Tobias fulfills each aspect of *pietas* detailed in the poem: he oversees the funeral procession, buries the corpse, mourns the stranger as he would a member of his own household, and recognizes the law that unites them. Central to the message of the passion are the themes of sightedness and suffering, which in turn evoke notions of salvation and triumph over death. From lines 80-112, Prudentius plays with aspects of suffering and sightedness to underscore this point. First, God enlightens Tobit by smearing his eyes with gall as a reward (*praemia*) for fulfilling his

[607] There seems to be a kind of play on the words *cyathos et fercula liquit*, hinging on the verbs *linquere* and *liquere* and playing with the valences of liquidity, clarity and leaving. I have chosen "deserted" (*linquit*) with its gustatory connotations as an approximation of the joke.
[608] Tobit 2.

obligations.[609] The poet's sequential arrangement of these two episodes – the stranger's burial and the restoration of sight – may be read allegorically to signify that Tobit affirms this expanded kinship group and thus receives a Christianized, "spiritual" sight.[610] Prudentius then broadens the scope of his rhetoric from biblical precedent to contemporary context. Light sharpens the mind (*lux animum vexat*) of the righteous,[611] but the wicked never see the heavenly kingdom (*non ullum caelestia cernere regna*) because they remain in the dark (*nocte*).[612]

From here, Prudentius transitions to a discourse on suffering and triumph. While the wicked "bear the adversities of the world with bitter sorrow",[613] Christ's light enables "the righteous" (*iustis*) to walk a "difficult path" (*via ardua*) "to the stars" (*ad astra*).[614] The poet then emphasizes the suffering required of this route. By describing the path as *ardua* (difficult, high, lofty), he not only locates the physical space of paradise high above the earth but connotes the difficulty in reaching it as well. More explicit is his framing of suffering as the vehicle *through which* the high path opens (lines 90-91: *quod* ***per cruciamina*** *leti via panditur ardua iustis* [my emphasis]). Prudentius then uses his own experience in a mortal, aging body to assure the reader that a steep price is worth the threshold of heaven,[615] where the righteous no longer suffer but enjoy their "victorious and newly immortal flesh" (*victrix caro, iamque perennis*).[616]

Only one section remains between Prudentius' discourse on suffering and the conclusion of *Cath.* 10: a diatribe against grieving for the dead (ll. 113-148). This may come as a surprise,

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[609] Lines 77-80: *nam lumina nescia solis deus inlita felle serenat.*
[610] I am grateful to Dr. Elaine Pagels for pointing out this connection between the structural arrangement of the Tobit episodes and the notion of spiritual sightedness. We see this theme repeated in Prudentius (see *Perist.* 2.357-384, for instance), and across early Christian literature. See: Mark 9; John 4; and Acts 9.
[611] Line 84: *cum lux animum nova vexat.*
[612] Lines 85-88: *docuit quoque non prius ullum caelestia cernere regna quam nocte.*
[613] Line 88: *vulnere tristi toleraverit aspera mundi.*
[614] Lines 89-91: *mors ipsa beatior inde est, quod per cruciamina letivia panditur ardua iustis, et ad astra doloribus itur.*
[615] See lines 97-108, in which Prudentius describes his experience of bodily decline.
[616] Line 110.

considering the poet's earlier insistence that divine law commands the Christian to mourn the stranger's death as he or she would a kinsperson. One might wonder whether a prohibition against mourning conflicts with one's *pietas* toward the dead. Yet the hymn does not target the experience of grief, per se, but rather its display. Its author asks the audience to consider the implications of such a spectacle:

> *quid turba superstes inepta clangens ululamina miscet? cur tam bene condita iura luctu dolor arguit amens? iam maesta quiesce querella, lacrimas suspendite, matres: nullus sua pignera plangat, mors haec reparatio vitae est* (*Cath.* 10.113-120).
>
> Why does the mob of surviving [kin] rouse inauspicious ululations with its screeching? For what reason does senseless pain blame such well-founded law in its grief? Rest now, sad grievance; stop your tears, mothers. Pledge that no one may mourn his own [passing], for this death is the restoration of life.

Ululamina seems to be a neologism of Prudentius' invention that combines *ulula* and *mina*.[617] As with Zeno's use of *bacchatur* (*Resurrection* 13) and *ululatibus* (*Resurrection* 13) to reproach women who grieve excessively, the gendered aspects of *ululamina* can't be ignored. Ululation connotes the raving noises emitted at the rites of Bacchus, Magna Mater, funerals and in other cultic contexts. These ululations code as feminine in the late ancient world. Indeed, Margaret MacDonald has discussed the danger and power of the "hysterical woman", who became the objects of ire in a wide range of clerical discourse in late antiquity.[618]In his diachronic analysis of classical and late Roman discourse on male devotees of Cybele, Jacob Latham has shown that late antique notions of ululation associate heightened emotion, polytheistic cults, and

[617] Most simply, a *ulula* is a "screech owl", however, the word appears in two other noun forms: *ululatus* and *eiulatus*. Both connote loud noises emitted in instances of heightened emotion, either in celebration or grief. *Minas*, meanwhile, broadly refers to an evil omen or a threat. See: Rubenbauer, "ēiulātus, -ūs m." *TLL Online*, vol. 5.2 (De Gruyter, 1932): 313; *Ibid.*, "mina et mna, -ae f." *TLL Online*, vol. 8(De Gruyter, 1954): 990-991.
[618] MacDonald (1996), 109, 115-17.

feminization.[619] Thus, I suggest that Prudentius' use of *ululamina* – like Zeno's *bacchatur* – both impugned female expressions of piety and forewarned the men in his audience.

For Prudentius, it is not the experience of grief at the passing of a loved one to which he objects but the ways in which excessive grief problematizes the divine. Death, as in line 88, is for the righteous soul a release from the "adversities of the world" (*aspera mundi*) that transforms the body into a "victorious and newly immortal flesh" (*victrix caro, iamque perennis*, line 110). Prudentius assures the reader that the righteous will rise again at the right time, likening the buried corpse to a seed that, though dead when planted beneath the earth, bursts forth in shoots of green in spring.[620] This brings the audience back to the beginning of the hymn, where Prudentius established the reciprocal relationship between spirit and matter, as well as the Christian's *pietas* toward their expanded kinship group. If death is simply a waystation, then excessive displays of grief tacitly question the role of death and, by extension, in God's will. Likewise, excessive grief may cause the individual to blame the common law that unites Christians under a mutual obligation, belying the very notion of an expanded kinship group.[621] To underscore this point, Prudentius follows Zeno of Verona in singling out the bereaved mother. It seems that no one, not even those most expected to perform excessive grief, was exempt.[622]

Finally, Prudentius initiates a closing prayer that recapitulates the themes and claims of the hymn. Extending from line 125 to the end at line 172, the prayer addresses the earth, itself.[623]

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[619] Latham (2012), 116-119.
[620] Lines 121-124: *sic semina sicca virescuntiam mortua, iamque sepulta,quae reddita caespite ab imoveteres meditantur aristas*.
[621] Here, Prudentius' rhetoric mirrors that of his Veronese predecessor, Bishop Zeno, whose reign spanned the third quarter of the fourth century. Zeno similarly target excessive displays of grief, especially from mothers, because of the ways in which it problematized the resurrection. I discuss this in chapter 2.
[622] Hope (2017), 42-44.
[623] He initiates the prayer with the words, "Receive now, earth, this brother into your care…" (*nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum*, line 125).

This personifies the burial space, characterizing it as a "gentle bosom" (*gremio molli*) that will "reopen and give back" (*reddas patefacta*) the body it once held.[624] Temporally, the corpse lies in repose under the earth until the resurrection, when the righteous soul lifts it up from the world and transforms it into a heavenly body.[625] Once again, Prudentius cites biblical precedent in support of his claims, appealing to parables involving righteous sufferers and wicked men. Here, he switches to a direct address of God while returning to the themes of triumph, redemption, and duty (*pietas*). Briefly, from lines 153-156, the poet refers to Eleazar (the Lazarus of Luke 16:20), bedecked in heaven's flowers while the rich man burns.[626] Second, Prudentius exemplifies the penitent thief much as he did in *Dittochaeon*:

> *sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor, quibus atra e morte triumphans tua per vestigia mandas socium crucis ire latronem. patet ecce fidelibus ampli via lucida iam paradisi, licet et nemus illud adire, homini quod ademerat anguis.*
>
> We follow your words, Redeemer, with which you commanded the thief your companion on the cross to walk in your footsteps as you triumph over blackness and death. Behold, the honorable path to paradise opens bright before the faithful, and let them approach that grove, which the serpent stole from humanity.

In these passages, Prudentius interweaves biblical precedent with spatial imagery. The reader returns once more to the heavenly path, which lies open to those able to ascend it as Eleazar and the penitent thief did. Where Adam and Eve became alienated from God at their expulsion from Eden, humanity can now follow the footsteps of Christ and his saints along the path of righteousness toward heaven. The segment closes with lines 157-172, in which Prudentius concludes his hymn on Christian burial practices of the late fourth century:

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[624] Lines 126 and 139, respectively.
[625] See lines 141-152.
[626] Lines 155-156: *quem floribus undique saeptumdives procul aspicit ardens.*

> *illic, precor, optime ductor, famulam tibi praecipe mentem genitali in sede sacrari, quam liquerat exul et errans. nos tecta fovebimus ossa violis et fronde frequenti, titulumque et frigida saxa liquido spargemus odore*
>
> In that place, I pray, great Leader, instruct the servile mind to be consecrated to you in the birthplace of its creation, which it forsook and now wanders as an exile. We will care for our entombed bones with numerous violets and fronds, and we will sprinkle the inscriptions and the cold stones with flowing fragrance.

The connection between obedience and repentance, proper burial and faith, and triumph as reconciliation is explicit. Christ redeems the sinner who repents and thereafter obeys the will of God. The penitent thief, whom Christ beckons to follow in his footsteps, stands in for the audience as a model for salvation. Moreover, the poet conceives of salvation as the re-entry into the garden of paradise, the birthplace of humanity from which it has been exiled since the time of Adam and Eve. The care of the dead figures into this scheme of salvation by providing a devotional activity through which one fulfills divine will. God made humanity when he merged the earthly and spiritual elements, one living and one dying. Upon death, the soul reconciles itself to the spiritual element and the body to the earthly. Each element has a pull, however; preoccupation with one or the other will either lift the body up or drag the spirit down. This works in a paraenetic way, asserting that humanity should occupy itself with heavenly thoughts/actions. It also reinforces the importance of the saints, their relics, and their tombs. If God receives their souls and leaves their bodies on earth, then they bridge the divide between the two realms.[627] What is more, the veneration of the saints – here, Tobit – is yet another means by which to enact the will of God. Like fulfilling one's duty (*pietas*) toward the dead, the commemoration of pious sufferers historicizes and localizes scripture in Christian practice.

[627] Brown (1981), 2

2. *From Prudentius to Gold Glass Medallions: Tobit in Funerary Media*

The fulfillment of *pietas* toward the dead may be found not only in elite Christian poetry, but in ample funerary media. One expression of *pietas* in funerary media is the prominence of gold glass in late antique mortuary contexts, which rose to prominence in the third and fourth centuries before falling precipitously at the turn of the fifth. The particular gold glass in question is contemporaneous to Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* and also features the Tobit narrative as a part of its function in funerary contexts. This section begins by contextualizing the use and production of gold glass medallions in Rome. It then analyzes the rhetorical-aesthetic program of the biblical cycle medallion, attending to its historicizing approach to scripture, as well as the implications of space and cultic practice within its archeological and iconographic context. Its complex arrangement of aristocratic portrait, exhortation and biblical cycle imagery raises questions about the social-cultural use of these items. Here, I propose that the cessation of gold glass production in the decades after the sack of Rome as a downstream effect of two concurrent phenomenon: ecclesiastical rhetoric against traditional mortuary practices (i.e., ancestor veneration and excessive grief), and the intrusion of the episcopacy into the funerary spaces of Rome (i.e. the extramural catacombs). The final section of this chapter compares the gold glass medallion's use of Tobit with that of *Cath.* 10. It looks at the medallion's role in evincing a commonplace understanding of canonical and noncanonical narratives that comprised a late antique Christian conception of history and sacred space.

Though scholars often assume that the medallion functioned to mark the graves of the dead, Howells informs us that this was unlikely.[628] Rather, Howells argues that "The practice of

[628] Howells writes that "more recent catacomb discoveries aptly demonstrate that in undisturbed areas, items fixed to the sealing plaster of the *loculi* exist in abundance. As such, it would have been near impossible to identify easily any individual tomb from another because of the presence of a large number of highly similar items associated with each. Instances of gold glass from these contexts are no exception" (*Catalog*, 63).

decorating individual *loculi* with objects such as leaves, coins, and gold glasses may have formed a more modest substitute for the decorative programs of frescos which the areas of the catacombs reserved for people of high status and wealth" (*Ibid.*). Susan Walker adds nuance to this claim in her observation that patterns of production and consumption changed from the third to fourth century. While funerary medallions from the second and third centuries are "of an exceptional standard of craftsmanship, easily comparable with the finest painted mummy-portraits from Egypt or to portraits carved in marble," she remarks that "In contrast, many of the fourth-century Christian gold-glasses appear to have been mass-produced to a pedestrian standard rather than individually commissioned."[629] Though a popular funerary item in the late fourth century, Walker likewise informs us that "in terms of glass-making all gold-glass lies at the expensive end of the market."[630] This opposes Deliyannis' view that gold glass was "an attractive yet relatively affordable art form that could be individualized or mass-produced."[631] This discrepancy does not stem from these authors' analysis, I believe, but rather their conception of "elites" and "sub-elites".[632] What scholars do seem to agree on is that it was not the elite who made use of Rome's catacombs, but the sub-elite – those persons with sufficient means to purchase plots in the cemetery complexes, but not so wealthy as to afford private tombs or mausolea.[633]

The eternal city was a locus of production of gold glass medallions, in the broad sense of the term, though their popularity throughout the empire is evinced by their discovery in

[629] Walker (2018), 130-131.
[630] Walker, (2018), 131.
[631] Deliyannis,(2019), 47.
[632] See: Brown (2000), especially pages 331-332 and 341-345.
[633] Howells (2015), 64; Walker, "Gold-Glass", 130-131; Ferrua, A., *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art*. Florence, Geddes & Grosset (1991): 156; Cameron, A., 'Orfitus and Constantius: a note on Roman gold– glasses', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996): 299-300.

cemeteries as far as Cologne and Damascus.[634] The repetition in medallion imagery suggests that the vessels derived from only a few workshops in Rome, though the design and artistry varied.[635] This is true across religious backgrounds, as the production of gold glass media depended upon the technique employed by the workshop, not its decoration.[636] Put simply, these workshops produced Jewish, Christian, and pagan items alongside one another. This matches the situation for other media, such as mosaics and frescoes.[637] To craft the gold glass medallion, the artisan sandwiched thin sheets of gold between fine glass panes, incising inscriptions, portraits, and other imagery into the foil. The imagery is wide-ranging. Many medallions have portraits of individuals or family units, expressions of good will or exhortations, vegetal and animal motifs, celebrities (gladiators and actors), and religiously significant subjects. Like all early Christian media, gold glass medallions begin to depict overtly Christian or Jewish imagery only in the third century and later.[638] Daniel Howells informs us, too, that the imagery:

> is distinctly Roman in nature, relating directly to the artistic language and trends of popular religious thought prevalent in late 4th-century Rome…where lay people are depicted, they are invariably dressed in the manner typical of men and women from Rome rather than elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Likewise, almost every saint and martyr depicted in gold glass is specifically associated with the city, and in most instances is known to have had a popular cult in Rome in the late 4th century.[639]

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[634] For a chart of the distribution of gold glass findspots, see: Howells (2015), 54, fig. 14.
[635] Howells writes that "On this basis, three separate workshops can be envisaged for the production of brushed technique, gilt glass trail and cut and incised technique gold glasses. Minor variations in iconographic style visible between glasses produced in the same technique are seen as the result of a small number of different craftsmen working together within the same workshop. Despite the wider distributions of cut and incised and gilt glass trail technique vessels, all three workshops were almost certainly located in Rome, from where their products were disseminated" (*Catalog*, 65).
[636] Howells (2015), 57 (see especially nn. 36-39).
[637] Howells (2015), 57.
[638] Zimmermann, Norbert, "Catacomb Painting and the Rise of Christian Iconography in Funerary Art," in *The Routledge Handbook of Early Christian Art*, edited by Robin Jensen and Mark Ellison (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 21.
[639] Howells (2015), 57.



Figure 8: Tobias and the fish

Scenes and symbols from the New Testament, Hebrew Bible, apocrypha, and hagiography not only attest to the inroads that Christianity had made in late Roman society over the course of the third and fourth centuries, but also to the ideological, doctrinal, and practical commitments that Christians were negotiating at the time. Few, if any, late Rome funerary media depict whole episodes from the Tobit narrative. Instead, they condense the narrative into a single image: Tobias and the fish. The pair commonly appeared in gold glass medallions, as well as the occasional catacomb painting and sarcophagus.[640] Once part of a gold leaf and glass bowl, the medallion under examination comports to this standard depiction (Fig. 8).

The central image is a portrait of an unidentified young man above whom has been inscribed the exhortation, ZESES ("Live!", a Latin transliteration of the Greek ζήσεις). As seen in Figure 9 below, a series of scenes from scripture surrounds the central portrait. First appear the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace from Daniel 3, rendered impervious to the flames by a wand-wielding Jesus. Depicted clockwise is another such Jesus and the healing of the paralytic man, who carries his bed upon his upright back.[641] Next comes Tobias, elbow deep in a fish's mouth

[640] Examples of this are the Tobit medallions housed at the Vatican Museum. See: Morey-Ferrari, Guy. *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library*, vol. 4, plates 153-156, 448; Grüneisen, W. de, *Art chrétien primitif* (1930), no. 148; pl. XXIX. For the Book of Tobit in the catacombs and other media, see: Ferrua, A., "Scene nuova nelle pitture catacombali," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*, XXX (1958), pp. 107-116; fig. 1; De Bruyne, L., "Sarcofago cristiano con nuovi temi iconografici," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XVI (1939), pp. 247-270; figs. 1-7; Garrucci, R., *Storia della arte cristiana*, V (1879), pl. 301 (3-5). It should be noted that the sarcophagus detailed by De Bruyne dates to the early fourth century (300-332 CE).

[641] See: Mt 9:1–8, Mk 2:1–12, and Lk 5:17–26.



Figure 9: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, acc. no. 16.174.2

in search of its curative and apotropaic entrails.[642] Last in the cycle comes another wand-wielding Jesus and his miraculous transformation of seven jugs of water into wine.[643] The design of the medallion is a biblical cycle that emphasizes the themes of impermeability, resurrection, and the miracles of Christ. As a gold glass bowl, the exhortation ("Live!") couples with the viticultural and piscine imagery common in early Christian funerary media. The three Hebrews remain impervious to the flames, the paralytic man regains his mobility, and the fish's entrails both expel demons and restore sight. The image of Jesus and the three Hebrews in the fiery inferno recalls the episode from Daniel 3.24-25.[644] The inclusion of a fourth entity in the furnace whom the text describes as one with "the appearance of a god" lends itself to a Christological reading in the context of late antiquity. This is especially true when considering the martyrological interpretation of the narrative and the popularity of the three Hebrews in popular Christian culture in the fourth century.[645] Indeed,

[642] Tobit 6:1-6, 8:1-3, 11:1-15.
[643] John 2:1-12.
[644] See: Coogen, Michael, et al. (eds.). *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with The Apocrypha*, Vol. 4. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004: 1240.
[645] They appear across media, from other gold glass medallions to sarcophagi, and from sermons to poetry. For the appearance of the Three Hebrews in early Christian art, see: Dulaey, Martine. "Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise (Dn 3) dans l'interprétation symbolique de l'Église ancienne." *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 71 (1997): 33-59. See: Rome, Musei Vaticani, Biblioteca, Gold-Glass Collection (1959), p. 55; pl. XXX (321); Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, I (1967), cat. 272, 322, 332, 347; pp. 149, 162, 164, 168; pls. 57 (272), 62 (322), 64 (347).

scholarship has shown that the three Hebrews motif evoked notions of salvation and the resurrection, and that the trio become understood as martyrs in late antique Christian thought.[646]

Though the representation of Tobias in the medallion lacks a wand-wielding Christ, it remains consistent with a Christological reading in the artisan's assumption of Christ's presence at the time of the narrative.[647] The artisan depicts this through the positioning of the wand-wielding Christ in the adjacent image of the jugs at the wedding at Cana, in which Jesus is shown to be facing Tobias in the neighboring image. In every instance, Jesus points his wand toward the object of the miracle being worked, the only exception being the water-to-wine scene itself. Here, the artist has embedded Jesus amongst the jugs, yet at the same time extends his wand toward Tobias. It seems to me that, just as Jesus extends his arm from the wine to the fish, so too does the medallion envision Jesus' presence as extending through time, from the ancient past through the eschaton.[648] The medallion does not include any figures from the Apostolic era or later, but rather emphasizes figures from the ancient past. That is, the vessel arranges events from Tobit and Daniel in thematic order, reinterpreting them as examples of Christ's miracles by casting Jesus back to the time of the biblical kings. The healing of the paralytic man and the water-to-wine transformation then provides a framework with which to interpret the cycle, as the iconography links the three Hebrews and Tobias to Jesus through the consistent depiction of Christ as a wand-holding savior.

As the medallion depicts its scriptural narratives from imagery, alone, it reinforces and relies upon iconographic markers that would have been commonly recognizable to those who

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[646] See in order: Dulaey, Martine. "Les trois hebreux dans la fournaise (Dn 3) dans l'interprétation symbolique de l'église ancienne," *RevScRel* 71 (1997): 3-59; Dassmann, E. *Sündenvergebung durch Taufe, Busse und Martyrerftürbitte in den Zeugnissen frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Kunst*, Munster, 1973, 259.
[647] Tobit 6:3-6.
[648] Castelli (1995), 7.

interacted with it. This implies familiarity with scriptural narratives whose broader features could be elaborated upon, reinterpreted, and used to substantiate cultic activities. From this, one may intuit a range of themes which only narrow by the mutual reinforcement of the distinct elements of the iconography, but in concert with one another. As such, the medallion imagery serves to illustrate the historical narratives, ethical expectations, and perceptions of the afterlife maintained by those who used such items in the graves – namely, the sub-elite.[649] Through the medallions, we might glean expressions of piety outside episcopal oversight; that is, we can see attention paid to the common dead over the martyr or bishop, and we can catch a glimpse at common-place imaginings of biblical lore. Equally interesting is the comparison of these concerns with those of the clergy found in the sermons from the period, as well as other elite productions such as poetry, which I address in the remainder of this chapter.

3. *Decline of the Medallion: Rhetoric, Relocation, and Disruption*

Over the course of Late Antiquity, ecclesiastical figures sought to increase their involvement in funerary and other rituals traditionally overseen by the kinship group. Until the fifth century, Éric Rebillard informs us, clergymen did not participate in funerals unless invited by the family.[650] He adds that "Most Christians were buried in a space that not only escaped the control of the clergy but was not necessarily marked as Christian. However, the choice of a burial place could also have been a marker of Christian identity…"[651] Up through the late fourth century, then, Christian burial practices mirrored their non-Christian counterparts. Here, the

[649] Deliyannis (2019), 47; Walker (2018), 130-131; Howells (2015), 60-61.
[650] Rebillard (2012), 69.
[651] *Ibid.*

surviving kin would propitiate the dead through a series of festivals and offerings. Ramsay MacMullen summarizes traditional ancestor worship in the late ancient Mediterranean:

> The dead must be honored and kept happy because they were, in the first place, divine. Wherever it was that they continued to exist, they wanted attentions, without which the living might be made to suffer…They were all addressed as to gods on altars with sacrifices…[and] offered perfume and incense, but especially food and drink, since the occasion was always a meal. The deceased were thought to be present and content…[652]

As MacMullen explains, the dead could benefit or haunt their surviving family, obliging the living to tend to their needs beyond the grave. It is therefore unsurprising that many ecclesiastical leaders viewed the late antique cult of the dead with a flavorful blend of bitterness and distaste.[653] While ancestral cults did not garner ubiquitous animosity from the clergy, those who did oppose the practice made their sentiments known.[654]

One critic, Augustine, took an acerbic view toward the practice. As Peter Brown recalls, "In a sermon preached on 23 January 404, Augustine rejoiced that, through the reforms of Aurelius and his colleagues, the exuberant practices (the singing, the drinking and the easy mingling of the sexes in night-long vigils) associated with the shrine of Saint Cyprian - the greatest cult-site in Christian Africa - had been brought to an end."[655] Likewise, in *De cura* 18.22, Augustine argues that the living cannot know the fate of the departed soul, thus the Christian should pray on behalf of the deceased and the wider congregation rather than attempt to supplicate the dead as if they were divine. Burial, likewise, is not for the benefit of the dead,

[652] MacMullen (2014), 491-492.
[653] Non-ecclesiastical here means not in a private space of worship; the bishops exercised a degree of control over the cemeteries, but they became interested in relocating the locus of worship to their own churches after the middle of the fourth century, when received enough to build new churches within the walls.
[654] See: Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 7.16f. (PG 35.776A); Gaudentius, *Serm*. 4.14f. (PL 20.870Af.); Augustine *In ps*. 48,1.15; *Ibid.*, *Ep*. 22.
[655] Brown, (2003), 4.

but rather a tangible expression of the Christian's belief in the resurrection.[656] A generation earlier, Zeno of Verona may have sympathized with these remarks when he warned against those who would improperly venerate the dead, casting doubt upon the sincerity of the venerator and the practices associated with ancestor veneration.[657] As we recall from chapter 1, Zeno highlights those types of people who offend God in *Three Genera* 11. These include people who consult astrologers, who visit brothels, and who feast alongside stinking cadavers and worship suddenly invented martyrs. In *Three Genera*, Zeno recasts familial piety as sinful behavior derived from moral failure. Not only does he liken it to other sordid activities, but he also reads it in bad faith by skewing its practices as time spent in infamous places, excessive drinking, and the performance of sacrifices.[658] Clearly, certain clerical authorities sought to dissuade their congregations from participating in ancestor veneration. Bishops also enacted this rhetoric through their attempts to regulate the worship of the dead. This occurred through their interaction with sacred spaces, such as their problematization of private expressions of piety in domestic spaces,[659] the renovation of catacomb complexes,[660] and the relocation of sacred remains from extramural cemeteries to basilicas under their authority.[661]

Coupled with disruptions in production due to the sack of Rome in 410, the results of this kind of anti-ancestral rhetoric and the reshaping of the sacred landscape of the region may be seen in the archaeological record and, more specifically, in the subsequent decline of gold glass

[656] Augustine side-steps the thorny issue of the cult of saints in this section, emphasizing the mundane instances of mortuary practices over the exceptional. Even so, Augustine admits that the practice of burying the dead in the vicinity of the saint (*ad sanctos*) conferred some benefit. See further: Rose, Paula Johanna. *A Commentary on Augustine's De Cura Pro Mortuis Gerenda: Rhetoric in Practice*. Leiden, Brill: 2013: 557-570.
[657] Zeno, *Tract*. 1. 15(25).6f. and 11 (PL 17.364, 366).
[658] For the similar sentiments of a contemporary, see Zeno's neighbor, Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia (c. 390–410), *Tractatus* 4.
[659] Zeno of Verona, *Three Genera* 11; Bowes (2008), 2; Sessa (2009), 70-85.
[660] On Damasus and the catacombs of Rome, see: Sághy (2012), 251-67; Sághy (2000), 273-287; Trout (2003), 527.
[661] On Ambrose, see: Thunø, 156-159; Disjkstra (2015), 142-144, 229 (n. 660); Chin (2010), 549-555.

funerary markers.[662] Previous scholars have pointed to a "rhetoric of austerity" as the cause of the decline of gold glass production in Rome. As Susan Walker has remarked, "By the early fifth century CE, the church appeared to have won the arguments in favor of personal austerity: no doubt the glassmakers also lost their market to the relocation of the capital to Ravenna in 402, the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, and the consequent dispersal of many of the city's wealthier inhabitants."[663] While Walker is of course correct that the production of gold glass medallions dropped precipitously in the wake of political and military upheavals at the turn of the fifth century, I would be cautious an ascribing too much credit to this rhetoric of austerity. In the first place, the fourth century saw the rise in the resources available to the clergy, both in terms of the funds raised within the churches and the personal wealth carried into the church by the conversion and ordainment of the aristocracy.[664] Concurrent to this tide of riches came prestige items that continued to flourish past the period of late antiquity. These include silver vessels connected to liturgical rituals and political diplomacy,[665] exquisitely carved reliquaries of ivory,[666] and the gold and silver Bibles against which Jerome so scornfully complained.[667] If the bishops did intend to preach austerity, they did so under a golden glow.[668]

Rather, I point to episcopal rhetoric directed against traditional mortuary practices – not as the cause of the decline in gold glass, per se, but rather as minimizing the resumption of its production and use after the sack of Rome in 410. Gold glass medallions cannot be understood

[662] See: Walker (2017), 78–79; Rebillard (2009), 141–175.
[663] Gold glass disappear from the archaeological record at the turn of the fifth century, while the sixth century only rarely reveals the use of miniature gold glass medallions wrapped in leather bands. See: Walker (2018), 131.
[664] Rapp (2005), 172-173; Brown (2012), 50.
[665] See: Leader-Newby, Ruth. *Silver and society in late antiquity: functions and meanings of silver plate in the fourth to seventh centuries*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
[666] The Brescia Casket comes to mind.
[667] He writes: "Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted into lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels, while Christ lies at the door naked and dying" (*Ep*. 22; *NPNF2* 6:36).
[668] Brenk (2014), 652.

independently from their context as cultic items in the traditional mortuary practices of the Greco-Roman family. Coupled with disruptions in production due to Alaric's invasion, the results of this kind of anti-ancestral rhetoric and the reshaping of the sacred landscape of the region may be seen in the archaeological record and, more specifically, in the subsequent decline of gold glass funerary markers.[669] Much like excessive displays of grief, the problem of ancestor veneration lay in how it problematized notions of resurrection and divinity. Figures such as Zeno and Augustine simply could not tolerate competition between God and one's grandmother, and so looked for ways to redirect the flow of worship away from the ancestral cult and toward the cult of the martyrs. In effect, the patronization of the cult of saints on the part of "the church", expression permitted, retained devotional commitments to the dead yet transferred the priority of those commitments from traditional kinship ties (ancestors, patrons, clients, servants, etc.) towards a more universal clan. "The church" defined this community by initiation into a universal *ekklesia* with a shared understanding of its history, sacred spaces, practices and beliefs – some of which may be read on the medallions, themselves. Whatever their disagreements with one another, early Christian thinkers wrote voluminously on the church as a family unit guided by the paternal hand of the bishop.[670] This is true too of the poet, Prudentius. Within this context emerges *pietas* to the novel kinship group we see in *Cath.* 10.

What is more, bishops and the institutions they represented garnered an unprecedented amount of wealth, property, and political support over the course of the fourth century.[671] These resources they put to good use, building magnificent basilicas from Trier to Constantinople as they endeavored to realize their vision of a Christian empire. The medallions themselves, being

[669] See: Susan Walker (2017), 78–79.
[670] See: Rapp (2005), 67-126.
[671] Brown (2012), 142-147.

so strongly connected to the cult of the dead, were not a part of the picture. To be clear, it isn't that anti-ancestor rhetoric put a stop to gold glass medallions, for this would ascribe too much power to the episcopal office at the turn of the fifth century,[672] as well as read an explicit directive against the use of gold glass absent from the primary sources. Rather, I suggest that ecclesiastical rhetoric opposed to ancestor veneration, coupled with episcopal intrusions into the catacombs, hindered resumption of gold glass medallion use in burial after 410. That there was almost no revival of the medallion in Roman catacombs after this period is suggestive of this point.[673] Likewise, few gold glass items of any kind appear to have been produced in Rome The production of other elite funerary media in the years following the sack of Rome strengthens this impression. Thinking of Theodosian sarcophagi, Susan Walker observes that "individual commissions by wealthy patrons could still produce art of a high order even within a decade or two of the demise of the art of making gold-glass."[674] Her remarks recall instances of elite funerary media produced in Rome in the decades after 410. These include: the fragments of a fluted sarcophagus from the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter (c. 400-420);[675] the British Museum Passion Casket (c. 420-430);[676] and the sarcophagus whose fragments now reside at St. Victor, Marseille (c. 440-460).[677]

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[672] *Ibid*., 146; Bowes (2008), 191-196, 200-208, 217-227.
[673] One exception to this is the unpublished gold glass containing the inscription, JVSTINIANVS SEMPER AVG. Believing this to be a reference to Emperor Justinian (527-65), Vopel has suggested that gold glass production continued in Rome through the sixth century, albeit on a much smaller scale. See: H. Vopel, *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser: ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*, Freiburg I.B. & C: Leipzig, 1899.
[674] Walker, *History Gold Glass*, 137.
[675] Deichmann, Friedrich, et al. *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag (1967): 260, pl. 97 (cat. 647); Wilpert, Josef, *Sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I. Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana (1929): 80, pl. LIX (2).
[676] See: Dalton, O.M., *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum*. London, British Museum (1901): pl. VI; Maguire, H., "Depiction of Sorrow," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XXXI (1977), 134; fig. 16.
[677] See: Drocourt-Dubreuil, G., *Saint Victor de Marseille* (1989): 70-75; Benoît, F., "Reliques de Saint Césaire, archevêque d'Arles," *Cahiers archéologiques*, I (1945): 55; Smith, E., "Medieval Style in France," *Art S*tudies, II (1924): 88, 103.

4. *Early Christian Funerary Discourse: Space, Time, and Tobit*

If the narrative appears most frequently in funerary contexts at a time when intra-mural basilicas and aristocratic bishops begin to dominate late Latin cityscapes, then it stands to reason that Tobit could have been a point of contention if it were associated with ancestor veneration. Yet it did not. Whereas Prudentius certainly corresponded with the clergy, he was a lay aristocrat. Both the biblical cycle medallion and Prudentius' hymn utilize the Book of Tobit to construct a historical framework in which righteous sufferers pre-figure paths to salvation, taking for granted a base understanding of liturgical subjects within and alongside scripture. Thus, we see in the medallion a chorus of disparate events from biblical lore working in concert to direct the deceased toward salvation. This salvific discourse from biblical lore appears in *Cathemerinon*, too, where historical precedent thematically complements adjacent verse-sections that describe contemporary scenarios (e.g., Prudentius' aging body, the early Christian practice of wrapping the deceased in white linens) or quotes from scripture (usually from the Pauline epistles). The Tobit narrative reveals the temporal-spatial ideology present in literary and visual media, produced in these two instances by elites and sub-elites. This refers to conceptions of past and future, from humanity's expulsion from Eden to its ascension in the apocalypse, as well as of space. The medallion's placement in a cemetery complex substantiates Prudentius' discussion of the importance of burial grounds as temporary resting places for the dead. The historical and Christological perspective communicated by the medallion's iconography likewise comports to the poet's understanding of triumphal suffering, where the righteous endurance of suffering effects miraculous salvation. Such triumphalism appears in the historical precedents referenced by both medallion and poet, such as the Eleazar/Lazarus of Luke, the penitent thief, the three Hebrews of the fiery furnace, and the like.

This seems true given the narrative's use in substantiating early Christian burial practices. Prudentius wove the Tobit narrative into the *Cath.* 10 with the assumption that its broader contours – Tobias' angelic guide, the expulsion of the demon, and the miraculous healing of Tobit's blindness – were familiar to its audience. In so doing, he emphasized the burial of the Hebrew stranger to the exclusion of other details, including the expulsion of the demonic forces that plagued Sarah.[678] To my mind, Prudentius' poetry underlines the connection between the Book of Tobit and the burial of the dead, but perhaps disassociates it from venerating them. The poet reiterates the authority of the narrative in using it to explain contemporary Christian practice, whose significance he affirms due to his belief in the resurrection; that is, the care of the dead is of supreme importance because God has ordained that the corpse will wake from its slumber and attain a place in heaven (ll. 37-68). Not only this, but historical precedent has proved that the proper care of the dead is divinely ordained – a point which he proves by reference to Tobit's healing after his insistence that an unknown kinsman be buried (ll. 68-84). Yet Prudentius resembles Zeno of Verona when he chides those who grieve for the dead, proposing that such displays of mourning stand in opposition to the joyful expectation of the resurrection (ll. 109-124). His testimony may then be said to affirm some aspects of the cult of the dead while denouncing others, supporting the proper preparation of the deceased while critiquing any lamentations caused their absence. The poem then takes an intermediary position between celebration and defamation, remaining silent on the issue of ancestor veneration.

This intermediary position might focus the view of the gold glass medallion, for the balance between silence, celebration and defamation might also be found in the material evidence. The medallion's emphasis on salvation has already been established, its biblical cycle

[678] See: Tobit 6 and 8.

imagery highlighting miraculous instances of healing and impermeability against the backdrop of an ever-present Christ. That this cycle encircles the portrait of a man over whom is written the exhortation, "Live!", encourages both viewer and recipient to imagine the man as if he were awaiting his own salvation. Perhaps he, too, will become the recipient of miraculous intervention like the figures who surround him. What is not clear in iconography is whether the man's surviving kin venerated him as their own ancestors venerated the dead. Indeed, the medallion betrays no notion of beseeching the man, himself, and yet the use of the medallion at the grave hints at participation in the cult of the dead. Both Prudentius and the gold glass medallion trouble any straightforward notions of licit and illicit performance of piety, while the persistent emphasis on suffering figures in both poetry and funerary media only serve to further highlight the growing importance of the cult of saints at the same time as this man received proper burial rites.

5. *Concluding Thoughts*

In using the gold glass as a lens through which to read the Prudentian relationship between burial and salvation, we gain greater insight into the inroads that Christianity had made into the upper echelons of Roman society. This is particularly true when considering ecclesiastical discourse against ancestor veneration and excessive displays of grief.[679] While the gold glass medallion gained considerable popularity over the third and fourth centuries, its use declined rapidly following the sack of Rome in 410.[680] This coincides with an empire-wide drop in visual depictions of Tobias, which almost exclusively appear in funerary media.[681] This

[679] As Peter Brown writes, "The bitterest tug of war of all between secular and sacred status tended to occur at an explosive moment: in the very midst of the mourning process" ((2000), 343).
[680] Walker (2028), 131; Howells (2015), 58; Dalton (1901), 225–53.
[681] The *Index of Medieval Art* database reveals only thirteen instances of Tobit from before the eighth century, almost all of which derive from funerary contexts. These include two sarcophagi, two cubiculum frescoes, and seven gold glass medallions. Additionally, there is a single textile fragment from Akhmim, Egypt, and a now-lost mosaic

warrants examination into the connection between the Book of Tobit and early Christian burial. Preceding the decline in both medallion and Tobias is not only the rise of an elite Christian milieu, but also ecclesiastical rhetoric directed against certain mortuary customs. Although this rhetoric did not take aim at Tobit or gold glass, explicitly, preachers such as Zeno and Augustine argued against the practices of mourning and venerating the dead because of their propensity to complicate the resurrection and Christian monotheism.

Cathemerinon and the medallion differ in function, medium, and themes. The biblical cycle medallion is a tangible product embedded into a funerary space for the benefit of the deceased and his or her kinship group, a part of a much larger nebula of mortuary practices involved in ancestral cult. The hymn, meanwhile, is a literary product circulating independently without fixed location and yet whose focus is on the explication and justification of contemporary funerary practice. Whereas the artisan of the medallion utilizes directionality, thematic recall, and physical context to achieve its aims, Prudentius takes for granted *Dittochaeon's* two-era schema, discussed in the previous chapter, in his citation of biblical precedent and exegesis. The two products emphasize different elements of a larger Christian composite. Like two voices in harmony, Prudentius' hymn draws upon the themes of duty (pietas) and suffering, while the biblical cycle medallion emphasizes Christ's role in miraculous healing, transformation, and eternal life. The pair is united in the goal towards salvation through faith in Christ and performance of proper burial rites. They share a historical methodology in terms of arrangement of biblical episodes, Christological reading of scripture, and use of the

(c. 340-360) from the dome of the Santa Costanza in Rome. See: Forrer, R., *Die frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (1893): 8; pl. XV (5); Corpus, I. *L'Orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini*, 312-468 (2006), cat. 1d; pp. 72-78; figs. 22-29.

Tobit. Their rhetoric rests not only on the audience's knowledge of scripture, but also on its ability to understand the arrangement of disparate biblical and para-biblical events.

CONCLUSION

We began our examination by setting out with the intrepid pilgrim on her journey from Milan to Verona. Traveling along the *Via Gallica* in the 360s or 370s, she might have arrived at the banks of the Adige just in time for the celebration: the renovations to the old church are finally complete.[682] Giving thanks to God that she found room inside the basilica, whose congregants are already spilling out of the enlarged structure, she need not strain to hear the words of Bishop Zeno as he delivers his triumphal sermon. She listens intently as she scans the columns and the semi-circular apse, catching the glimpses of color in the mosaic pavement hidden beneath the feet of the crowd. Bishop Zeno's words invite her to imagine herself as part of the church, not just the assembly and the sacred space in which she stands, but as a part of heaven itself. Through his preaching, she envisions herself transformed into a building block of the heavenly tower, safe behind the kingdom's gates emblazoned with the sign of the cross and bedecked in precious gems and flowers.[683] To become a part of this splendor, all she need do is follow the bishop's instruction in all things moral, ritual, and belief. It is a difficult path, but she has the martyrs – her "invisible companions" – to guide her and intercede on her behalf.[684] Yet this bishop has also given her much to ponder: is her own devotion to her ancestors really an act of impiety?[685] Should she really snuff out the smoking incense she left burning for her beloved kin? And what of the shrines and tombs at which she knelt and sought guidance along the way to Verona and back, or at which she poured libations and broke bread while visiting her friends? She enjoyed herself, to be sure, but now the memory causes her unease.

[682] Zeno of Verona, *God's House* 1; Tedone and Lusuardi, 19-97; Piva, 46-47.
[683] Zeno of Verona, *God's House* 6-7.
[684] Brown (1981), 50.
[685] Zeno of Verona, *Three Genera* 10-11.

1. *Points on a Discursive Map: Dissertation in Review*

The anxieties of the intrepid pilgrim highlight the intersecting notions of space, time, and ethics that early Christians were negotiating in the Latin West at the end of the fourth century. In Part I of this dissertation, I examined the construction of space and time in the little-known Bishop Zeno of Verona (ca. 360-375), whose *Tractatus* constructs a discursive gate at the boundaries of heaven and positions the bishop as its keeper. Characterized by a civically privileged but socially humble class of clergymen, Christian leaders of the half-century between Emperor Constantine and Bishop Ambrose of Milan enjoyed the free time of men of leisure but none of their wealth or status.[686] Although they lacked the resources necessary to match the euergetism of the emperors or the aristocratic elite, these leaders nevertheless formed networks of Christian communities capable of generating social cohesion and moderate funding. This aptly describes the situation of Zeno, whose tenure as bishop fell in the two decades directly preceding the better-known Ambrose (374-397) and Prudentius (died ca. 405). In *Three Genera*, Zeno categorizes and interprets the types of sacrifices made by non-Christians, Jews, and *proper* Christians. According to Zeno, proper Christian sacrifice is superior to that of Jews, gentiles, and deviant Christians because it is not material, but spiritual. Especially noteworthy is his focus upon rituals and actions typically associated with domestic or civic spaces that fall outside episcopal supervision.

This broad spectrum includes excessive displays of grief and other mortuary customs, the ongoing sacrifice that took place in private estates, and the invention of new martyrs as an excuse for debauchery. *Three Genera* thus provides evidence for the link between piety and place, where issues of secrecy and privacy become matters of salvation. The cult of saints, being

[686] Brown (2012), 18.

associated with tangible sites of worship, loses any specificity of place. Indeed, Zeno's condemnation of martyr veneration falling outside his supervision casts light on the hazy presence of competitors who offered spiritual, moral, and ritual guidance to the people of Verona. Following this is my second piece of evidence, *Resurrection*, in which Zeno not only defends an orthodox understanding of life after the eschaton, but also expands upon the dissuasive rhetoric we see in *Three Genera*. At issue here, too, are the practices and positions that Zeno views as problematizing the resurrection and therefore salvation. As in the previous sermon, Zeno furthers his ethical points in *Resurrection* by tethering instances of impiety to the spaces in which they occur. Comparing contemporary categories to saintly paradigms from the past, Zeno emphasizes the consequences of (im)piety and identifies types of congregants in need of rebuke. Particularly offensive to Zeno are female expressions of grief and improper worship on privately held land. Through an analysis of Zeno's techniques, I argued in chapter 1 that this bishop aimed his rhetorical arsenal at the more elite members of his flock to encourage financial benefaction and submission to episcopal authority. In each case, wealth and autonomy lie at the root of Zeno's rebukes. Not only does Zeno seek to disrupt existing notions of kinship, piety, and autonomy, but he also tethers salvation to these themes by invoking history, space, and slander – history becomes paradigmatic, space becomes suspect, and slander reinforces ethics.

In chapter two, I analyzed Zeno's development of history and space through his promotion of the cult of Saint Archadius, as well as a "rhetoric of edification" seen in *God's House*. While *Archadius* testifies to Zeno's interest in establishing the cult of saints in Verona through his promotion of the Mauritanian martyr, there is a lack of spatial location of both the martyr event itself and any subsequent sites of veneration. Counter to this is Zeno's development of a historical framework that appropriates and reinterprets righteous sufferers from 2

Maccabees. When compared to the rhetoric of *Three Genera*, in which Zeno dissuades his audience from venerating new martyrs, *Archadius* suggests that he strove to shape the cultic landscape of Verona by promoting martyr veneration under his control. Likewise, Zeno's comparison of the more recent martyr Archadius to righteous sufferers from 2 Maccabees provides paradigmatic exemplars upon which the audience should model their own actions. Not only this, but Zeno takes for granted a familiarity of his audience with Eleazar and the Maccabean mother. It is possible that these righteous sufferers were popular in Verona and perhaps had a cultic presence in the city; the fact that Zeno keeps other martyrs in the dark likewise suggests competition with other Christian groups in the city. Circumstantial evidence such as the preservation of Arian sermons possibly contemporary to Zeno's office in the Capitular Library of Verona, as well as the patronization of "heretics" by consecrated virgins such as Indicia, are suggestive of this point.[687]

God's House, meanwhile, is the sermon in which Zeno deals most directly with the sacred landscape of Verona through a symbolic reading of the renovated basilica. Likewise, *God's House* betrays a tension between Zeno's expectations of his patrons and what he could reasonably demand from them, a tension he seems ready to ignore when he chastises their improper conduct in *Resurrection*. Standing out against this triumphal tone is Zeno's anxiety about the grandeur of the new church, the resources available to his congregation, and his relationship to its wealthier members (the *diuites*). Zeno emphasizes the generosity of his congregation by highlighting the goods its donations have made possible for every member to receive (such as bread and salt in 10.5). Likewise, Zeno scales back the moralizing diatribe employed against the *diuites* that we see in works such as *Resurrection*, preferring instead to

[687] See: Biblioteca Capitolare LI (49) (CLA 4.504); Turner (1911), 19-21; Everett, 62; Ambrose, *Ep.* V and VI.

praise their continued prayer and donations – actions which Zeno reinterprets as the *true* source of wealth. For these reasons, the spatial abstraction we see in *Resurrection*, *Archadius*, and *Three Genera* appears too in *God's House*. Zeno's comparisons of the new church and the congregation that built it to both the Jerusalem Temple and to luxury goods reframes the sparseness of the recently consecrated space in a positive light. At the same time, such comparisons invite the audience to reimagine itself and the church as part of a divine and glorious legacy. Zeno encourages his audience to envision the congregation as a kinship group distinct from the family unit, suggesting that Zeno's interventions sought to disrupt traditional kinship ties and private piety. In the liturgical and archaeological evidence, Zeno's promotion of the cult of Archadius seems to have lacked physical relics, just his intrusions into the private spaces of his congregation appear limited to rhetoric.

A far more extensive example of episcopal expansion through the construction and appropriate of space and time appears in the decade directly following Zeno with the office of Ambrose of Milan. In Part II of my dissertation, I explored the tenure of Ambrose (c. 374-397), utilizing literary, epigraphic, and epistolary evidence. Unlike Zeno, Ambrose (allegedly) discovered saints in divinely inspired dreams, relocated their remains to newly consecrated monuments, and assumed authority over the access to and interpretation of these spaces.[688] In chapters three and four of this dissertation, I thus examined the intersection of spatial-temporal construction and notions of righteous sufferers in Ambrose's rhetoric. In chapter three, I explored Ambrose's treatment of Saint Agnes within the context of competing spaces and cults, as well as his discourse on the construction of a community of consecrated virgins in Milan. I found that Ambrose promoted the cult of Agnes while simultaneously downplaying the cult of

[688] Zeno, *Tract.* 11; Damasus, *Epigrams* 21; Ambrose, *Ep.* 22.

Thecla through his liturgical and epigraphic activities. Through his preaching, Ambrose likewise constructed a shared sense of Christian history into which he situated contemporary categories of person, such as the consecrated virgin and the priest.

In chapter four, meanwhile, I studied Ambrose's categorization and hierarchization of biblical figures and their successors in the little-known *Disticha*. This collection of poems is an example of *tituli historiarum* poetry, in which verse pairs interpret physical or imagined depictions of (usually) biblical and apocryphal episodes, portraits of saints, or related imagery. Such interplay of time and space depends upon the reading practices of the audience, its familiarity with the content, framing and interpretation of the communicated image. If Ambrose's *Disticha* accompanied physical images, then the poems' audience would have interacted with them by visiting the Basilica Ambrosiana and thus through a tangible ecclesiastical frame. Thus, these *tituli* poems and their accompanying depictions should be considered an extension of his liturgical innovations, into which Ambrose physically embeds the same discourse on the place of the clergy and the construction of ascetic communities as in *De virginibus* and *Hymn* 8. Likewise, the physicality of these poems demands interaction with a contemporary space whose arrangement and explication of history is at once dogmatic and didactic.[689] On the other hand, the *Disticha* also circulated independently in the manuscript tradition. However divorced from the Basilica Ambrosiana these *tituli* poems may have been for audiences who interacted with them in a manuscript context, the fact that the *tituli historiarum* genre itself takes for granted an ecclesiastical setting nevertheless underscores the episcopal hierarchy implicit in their composition. Thus, even the independent circulation of *Disticha* in Juret's manuscript invites the audience to imagine itself on tour of an imagined basilica; at the

[689] See discussion in Dresken-Weiland (2018), 63-65; Bernt (1968), 71-72.

same time, these visual poems construct notions of a shared and sacred history of Christianity.[690] Regardless of the form in which the audience consumes the poems, such a framing of biblical episodes demands the presence of an ecclesiastical setting as a precursor to the history presented. Thus, Ambrose utilizes this previously overlooked aspect of the audience's interaction with *tituli* poems (previously overlooked in scholarship) to underscore the authority of ecclesiastical hierarchies.

In Part III of my project, I examined the 380s through the sack of Rome in 410 through the works of elite lay poet, Prudentius. I utilized his *Liber Peristephanon*, *Cathemerinon*, and little-studied *Dittochaeon*, along with comparative material evidence in the form of a gold glass medallion from the Catacombs of S. Callixtus. Prudentius is one of many aristocratic converts of the mid- to late-fourth century who contributed to Christian culture in much the same ways as elites had always done – by writing poetic works on the divine and on history, as well as by committing their substantial resources to the construction of public monuments.[691] As Michele Rene Salzman has put it:

> By the 380s and 390s conversion may well have appeared to many late Roman aristocrats as the best way to preserve their world. Aristocrats did have to adapt in certain ways to become Christian, but what is often missed is that Christianity also adapted as it came into contact with the aristocracy. In the interaction between Christianity and the aristocracy, well advanced by the late fourth century, the message of Christianity changed in certain ways as church leaders assimilated key components of the aristocrats' worldview and status culture.[692]

For his part, Prudentius envisioned his own time as one of aristocratic conversion to Christianity. Unlike Ambrose and Zeno before him, Prudentius does not emphasize the role of the bishop as an intermediary between the lay Christian and the divine, but rather the martyr – whose mythos

[690] See: Jerome, *Ep.* 53 (CSEL 54), *Ep.* 76 (CSEL 55); Trout (1999), 90-93; Kamimura (220), 92-106.
[691] See discussion in: Watts (2015), 149-167; Bowes (2008), 107-123; Salzman (2002), 200-220.
[692] Salzman (2002), 200.

and veneration depended in some part upon the words of the elite poet. This is perhaps because Prudentius was himself an elite layman. Whereas Zeno promoted the cult of Archadius while suppressing the cults of other martyrs, and while Ambrose physically dug relics out of the ground and laid them to rest in his own basilica, Prudentius embeds his ideological and social commitments into the landscape of the late Latin West through his poetry. Prudentius' verse can be viewed as a kind of supplementary pilgrimage literature during a time of increasing importance of the cult of saints and the growing network of shrines, churches and tombs that dotted the late Roman world and commemorated the triumphs of Christianity's heroes and heroines.[693] This celebration would go on until the sack of Rome in 410, when some of the physical spaces that reinforced such triumphalism would be razed to the ground, and the failure of the state to protect itself caused shockwaves in western Christian self-conception.

In chapter five, I argued that the late antique concern over the proper interpretation of scripture translates equally to the anxiety over visual representation. I suggest that this concern was a catalyst for the *tituli historiarum* genre itself, whatever its reagents happened to be. Therefore, I find scholarly preference for text over image to be problematic for two reasons. First, it limits the creative flexibility of artists and artisans to literalistic representations of text, where the same limitations are not applied to literary pursuits. For instance, while Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* imagines or even synthesizes precise points in scripture, *Dittochaeon* 20 has no biblical parallel but depicts David in all his kingly regalia and underscores the kingly attributes of Christ. This suggests to me that Prudentius employed the same freedom of creation in constructing this program as he did with his martyrial poems, and fused scripture with oral and

[693] Sources for discussion of pilgrimage, pilgrimage literature, and literature as supplemental pilgrimage: Van Dam, Raymond. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton University Press, 1993); Fitzgerald Johnson, Scott. *Literary Territories: Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, 2016); McNary-Zak, Bernadette. "Problematizing Women and Holy Land Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity." *Magistra* 8.2 (2002): 3-13.

imperial iconographic traditions.[694] Second, this scholarly preference for text over images maps this same preference onto late antique interactions with early Christian cultic media, be it literary or visual. In his article "Images as a Substitute for Writing", for instance, Peter Brown examines Prudentius's interaction with the shrine to the martyr Cassian at Imola described in *Peristephanon* IX.5, where the poet clasps the tomb, shed tears, and warms the altar with his lips and breath. Brown interprets the poet's behavior at the shrine thus:

> Turning to the image, Prudentius deliberately switched to a use of ekphrasis… [where] the principal effort consisted of evoking a living scene out of the unprepossessing image of the saints and his sufferings. What Prudentius did not do was sink, mindlessly, towards the image with a reverent kiss. Altogether, the poem betrays anxiety on Prudentius' part to show his readers that he had gone so far and no farther. He had conjured up an image; he had not adored it.[695]

I offer an alternative explanation. Prudentius' touching, tears, and tender embrace at Cassian's tomb communicates veneration in conjunction with evocation – that is, Prudentius' verse does indicate an emotional response characterized by adulation. I likewise draw attention to Brown's broader assessment of the function and experience of textual imagery.[696] In my interpretation the rise of the *tituli historiarum* genre is part of a trend toward increasingly hierarchized and curated spaces in visuality and textuality originate together. As Brown has elsewhere argued, the emergence of the Christian basilica and its visual media (such as the mosaics at Aquileia) is made possible by the pooled resources of the middling and elite members of congregations and their bishops. From Brenk's discussion of early Christian mosaics, the installment and imagery of mosaic pavements in church settings may have been due to the aesthetic preferences of more

[694] See: Pucci (2019), 11-12, especially nn. 21 and 28.
[695] Brown (1997), 26.
[696] Brown (1997), 26-27.

elite congregants,[697] in line with the trend outlined by Salzman of elite Christians importing their values and traditions into Christianity.[698]

The (sub-)elite and episcopal origins of both basilica imagery and the genre of *tituli historiarum* speak to this point. From the age of Constantine, on, early Christians increasingly found themselves in a position to shape the landscape around them, to control and curate sacred spaces and materials deliberately and self-consciously. Perhaps not all Christians then, as today, went to church to contemplate their relationship with the divine, but the booming pilgrimage industry, the intentionality shown in the iconography and architecture of religious spaces, and the burgeoning literary tradition of the early fourth century onward should warn scholars against a dismissal of the intellectual, inspirational and pedagogical merits of the visual culture of this period. The people of Late Antiquity, so much more than the sixth century and later, saw the landscape in which they lived change before their eyes. With the monumental projects of Constantine in view, early Christians could view the shifting landscape of the fourth and fifth century as its adversaries, while the commissioners and creatives who helped shape this landscape (both physically and discursively) intentionally wrote themselves into it. In the fourth century, a Christian landscape was not assumed but in the process of being built. We see this in the *tituli* poetry of Ambrose and Prudentius, to be sure, but also in the ekphrastic prose of Zeno of Verona. Additionally, the didactic and paraenetic features of a creative medium rely as much on the audience's attention to and engagement with that medium as it does on his or her ability to make interpretive evaluations. To make a simplistic analogy, as anyone who has ever skimmed an Ikea instruction manual should know, its furniture manuals are rendered exclusively in visual terms. The meaning is made clear by the careful arrangement of symbols and images that convey

[697] Brenk, 652-653.
[698] Salzman (2002), 200.

content, location, motion, scale and order. The audience's successful construction of a furniture item depends upon its interpretation of the artist's (Ikea's) translation of their desired meaning to a visual format. Didactic media may be verbal, but they may achieve their desired outcomes equally well when pictorial.

In the *Peristephanon*, Prudentius then embeds his rhetoric in a sacred landscape that is both tangible and imagined, literary and visual. He constructs and explores a sacred landscape aimed at replacing and surpassing the non-Christian shrines that littered the western Roman empire, at cleaning up the pollution so long down-wind of pagan seepage. As the martyrs stood between humanity and divinity, one path to achieving salvation is through the intercession of the saint, an intercessory act motivated by appropriate expressions of piety on the part of the worshipper. These include but are not limited to the burial of the dead, the veneration of the saints, and baptism. At the same time, Prudentius' predicates the difficult path to salvation (*via ardua*) upon an understanding of precise moments of human decline and triumph. Though Prudentius claims in the *Dittochaeon* that Christ ushered in an era of peace, it was hard-won; the *Peristephanon* and *Dittochaeon* are a kind of late-fourth-century creative nonfiction, virtual pilgrimages read at the time as accurately and eloquently documenting the trials of those who righteously endured.

In chapter six, I placed Prudentius' *Catherminon* 10 in conversation with both a gold glass medallion from the Catacombs of S. Callixtus. A fruitful point of comparison between the poem and medallion was their shared use of the narrative of Tobias and the fish. The Book of Tobit was, itself, the subject of deliberation, translation, and poetic composition, as we see in Jerome and Prudentius. The biblical cycle imagery presents a series of historical episodes into which Jesus' presence effects a miracle. This conforms to a western reading of Tobit as a

historical document with edifying, if not doctrinal, significance – but it also obscures any associations of Tobit with the cult of the dead. As noted, late antique depictions of Tobias decline in conjunction with that of gold glass medallions. Moreover, the only basilicas in which Tobias appears predate the late fourth century – that is, basilicas constructed by the imperial family and not the bishops. This trend underscores the shift in the loci of worship that began in the last quarter of the fourth century, as well as the growing resources and aristocratic makeup of the clergy. It and the concurrent waning of Tobias' image leave open the possibility that the Book of Tobit carried special associations with the cult of the dead. If the narrative appears in funerary contexts at a time when intra-mural basilicas and aristocratic bishops begin to appear in late Latin cityscapes, then it stands to reason that Tobit could have been a point of contention.

Yet in neither Prudentius nor the gold glass medallion may be found any explicit veneration of the dead, nor do they directly condone heightened displays of grief. Rather, both emphasize the role of Christ in salvation, justifying traditional burial practices through the fulfillment of duty (*pietas*). The limits of the persuasiveness of ecclesiastical rhetoric may then lie in the differing perspectives on kinship between medallion and hymn, articulated in part through the Book of Tobit. Whereas Prudentius proclaims that every Christian stranger is a kinsperson deserving of burial, the biblical cycle medallion's salvific imagery encircles a single individual. Though they draw dissimilar conclusions, both utilize the Book of Tobit as historical precedent in relation to burial rites owed to kin. As Prudentius occupies a place in the upper echelons of late Roman society, his *Cathemerinon* may have been read by the very same families who used gold glass medallions in the burial of their dead.

2. *Techniques of Time, Differences of Space*

All three authors utilize historical exemplars to consider contemporary circumstances, but in different ways and to different ends. Additionally, Zeno, Ambrose, and Prudentius construct categories of persons that embody their spatial-temporal constructs. On the one hand, Zeno sets contemporary categories against historical exemplars in a moralizing discourse that seeks to dissuade his audience from certain beliefs and practices. On the other hand, he praises categories of congregant for fulfilling the expectations he proscribes for each of them, respectively. While mining the past for exemplary conduct, this bishop invites his audience to envision itself in a post-apocalyptic future. Temporal construction for Zeno then allows him to define contemporary praxis and dogma, as well as extend himself in his role as bishop into the domestic/private sphere of (especially) his wealthier parishioners. Such use of past and future is similar to that of Ambrose of Milan in the following decades. Ambrose's discourse on the consecrated virgin [*virgo velata*] and the clergy [*vates*] depends upon paradigmatic exemplars whom Ambrose adapts in order to justify his construction of contemporary hierarchies and categories of person.

Like Zeno, Ambrose's rhetoric is moralizing. In his work, the martyr Agnes and historical figures (such as Joseph and Rebekah) carry ascetic and hierarchical resonances that Ambrose uses to justify the consecration of, and episcopal authority over, virgins; likewise, Ambrose's discourse identifies the clergy as the direct successors of biblical saints (such as Daniel). Both Zeno and Ambrose may then be said to utilize past and present to justify episcopal expansion, even while the latter is far more focused on asceticism than his predecessor. In the lay aristocrat, Prudentius, we may likewise see categories of historical persons used to justify and explain contemporary Christian practice. In distinction from Zeno and Ambrose, however, Prudentius does not situate the bishop (nor any other cleric) as the successor to his biblical

exemplars. Rather, the past for Prudentius stands as proof of Christianity's triumph over non-Christian forms of worship.

The three authors differ most in their consideration of space. Zeno is highly suspicious of spaces where private piety occurs, tethering place and ethics together. Likewise, Zeno celebrates the cult of Archadius and his congregation's newly renovated basilica, applauding the symbolic over the physical. Zeno's promotion of Archadius makes mention neither of cult site nor of the presence of relics, while his commendation of the new basilica praises the modesty of the building while eagerly anticipating an opulent kingdom of heaven. In championing the church over the private places of worship, as well as the bishop over the heads of the domestic household, Zeno appears to hybridize private and public domains. In Ambrose, we see a similar demarcation and hybridization of private from public space, but this demarcation circumscribes ethics along gender rather than paganism. In his ascetic discourse, Ambrose moves the consecrated virgin from one household to another, from the paternal to the episcopal; he also restricts women to domestic spaces as brides, mothers, and adulteresses, except when occupying an outlying status (the hemorrhagic woman). In Prudentius emerges a different perspective. Absent in the poet is any polemic against private space, as is any direct insertion of the bishop (or clergy) as the successors to biblical paradigms. Rather, private space is a focal point of domestic piety, where one's *pietas* toward the deceased is a direct fulfillment of divine ordinance. Still, Prudentius expands the notion of kinship in *Cathemerinon* 10, where *pietas* obliges all Christians to care for one another as they would their own family members.

All three of our authors comment directly upon space, whether physical or fictive. In *God's House*, Zeno explicitly directs this commentary toward an ekphrastic and symbolic reading of the renovated basilica. By rendering his audience a part of both the church and the

heavenly tower/kingdom, he situates the clergy as the intermediary between divine and mundane. This framing is somewhat more nuanced in Ambrose and Prudentius. In chapters four and five, I discussed the ecclesiastical framing of *Disticha* and *Dittochaeon*, a feature of *tituli historiarum* poetry unstudied in present scholarship. Yet the differing perspective on private and public space held by Ambrose and Prudentius raises a question: did Prudentius envision an episcopal church to frame the imagined depictions of his *tituli*, or did he leave open the possibility of private places of worship as the settings for their imagery? Put another way, would the elite consumers of his ekphrastic poetry imagine that their virtual pilgrimages took place at the bishop's church or their own? Such a question merits future study, but let me conclude for now by returning to the place where we began.

3. *Concluding the Journey*

It has been a decade or two since our intrepid pilgrim visited Verona. She has seen much in that time that she once might have thought impossible. Back home in Milan in the 380s, she found herself called to witness for Christ as her own bishop, Ambrose, faced down the emperor and his minions in the Basilica Portiana. Reflecting on the martyr, Agnes, she and her fellow congregants found inspiration and encouragement in the hymns they sang together as they sheltered within the church's hallowed halls. In that very same year, God visited upon her bishop a vision, and not long after she cheered on the triumphal procession that carried the newly discovered martyrs through the city and deposited them at the grand basilica where they now reside. She did not see the miracles performed at the cemetery where Ambrose recovered them, but she wondered how anyone could deny them as rumors. To that same basilica she now travels, the sacred martyrs bringing heaven so much closer to home than in the days of her youth. When

she arrives, she is greeted by a stunning series of images set with verse, and, though her reading skills are by no means superior, she can of course make sense of their meaning. In Rebekah, she sees a kinswoman, marked for salvation though a Gentile. Viewing another panel, a scornful blush spreads across her cheeks as she intuits the abortive seduction of the *matrona*, whose shamelessness causes the imprisonment of the righteous Joseph. Through these images, she is transported to a distant land in a long-ago time, when God seemed so very near.

APPENDIX A: ZENO OF VERONA, THREE GENERA OF SACRIFICES[699]

In *Three Genera,* Zeno evaluates (his view of) the types of sacrifices made by pagans, Jews, and Christians. It categorizes Christian, Jewish, pagan sacrifice as either spiritual (pious) or else material (impious), before segueing into a diatribe against certain practices that Zeno believes to be offensive to God. Zeno makes repeated appeals to scriptural precedent from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, to the Pauline epistles and the New Testament. He also utilizes corporeal metaphors, distinguishing what is made by hand from what is spoken to argue for offerings of praise (*sacrificium laudis*) over empty images (*uana figmenta*) or the blood of goats (*sanguinem hircorum*). Socially, Zeno targets the wealthier members of his congregation, whom he accuses of hypocrisy and impiety.

[1.1] In omni negotio, fratres dilectissimi, nisi quis ante personam noscat et rationem, eius non potest nosse ueritatem. Haec enim res et fecit et facit, ut Iudaeus et Iudaeo deterior Christianus dei filium deum esse non credant. Quos uellem [1.5] adesse paulisper auremque praesenti commodare lectioni, ut edicerent nobis, quinam sit deus iste, qui dicit:	In every matter, dearest brothers, unless one examines reason before the individual, it is impossible to learn the truth about himself. And this fact both is and was why the Jew, and the Christian who is worse than the Jew, do not believe that the Son of God is God. I wish those people were present for a moment and were lending their ear to the present reading, so they might tell us who that God of theirs is who says:

[699] Also known as *De triplici genere sacrificiorum* (*PHI* I.25 = *BKV* XV).

"Audi, populus meus, et loquar, Israel, et testificabor tibi, quoniam deus, deus tuus ego sum;"[700] et infra: "Meus est orbis terrae et plenitudo eius. [1.10] Numquid manducabo carnes taurorum aut sanguinem hircorum potabo? Immola deo sacrificium laudis et redde altissimo uota tua et inuoca me in tribulatione tua et eripiam te et magnificabis me."[701]	"Listen, my people, and I will speak, Israel, and testify to you: God, your God, I am." And further: "Mine is the earth and what fills it. Should I eat the meat of bulls or drink the blood of goats? Offer a sacrifice to God and offer your vows to him! And call me on the day of the tribulation, and I will save you and you will praise me."
[2.1] Si pater loquitur, fratres, quis est iste, cui tantum defert? Quis est, quem altissimum dicit, cum ipse sit solus, a quo alius altior non sit? Sin uero omni honorificentia deferentis patri uerba sunt filii, debetis agnoscere, quantis catenis [2.5] uincta tenebrarum mens laboret incredulorum.	If the Father speaks, brothers, who is he to whom he bestows so much? Who is the one whom he calls the Most High, once he is alone, over whom there is no other one higher? But truly, if all the son's words are in bestowing honor to the father, then you ought recognize how heavy the chains of unbelieving darkness are, by which the fettered mind is held.
[3.1] "Immola," inquit, "deo sacrificium laudis." Primo omnium sacrificiorum tria esse genera, nouelle, disce, Christiane, ne quo seducaris errore.	"Offer," he says, "to God a sacrifice of praise." First, new Christian, learn that there are three genera of all sacrifices, lest it be the reason you are led away in error.

[700] Ps. 47:7.
[701] Ps. 49:12-15.

Vnum est enim detestabile, alterum reprobum, tertium mundum. Detestabile est gentium, reprobum [3.5] Iudaeorum, populi Christiani mundum.	In fact, one is detestable, another rejected, and a third pure. The detestable one is of the gentiles, the rejected one is of the Jews, and the pure one is of the Christian people.
Igitur gentium sacrificium quam exsecrabile est, tam inane; colunt enim uani uana figmenta in quaslibet formas, uultus, sexus, aetates auri argentique detrimento matris limae moderato dente figurata.	Thus, the gentiles' sacrifice is as accursed as it is empty. Indeed, vain people worship empty images that have been shaped into various forms, expressions, gender, ages of gold or silver from the reduction of the source by the precise edge of the carpenter's file.
[4.1] Quae est ergo ista dementia sacrificium nescientibus procurare, lumen caecis inferre, tura non spirantibus concremare, allegare preces surdis, ab his custodiam petere, quos fur non timet inuolare? Quibus recte deus irascitur dicens: "Nolite [4.5] ambulare post deos alienos, ut seruiatis eis, et ne adoraueritis eos, ne quando incitetis me in operibus manuum uestrarum et disperdam uos."[702]	Thus, what insanity is it to perform a sacrifice for the ignorant, to shed light upon the blind, to burn incense for those who don't breathe, to say a prayer to the deaf, to seek protection from those whom a thief doesn't fear to rob? Rightly, God is angry with them, saying: "Do not go after strange gods to serve them! Do not worship them lest you do provoke me to anger with the works of your hands and I destroy you!"
[5.1] Quae autem sint ista opera manus humanae, spiritus sanctus in Psalmo	But what it is to be known by the works of human hands is explained by the Holy Spirit

[702] Jer. 25:6.

nonagesimo quinto declarat dicens: "Omnes dii gentium daemonia; dominus autem caelos fecit;"[703] et in Deuteronomio: "Sacrificauerunt daemoniis et non deo."[704]	in the 95th Psalm, when he says: "All the gods of the gentiles are demons; but the Lord made the heavens," and in Deuteronomy, "They sacrificed to demons and not God."
Ac ne [5.5] quis sacrilegium aestimaret sibi impune esse cessurum, scriptura iterum ibidem dicit: "Sacrificans diis eradicabitur, nisi domino soli."[705] Haec gentes, nisi conuertantur, manet diuina sententia,[706] quae nec deum nec sacrificium etiam ipsae cognoscunt se habere legitimum.[707]	And lest anyone believe that his sacrilege will go unpunished, thus Scripture also says: "The one sacrificing will be eradicated, unless to God alone." For these people, unless they are converted, divine decree awaits: they consider neither their God nor their sacrifice legitimate.
[6.1] Nunc Iudaeorum quoque sacrificia <a> deo repudiata cognoscite, qui dicit ad eos in Esaiae libro: "Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum uestrorum? Plenus sum holocaustomatis arietum et pinguamine agnorum. Sanguinem taurorum et hircorum [6.5] nolo; quis enim exquisiuit ista de manibus uestris?"[708]	Know now that the sacrifice of the Jews has also been rejected by God, which he said to them in the Book of Isaiah: "What do I want with the number of your victims? I am fed up with the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of lambs. I don't want bulls and goats to bleed. Who asked such things from your hands?"

[703] Ps. 95:5.
[704] Deut. 32:17.
[705] Exod. 22:20.
[706] Possible allusion to Vergil, *Aen.* I.275: *Manent immota tuorum fata tibi*.
[707] Literally, "to have legitimacy".
[708] Is. 1:11-12.

Per alium adaeque prophetam spiritus sanctus clamat et dicit: Praecingite uos et plangite, sacerdotes; lugete omnes, qui deseruitis altari, quoniam ablata est de domo dei uestri hostia et immolatio.[709] Multa sunt, quae dici possunt, sed satis otiosum est [6.10] in his demorari, quae in toto iam non sunt.	Through another prophet, the Holy Spirit also proclaims and says: "Gird yourselves and weep, priests; mourn all who serve the altar! For the food offering and sacrifice has been taken from the house of your God." There are many things that are possible to say, but it is idle enough to delay in these things which overall no longer exist.
[7.1] Vnum sane necessario proferemus exemplum, quod et Iudaei odiosum et Christiani sacrificium approbet deo gratum, apud Malachiam prophetam: "'Non est mihi uoluntas circa uos,' dicit dominus, 'et sacrificium acceptum non habeo ex [7.5] manibus uestris. Quoniam a solis ortu usque in occasum clarificatum est nomen meum apud gentes, et in omni loco odores incensi offeruntur nomini meo et sacrificium mundum, quoniam magnum est nomen meum apud gentes,' dicit dominus."[710]	Certainly, there is one example which we must bring forward, which should prove that both the sacrifice of the Jew is distasteful to God and that of the Christian is pleasing to Him, according to the prophet Malachi: "'I am not pleased with you,' says the Lord, 'and I will accept no offering from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting, my name is glorified among the gentiles, and frankincense is sacrificed to my name and in every place a pure sacrifice. For my name is great among the gentiles,' says the Lord.

[709] Joel 1:13.
[710] Mal. 1:10-11.

[8.1] “Immola deo sacrificium laudis.[711] Immola,” inquit, “deo, non daemoniis, sacrificium laudis, non uituperationis, et redde altissimo uota tua.” Honorem totum refudit in patrem, ex quo omnia. Et [8.5] “inuoca me in tribulatione tua et eripiam te”[712] dicendo ostendit, quoniam per se omnia prosecutus est.	‘Offer to God a sacrifice of praise! Offer,” he says, “to God, no to demons, a sacrifice of praise, not of censure, and fulfill your vow to the Most High [God].” He pours back every honor into the Father, out of whom [pours] everything. And by saying, “Call upon me in your distress and I will rescue you,” he demonstrates that everything is accomplished through him.
“Et magnificabis me;” [713] quod dictum, fratres, non sic debetis accipere, ut operis sui laudem sibimet soli deberi testatus sit, qui in euangelio dicit: “Si non facio facta patris, nolite mihi credere; sed si mihi credere [8.10] non uultis, factis credite et cognoscite, quoniam in me est pater et ego in illo,”[714]	And “You will extol me,” which phrase, brothers, you should not understand so that he testifies that the praise for his works is owed to him alone, who says in the Gospel: “If I am not doing the works of my Father, then do not believe me. But if I am doing them, even though you do not believe me, believe the works themselves, so that you may know and understand that the Father is in me, and I am in the Father.”

[711] See: Hebrews 13:15.
[712] Ps. 50:15?
[713] Ps. 40:23
[714] John 10:37-38.

dictum significatione unica maiestatis et affectu indiuiduo pietatis, quia laus filii est patris et laus patris amborum.	The phrase is about the unique sign of majesty and the indivisible disposition of piety, because the praise of the son is praise of the father and the praise of the father is the praise of both.
[9.1] Nunc sacrificii nostri proprietatem nos conuenit nosse, quae facile ex aduerso cognoscitur. Nam si diis corporalibus sacrificium conuenit corporale, utique et spiritali deo sacrificium est necessarium spiritale; quod non ex sacculo, sed ex corde [9.5] profertur;[715] quod non bromosis[716] pecudibus, sed suauissimis moribus comparatur; quod non cruentis manibus, sed sensibus mundis offertur; quod non iugulatur ut pereat, sed, sicut Isaac, immolatur ut uiuat, apostolo hortante nos Paulo, cuius ista sunt uerba: "Exhibete corpora uestra hostiam uiuam, [9.10] sanctam, placentem deo."[717]	Now it is right that we examine the special character of our sacrifice, which is easily discerned from the opposite: for if a corporeal sacrifice is suitable for corporeal gods, certainly a spiritual sacrifice is necessary for a spiritual god, as well, because it does not come from the wallet but the heart, because it is not provided by stinking sheep but the most gratifying customs, because it is not offered by bloodied hands but by clean senses, because it is not killed so that it may perish but, like Isaac, sacrificed so that he may live, as Paul exhorts us in these very words: "offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God."

[715] Compare to Lactantius, *Instit*. *epitome* c. 53 (= *CPL* 86).
[716] Compare to Gaudentius, *In exod.* 2 [*Tract*. 2 *De paschae observatione*].
[717] Rom. 12:1.

Hoc enim placitum est domino, ubi se ipsum candidus animus immolauerit domino; cetera autem nihil proderunt, si colentis pura mens non sit, in Ecclesiastico Salomone clamante: "Dona iniquorum non probat altissimus."[718]	This indeed pleases God, when a pure soul sacrifices itself to the Lord, while for the rest nothing is advantageous if the mind of the worshipper is not pure, as Solomon says in Ecclesiastes: "The Most High does not accept the gifts of the unjust."
[10.1] Hic quaerite, Christiani, sacrificium uestrum an esse possit acceptum, qui uicinarum possessionum omnes glebulas, lapillos et surculos nostis, in praediis autem uestris fumantia undique sola fana non nostis, quae, si uera dicenda [10.5] sunt,[719] dissimulando subtiliter custoditis.[720] Probatio longe non est. Ius templorum[721] ne quis uobis eripiat, cotidie litigatis.	Now ask yourselves, Christians, whether your sacrifice is capable of being accepted, you who know every parcel of your neighbor's property, all the little pebbles and sprouts, but you know nothing about the lonely shrines smoking everywhere on your estates, which, if truth be told, you protect by feigning ignorance. The proof is not far off: you litigate every day lest someone wrest ius templorum from you.
[11.1] Non hi solum, qui tales sunt, displicent deo, sed et illi, qui per sepulcra discurrunt, qui foetorosis prandia cadaueribus sacrificant mortuorum,[722] qui amore luxuriandi atque	Not only do these people displease God, but also: those who roam about tombs, who sacrifice meals to the rancid cadavers of the dead; who from lust of basking and imbibing

[718] Sir. 34:23.
[719] Compare to Gaudentius, *Tract*. 13.28.
[720] The BKV notes that Zeno presupposes a ban on temples and sacrifices, such as those issued in 354 and 356. See: *Ibid.* 181, n. 1; *C. Just.* I, 11, 1; *C. Th.* XVI, 10, 6. C.f. Gaudentius, *Sermo* XIII.
[721] In Zeno and Ambrose, *ius templorum* refers to land and privileges enjoyed by temples. See: Cameron, *Last Pagans of Rome*, 43-45.
[722] On hostility to ancestor veneration (in Augustine), see: Markus, *End of Ancient Christianity*, 33-35, 109-121.

bibendi in infamibus locis lagenis et calicibus subito sibi martyres [11.5] pepererunt,[723] qui dies obseruant, qui Aegyptiacos de candidis faciunt,[724] qui auguria captant salutemque suam pecudum uiolenter scissis in uentribus quaerunt, qui coniugale exasperant iugum affectuque[725] calcato subditiciis personis, ut obumbrent furta turpissimae utilitatis, rem familiarem tuendam [11.10] committunt amore non fidei, sed libidinis,[726] qui publicanas mulieres cum ui subiciunt sibi uiliores se esse quam illae sunt produnt, qui iracundia tument, qui litibus fremunt, qui calumniaas pariunt, qui pauperes, qui uiduas, qui pupillos exspoliant, qui profanis fabulis neglecta dei[727] secta alios non bene auocantes [11.15] diuina sacramenta contaminant.	in infamous places for the sake of flasks and goblets suddenly invent martyrs for themselves; who observe certain days and discern Egyptian ones from clear; who long for auguries and seek their fortune in the sheep's violently torn entrails; who roughen up the marital yoke and injure by tramping with phony persons, so as to shade over their most shamefully useful tricks, they appoint a domestic to oversee their affairs in the desire for not faith but lust; who subjects public prostitutes to his violence and reveals himself to be more worthless than those women; those who become enflamed with anger, clamor for legal conflicts, sue the poor, the widowed, and the orphaned, and rob them; those who pollute divine sacraments with profane fables while, worse still, leading others astray in aloof neglect of God.

[723] See: Augustine's rhetoric against revelry in the martyrs' tombs in *Conf.* VI.2.2 and *Ep.* 22.3-4, 29.
[724] On the observation of "Egyptian days", see: Augustine, *Epist. ad Gal. expositio* 34. See further: Krauss, "Egyptian Calendars and Astronomy", In *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. by Alexander Jones and Liba Taub. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018: 131-143.
[725] A rare instance of the ablative supine.
[726] Essentially, men who use domestic servants or slaves for the purpose of extramarital intercourse.
[727] See: 2 Tim. 4:4; Cyprian, *Ep.* 22; Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, *Dei secta* 40; Prudentius, *Perist*. 10.125.

[12.1] Iam uideat unusquisque, quemadmodum sacrificium aut sumat aut offerat; sicut enim indigne offerre sacrilegum est, ita indigne manducare mortiferum, in Leuitico scriptura dicente: Omnis mundus manducabit carnem. Anima autem [12.5] quaecumque manducauerit de carne sacrificii salutaris, quod est domini, et inmunditia eius super ipsum est, peribit anima illa de populo suo.[728]	Now, let each one see how he might either receive or offer a sacrifice. Just as it is sacrilegious to offer unjustly, so too is it fatal to eat unworthily, as the scripture in Leviticus says: "Everyone who is pure should enjoy the sacrificial meat. But a soul that eats the flesh of the sacrifice of salvation that is destined for God, but over which impurity lies, such a soul will perish from its people."
[13.1] Haec, fratres, sicut cauenda sunt nobis, ita quae bona, quae pura, quae simplicia, quae pia, quae sancta sunt, sicut facitis, amplectenda, "ut uidentes homines opera uestra bona magnificent patrem uestrum, qui est in caelis."[729] Itaque, [13.5] dulcissimi flores mei, talia sacrificia procurate, quae sanctus spiritus libenter offerat, pater probet, filius, qui magister est noster, probata glorietur per eundem, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum.	And, brothers, just as we must beware such things, so too must we strive for what is good, what is pure, what is sincere, what is pious, what is sacred, just as you do: "So the people may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven." Therefore, my dearest flowers, attend to such excellent sacrifices, which the Holy Spirit willingly offers, which the Father accepts, and whose acceptance the Son, who is our teacher, boasts through the same, who is blessed in all ages!

[728] Lev. 7:20-21.
[729] Mt. 5:16.

APPENDIX B: ZENO OF VERONA, ON THE RESURRECTION[730]

This sermon deals with activities and beliefs that Zeno finds antithetical to salvation. He first considers of the relationship between piety and the afterlife, attempting to prove the deficiency of competing perspectives. Demonic possession, excessive displays of grief and irreligious activities at hallowed graves garner the most attention, but he highlights other matters such as extramarital sex, remarriage, and divination, to name a few. He repeatedly appeals to scripture to justify his claims, citing statements made by God and Biblical figures, as well as by reference to biblical narratives. Other techniques include contemporary categories (the repeat-widow and the grieving mother) and natural phenomena (the sun, the moon, and shooting stars, as well as the phoenix and the olive tree). Although his rhetoric is biting, Zeno's emphasis on the elite members of his congregation – slave owners and estate holders – delineates the limits of his authority. His rhetoric may be read as an effort to extend his reach into matters overseen by the family (land administration, mourning, and marriage).

[1.1] Quisquis resurrectionem negat, uitam suam, semet ipse condemnat. Cur enim mereatur felicitatem futuri temporis cernere, quem uideas sacrilega incredulitate dei potentiae derogare?	Whoever denies the resurrection denies his own life and condemns himself. Why indeed would he deserve to discern the happiness of a future time, whom you see diminish the power of God with sacrilegious disbelief?
Sed hoc amore criminum faciunt, ut putent impunita [1.5] fore quae clanculo gerunt.	But truly, they bring this about through love of criminality, so they assume that what they do in private will remain unpunished.

[730] *De resurrectione* (*PHI* 1.2 = *BKV* XIV)

Nam si iudicii diei adpropinquare iam cursus aduerterent, procul dubio et praesentia odissent et futura credidissent pariterque metuissent.	For if the tides were already turning to approach judgment day, then with their doubt far away indeed they would hate the present and both believe and fear the future equally.
[2.1] Nemo est enim tam uel ab istius mundi sapientiae gustu ieiunus, qui audeat dicere animas cum corporibus interire, caelestia cum terrenis absumi, praesertim cum eorundem ille sapientissimus [2.5] dicat hanc esse mortem,[731] cum corpore animus tamquam carcere clausus tenetur, illam esse ueram uitam, cum idem animus custodia carceris liberatus ad eum locum, unde uenerit, reuertatur. Si ergo hoc ille sensit, qui non nouerat Christum, cur dubitet Christianus, qui resurrectionem futuram et audit [2.10] et sperat et repositam sibi praesumit de Christo?	For no one is so starved of partaking in this worldly wisdom that he dare claim the soul dies along with the body, when the earth is subsumed by the heavens, especially when he, the wisest of these same men, proclaims [the soul] dead, when the mind was held, locked up in the body as if it were a prison, that it is true life when that same mind – having been freed from the confinement of jail – returns to that place whence it came. If then that man senses this, he who had known Christ, why should the Christian doubt, who hears and hopes for the future resurrection and anticipates his restoration by Christ?
[3.1] Igitur primo omnium probandum puto animas nostras suorum corporum exuuiis <exui> nec cum labe carnalis huiusce	Thus, I think, firstly let the truth of its all be revealed: that our souls are stripped from our bodies, and they are not dissolved along with

[731] Compare to Tertullian, *De resurr. carn.* 3; Augustine, *Serm*. 240-242; Lactantius*, Div. inst.* 7.9.

domicilii ista prima morte dissolui, sed pro qualitate factorum quasdam locis poenalibus relegari, quasdam placidis sedibus [3.5] refoueri, ut tunc demum credi possit resurgere, quod omnibus palam sit non penitus interire. Gentes, quae ista non credunt, tamen cum libamine infausto ad sepulcra concurrunt et a mortuis, quos in quiete tacitae noctis agnouerint, expeti a se [3.10] aliquotiens alimenta contendunt;[732] ac sic fidem rei quam reprobant faciunt.[733]	that carnal dwelling in the first death, but, according to the nature of their deeds, some were exiled to penal places, while others were revived in peaceful homes, so that at last they may be thought to rise again, since it will be obvious to all that they will not wholly die. The people who don't believe these things still sprint toward the graves with inauspicious libations, and often strive to demand sustenance from the dead, whom they may recognize in the quiet of a silent night; and so, they promote faith of the thing which they reject.
[4.1] Philosophi de anima uaria disserunt, sed tamen hanc esse inmortalem <et> Epicuri, Dicaearchi Democritique uanitatem argumentatione manifesta conuincunt.[734]	The philosophers make various claims about the soul, but in fact still claim that it is immortal, and they expose with clear argumentation the foolishness of Epicurus, Dicaearchus, and Democritus.
Poetae autem melius, qui duplicem uiam apud inferos ponunt:[735] [4.5] impiorum unam, quae ducit in Tartarum, piorum aliam, quae ducit ad Elisium, eo fortius addentes, quod	But the better poets place a two-fold path among the dead: One of the impious, which leads to Tartarus, and the other of the pious, which leads to Elysium; adding more

[732] See: Cicero, *Dial. de amic.*; Tertullian, *De res. carn.* 1.
[733] See further, Migne, 372-373, n. 11.
[734] Compare with Municius Felix, 34.
[735] Compare to Prudentius' *via ardua* in *Cath.* 10.

defunctorum ibidem non tam formae quam facta noscantur ac necessario recipiant secundum quod mundanae administrationis suis in actibus portant, recte dicentes: Quisque suos patimur manes.[736]	forcefully that they are examined there not so much by appearance as by the actions of the dead; and, immediately after, they must admit whatever they did in the deeds of their worldly administration, rightly saying: each of us suffers our own spirit.
[5.1] Nos uero, fratres, quos non ingeniosa suspicio, sed deus magister instruxit, propter nos in semet ipso probando quod docuit, uiuere animas mortuorum non tam dicere quam oculatis rebus sufficimus approbare. Denique uagi atque inmundi[737] [5.5] spiritus utriusque sexus humani dolosa blanditiarum captione seu uiolentia uiuentium domos corporales infringunt et latibulum sibi perniciosum eorum in captiuitatibus quaerunt.	I don't expect that we are truly clever, brothers, but as teacher God instructs, since he will reveal in person what he teaches on our behalf, and we affirm that the souls of the dead live on, not so much to speak as to confirm through visible facts. Finally, the roving and impure spirits of each human gender break into the corporeal dwelling of the living by crafty trick of charm or else by violence and seek for themselves a destructive refuge in their captives.
[6.1] At ubi uentum fuerit ad diuini certaminis campum coeperintque sacri nominis telo pulsari, tunc, cum alium noueris, alium certe misereris: discoloratur per momenta color, figura sua tollitur a natura, in obliquos	But then comes the field of the divine contest and they may begin to be struck with the weapon of a sacred name; then, as you recognize one, you certainly pitied another: color is suddenly discolored, his figure

[736] Vergil, *Aen.* VI.743.
[737] Compare to Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 2.14; Cyprian, *Ep. ad Don.* 5.

horrores insani uertuntur [6.5] orbes oculorum, acies dentium spumosis horrida globis inter labra liuentia stridit, intorta omnia passim membra tremore uibrantur; gemit, flet, denuntiatum pauet iudicii diem pellique se plangit,	deformed by nature, the eyes of the possessed man are turned into slanting horrors, rows of teeth gnash between horrible blackening lips with foamy globs, contorted limbs are all spasming and trembling everywhere. He groans, he weeps. Condemned, he fears his day in court and he beats himself with a whip.
confitetur sexum, confitetur adgressurae tempus et locum et nomen proprium confitetur discessumque, [6.10] uel qui sit signis euidentibus docet, ut plerumque aliquos noscamus eos esse, quos in idolatria commorantes nuper uel maxime ui aliqua obisse meminerimus.	He admits his gender, he admits the time of attack, and he admits the place and his own abandoned name, or he showed who he may be by clear signs, so that we generally learn that some people are those who recently lingered in idolatry, or we remember others who met a violent end.
[7.1] Hic nunc mihi responde, qui hominis post mortem nihil superesse contendis, quemadmodum per alium locutus sit mortuus ille, quem noueris. At dicis: “Hoc daemones fingunt.” O probation [7.5] melior, quod etiam fallaces testimonium perhibent ueritati! Cur autem fingant nomina, quorum est confessio in ceteris uera, aut qua ratione isto argumento nitantur, quod hominibus, quos	Here now, answer me, how do you say that nothing of man remains after death, how did the dead man speak by means of another, whom you know? And you reply, “These demons deceive.” O, truly it is better evidence when false witnesses testify to the truth! Why indeed should they fake names, whose confession is otherwise truthful, or by what reason do they depend on this argument, since

perditos cupiunt, magis proficiat ad dei timorem et ipsis nihil prosit ad utilitatem? Sane recte hoc facere existimarentur, [7.10] si sub praetextu alieni nominis inuasa optinere potuissent. At cum diuina adiuratione in eculeo spiritali et qui sint nolentes edicant et inuiti discedant, procul dubio hoc sunt, quod sese esse unicuique confitentur.	it may bring the fear of God closer to these men, whom they want doomed, and it yields them nothing near profit? One may reasonably assume they act rightly, if under the pretext of a strange name they can sway the possessed. Yet, with divine oath on the spiritual rack, may they – both those unwilling to speak and those reluctant to depart – far beyond doubt confess to each other what they are.
[8.1] Accipe et alia exempla et quidem certiora. Primo in libro Regnorum Samuel, egregius ille sacerdos, mortis iam lege dispunctus, Sauli regi se desideranti sine ambiguitate non tantum suam praesentiam exhibet, sed etiam ad consulta respondet [8.5] liberiusque canit mortuus, quam canere consueuerat uiuus; unde libet exclamare: "Profectus potius est iste quam mortuus."[738]	Understand, too, the other examples – at least the more certain ones. According to the first Book of Kings, the excellent priest Samuel, by then already examined under law of death, not only reveals his presence to King Saul clearly; but also responds to what is asked and more freely sings after dying than was his custom to prophecy while alive. Whence one may exclaim: "He departed more than he died."
[9.1] In euangelio quoque Petrus filiique Zebedaei cum domino adstare fulgentes	In the Gospel, likewise, Peter and sons of Zebedee see Moses and Elias stand shining

[738] Compare to Tertullian, *De pat.* 9; Jerome, *Ep.* 84 (*Ad Jul.*), *Ep.* 3 (*De mort. Nep.*).

Moysen Eliamque, quos propter tunc impedimentum carnis uidere non possent, libertate spiritus uident, exinde intellegentes in thesauro naturae depositum incolume [9.5] requiescere, quod in hoc mundo ad tempus perspicitur interire.[739] Similiter in inferno diues ille tenacissimus,[740] quem chaos immensum a pauperis felicitate discernit, ardoribus suis implorando refrigerium Lazarum uerum diuitem sero cognoscit cupitque mortuus uel uno digito illis contingi manibus, [9.10] quibus stipem denegauerat uiuus.	with the Lord, whom they could not have seen because of the barrier of their flesh, in the freedom of the spirit, knowing that what is deposited into nature's treasury rests unharmed, that is what is observed to have died in this world at the right time. Similarly, in the inferno that most stubborn rich man, whom the pit of hell separates from the felicitous poor, with his own flame begging for relief, he lately becomes aware that Lazarus is truly rich; he longs for death or even that he be touched by a single finger with the very hands whose offering he rejected while alive.
[10.1] Odit iam sine causa ante quod amauerat; probat felicius esse quod oderat. Gemit instanti poenae aliquid de facultatibus notis mederi non posse, pro uno puncto requiei incunctanter tota, si liceat, paratus [10.5] offerre.	Now he hates without cause what he had loved before; now he approves more happily of that which he had hated. With punishments approaching, he grieves that it is not possible to remedy the situation a little from his esteemed resources and, if it were permitted, he would without hesitation be prepared to offer everything for a single period of rest.

[739] Transfiguration scene from Mt. 17:1-8; Mk. 9:2-8; Lk. 9:28-36.
[740] Luke 16:19-31.

Superstitibus fratribus saltem cupit esse consultum; Abraham patrem deprecatur obnixe, ut aliquis nuntius pergat, qui eos tanti negotii certos efficiat; cui ille respondit: "Habent Moysen et prophetas, quibus si non credunt, neque illi, qui hinc missus fuerit, credituri sunt", euidenter ostendens non [10.10] in oculis esse carnalibus uerum, sed in fide credentium constitutum.	At any rate, he longs to be heeded by his surviving brethren. His father Abraham is strenuously entreated so that some messenger go on, who may make known the same resolutions of so much pain; to him, [Abraham] responded: "They have Moses and the prophets, if they do not believe them, neither will they believe [a messenger], who arrives from here," clearly showing that truth is situated not in the eyes of the flesh, but in the faith of the believers.
[11.1] Nam et dominus ista exempla confirmans uni ex latronibus in se credenti, qui cum eo de patibulo dextra laeuaque pendebant, ait: "Amen, amen dico tibi: hodie mecum eris in paradiso."[741]	And the Lord too confirmed these examples when he turned to one of the robbers who were hanging on the cross with him on the right and the left, to the one who believed in him: "Truly, truly I tell you, you will be with me today in paradise."
Itaque si homo mortuus in aeternum perit, ergo [11.5] mentitus est dominus, qui ei deinceps nihil futuro paradisum repromisit. Sed et homo ipse, quem dominus assumpserat, perit, si Iesus non resurrexit.	Thus, if a deceased man passes away forever, then the Lord has deceived him, who thereafter guaranteed him no future paradise. But even that man, whom the Lord had accepted, will perish if Jesus did not rise again.

[741] Lk. 23:33-43.

At si resurrexit, humano generi formam dedit, quoniam ad hoc deus pro homine mortis iura [11.10] gustauit, ut homo per deum ius inmortalitatis reciperet,nquod amisit.	On the contrary, if he rose again, then he has set the pattern for humanity, since for this reason God has experienced the law of death on humanity's behalf, so that man may recover the law of immortality through God, which he has lost.
[12.1] Propter quod Paulus beatissimus ait: "Nolumus autem ignorare uos, fratres, de dormientibus, ne contristemini sicut ceteri, qui spem non habent; si enim credimus, quia Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, sic et deus eos, qui dormierunt [12.5] in Iesum, adducit cum eo."[742] Nam et deus per Ezechielem prophetam loquitur dicens: "Ecce ego aperio monumenta uestra et educam uos de monumentis uestris et inducam uos in terram Israel; dabo spiritum meum in uos et uiuetis."[743]	Therefore, most blessed Paul says: "We do not wish that you remain ignorant, brothers, about those who have fallen asleep, lest you mourn just like the rest, who have no hope; if indeed we believe that Jesus died and rose again, likewise will God resurrect them, who have fallen asleep in Jesus, with Him." Thus also says, speaking through Ezekiel the prophet: "Behold, I open your tombs and will lead you out of your graves and into the land of Israel; I will give my spirit in you and you will live."
[13.1] Cum haec ita sint, resurrectionem futuram cur, Christiane, non credis?	When these things are so, why don't you believe in the future resurrection, Christian?

[742] Paul, 1 Thess. 4:13-14.
[743] Ezek. 37:12.

Cur de huius mundi labe in meliora migrantes tam pertinaciter plangis? Pro nefas!	Why do you so grimly mourn those journeying from the debacle of this world to a better one? Because of sin!
Hinc mater scissa ueste, laniatis crinibus, laniatis et genis, totum crebris [13.5] ictibus liuida pectus gentili uanitate circa amissi cadauer bacchatur insana nec Maccabaeae matris memoriam recolit,	Here a mother, dress torn, hair pulled to pieces, and cheeks mangled, her whole breast bruised from repeated blows, she raves over the corpse of her departed child with gentile-like foolishness rather than reflecting on the Maccabean mother,
quae spe succincta futurorum Antiocho saeuiente libenter semel septem filios non dicam extulit, sed ipsa potius feliciter [13.10] suis hortamentis occidit, religiose confidens deo filios se genuisse, non mundo.	who gladly, in the encircling hope of the future despite Antiochus' raging, did not carry her sons to burial seven times, I'll say, but more accurately she happily killed them herself with her praises, reverently trusting that she gave birth to her sons through God, not the world.
[14.1] Hinc uxor amissi mariti desolationem se ferre non posse testatur frigidumque latus male dilatato queritur lecto;[744] inuidiosis uocibus deo concinnat inuidiam, solemnia ipsa diuina, quibus a sacerdotibus dei quiescentes [14.5] commendari consuerunt,	Here, a wife testifies that she is unable to bear the anguish of her departed husband, and she moans the cold side of her wrongly expanded bed. With odious words to God, she concocts her hatred and disrupts the sacred rites themselves, in which those sleeping are

[744] Zeno repeats this in *De Iob* (PL 11 0439B. Compare to Silius Italicus, *Punica* 6.403; Vergil, *Aen.* VIII.102-114.

profanis aliquotiens ululatibus rumpit taetraque inluuie suum totum deformans cultum cadauer amplectitur conclamatum; frigentia tepefacit crebris osculis labra; totum corpus imbribus relauat lacrimarum crinium suorum damno cooperiens; miserandis affatibus in uberiores [14.10] fletus incendit etiam eos, quos causa non tangit, tanto ambitiosior in dolore quam ditior—sane post momentum misera (atque utinam semel!) nimio dolore nuptura.	usually entrusted to God by the priests, with frequent profane howling and, discrediting herself with her offensive condition, she throws her whole body upon the honored cadaver. She warms cold lips with frequent kisses, she washes the whole corpse with showers of tears and covers it with her disheveled hair. With pitiable utterances she inspires plentiful tears even in those to whom no cause has been given, and however great her wealth, so much greater is her pain – truly, the wretch will remarry (if only it were once!) after a moment of excessive grief.
Hic, hic quemadmodum se quis possit excusare, non uideo. Non deest enim qui dicere possit: "Si est resurrectio, quare plangis? Si amore [14.15] mariti facis, cur postmodum nubis?" Exsecrabilis res est, fratres, nec coniugio seruare caritatem nec deo fidem. Haec etiam uiros reprehensio manet.	Thus, thus I don't see how anyone could excuse her. For there is no lack of people who may say: "If the resurrection exists, how are you mourning? And if you do so out of love for your husband, why then do you remarry?" It is an accursed thing, brothers, to protect neither the love of your husband nor your faith in God. This reprimand also extends to men.

[15.1] Christianus ergo in toto dubitare non debet in statum pristinum mortuos excitari talesque legitima die ante conspectum dei ex illo naturae secreto produci, quales fuerint pro sua quique qualitate suscepti,	Thus, the Christian should not at all doubt that the dead will be roused into their former state and that on the rightful day such people will be led into that secret place of nature before the face of God, to be taken up just as they may have been, each according to his own
apostolo dicente: "Omnes [15.5] nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque corporis sui merita secundum ea, quae gessit, siue bona siue mala."[745]	character. As the apostle says: "Everyone must appear before the tribunal of Christ so that each may receive what he has earned through his own body according to his actions, whether good or bad."
[16.1] Etenim, fratres, facilius est reformari quod fuerit quam institui quod ante non fuit; quod si non fuit et est, multo magis poterit esse quod fuit, quippe cum illius potentissimi artificis rerum omnium conditoris ipse sit usus [16.5] impossibilium possibilitatem adserere ex eoque quod non est facere quod est, naturam creare extra naturam, nihil prorsus habere difficile solumque ei hoc deesse quod nolit esse; haec est enim	And indeed, it is easier, brothers, to restore what has already been than to create what has not been before; if it was not but now is, it will more likely be what it was. Naturally, it would be the custom of the most powerful, artful creator of all things to make the impossible possible and what is not, what is out of himself, to create nature without [the aid of] nature, to consider absolutely nothing

[745] 2 Cor. 5:10.

proprietas dei, id operari quod non potest credi.	difficult – and he lacks only what he does not wish to be.
[17.1] Igitur non homines tantum, sed paene omnia suis mortibus uiuunt. Vnde pauca de multis attingam, ut omnium probationem haud dubie in paucis expediam.[746] Stellae praecipites labuntur e caelo et a tergo longo flammarum albescentium [17.5] tractu funereae facis[747] solemnitate in occasus suos quasi quibusdam deducuntur exsequiis; quas si per plagas unde refixae sunt quaeras, rediuiui luminis lege suis sedibus resurrexisse[748] agnoscas.	Therefore, not just humanity but nearly everything lives by its own death. From here I touch upon a little from a lot, so that I may undoubtedly formulate a proof of everything in a few words. Stars fall precipitously from the sky and are led by a long trail of the funeral torch's brightening flames to their end, as if by some burial rites; [stars] which, if you search the expanse from which they dislodged, you may discover resurrected to the light's dwelling in accordance with the law of restoration.
[18.1] Sol cotidie nascitur eademque die qua nascitur moritur nec tamen instantis finis sorte terretur,[749] suos ut repigret cursus, ut horas ac momenta producat, ut saltem paulo diutius diei sui demoretur in uita, sed fidelis semper, [18.5] semper intrepidus ad sepulcrum noctis	Every day, the sun rises and sets on the same day on which he rises, yet he is unafraid of the fate of his encroaching end, lest he delay his course and prolongs the hours and seconds, lest he hold up his life's day by just a little; but ever faithful, ever fearless, he

[746] Zeno's discussion likely derives from 1 Cor. 15:40. Compare to Tertullian (*De res.* 12-13; *Apol.* 48), Municius Felix (*In Oct.* 5, 10, 11, 17, 21, and especially 34) and Ambrose (*Hexa.* 22-23; *De fid.* 2.53).
[747] Vergil (*Ec.* 8.29) and Quintilian (9.3.47 al.) both refer to funeral torches at the head of burial processions.
[748] *Rediuiui*: a rare word also used in Catullus (*Carmen* 17.3) to describe the restoration of bridge posts.
[749] Perhaps an allusion to Apuleius, *Meta.* 1 and 8.

cognatae contendit scius in ipso se habere quod uiuit; denique adimitur ei ortus, si ei auferatur occasus.	hastens to the grave of kindred night, knowing that what he holds lives in himself. And, finally, you rob him of his rise if you steal his fall.
[19.1] Luna quoque, quae uere rationis humanae omnia in se lineamenta depingit, nata sanguineae teneritudinis dubio cornu primo quasi de cunis apparet paulatimque crescendo iam puella, iam uirgo pro cotidianae [19.5] aetatis incremento progrediens lasciui cursus ambagibus carpit pensa mundana.	The moon, too, which on her own truly depicts all lines of human reasoning, first seems born of bloody youth with an uncertain crescent as if from a cradle and, little by little, growing now into a girl, now into a maiden, while progressing daily in the mysteries of an unobstructed path along the growth of her life stage, she pursues her worldly tasks.
At ubi matura aureo igne flagrantis luciflui aurigae par laboribus fratris angusti circuli argenteum compleuerit globum,[750] paulatim deuergit in senium, donec ultima senectute consumpta, sua morte reuiuescens, [19.10] menstrualis ignis solemni germine accenso sumat rursus de fine principium.[751]	But when the mature [moon] has completed the silvery band of the glorious, burning charioteer in a golden fire equal to the labors of her brother's steep orbit, little by little she declines in old age, until being consumed at her oldest, then returning to live through her own death, as a solemn spark rekindles the monthly fire she returns once more to the beginning from the end.

[750] The text here is unstable. The Ballerini and Giuliari give "*par laboribus fratris augustis circulis argenteum compleverit globum*", while Remensis reads "*angusti circuli*" and later manuscripts give "*angustis circulis*".
[751] Zeno's discourse on resurrection in nature repeatedly alludes to Rev. 22:13.

[20.1] Similiter Phoenix[752] auis illa pretiosa resurrectionis euidenter nos edocet iura, quae nobilitatem generis sui non a parentibus accepit, non liberis tradit; ipsa est sibi uterque sexus, ipsa omnis affectus, ipsa genus, ipsa finis, ipsa principium; [20.5] non ex coitu nascitur nec officio alieno nutritur;[753] non inuita, non inprudens moritur, sed cum maturum leti tempus aduenerit, a semet ipsa inuitatis sacris ignibus libentissime concrematur.	Similarly, the phoenix, that precious bird, clearly instructs us in the laws of resurrection, whose nobility he neither received from his parents, nor passed to his children; for he is for himself either gender, the object of all affection, the beginning and end. He is not born of sexual union, nor is he nurtured by a foreign wet-nurse, not unwillingly, not ignorantly does he die, but when he has reached the timely season of destruction, he is most willingly consumed by the holy, self-summoned fires.
[21.1] Sepulcrum nidus est illi, fauillae nutrices, cinis propagandi corporis semen, mors natalicius dies. Denique post momentum festo exsultat in tumulo, non umbra, sed ueritas, non imago, sed Phoenix, non alia, sed quamuis melior alia [21.5] tamen prior ipsa. Erubesce, Christiana conscientia, uel tot ac tantis ex rebus quemadmodum rursum eadem quae es sis melior futura cognosce.	The grave is his nest, embers his nurse, the ashes seed for propagating his body, death his birthday. Then, after a moment he rejoices in his festive tomb, not shadows but truth, not a ghost, but a phoenix, not another, but something better than another, the same as before. Blush, Christian conscience! Or you may recognize from so many and such great things how you will again be the same, yet better than you are.

[752] Compare with Lactantius, *De ave phoenice*; Augustine, *De anima* 4.20. See further Migne, 381, n. 49.
[753] Compare with Plutarch's discourse on parental generation in *Coniug. Praec.* 140 E and *De sera* 552-563.

[22.1] Praeterea granum uniuscuiusque frumenti conditum terrae interit et tamen in eo id, quod intus est, reuiuescit nec mortem medullitus capit, sed suum sibi genitale in germen exspirans uetusti corporis superficie deleta, immo in melioris [22.5] naturae iura transmissa, felix caput comis uirentibus redimitum quasi ab inferis emersum in superna[754] sustollit perennitatis[755] gloriam fructu populoso tenturum,[756]	Moreover, the seed of every type of crop dies after being planted in the earth, and yet what is inside is revived within. And it does not grasp death from within its marrow, but while it breathes its fecundity into its sprout as the shell of its former body is destroyed – or, more correctly, as the duties of a better nature are transferred – its happy head, encircled with green leaves as if risen from the underworld into the sky, raises on high the thing that preserves the perennial's glory in abounding fruitfulness. Thus far, Paul confirmed this by declaring: "Fool, what you sow does not come back to life, unless it has died," and he continues, saying, "It is the same with the resurrection of the dead; the body that is sown is perishable, it is raised imperishable; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body."
hoc hactenus Paulo firmante: "Stulte, tu quod seminas non uiuificatur, nisi mortuum fuerit," [757] et subiecit dicens: "Sic et resurrectio mortuorum; seminatur [22.10] in interitum, resurgit in perpetuitatem; seminatur in humilitatem, resurgit in gloriam; seminatur in infirmitatem, resurgit in uirtutem; seminatur corpus animale, surgit spiritale." Satis, ut opinor, resurrectionis ueritas omnibus claret.	

[754] *Superna*: taken substantively.
[755] *Perennitatis*: with *-itat,* renders the adjective an abstract noun of quality or condition.
[756] *Tenturum*: future active participle expressing likelihood or certainty, modifying the implicit object of the spark.
[757] 1 Cor. 15:36, 42-44.

[23.1] Sed necessario disserendum est, quae sit in ea iniustorum iustorumque discretio, ne generalitas nominis in conparatione malorum attrahat gloriam Christianae felicitatis. Duplex itaque forma surgendi est:	Sufficiently, I think, is the truth of the resurrection clear to everyone. But it must be explained that there is a difference between the just and unjust, lest the generality of the name drag the glory of Christian happiness into a comparison of evils. And thus, two-fold is the form of what must be risen: the first is
prima sanctorum, in [23.5] qua illud beatitudinis regnum primae tubae[758] regali tessera conuocati capient cum ingenti triumpho aeterno rege sub Christo;	that of the saints, in which [the saints], having been convened by the royal sign of the first trumpet, arrive at that blessed kingdom at the head of an enormous, eternal triumphal procession to the eternal king under Christ.
secunda uero, quae impios cum peccatoribus uniuersisque incredulis gentibus perenni destinat poenae, in Psalmis spiritu sancto dicente: "Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio [23.10] neque peccatores in consilio iustorum, quoniam scit dominus uiam iustorum et iter impiorum peribit."[759]	But the second one, in truth, is that which binds the wicked with the sinners and all the unbelieving gentiles in continual punishment, as the Holy Spirit says in Psalms: "Therefore, the wicked will not be resurrected in judgment, and sinners not in the counsel of the righteous; for God knows the way of the righteous, and the path of the impious leads to destruction." It follows that it may be suitable
[24.1] Consequens est, ut scire nos par sit, in quo habitu regnaturus sit homo iste noster, qui	for us to know in which state our man is

[758] 1 Cor. 15:52.
[759] Ps. 1:5-6.

tendit ad caelum, ne forte cum carne depereat, uana spe si captus fuerit caduca atque carnali,[760] de qua apostolus dicit: "Caro et sanguis regnum [24.5] dei possidere non possunt."[761]	going to rule, he who strives toward heaven, lest by chance he perishes along with the flesh, if in vain hope he was seized by uninheritable and carnal things, regarding which the apostle said: "It isn't possible for flesh and blood to inherit the kingdom of God."
At e diuerso uideor mihi audire proclamantem: "Si haec est condicio[762] carnis, quid est ergo quod credimus in ecclesia remissa peccatorum ac resurrectionem carnis?"[763] Facile, fratres, pugna ista concordat statuesque [24.10] futuri qualitas aperitur, fides si inlibata teneatur. Vnde rem paucis expediam.	But of course, it seems to me that I hear someone claiming, "If these are the terms of the flesh, why is it that we believe in the church remission of sins and the resurrection of the flesh?" Easily, brothers, does this struggle reach harmony and the nature of our future form is revealed – if only faith is kept intact. From here, I will explain the issue in a few words.
[25.1] Omnis caro quam diu flagitiosis illecebris huius mundi ac tenebris feralibus agitatur, profecto pecuina est ac misero, fragili detestabilique uersatur in iure. At cum mera fide credentis salutari fuerit necata	So long as all flesh is driven by the shameful temptations and funereal darkness of this world, it is surely beast-like and dwells in accordance with a wretched, frail and detestable captivity. But should [the flesh] be

[760] The Ballerini give: "*ne forte cum carne depereat vana spe, si captus fuerit caduca atque carnali, de qua Apostolus dicit*", while Giuliari reads: "*...cum carne depereat*."
[761] 1 Cor. 15:30.
[762] I've taken *condicio* as plural only to render it idiomatically in English
[763] Compare with Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.18; Cyprian*, Ep.* 73; Augustine, *De pecc. mer. et rem.* 3.5.10.

baptismate,[764] noua paterni sacro [25.5] resurgit fontis ex gurgite iam pura, iam libera, iam a conuersatione mundi huius extranea, iam morte superior, iam caelestia aspirans, iam, non dicam saeculi ludibria, sed, ut sit honoratior, se ipsam contemnens, iam ueritatem non imaginem quaerens, iam spiritalia non sua desiderans,	killed in salvific baptism with the pure faith of the believer, anew she arises from the spring's waters: already pure from the sacred rites of her father; already free; already a foreigner to the conduct of this world; already above death; already breathing the celestial; already – I won't say in mockery of worldliness, but so that she be more honorable – thinking little of herself; already seeking for the truth, not a likeness; already being full in her spirit,
de qua Paulus [25.10] ait: "Non omnis caro eadem est caro: alia est hominis, alia iumenti, alia caro uolucrum, alia piscium. Et corpora sunt caelestia, sunt et terrestria." [765]	regarding which Paul says: "Not all flesh is the same flesh. Some are human, some are beasts of burden, some are avian, and some are fish. And there are heavenly bodies and there are earthly bodies."
[26.1] Itaque inmortalitatis semine (de quo etiam poeta sapientissimus praesagauit dicens: "Igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo seminibus),"[766] scilicet spiritus sancti conceptione,	Therefore, it is obvious that to the seed of immortality – regarding which the wisest poet was prescient when he said: "Fiery vigor is in those seeds and is of heavenly origin" – by the conception of the Holy Spirit,

[764] Remensis: *At cum (caro) macra fide credentis salutari fuerit necata baptismate*. The Ballerini give: *... cum mera fide credentis.* Giuliari corrected this (without a manuscript referent) to: *cum macaria fide credentis*.
[765] 1 Cor. 15:39-40.
[766] Vergil, *Aen.* VI.730.

insita fit ante fecunda, ut, cum [26.5] dissolutionis eius ac legitimae reparationis tempus aduenerit, suo semini respondens iure possit mereri quod credimus. Nec res in ambiguo est; quemadmodum etenim ille princeps iniquitatis suo semine per inuidiam protoplastos ex angelis in homines deriuauit, ita dominus omnes in se credentes [26.10] sancti spiritus semine a mortuis rursus gloriosos in angelos excitabit.	the grafting happens before the fruiting, so that, when the time of its dissolution and lawful renewal has arrived, as he answers his seed he might rightfully earn that which we believe. And this matter is not ambiguous; just as that prince of iniquity has diverted the primordial beings from angels into men by means of his own seed, thus so through the seed of the Holy Spirit will raise up all the believers from the dead to the glorious angels again.
[27.1] Ad hoc unum euidens adhuc proferamus exemplum, quamuis non possit ueri simile tantam uim habere quam ueritas. Oleaster sua infelix et amarus est in natura; sed cum fuerit peritissimi agricolae artificis manu necessaria prouisione [27.5] truncatus, nobilitate alieni seminis grauidatur nutriturque ab eo ipso quod nutrit, donec hospitis germinis adoptiua pinguedine absumptus, immo pinguedo ipse factus, totusque acceptum translatus in honorem nouae frondis promotione ramis	To this I will proffer a clear example, though the likeness of truth cannot have as much force as truth itself. The wild olive tree is unproductive and bitter by nature; but as soon as it is pruned with necessary vision by the hand of the most skillful farmer, it is fertilized by the nobility of a foreign seed and is nourished by what it feeds itself, until the graft is consumed by the oil of the host's sprout – more correctly, once [the graft] itself is made into oil – and once everything taken in is transplanted in honor by the promotion

resurgescentibus ornatus iam non oleaster sit,[767] sed oliua, [27.10] cum et oleaster sit et tamen oleastrum se non esse quodam modo etiam ipse miretur.	of new leaves – when the branches begin growing – no longer is it a trimmed olive tree but olive oil, since he both is an olive tree and yet he is, in some way, surprised that he is not an olive tree.
[28.1] Igitur si homo potest facere, ut sit arbor quod non fuit, saluo quod fuit, quanto magis deus hominem poterit excitare, antequam peccasset in paradiso, in id quod fuit! Quam rationem seminum etiam beatissimus [28.5] Paulus subtiliter prodidit dicens: "Qui seminat secundum carnem, de carne sua metet interitum; qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet uitam aeternam."[768]	Thus, if humanity can make it so that a tree isn't what it was, and yet remains what it is, how much more will God be able to raise humanity up to what it was before it sinned in paradise! Such fruitful reasoning too did most blessed Paul acutely produce, saying: "He who sows after the flesh will reap corruption from the flesh. But whoever sows in spirit will reap eternal life from the spirit."
At uero dominus euidenter hoc edocens sic ad discipulos ait: Simile est regnum caelorum homini, qui seminauit bonum semen in agro suo; dormientibus [28.10] autem hominibus uenit inimicus eius et superseminauit zizania in triticum."[769]	But the Lord also teaches it clearly when he speaks to the apostles, "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sows good seeds on his field; but when the people slept, his enemy came and sowed weeds among the wheat."

[767] Here I'm playing on *ornatus* ("decorated, trim") and the image of a trimmed tree, emphasizing its cultivation.
[768] Gal. 6:8.
[769] Mt. 13:24-25.

[29.1] At fortasse adhuc quispiam dicat: “Si caro perit, unde cognoscitur ille, qui resurgit?” Caro, fratres, quasi quoddam est speculum intuentis plenitudine grauidatum, quod non tam imaginem suam quam eius, cuius est in usibus, gerit. [29.5] Denique tot efficit uultus, quot ille intrinsecus tristes seu hilares suos fecerit motus, hanc rationem docente nos Paulo: “Videmus, inquit autem, modo per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facies ad faciem erit.”[770]	But perhaps someone will object at this point: “If the flesh dies, how do you recognize the one who is resurrected?” The flesh, brothers, is just like any mirror that has been filled by the fullness of the one gazing into it, which is not so much its own likeness but that of the one using it. Indeed, he produces so many faces, as many sad or happy ones as the one reflected makes, as Paul teaches us this point: “We now see through a mirror in an enigmatic way, but then the face will stand face to face”. From this, there is no doubt
[30.1] Vnde dubium non est in corporibus nostris, dum mortis lege seminantur, non substantiam, non imaginem, sed illud tantum quod inutile est discuti, quod teritur demutari, sicut scriptum est: “Oportet enim corruptiuum [30.5] hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale hoc induere inmortalitatem.”[771]	that, since our bodies have been sewn with the law of death, it is not substance, not the likeness [of God] that is discarded, but only that which is useless. What is worn away will be transformed, as is written: “It is right that the perishable clothe itself in the imperishable and that this mortal must cover himself in immortality.”

[770] 1 Cor. 13:12.
[771] 1 Cor. 15:53.

Aliter etenim inmortalitatis stola[772] illa non sumitur, nisi primo istud carnale spolium, blandum animae uenenum, secundum dei sententiam, unde sumptum est, refundatur; dicit enim deus ad Adam: "Maledicta terra erit in [30.5] omnibus operibus tuis; in tristitiae gemitu edes ex ea omnibus diebus uitae tuae; spinas et tribulos eiciet tibi et edes pabulum agri; in sudore uultus tui edes panem tuum, donec reuertaris in terram."[773]	Otherwise, that robe of immortality will not be taken up unless first that carnal hide, the soul's enchanting poison, following God's will, is returned whence it was taken up. And thus, said Adam to God: "Cursed be the earth in your works, in sadness and sigh you will eat from it every day of your life, thorns and thistles will bear you, and you will eat the fruit of the field. In the sweat of your face, you will eat your bread until you return to the earth."
[31.1] Sed et dominus ex persona hominis, quem adsumpserat, ait: "Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem."[774] Quod dictum non tam timentis quam exsultantis ac docentis est. Vtique non enim quicquam timere poterat, qui mortuos excitabat, [31.5] qui potestatem habuit ponendi eam et iterum resumendi eam; sed ut doceret, quoniam, cum uiuit in hoc mundo, semper in tribulatione, semper iustus in poena est.	But the Lord speaks from the human form which he took up: "My soul is sad until death." Such an assertion is not so much of sadness as it is of exaltation and instruction. Surely not could anyone be afraid, who was waking up from death, who had the power to lay it down and pick it up again; but so that he may teach that the just man, while he lives in this world, is always in pain, always in penance.

[772] A *stola* is the garment of a *matrona*, but here probably refers to ceremonial dress. See: *Vulg. Luc*. 20, 46.
[773] Gen. 3:17-19.
[774] Mt. 26:38.

[32.1] Cum autem mors, quae putatur metuenda, gustatur, tunc ei in aeternum manentis gloriae beatis in sedibus nullas deinceps aerumnas mundi sensura repromissa felicitas exhibetur, Dauid [31.5] sancto dicente: “Conuertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam, quia dominus benefecit mihi, quia liberauit animam meam a morte, oculos meos a lacrimis, pedes meos a lapsu; placebo domino in regione uiuorum.”[775] Haec nos felicitas manet, hoc munus exspectat. Sic ergo uiuamus, ut bonis operibus decorati [31.10] nos quoque deo patri placere mereamur domino iuuante nos Christo, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum.	However, when death – which one thinks should be feared – is tasted, then the promised happiness is eternally revealed to him in the blessed dwellings of enduring glory, and thereafter will experience no worldly hardships, as saint David says: “Return, my soul, to your rest; for the Lord has done me good. I saved my soul from death, my eyes from tears, my feet from fall. I will please the Lord in the land of the living.” This remains the fortune that awaits us, this is the gift one expects. Thus, we live in such a way as to adorn ourselves with good works and likewise we ought to please God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for all ages.

[775] Ps. 114:7.

APPENDIX C: ZENO OF VERONA, ON THE BIRTH OF S. ARCHADIUS[776]

This sermon describes the arrest and execution Archadius of Mauretania (d. 305?), while at the same time establishes the saint's cult in Verona.[777] Zeno's narrative constitutes the earliest evidence for the cult of martyrs in Verona and testifies to the importation of north African saints into northern Italy.[778] *Archadius* falls somewhere between a sermon and a passion. While the text recounts the martyrdom of Archadius, its opening lines suggest that Zeno performed it in front of an audience. It is possible that the author adapted the sermon from an existing *passio* on Archadius, but this would be speculation. The historicity of the saint is likewise speculative. While some consider it possible that Zeno personally witnessed the execution, I remain skeptical.[779] Rather, Zeno's *passio* reveals that north African martyrs had made inroads into northern Italy by the 360s. *Archadius* is the earliest evidence for north African martyrs in the region, as well as for the cult of saints in Verona (until Petronius' sermons on the cult of Zeno).[780]

Moreover, there exists an enigmatic recension of *Tract.* I.39,[781] to which I refer as the "Lefèvre recension" after the biblical scholar Jacque Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455-1536).[782] Responsible for the only publication of this recension, he also claimed to have discovered the manuscript.[783] Peculiarly, scholars have never been able to locate Lefèvre's codex, nor establish

[776] *De natali sancti archadii; PHI* I.39 = *BKV* XVIII.
[777] Scholars associate his death with the Great Persecution, though there is little evidence to support it. See: Audollent (1924); Delehaye, 445.
[778] Conant (2010), 10.
[779] See: Ederle, 11.
[780] CPL 2059 = BHL 659 = TLL *Pass. Arcad*. See: Delehaye, 445; Pilsworth, "Dating the *Gesta martyrum*," *EME* 9 (2000): 309-24; Humphries (1999), 223-224.
[781] See: *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina*, ed. Soc. Bollandiani I [Bruxellis 1898 to 1899] p. 106.
[782] See: Lanéry, C., "Hagiographie d'Italie (300-550). Vol. I. Les Passions latines composées en Italie." In, *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. V. Edited by G. Philippart. Turnhout, 2010: 15-369, 328-329.
[783] This is called *The Martyrdom of Saint Arcadius*, but "Lefèvre recension" avoids confusion with Zeno's version. See: Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Agones martyrum mensis januarii, libro primo contenti* (Paris: Henri Stephani, ed., 1519), f.

its provenance.[784] These passions are the only two attesting to the martyrdom of Archadius. The relationship between *Archadius* and the Lefèvre recension is unclear, except that the former served as a template for the latter.[785] Dekker, too, affirms both the later date of the recension and the attribution of *Tract.* I.39 to Zeno.[786] The two recensions resemble one another in form and content; however, the Lefèvre recension not only adds material by way of the insertion of speeches, but it is also more graphic than Zeno's *passio*.[787] The first half of the martyr narrative is similar to Zeno's *passio*, but the second half differs in its addition of material, its specification of the location of Archadius' remains, and its more graphic retelling of the story.[788]

[1] Dum beati Archadii martyris gesta annalibus triumphanda mandamus,[789] in agonem immortalis laudis Christianus semper ardor animatur. Erit geminum de religiositate commercium, cum ad caeleste praemium populus accenditur et de [1.5] martyris meritis non siletur.	As long as we commit the deeds which must be celebrated to the chronicles of the blessed martyr, Archadius, Christian zeal is ever animated for the struggle of immortal praise. It will be a two-fold exchange of esteem for divine law, when the people are enflamed for the heavenly reward and do not remain silent about the martyr's deeds.

25r-26r (paragraph numbers from the *Acta Sanctorum, Ian.* I, 722-723). Digitized manuscript may be found at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k109338n/f49.item.

[784] The CPL states "4th century (uncertain)," cfr A. Audolent, in *DHGE*, iii, 1924, col. 1485-1478.

[785] R. Gryson, for instance, claims that the Lefèvre recension post-dates Zeno, but does so without significant argumentation: "whol von ZE; eine andare Rezension ist ZE 1,39" ("probably from Bishop Zeno, another recension is Bishop Zeno I.39"). See: Gryson, I, 53.

[786] "*Altera extitit recensio huius Passionis inter tractatus* ZENONIS VERONENSIS *[ibid.], qui verisimilius etiam prioerem recensionem composuit*" ("A second recension of this *passio* exists among the *Tractatus* of Zeno of Verona, who more likely composed the earlier recension"), CPL 2059, p. 679.

[787] In this version, Arcadius's body floats in its own blood as the martyr rejoices at returning to Christ.

[788] For instance, the Lefèvre recension claims that the bystanders converted to Christianity because of the martyr's enduring faith in the face of torture. This is feature is absent in Zeno, but compare with Prudentius, *Perist.* 2.

[789] *Dum…mandare*: with subjunctive, indicates intent ("as long as, until" should happen).

Sed quis illustris martyrii palmiferam trophaeis coronam competenti[790] ualeat sermone disserere, dum in uno corpore tot martyria uideantur esse quot membra?	But who could explain in a sermon to the baptismal candidate the palm-bearing crown from the victories of the illustrious martyr, since as many martyrdoms appear in his one body as there were limbs?
[2.1] Armauerat diabolus satellites suos in domini populum, ueterani odii assertor antiquus, et totam familiam domini impastae feritatis grassatione turbabat. Indixerat in homine deo bellum et infaustae superstitionis busto in nefas conscium [2.5] toto mundo funereum fecerat rogum.	The devil, that ancient champion of old hatred, had called his servants to arms against the Lord's people and was upsetting the whole household of the Lord by the advance of a ravenous savagery. He had declared war against God's people and had made a funeral pyre out of the whole world as an accomplice to sin in the tomb of ominous superstition.
Scatebat per tecta culminum publicum scelus nec fuerat locus, in quo non erat pro religione sacrilegium. Cogebatur Christi populus uanis superstitionibus interesse atque in cultum nefandi ritus nunc aut libamina inceste profundere aut ornatus sertis uictimas [2.10] trahere aut grauia nidoribus tura succendere aut inter fumidos ignes pallenti aruina, funesto sanguine perlitare, ut illiciti administratione	Public wickedness was billowing out from the rooftops and there was no place in which sacrilege did not come before reverence. Christ's people were forced to participate in vain superstition and the worship of abominable ritual, to either pour out libations unchastely, or drag victims adorned with wreaths, or light heavily scented frankincense, or make an offering with deadly

[790] Zeno refers to baptismal candidates by the term *competenti*, "candidate" (as in *Tract.* II.27.46). See: Arnold, 506.

ministerii Christi panis mentibus possit expelli.	blood while the fat grew pale in the hazy fire, so that it might be possible to spew the bread of Christ from the mind with the performance of forbidden service.
[3.1] Sed dum bellum duri certaminis geritur et familia domini caelo spectante probatur, Archadius beatissimus martyr huius inopinati sacrilegii horrore percussus paululum distulit pugnam, iam debitus ad coronam.	But while the battle of harsh combat was waged, and the Lord's family was tested by the observing sky, the blessed martyr Archadius delayed the battle just a little, having been struck by the dread of his unforeseen sacrilege – though he was already destined for the crown.
Nam postquam [3.5] turbari urbem funesta conuentione cognouit ac singulos quosque ad funestum illud spectaculum trahi, contemptis uniuersis facultatibus suis, amputatis radicibus saeculi delitescens secessionis se commendauit umbraculo, utrumque Christiano explicans uoto: ut et non longius uideretur a proelio et secedendo [3.10] euangelicae iussionis animaretur exemplo.[791]	For after he realized that the city had been thrown into confusion by the deadly persecution and likewise that individuals were being dragged into that deadly spectacle, once all his resources has been cast aside and his worldly roots severed, he achieved both from his Christian vow: so that he would not seem too far from the battle, and that he would be motivated by example of a gospel precedent that one should flee.

[791] An allusion to Mt. 10:23.

[4.1] Ecce in eius hospitium uelut in hostilem praedam grassantium satellitum tum praeceps irruit manus, festinat dei famulum posse deprehendi; quem beati propinquus martyris, qui in eius forte [4.5] degebat habitaculo, absentem esse assiduis uocibus inclamabat. Hunc uero profitentem ad nefandam custodiam noxiae mentis mancipes rapuerunt, quem oblatum sibi iubet crudelissimus rector acri obseruatione detineri.	Behold! Then a band of advancing soldiers violently forces their way into his refuge as if after enemy booty. [The band] hurries so that the servant of God could be apprehended, whom a relative of the blessed martyr – who by chance was spending his time in [Archadius'] refuge – unceasingly proclaimed to be absent. However, the agents [were] of noxious intent and dragged the protesting man off to abominable prison, whom the cruelest governor ordered shown to him and whom he detained under strict observation.
Ad futurae gloriae testimonium tale beatus Archadius debiti martyrii quodam [4.10] modo sequestrauerat pignus, in quo nec Christum relinqueret nec propinquum.	Near the testimony of the future glory of his destined martyrdom, blessed Archadius had made a pledge in a certain manner, in which he would abandon neither Christ nor his kin.
[5.1] Statim beatus martyr se latere non passus est; se ultro offerens iudici moram suam uoluntarie praeiudiciis excusauit.	Straightaway the blessed martyr did not allow himself to hide; unaided, he voluntarily explained his delay by [citing] precedents while presenting himself to the judge.
Cui cum prouinciae rector pristinae eius fugae ueniam sub pactione promitteret, si se uel sero	Although the governor of the province would have promised him a pardon for his earlier

nefandis superstitionibus [5.5] miscuisset, talibus in eum sanctissimus martyr uocibus exsiliit:	flight under an agreement, if only he would have embroiled himself lately in impious superstition, the most sacred martyr burst forth toward him with such excellent words:
"Quid," inquit, "uanissime omnium iudicum, putasne aut de lucis istius incongruis usuris aut de praeproperae mortis subitis damnis familiam domini posse terreri, cum sciamus apostolica fide esse perscriptum: Mihi uiuere Christus [5.10] est et mori lucrum?	"How," he asked, "do you, vainest of all judges, think yourself capable of intimidating the Lord's household with either fickle enjoyments of that light, or with the unexpected loss of a hasty death, when we know what is recorded by apostolic faith? Is it Christ that lives in me and reward that dies?
Excogita quibus potes suppliciis tormenta grauiora, maioribus te furoris stimulis accende, quamuis cruciatus exerce molem: nos a deo non potes separare."[792]	Devise torments more painful than those punishments which you are capable, set yourself alight with greater spurs of fury – however cruelly you administer the bulk, you cannot separate me from God."
[6.1] Statim iudex uiperei ueneni felle commotus iubet non usitata animaduersione poenarum nec usuali in reos lege carnifices in martyris membra saeuire.	At once the judge was provoked with the bitterness of a venomous viper and ordered the executioners to rage against the martyr's limbs in neither the usual application of punishments, nor the standard motion against a guilty party.

[792] On *parrhesia* and speech-making in hagiography, see: Brook, Eric. "Hagiography, Modern Historiography, and Historical Representation." *Fides Et Historia* 42.2 (2010): 1-26;

Viluerunt ungulae, inutiles ictus uisi sunt plumbatarum, stetit contemptus eculeus, [6.5] crebri fustium imbres maioris poenae contemplatione neglecti sunt.[793]	The claws were worthless, the blows of the lead balls seemed harmless, the rack stood ignored, the constant shower of clubs were neglected in favor of greater punishments.
Excogitatur nouum stupendumque supplicium, quo se in homine uincere crederet deum. “Incidantur, ait, ab articulis manus, a cruribus pedes; uiuum se cadauer inspiciat.”	He devised new and astounding punishments, by which he believed he would conquer God in man. “Let them be amputated,” he said, “the hand from its joints, the feet from their legs. Let him be seen as a living cadaver.”
[Cui beatus Archadius ait:] O insania hominum! Fraudauit te [6.10] furor tuus; adhuc erat in uictima domini quod posses auferre: amputandam linguam mandare nescisti, quae in conluctatione martyrii prior solet domino confiteri.	[Blessed Archadius said to him,] “Oh, the folly of men! Your fury defrauds you; still there is something in this sacrifice of the Lord that you could have removed: you didn’t know that you should have ordered my tongue cut out, which is already used to confessing to the Lord in the struggle of the
[7.1] Ductus est tandem beatus Archadius ad exoptatum iustis orationibus locum, et intuens caelum stetit deo spectante securus. Parauerat extensa futuris ictibus colla, nudauerat gladiis	martyr. Finally, blessed Archadius was led to the place that is longed for in righteous prayers. He was prepared as his head and neck extended for future blows, his throat lay

[793] Jerome and Augustine reference the *ungulae* as clawed hooks used to rip apart the skin (see: Jerome, *Com. Galat.*, 1, 6; Augustine, *Ep*. 133, 2). Contemporary to Zeno, the anonymous *De rebus bellicis* (c. 367/369) describes the *plumbatae* as whips studded with lead balls. Finally, Prudentius describes the *equuleus* (“torture horse”) as an instrument used to pull the limbs of the victim apart (*Perist.* 10.109), while Ammianus Marcellinus complains about the use of the *equuleus* against the *honestiores*, a practice restricted to the lower classes prior to the witchcraft and treason trials of late fourth century. See: *Amm.* 28, 1; *C. Just.* IX, 41, 17.

uenientibus iugulum, [7.5] putauerat se feralem iudicis amentiam citae mortis sorte satiare, dum subito manus iubetur extendere ac super caespitem [nudus] proiectus in faciem pedum extrema nudare. Ecce inter ipsa supplicia uacare non sinitur et orationis instar per carnificis tormenta meditatur.	unprotected from the coming swords, he had thought that he satisfied the deadly frenzy of the judge with the fate of a quick death, until suddenly he is ordered to stretch his hands out and, after been thrown on the ground naked, leave the soles of his bare feet unprotected above the grassy earth. Behold! He is not permitted to be idle between these torments and reflects upon the tortures of the executioner in the likeness of a prayer.
Erexerat securem percussor insanus [7.10] et signans oculis uulneribus lineam feralis ictus assidua contemplatione uibrabat. Haeserant confessionis suae glutino intrepidae martyris manus nec[794] salientes digiti futurae mortis exitio palpitabant. Tanta fuit in martyris deuotione constantia, ut omni corpore paratus uenisset ad gloriam.	The frenzied murderer raised an ax and, marking the wound's line with his eyes, he suddenly propelled the deadly blows with unremitting aim. The hands of the undaunted martyr adhered in the glue of his confession and his toes neither twitched nor throbbed at the destruction of their impending death. So great was the faith in the martyr's devotion that he had come prepared for glory through his whole body.

[794] I read *nec* as modifying both *salientes* and *palpitabant*.

[8.1] Mox itaque deuotum corpus carnifex uidit, statim cadentis <securis> ictus neruorum connexa dissoluit et cunctas conpage discussa iuncturas corporis rupit. Exsilierunt exsectae manus.[795] [8.5] Dehinc poplitibus surisque porrectis a germana coniunctione naturae gladio saeui latronis plantarum limes inciditur et obsequio pedum corpus martyris uiduatur.	Once the executioner saw the consecrated corpse, a blow of the plummeting ax immediately severed the connection of sinews and, when the bonds were ruptured, broke all the joints of the body. The disjointed hands sprung up. Then, as the knees and calves were extended, an end of the feet was cut from nature's sisterly union by the villain's savage sword, and the martyr's body is bereft of the use of its feet.
[9.1] Numerent martyria, qui possunt numerare supplicia, et in uno corpore quantum diabolus publicatus est furere, tantum agnoscatur dominus triumphasse. Sed durat inter haec martyris[796] spiritus et martyriorum numerositate seruatus perstat [9.5] uiuus, parte sui corporis iam sepultus. O dignus gloriosi exitus finis! Ascensurus altitudinem caeli corporis sui impedimenta praemittit et exsequiis funeris ipse praecedit. Cui haec est conparanda confessio?	Those who may count the martyrdoms are able to count his tortures; and as much as the devil was known to rage in one body, so much is the Lord recognized to have triumphed! But amidst these tortures, the martyr's life endures and, alive, he perseveres as he is protected by a great number of martyria, as part of his body has already been buried. Oh, a worthy end to his glorious death! Already about to ascend to the top of the sky, he sends grievances ahead of his

[795] †*et uenarum in se paululum stupore rursus in se riuus sanguinis ruens*† (and with them spurted a stream of blood that slowly [dribbled] a bit on itself again).
[796] The *BKV* suggests *martyriorum* over *morarum* (p. 276, n. 17). I read *martyrum* to refer to the grave of a martyr, which accords with Zeno's claim that Archadius' limbs were buried separately from his remains.

Maccabaeorum est iungenda numero, Eleazari est adaequanda proposito, conparanda consilio.[797] [9.10] Archadius beatissimus martyr adhuc demoratur in saeculo et iam martyr recitatur in caelo.	body and proceeds with his own funeral. To what can his confession be compared? It must be placed next to the number of Maccabees; it must be thought equal to Eleazar's conduct after a comparative debate. Archadius, the most blessed martyr, remains on earth and is already recorded as a martyr in heaven!

[797] See: 2 Macc. 6:21-22.

Appendix D: Zeno of Verona, On the Building of God's House by Solomon[798]

God's House celebrates the construction of a new church in Verona. Ostensibly performed on the day of its consecration, Zeno encourages his audience to envision themselves as part of the building and, by extension, the heavenly kingdom itself. Zeno betrays a self-consciousness about the sparseness of the building when compared to pagan and Jewish spaces. He recasts its modesty in a triumphal mold through a typological appraisal of the building's features with repeated appeals to scripture and apocrypha. Particularly important is the portrayal of the heavenly kingdom in *Shepherd of Hermas* (Vis. III, 8, 9) and Revelation 21 and 23, the earlier of which narrates the evaluation of the suitability of types of souls as building blocks for the heavenly tower, while the latter informs Zeno's depiction of the heavenly kingdom.

[II.6.1.1] Vellem, fratres dilectissimi, triumphali quodam modo uti sermone nouique operis arcem sacram laudibus geminare. Sed quamuis sit optimum laudare, quae dei sunt, tamen praecipuum non est, quod cum gentibus uel Iudaeis potest esse [1.5] commune; nam et illi, si liceat[799] uel si uelint, fortassis cultius synagogas aedificent,	I would like, dearest brothers, to use the triumphal sermon in a certain manner and double the sacred height of the new building with praise. Yet however best it may be to praise what God is, nevertheless, what you have in common with the gentiles or even the Jews is not special; for perhaps even they, if it were permitted or should they desire, could build a more ornate synagogue,

[798] *De aedificatione domus dei a Salomone* (PHI 2.6 = BKV I.XIV)
[799] *Si liceat* possibly alludes to *C. Just*. I, 11, 1. See: BKV, p. 169.

cultius erigant capitolia,[800] sed in his omnibus operibus uero iudicio structores magis possunt placere quam sacerdotes.	or erect more elaborate *capitolia*, but in true judgment builders are better able to give pleasure to all these buildings than priests.
[2.1] Quid, quod aut nullum aut perrarum est per omnem ecclesiam dei orationis loci membrum, quod possit quamuis ruina in se mergentibus idolatriae aedibus nunc usque aliquatenus comparari? Nam et Salomonis accepimus [2.5] templum luculento opere fuisse constructum atque ita elaboratum, ut nesciret inspector, in eo quid potissimum miraretur: magnitudinem, opus, ornatum anne materiam; ita enim in unum decorem uniuersa conuenerant, ut legitima domus dei caduca illa ambitio putaretur. Quod si ita esset, [2.10] inter memorata impar cultu semper ecclesia inueniretur.	And isn't there no (or very rarely a single) prayer room throughout the entire assembly of God that up until very recently could be compared even to the ruins of the idol temples that collapse in on themselves? For we know that God's House was built as a brilliant work and therefore labored over so that the viewer would not know at what and how he should be particularly amazed – whether the magnitude, the work, or the richly adorned material. Thusly indeed did they all fit together into one grace. But if it were so, the church would always be found among those remembered for inferior worship.

[800] The smallest hill in Rome and the location of both its temple to Jupiter and two important sacrifices: that of the consuls'at the beginning of the year and that terminating the Roman triumph. Many colonies reproduced their own *capitolium*. See: Tertullian, *Apol*. 6; Buchi and Cavalieri Manasse, 15-17.

[3.1] Sed haec saecularia sine legitimo ac deuoto cultore nec sufficientia nec necessaria honori suo protestatur deus, hactenus dicens: "Caelum mihi thronus et terra suppedaneum pedum meorum. Quam mihi aedificabitis domum? Aut quis locus [3.5] ad requiem mihi? Omnia enim ista fecit manus mea."[801] In euangelio quoque sic dicit: "Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae interficis prophetas et lapidas missos ad te, quotiens uolui colligere filios tuos sicut gallina pullos suos sub alas et noluisti? Ecce remittetur uobis domus uestra;"[802] et iterum: Non relinquetur in templo lapis [3.10] super lapidem, qui non dissoluatur.[803]	But these secular [structures] are proven by God's honor as neither sufficient nor necessary, without a legitimate and consecrated worshipper, as he says thusly: "Heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool. Which house will you build for me? Which place serves me to rest? I have made everything with my own hand." And in the gospel, he said: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that you kill and stone the prophets who have been sent to you, how often have I wanted to gather your children together as the hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you didn't want to. See, your house will be returned empty." And again, "At the temple there will not be one stone left on the other that will not be broken off."
[4.1] Reprobat ergo tam inmensum, tam insigne, tam opulens templum, quia in eo uerum non erat templum. Etenim hominum conciliabulum est contextio ista parietum,	Therefore, he rejects so immense, so remarkable, so opulent a temple because it was not the true temple. Indeed, that joining of walls is a meeting house of people, but the

[801] Is. 66 1:2.
[802] Mt. 23:37-38.
[803] Mk. 13:2; Lu. 21:6.

fidelis autem populus dei templum, [4.5] apostolo dicente: “Vos estis templum dei et spiritus dei habitat in uobis.”[804] Et uerum est, nam sicut idolis insensatis similia templa conueniunt, ita uiuenti deo uiua templa sunt necessaria. In his enim solis sacerdotum dei structura et propria est et perennis, qua et Iudaeos et gentes uel ceteros antecedimus.	temple of God is of faithful people, as the apostle says: “You are the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit dwells in you.” And it is true! For just as senseless temples are suitable for senseless idols, so too are living temples necessary for the living God. Truly, in these alone is the masonry of God’s priests both proper and perennial, by which we surpass the Jews, gentiles and the rest.
[5.1] Incomparabilis autem gloria ac uere deo digna, cum uno consensu, una fide alter alterum commendans deuotione consimili conuertuntur ad deum et sacerdos et templum. Exsultate igitur, fratres, aedificationemque uestram aede ista de nouella [5.5] cognoscite, cuius quoque capacitatem felici numero fecistis angustam. Ex eo enim ipso, quod uos non capit locus, exinde intelligitur, quia fides uestra capit deum. Igitur ne quis operis rationem a me forte disquirat, paucis insinuabo.	But the glory is incomparable and worthy of God’s truths if – as one commends the other with one consensus, in one faith – priest and temple are turned toward God by a similar devotion. Therefore rejoice, brothers! Recognize your own edification in this new temple, whose capacity you have made small with your blessed number**.** Indeed, out of the very same thing, since the place doesn’t grasp you, by that cause it is understood, because your faith grasps God. Therefore, lest someone by chance investigate my account I will dwell this only a little.

[804] 1 Cor. 3:16; cf. 2 Cor. 16:6.

[6.1] In totius fabricae fundamentis non sicut in Iudaeae templo plurimi,[805] sed magnus, praeclarus, pretiosus ac speciosus unus est lapis, qui quadrae turris totam solus sustinet molem.[806] Cui non innumerabilis uarie famulatur acies ualidissima columnarum, [6.5] quia illi septem solae sufficiunt;[807] non aeneum inhaeret mare,[808] quia illi perennis fontis sui uiuum inest mare, non quod naufragos faciat, sed quod naufragos ad uitam suauem perducat; non aurum, non argentum,[809] quia in suis martyribus computat totum.	Just as in a Jewish temple, in the whole building's foundation there are not many but one great, splendid and spectacular stone, which supports the entire weight of the square tower, which innumerable, very sturdy rows of columns do not support in different ways because those seven alone are enough. There is no bronze sea connected to it because the living sea of its eternally bubbling spring is in involved, not one that causes shipwrecks but leads the shipwrecked to a blessed life. It is neither gold, nor silver, because he calculates the whole sum in his martyrs.
[7.1] Non fenestrarum lumen implorat, quia sol aeternus in eo manet. Inaestimabilia unius plenitudinis tria illi sunt membra, unum secretarium et patentes semper duodecim portae,	He does not ask for the light of windows because the sun shines eternal in him. Those priceless three parts are of one whole: one *secretarium*[816] and twelve gates that are always open,

[805] Here, Zeno utilizes descriptions of the Temple from 1 Kings 5 and 7, and Eph. 2, and 2 Chron. 5.
[806] See: *Shep. Herm.*, *Vis*. III, 8, 9. The text made its way into Latin at the turn of the fourth century. See: Tornau, Christian and Paolo Cecconi, *The Shepherd of Hermas in Latin*. De Gruyter, Inc., 2014: 4-38.
[807] See: Prov. 9:1.
[808] See: Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "God's House: The Politics of Ritual Space." In *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeolofical and the Religion of Israel*. Ed. Gittler. Eisenbrauns, 2002: 83-94; Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "'Who Is the King of Glory?' God's House and Its Symbolism." In *God's House and Its Symbolism*. Ed. Michael Coogan, J. C. Exum, and L. E. Stager. Westminster John Knox, 1994: 18-31.
[809] In contrast to the description of the Temple in 1 Kings 7; 2 Chron. 5.
[816] A *secretarium* is "an audience hall in which the bishop presided as judge" (Brown (2013), 78).

quas ab hostili defendit [7.5] impulsu in modum tau litterae prominens lignum.[810] O res uere miranda! Cotidie aedificatur et cotidie dedicatur; floribus perpetuis ac diuersis gemmis, lapidibus, margaritis per momenta distinguitur et quia opus est uiuum, tectum non habet nisi caelum.	which the prominent wooden sign of the letter tau protects from an enemy surge. Oh, truly these things must be admired! Every day it is built and every day it is consecrated; and over time it is adorned with perpetual flowers and different gems, with jewels and with pearls, and because the building is alive it has no roof except the sky. Let me speak, moreover, about what wages and rations are expended daily. To everyone equally is given one satchel of bread with the cross-sign, water [mixed] with wine, salt, fire and oil, a coarse tunic, and a denarius. Whoever freely accepts this and does not scorn it, but rather endures continuously to the end, remains there once the tower is completed and will enjoy its inestimable riches. Likewise, it is also necessary to commemorate that which is done inside the temple. The priest calls out, "Belief
[8.1] Dicam praeterea, quae cotidie merces, quae impendatur annona. Omnibus peraeque unus panis cum signo datur,[811] aqua cum uino, sal,[812] ignis et oleum,[813] tunica rudis[814] et unus denarius;[815] quem qui libens acceperit acceptumque non spreverit, [8.5] sed in labore usque ad ultimum perdurauerit, turri completa inaestimabiles diuitias in ea commanens possidebit.	
[9.1] Memorandum quoque necessario est etiam illud, a quo quid agatur in templo. Sacerdos uocat, ostium credulitas aperit,	

[810] See: Rev. 13:16-17; Ezech. 9:4-6; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* III, 22.
[811] These items feature in the Eucharist or in baptism (Compare to Tertullian, *Apol*. 39.5–6). Zeno refers to stamped bread again *Tract*. II.44.2. On bread stamps, see: Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (1970).
[812] Some sources include salt and/or oil in the Eucharistic meal. See: *Acta Thom*. 29; 1 Ps.-Clem., *Hom*. 14.1.4.
[813] Possibly in reference to a candle used in baptism. See note 5 in *BKV* (p. 173).
[814] On dress, sacredness, and social class, see: Clark, (1995): 36-37.
[815] Zeno supplies the only evidence for a coin handed over at baptism. See also *Tract*. II.35; F. J. Dölger, "Heidnische und christliche Brotstempelmit religiösen Zeichen" In, *Antike und Christentum I* (Münster, 1929).

simplicitas introducit, intellectus inuitat, ueritas persuadet, timor excubat, disciplina coercet, continentia [se] [9.5] refrenat.	opens the door, simplicity leads the way, understanding invites, honesty persuades, fear keeps vigilant, instruction reinforces, and continence restrains.
Stat in angusto fides, in secreto pudicitia, in primo innocentia, aequitas in medio, in fine patientia. Pax colligit, caritas ligat, sollicitudo custodit, iustitia distribuit, pietas ministrat, puritas supplicat, spiritus postulat, spes promittit, sapientia domus domina praerogat munera."	Faith always remains in struggle, modesty in secret, innocence in youth, justice in the middle, and patience in end. Peace gathers, charity unites, anxiety guards, righteousness distributes, duty serves, purity supplicates, the soul prays, hope promises, and wisdom as the mistress of the house fosters duty."
[10.1] Exsultate, seniores: uos estis huius operis firmamenta. Exsultate, iuuenes: uos estis lapidibus adamantinis meliores. Exsultate, pueri, sacrae turris dulces ac sine pretio margaritae. Felicia, [10.5] exsultate, coniugia: meliores ornatui gemmas sculpitis, quam uos estis. Exsultate, uiduae: quadratura uestrae uirtutis angularis lapidis coniugio cohaeretis. Exsultate, uirgines: omnem istam celebritatem honore uestri floris ornatis. Exsultate, diuites, praerogationibus crebris et iustis ueri diuites [10.10] facti; promotioni	Rejoice, you seniors: you are the foundation of this house! Rejoice, young men: you are better than adamantine stones! Rejoice, you children: you are the sweet and priceless pearls of the tower! Rejoice, you happy couples: you carve gems more splendid than you are yourselves! Rejoice, you widows: you are connected to the cornerstone through the squaring of your virtues! Rejoice, you maidens: you adorn every feast with the honor of your youthful bloom! Rejoice, you men of means: those who have become truly rich

etenim caelestis uestrae dignitatis debetur diuini operis perennis ista laudatio. Exsultate, pauperes [spiritu]: per uos et in uobis dei maior est domus; nam et omnibus aequales estis et pedaturas omnes uestri corporis ambitu superatis; denique sancti diuites pauci sunt, uos plures estis.	through repeated prayer and donations! Indeed, that praise of the divine works is owed to the advantage of your godly dignity. Rejoice, you poor: through you and in you the house of God had increased! For you are both equal to everyone and you surpass everyone in the course of your body. And finally, as there are a few saintly men of means, you are the greater in number. These, dearest brothers, are your God-given gifts, these are the virtues by which the Jerusalem of the spirit is built, by which both that new place of sacred speech and the people are prepared everyday by the providence of God and our Lord Christ. This is our illustrious labor, this is the glory of every priest, this is God's mystery, this is the beloved labor, this living labor is built by the flesh, but spiritually propelled. Moreover, God the omnipotent father will keep his word, so that, just as we give thanks in this earthly dwelling, so too will we conduct ourselves even more fruitfully with all the saints in the heavenly kingdom.
[11.1] Haec sunt, dilectissimi fratres, charismata uestra, hae uirtutes, quibus Hierusalem spiritalis instruitur, quibus sacrae orationis iste locus nouus et populus cotidie Christi dei et domini nostri prouidentia comparatur. Hic labor noster [11.5] illustris, haec gloria omnium sacerdotum, hoc mysterium deo, hoc opus carum, hoc opus uiuum carnaliter geritur, sed spiritaliter promouetur. Praestabit autem deus pater omnipotens, ut, quomodo isto in terrestri domicilio ei gratias agimus, ita in caelestibus regnis uberiores sanctis cum omnibus referamus.	

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