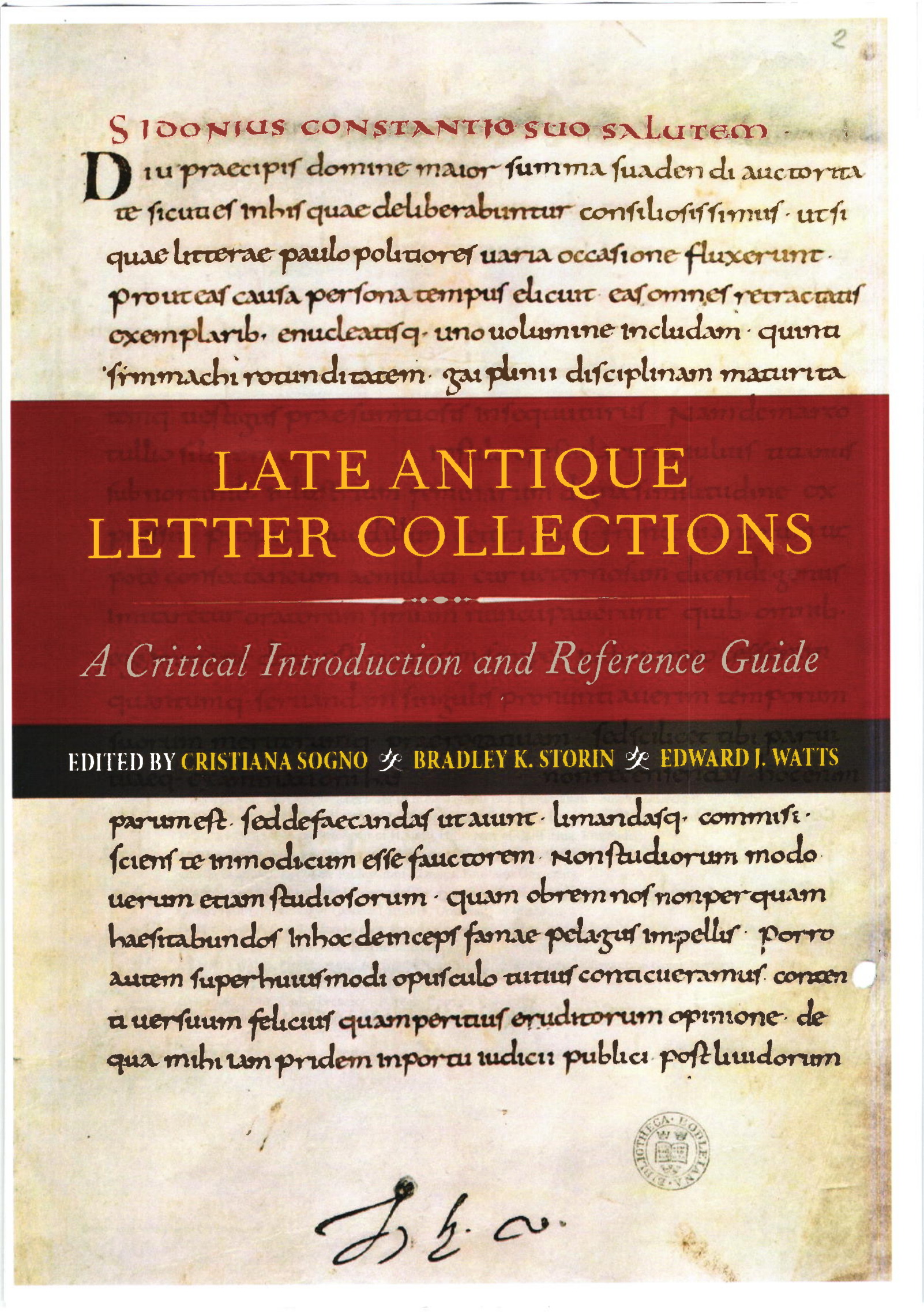
SIDONIUS CONSTANTIO SUO SALUTEM
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simmachi roandi tatem · gai plinii disciplinam maturita
LATE ANTIQUE
LETTER COLLECTIONS
A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide
EDITED BY CRISTIANA SOGNO & BRADLEY K. STORIN & EDWARD J. WATTS
parum est · sed defaecandas ut aiunt · limandasq· commissi ·
scienst e immodicum esse fautorem · non studiorum modo
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ta uersuum felicius quampertaus eruditorum opinione · de
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NINETEEN

The Letter Collection of Sidonius Apollinaris

SIGRID MRATSCHEK

LIFE AND LEGACY: MANUSCRIPTS AND THE POETICS OF ALLUSION

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius (ca. 430–485) was a man of diverse talents whose career knew peaks and troughs. A member of the highest Gallo-Roman aristocracy, government official under three Roman emperors, and bishop of Clermont-Ferrand ca. 470–485, Sidonius mirrored the tumultuous political history of Gaul; he was "now a player in the game, now the ball" (*Ep.* 5.17.6).[1] In his work we discover a sophisticated champion of Latin letters, the senator who exemplified the interaction between literary culture and politics by joking, at the apogee of his career in 468, that "with Christ's help, he had been made prefect of Rome for his sense of style" (*Ep.* 1.9.8). After the Visigothic occupation of Clermont in 475, Sidonius abandoned his attempts to organize Gallic resistance and switched to communication strategies: as the invasion progressed, Roman aristocrats, living in the secluded splendor of their estates, felt increasingly cut off from one another. The act of letter writing became a "survival strategy," establishing oases of *romanitas* and enabling the day-to-day maintenance of friendships and social intercourse that marked class and cultural solidarity.[2]

Sidonius's poetry, his letters, and his panegyrics to three different emperors and Euric, the Visigothic king, reveal a man of broad and deep learning and an author exceptionally given to historical and literary allusion. The design for his 147-letter collection explicitly invokes Pliny the Younger and Symmachus as models—stylistically through his thematic variation and his rejection of historiography (*Ep.* 1.1.1; 4.22.2 and 1.2.10; 4.22.5) and structurally by the arrangement of the letters into nine books (*Ep.* 9.1.1) and allusions to the architecture of his collection. At the same time, his letters are more creative than has been recognized. Along with retelling

events, they also recall thematic motifs from the Augustan and Trajanic eras. Sidonius's evocation of literary role models prompts his audience to engage with past voices now made relevant in the present. Intertextuality and memory are the key instruments in his endeavor not merely to revive the classical culture but to surpass it.

Christian Luetjohann grouped the Sidonius Apollinaris manuscripts into four families, from which he selected six codices as the basis for his text.[3] Of the more than sixty manuscripts containing Sidonius's writing (including his letters and poems as well as twenty fragments), the most valuable is the ninth-century Codex Laudianus lat. 104 (front cover), which was sent from the Carolingian palace school to other scriptoria.[4] This explains the genesis of further manuscripts,[5] which, while related to the Codex Laudianus and having much in common with it, were augmented and corrected on the basis of other sources. As no manuscript has an intact text, with even the Codex Laudianus displaying lacunae according to the Radcliffe Science Library autopsy, the less valuable manuscripts (PFC and M^2) must also be pressed into service.[6] The first critical edition, Luetjohann (1887), should be read in conjunction with that of Paul Mohr (1895), which adduced further codices and refuted erroneous conjectures.[7] The historically oriented commentary by Jacques Sirmond (1614) in the Migne edition (1862) was among the reasons for M. Eugène Baret's chronologically reordered edition (1879), and modern "editions" such as those of André Loyen and William Anderson merely reuse the editions of Luetjohann and Mohr, confining themselves to historical notes.[8]

The collection's fundamental ordering principle is not chronological,[9] but aesthetic, by the author's explicit design. Sidonius made his selection for revision and subsequent publication in book form from "the slightly more polished letters, varied according to topic, person and date" (*Ep.* 1.1.1). Notwithstanding any other dedications, the collection was dedicated as a whole to the priest Constantius (*Ep.* 1.1 and 8.16), as it has only one introductory and three concluding letters,[10] and book 9, addressed to Firminus (*Ep.* 9.1 and 9.16), is constructed as an addendum completing the collection's Plinian structure. These and other programmatic letters of dedication create unity and internal structure. As a writer of prose letters, Sidonius presents himself in the competing roles of lyric poet and dignified bishop (*Ep.* 1.1 and 9.16). A notable feature of these prose letters is the crucial role played by poetry and allusions to poetic classics. As Sidonius's letters have as yet been used almost solely as a valuable source for the social and intellectual life of late antique Gaul,[11] I have chosen to focus on the hitherto-neglected analysis of their epistolography and poetic self-presentation.

THE TWO FACES OF SIDONIAN SOCIETY: A COLLECTION WITHIN THE COLLECTION

Of the 147 letters, all but one were written by Sidonius himself. The solitary exception is the epistle of Claudianus Mamertus (*Ep.* 4.2), included in the collection as a reciprocal figuration of two men of letters intended to enhance the standing of both.[12] In asking Sidonius to review his work, Mamertus had cast him in the role of late antiquity's arbiter of taste;[13] Sidonius, meanwhile, praised Mamertus's "jeweled style."[14] Only one letter (*Ep.* 5.16) in the Sidonius

collection is addressed to a woman—his wife, daughter of the emperor Avitus—and even here the focus is not on Papianilla herself but on the promotion of her brother Ecdicius to the patriciate. All the other letters are addressed to the author's friends among the Gallo-Roman elite and the clergy, or to the political leadership in the Visigothic empire and Burgundy—an indication that the main criteria for selection were political utility and literary repute.

For Sidonius, in his social attitudes and in his correspondence, the secular and clerical aristocracies represented separate categories in terms of etiquette: in conformity with the epistolary theory of Julius Victor, Sidonius distinguished between personal letters (*epistolae familiares*) to men of letters on the one hand, and official letters (*negotiales*) to high-ranking clergy on the other.[15] The distinction was immediately apparent from the opening and closing salutations of any letter: in letters to his literary friends the salutation would include the addressee's name in the dative accompanied by the possessive pronoun *suo*, while a bishop would be addressed with the formula *domino papae*. The farewell salutation of these official letters ended with the fixed formula *memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa;* those to his friends concluded with a Plinian *vale*.[16] Whereas Sidonius would treat his literary-minded friends to letters bristling with poems, his letters to bishops contained no poetry at all: "the gravity of ecclesiastical actions" was incompatible with the playful "levity of verse-making."[17] Famous as a poet of elaborate meters, Sidonius had marked his consecration as bishop by renouncing his poetry and publicizing the fact that he had done so—an act imitated by subsequent generations.[18] His official correspondence with the bishops, a collection within the collection (*Ep.* 6.1–7.11, 8.13–15, 9.2–11) in which letters of recommendation and legal interventions predominate, enhances Sidonius's prestige as a man of power and influence.[19] The honor of first and last mention (*Ep.* 6.1 and 9.11) in the series of letters to bishops went to Lupus of Troyes, "bishop of bishops" (*Ep.* 6.1.1). Formerly an ascetic at Lérins, Lupus was now "the model of conduct and pillar of virtues."[20] His name was to appear as the first title (*Ep.* 6.1) in the book, just as Lupus himself was the first in rank, because of the length of his tenure in office.[21]

THE SEMIOTICS OF STRUCTURE: SELF-FASHIONING AND THE "MAKING" OF THE COLLECTION

As for the other people to whom Sidonius dedicated his correspondence, who were they, and why did he select them in particular? Certain motives can be ruled out, for a start: neither political prominence nor illustrious family tree (*antiquorum stemmata*) played a crucial part. Tonantius Ferreolus, his kinsman, praetorian prefect and pillar of Gallic lands though he was, received only an apology.[22] Sidonius accorded a cleric first place in his letter collection, on the grounds that the humblest ecclesiastic (*minimus religiosus*) ranks above the most exalted secular dignitary (*honoratus maximus*).[23] It was Constantius—priest and close friend, born like Sidonius into the Lyonnais aristocracy, and the one who had first suggested the letter collection—whom Sidonius named in the first letter as dedicatee of the first installment of the collection.[24] Sidonius credits Constantius, a poet of real quality, with playing an active

part in revising and editing the collection.[25] Sidonius used the programmatic letters of dedication addressed to Constantius (*Ep.* 1.1 and 7.18) to characterize the first seven books of letters, as Symmachus had done for his own, as a coherent collection.[26] They begin with Constantius, as inspiration for the work, and end with him as its most demanding reader and critic: Sidonius, the poet, underlines this point with an intertextual allusion to Vergil's *Eclogues*.[27] In the Vergilian context, the songs had been dedicated to the victorious Octavian, recipient of Apollo's laurel crown and the ivy crown of the poet.[28] In evoking the memory of the Augustan poet and his patron, Sidonius was forecasting comparable glory for Constantius and himself.

The programmatic letters usually end with a concise piece of literary criticism by the epistolary persona. At the end of book 7 Sidonius discloses the design and the method of his collection. His letters represent an extraordinarily diverse range of epistolographic genres: "I have written some exhortations, a great deal of praise, a certain amount of advice, a few laments, and a good number of jests."[29] He nevertheless conformed to the rules of rhetoric, which demanded that any given topic (*singulae causae*) should be confined to a single letter (*singulis epistulis*).[30] In line with the epistolographic requirement for clarity (*perspicuitas*), he asserted of his collection that he had produced nothing clever or eloquent, but likewise nothing that was unclear and nothing without precedent.[31] Visualization strategies drew the reader's eye to the numerous titles in red, and underlined the author's intention, using a term from Quintilian's rhetoric, to present his collection as a reservoir of rhetorical devices and of knowledge (*copiosum . . . exemplar*).[32]

Sidonius's letter corpus was not edited in a single process: parts of the collection were circulated individually and then revised before the final edition.[33] A *libellus* of earlier books (1–2) was combined with books 3–7 for circulation as a single volume (*volumen*), a collection that was followed by books 8 and 9 in separate circulation.[34] Like the epistles of Pliny, those of Sidonius were designed for interactive reading.[35] The trick of postponing the conclusion of the work by allowing time during composition for enthusiastic feedback from his friends, again and again, was one of Sidonius's strategies for enabling the reader to participate actively in each stage of the work's construction, and for allowing the author himself to explore an undreamed-of opportunity for self-fashioning through successive new dedicatees.[36] When Bishop Lupus complained that the book (*libellus*) sent to him as a gift was less *for* him than for passing on *by* him, the comment served to illustrate both the level of interest in Sidonius's letters and the rapidity with which the chain of publication functioned.[37] Sidonius granted him unrestricted ownership of the volume until it could be stored no less securely in his memory than in his library.[38]

To Petronius, a lawyer from Arles, Sidonius claimed to be scouring his Arvernian bookcases for material to expand the edition dedicated to Constantius from seven books of letters to eight.[39] Only a few letters were to be appended, embellishing the margins of the former collection "as if with a fringe."[40] Nor did he forget his original editor: a statement to Petronius, that in publishing as in writing his prime concern had been diligence (*diligentia*), whereas in editing it had been constancy (*constantia*), could be read as a pun on the name

Constantius.[41] At the end of book 8, a fresh letter of dedication to Constantius marked a further temporary conclusion to the collection.[42] Although the ninth and final book was dedicated to Firminus, Sidonius had expressly reserved the honor of the dedication of the first eight books for Constantius: "For I chose," Sidonius explained, "that Petronius should be confronted with the labors of correction, but you with the honor of the edition."[43]

Letters bearing the evocative names of those honored, Constantius and Firminus ("the Constant" and "the Steadfast"), provide the "solid framework" that gives the collection its final unity.[44] The ring composition of the macrostructure (from the "Constant" one to the "Firm" one) is mirrored in the microstructure of the imagery. The epilogue addressed to Firminus (*Ep.* 9.16), marking the successful arrival of the letter collection into the "harbor" of public acclaim, recalled, with its extended nautical metaphor, the prose *propemptikon* of the prologue addressed to Constantius (*Ep.* 1.1).[45] The chiasm continues: if, as Sidonius claims in the opening letter, Pliny the Younger's sophisticated epistolary art (*disciplina* and *maturitas*) and Symmachus's harmonious balance (*rotunditas*) of style were exemplary, Sidonius's final letter notes that while the Plinian perfection (*maturitas*) of the collection might have suffered in the haste to publish,[46] Symmachan *rotunditas*, evoked visually in the image of the boat (*spondas laterum rotundas*), would be protection against the attacks of critics (*Ep.* 9.16.3 v. 14). Like the collection as a whole, book 9 is marked off as a unity by its framing dedicatory letters. The opening and concluding letters to Firminus (*Ep.* 9.1 and 9.16) signal that this book was Sidonius's literary bequest to the young learned author, his future public.[47] In his final letter (*Ep.* 9.16.1–3) Sidonius reminds Firminus of how he had first suggested the addition of a ninth book, following the example of Pliny, to complete his corpus of letters.[48] As an appendix (*augmentum*) revealing a coded claim to the collection's artistic design, this last book of letters occupies a special place in the collection.

DECODING SIDONIUS'S SELF: *VELUT VULTUS IN SPECULO*

The author's self-representations do not reflect empirical reality but the constructions of the writing persona. This emerges from Sidonius's self-analytical comment that his "mind is reflected in his book in the same way as a face in a mirror."[49] But the metaphor of the letter as the mirror of the soul was a widely used topos.[50] With Sidonius we are dealing with constantly shifting authorial roles, different situations and points of view. It is all the more astonishing, then, that "behind the shifting facade and the distortions of rhetoric . . . a coherent set of beliefs" seems to be concealed.[51] Sidonius's declaration that "without conviction, one is powerless" has programmatic force (*Ep.* 7.18.3).

Sidonius's writings about himself prove to be a means of elucidating both self and world, and occasionally also of crisis management in a period of political and social upheaval. From deep conviction, he would not tolerate "servility of spirit."[52] As bishop of Clermont, defending his city against the Visigoths, he became the champion of this principle in opposition to King Euric. Invoking the past, he portrayed his actions as a heroic turning point of history and himself as a "new Decius," alluding to the hero of Rome's resistance to its archenemy, Hannibal.[53]

His exemplar was his grandfather, whom he described as a "perilous example for others to follow, a free man under the tyranny of despots," and as an alter ego of himself.[54]

Sidonius expressed his elitist view of culture in the form of a paradox: "To me, any assembly that is devoid of literary talent seems a complete wilderness."[55] But Sidonius's letters were also a stage for display of learning and of poetic ability. Impromptu poems augmented the self-presentation (*gloria*) of the author: the occasion might be a banquet given by the emperor Majorian, or a private sporting event.[56] Inspired by Ovid's self-portrait, Sidonius styled himself as a natural poetic talent.[57] In contrast to Ovid, however, he had not forsaken his career for poetry, instead joking, with the intellectual's characteristic sense of superiority, that his highest office had been conferred on him "as a reward for his style."[58] As the protagonist of his letters, he presented himself as writing in a creative flow,[59] while nonetheless claiming to exercise diligence (*diligentia*) and constancy (*constantia*) in the editing process.[60] The stage that he sets for his letters and poetic recitations, as for a theatrical performance, is generated by references to the opulent villas and libraries owned by his literary friends. These *ekphraseis* reflect the "real" parallel world of their owners and the sophisticated culture of Sidonius's literary circle in Gaul.[61] Unlike public libraries, the private libraries in Gaul were the exclusive preserve of a particular social caste, and provided both the basis and the code for its communication. In late antique Gaul, according to Sidonius, the sole remaining token of nobility was the knowledge of letters.[62]

WRITING AND ART: THE POET AS CRAFTSMAN

Sidonius missed no opportunity to insert poems into his letters.[63] Like Horace and the younger Pliny, he understood letter writing and the ceaseless search for polished diction metapoetically, as a form of creative or productive art.[64] A classical instance of this is a metaphor used by Horace in the *Ars poetica:* the poet feels obliged to pile ill-wrought verses back on the anvil for destruction.[65] Sidonius likewise emphasizes the caution demanded by the production process. His comparison of the "craftsmanship" of the poet (*poeta*) with that of the silversmith (*argentarius*) means that each and every poem "beaten out on the metrical anvil" in the literary workshop must be smoothed with a roughened file to produce a fine polish.[66] He jokes, with modest self-deprecation, that sending his liturgical manuscripts to Bishop Megethius is like furnishing the most illustrious artists of classical Greece with the tools of their trade—to Apelles a paintbrush, to Phidias a chisel, and to Polyclitus a mallet (*Ep.* 7.3.1). The metaphor of the anvil in the old smithy where verses were forged, with the bishop Sidonius now setting his too-long-inactive fingers to work, writing a poem in mournful stanzas (*nenia sepulchralis*) for the tomb of the abbot Abraham,[67] shows the artist at work: "I seek nothing more nor less," Sidonius explained to the bishop Volusianus and to the *comes* Victorius, "than to deeply inscribe a testimony to our mutual love with the pressure of the sharp chisel."[68] This he achieved by so choosing his words that he transformed the stylus of the writer into the chisel of the stonemason.

In the first seven books of letters, poetic inclusions are configured by Sidonius's visual rhetoric as witty impromptu poems for personal discourse or as artworks in the form of

graffiti, inscriptions, and verse epitaphs for the adornment of churches, tableware, and funerary monuments. *Ekphrasis* of such artworks is defined as a subgenre in its own right, in which the author would use description of the art object as a commentary on the artistry of his text. The interaction of text and artwork became particularly clear in discourse with the observer.[69] An epitaph in hendecasyllables (*nenia funebris*) for Philomatia, a mother of five children,[70] could produce the effect of a stony poem inscribed on a stone (*saxo carmen saxeum*). And if the recipient of the letter liked the poem, there was some likelihood that Sidonius's bookseller would add it to his collection of epigrams, which Silvia Condorelli supposes included the four epitaphs.[71] In a letter to his nephew, Sidonius described the epitaph for his grandfather Apollinaris as *musicas inferias*, a funeral offering from the Muses (*Ep.* 3.12.6). He mentioned that he was making all arrangements for the burial, from the inscription to the stonemason's briefing and the cost for the marble slab.[72] An obituary in which he extols the threefold cultural distinction of the philosopher Claudianus Mamertus furnishes him with an opportunity to showcase the reactions of reader *and* author to his own dirge (*neniam . . . tristem luctuosamque*).[73] In an ambiguous apostrophe he urges the readers not to anoint the marble memorial with their tears, as the spirit and fame of Mamertus could never be buried, while he himself gives free rein to his tears—not over the tomb, but over his funeral elegy.[74]

Writing also stands in for visual art if one considers the polymetric inscriptions on the display walls of the churches that Sidonius composed to commemorate the consecration of the basilicas in Lyon and Tours, and made known through his letters.[75] "In the extreme end of this sanctuary [i.e., in the apse] I have . . . placed an improvised poem as an inscription," the author emphasizes, as if he had incised it there with his own hands.[76] Sidonius's verses were dedicated to Patiens of Lyon, and immortalized the aesthetics of his new church.[77] Using a poetic *ekphrasis* in hendecasyllables, he leads the imaginary visitor through the basilica, the architecture of which—as in the festal poems of Paulinus of Nola—reflected the "splendor" of great wealth, and constructs the basilica as a paradisal place for all who seek the path to salvation. Sailors and travelers are called on to gather in it and join with the author in the song of praise.[78] On another occasion, a poem in distichs was dedicated to the celebrated basilica of St. Martin at Tours and its patron, the bishop Perpetuus. Sidonius compares this new building with the Temple of Solomon and stylizes the soaring gables of Perpetuus as a wonder of the world, aspiring to perpetuity.[79]

A present devised for the Visigothic queen Ragnahilda offers an insight into the lifestyle of the ruling elites and the dynamics of their exchanges of gifts, while also illustrating how Sidonius's art generated the illusion of the visual. He was called on to compose a poem for a valuable silver bowl in the form of a shell, to earn the queen's goodwill for one of his friends.[80] In twelve lines, he inverted the image of the silver's reflection by paying Ragnahilda the compliment that when she wet her face with the water in the bowl, "a gleam was shed upon the silver from her visage."[81] The success of the gesture was guaranteed. In all probability, however, as the author's ironic commentary notes, the "writing material" (*charta*) of solid silver would impress the "barbarian" royal court more than his sophisticated inscription (*scriptura*).[82]

LYRICISM: APOLLO AND HIS SWANS

The total absence of any versification in books 1–3 of Pliny the Younger's letters is in striking contrast to the parade of verse from book 4—and more particularly from book 7—onward.[83] Sidonius's letter collection shows a similar development. In contrast to the first seven books, each of which has one or two poems,[84] the letters toward the end of the work (books 8–9) are lyricized to an increasing degree in that the poems they include—*carmina* or *cantilenae veteres*—become more frequent, more subjective, and longer. The ninth and last book is a special case, including six poems—the largest number of poetic embellishments in the collection. Before the last two books of letters (books 8–9), in analogy to Horace before the fourth book of the *Odes,* Sidonius had inserted the collection of letters to the bishops and some prominent friends (books 6–7) as a "pause without poems" (*intervallum lyricum*), interrupted once by an epitaph for the abbot Abraham.[85] The letters at the end of the collection (*Ep.* 9.12–16) are all either *to* or *for* men of letters. In accordance with the Horatian principle that "a poem is like a picture" (*Ars p.* 361), Sidonius captures the enactment of this poetic pause in three distinct images: after three "Olympiads of silence" (469–80),[86] the plea of Tonantius the Younger for Horatian asclepiads had reawakened the lyrical voice of the letter writer, and, as a result, Sidonius had metamorphosed into a Horatian bard.[87] For Sidonius, lifting his old poems out of his cabinets and trunks felt like Odysseus's homecoming to Ithaca.

Like Horace, Sidonius plays subtly with the "idea of the poet" and his audience.[88] We see this in the tone of his last two volumes of letters. They bring us a meticulously crafted and amusingly misleading series of self-portraits of the author amid the circle of his literary friends that are both intellectually challenging and entertaining for his readers. Deploying allusive techniques, this late antique author consciously draws on the legacy of the classics and translates it with considerable virtuosity into consistently styled images aimed at promoting his agenda with his audience. His swan comparison alludes to one of the most celebrated of all self-promotions: Horace's impressive picture (*Carm.* 2.20.1–8) of himself as the swan, the magnificent poetic bird, soaring above all earthly trivialities, immortal through the fame of his poetry.[89] But in the Sidonian instance, the transformation undergoes a metamorphosis: the worldwide fame of Horace is wittily parodied. Sidonius combines strategies of ambiguity and willful obscurity, self-deprecation and humor, playfulness and misdirection. A range of associative imagery is brought into play: the swan as bird of Apollo, its song sublime above all others; the swan as the bird that sings most beautifully only when death is imminent; and the metamorphosis of poets such as Orpheus, Horace, and Pindar into singing swans.

When Sidonius (ca. 476) petitioned the Visigothic king at his court in Bordeaux for release from his exile (he had been refused return to Clermont, and on top of that was entangled in litigation over Papianilla's mother's estate) he once more deployed the poetic talents he had supposedly renounced as bishop.[90] In his complaint he contrasted his misfortune with the good fortune of his friend, whose estates Euric had restored: "I'm in trouble, you are in luck; I'm still an exile, you are now a citizen."[91] The creation of these fifty-nine hendecasyllables pushed him to the limits not only of his poetic abilities but even of his very existence:[92]

it was comparable only to the songs of swans, whose cry is more tuneful in moments of agony.[93] Sidonius uses the metaphor here for the construction of his lyrical self, seeking to call attention to the deadly mental torment he suffered in writing,[94] and also to emphasize the unique beauty of his poetic production. A second comparison evokes the forcibly tautened strings of the lyre, whose sound was more musical the more its strings were tortured.[95]

In literature's transformative nexus, the process of writing merges into that of artistic performance: not only is Sidonius incarnated as the bird of Apollo; his lyre reveals itself as the instrument of the god of the arts, with Sidonius himself as the divinely appointed poet. In his poem in praise of Euric, Sidonius assumes several roles at once. After invoking Apollo and the Muses, the poet deprives the god of his weapons, that he be enabled to bear the lyre, the quiver, and the bow for himself, a "new Apollo."[96] The scene depicting the Sassanid king, who had once claimed kinship with the stars and Phoebus the Sun, now approaching the Visigothic king as a suppliant alludes to Sidonius's own position as a petitioner.[97] Although Sidonius as a Roman actually did trace his ancestry, like Aeneas, to the stars, and even appeared in public, like Horace and Augustus, in the role of Phoebus Apollo,[98] his audience with Euric was fruitless.[99] The Visigothic king is cast as Octavian, who confiscated lands after the battle of Philippi.[100] Whereas Lampridius, like Tityrus in Vergil's *Eclogues*, could be heard trilling cheerful ditties once his land had been restored to him by Euric, the new Octavian,[101] Sidonius was left to wonder at how he himself was now in danger of becoming the shepherd Meliboeus, expelled from his home, with no prospect of recovering his lands, and without songs.[102] Assuming the role of the prophetic poet (*vates*), Sidonius proclaimed his definitive renunciation of poetry—at least until he stopped singing of losses rather than poetry.[103]

An earlier poem, quoted by Sidonius in a letter on the death of the same poet Lampridius, offers a glimpse into the refined lifestyle of the "Phoebus Society" in Bordeaux.[104] It shows the author and his friend playing the parts of the god of poetry and his mythical bard (*Ep.* 8.11.3): "He himself in the past used to call me Phoebus, as a joke among friends, having received from me the name of the Odrysian bard."[105] Lampridius's nickname for Sidonius was Phoebus Apollo, and Sidonius had nicknamed him Orpheus.[106] Apollo was the appropriate archetype for a man named Apollinaris.[107] In late antique mosaics Orpheus appears with himation and lyre—iconography associating him with Apollo—and shows his membership in this circle.[108] Rather than an obituary, Sidonius sent an old poem (*Ep.* 8.11.2) portraying himself and Lampridius in each other's company. An amusing reminder from "Phoebus himself to his especially beloved and very own Thalia" was designed to ensure a lodging for Sidonius on a visit to Bordeaux: Thalia is enjoined to "remember to visit Orpheus (Lampridius)" and "tell him Phoebus is coming." The passage evokes an echo of Martial's tipsy Muse, but without mythological identification: Thalia is to transmit his poem to Pliny the Younger by the "watery Orpheus," a nymphaeum with the singer surrounded by the beasts.[109]

Sidonius has made use of Lampridius's identification figure, the bard Orpheus, and of the adapted swan metaphor, to produce a more positive version of his first self-tormenting portrait of the poet. Orpheus's lyre did not fall silent with his death.[110] His soul is said to have chosen the swan as his new mode of being.[111] In his prose obituary for Lampridius, Sidonius

adapts Horace's image of the swan's flight to confer immortality on the poet: "He was refined, felicitous, and richly equipped; and wherever his mind carried his pen, he was such a master of utterance that one justly thought he would soar on wings of glory next after the Horatian and Pindaric swans."[112] By virtue of his metamorphosis into the bird of Apollo, the dead Lampridius was able to attain immortality alongside the greatest lyric poets of antiquity, Horace and Pindar, and to match their glory.[113] His apotheosis as a poet is completed by the metaphor of the wings (*gloriae pennis*) that bear him up to heaven and enduring poetic fame.[114]

In the letters to bishops, the leitmotif of the singing swan occurs only once (9.2), in a letter to Euphronius of Autun, but is used only to decline an invitation to compose a theological work. With his bird metaphor, Sidonius envisages a grotesque outcome, suggesting to Euphronius that were he to expose his inadequacy in exegesis, dialectics, or allegorical interpretation of the Bible to comparison alongside universally known church fathers such as Jerome, Augustine, and Origen, he might just as reasonably seek to blend the raucous honking of geese with the songs of swans, and the chirping of cheeky sparrows with the melodious plaints of the nightingale.[115] Only one of the long poetic insertions in the later letters (*Ep.* 9.13: *Carm.* 37) dispenses with the metaphors of Apollo and swan altogether. Petrus's new book was inspired by the *one* God.[116]

The exquisite elegy of the swan, orchestrated by the poetic art of the exiled author (*Ep.* 8.9: *Carm.* 34), finally modulates into a humorous crescendo involving a whole chorus of singing swans, in which Sidonius offers his audience a "parade of the poets" of late antique Gaul (*Ep.* 9.15: *Carm.* 40). The ode or eclogue in the prosimetric letter to Gelasius[117] leads seamlessly into Sidonius's refusal (*recusatio*) to compose an epic, on the grounds that he is merely a *gregarius poeta*, a poet from the rank and file, his plectrum is uncertain, his tongue unfit for "great" poetry.[118] Sidonius here combines the strategy of self-deprecation with that of humorous praise for his friends,[119] whom he depicts as much more suited to heroic poetry—among them Leo, adviser to the Visigothic king, and the younger Consentius, who on Parnassus would be seated next to Pindar. Once they had begun writing poetry, even Horace would wield his plectrum in vain (vv. 32–34):

> *. . . Iapygisque verna cygnus Aufidi*
> *Atacem tonare cum suis oloribus*
> *cana et canora colla victus ingemas.*
>
> . . . and you a native swan of Calabrian Aufidus,
> with your aged tuneful neck now humbled in defeat, would lament
> that Atax with its swans can bring forth tones of thunder.

Sidonius improvises brilliantly on the poet's self-portrait as painted by Horace (*Carm.* 2.20). Through his parody, Horace transformed into a swan is subjected to further metamorphosis; Sidonius has recast his worldwide fame in a comic version. *His* Horace is not immortal by virtue of his matchless song, but gray with age and voiceless (as the triple alliteration *cana*

et canora colla emphasizes), in contrast to the contemporary singing swans from Gaul, whose thunderous roar drowns out even the Aude mountain torrent. To prove his point, in lofty style and in the form of an epic catalogue, Sidonius reviews a parade of prize-worthy poets and orators: Leo of Toulouse, an eloquent epic poet and lawyer; the young Consentius of Narbonne, who composes poetry in Latin and Greek; Severianus, a rhetor in the sublime mode; the astute and elegant Domnulus, a quaestor of the sacred palace under Majorian; Petrus, the scholarly imperial secretary with his finely honed turn of phrase; and, not least, Proculus of Liguria, capable of rivaling the most illustrious epic poets of all, Vergil and Homer.[120] Sidonius seemingly undermines the image of the immortal poet whose grizzled swan neck can issue only a defeated and inaudible sigh above the din of grand epic poetry, and he places himself on a level with Horace. The attentive reader would recall here that Horace, for his part, rejected Augustus's invitation to praise him with an epic as Vergil and Varius had done.[121] The self-deprecation of the lyrical self as a poet—"I, in talent and tongue so worthy of contempt"[122]—and the poetic errors are cast in iambic senarii, the standard meter of Roman comedy; grand claims are undermined by humor.

POETRY IN PROSE: THE CREATION OF POETIC AUTHORITY

The double identity of poet and letter writer that Sidonius professes in the introductory letter (*Ep.* 1.1) undergoes redefinition in the epilogue (*Ep.* 9.16). Only its preamble and closing words are in prose; twenty-one Sapphic strophes, making up three-quarters of the text, comprise Sidonius's literary testament, in which life (*labores*) and art (*ars*) come together as a monument (*statua perennis*) of self-mythologization for the entire edifice of the letters.[123] Like the final letter in Horace's epistle collection (*Ep.* 20) and the final poem of his ode collection (3.30), Sidonius's final pendant, the collection's *sphragis* or seal-poem, offers retrospective information about the author's persona and relationship to his work. But what does Sidonius gain by thus intertextually aligning himself with Horace?

Through his allusions Sidonius summons up exemplary voices from the past, drawing on their help to keep changing and shaping his complex identity. During this process, the act of writing about his own self proves to be a tool for creating poetic authority. Horace's most famous ode (3.30) and Sidonius's poem share not only the same Sapphic meter, but the central identification of the literary work with a monument, symbolizing the immortal quality of poetry: what Horace created as an invisible memorial more enduring than bronze (*monumentum aere perennius*), comparable only to the far-distant wonders of the world, stands as a perpetual statue (*statua perennis*) of Sidonius, visible for all time to the eyes of any observer who might one day stand before the portraits and honorific inscriptions of the Forum Romanum.[124] Just as Horace had been the first (*princeps*) to establish the high lyric and the meters of Alcaeus and Sappho in Rome, it was Sidonius who made the Horatian lyric and its meters well known in Gaul.[125] When he positions himself within the social arena through the ritual of poet crowning, the motive of emulation becomes unmistakable: whereas Melpomene, muse of poetry, had placed a Delphic crown of laurels on the brow of

the Augustan poet, Sidonius gained *two* wreaths of foliage (*geminae . . . fronde coronae*).[126] The first was awarded to him on January 1, 456, for the honorific statue erected in the Forum Traianum (in recognition of his panegyric to the emperor Avitus) by the citizens, senate, and art experts of Rome, with his name and all his honors inscribed; the second came on January 1, 468, in recognition of the emperor Anthemius's having conferred upon him the honor of urban prefect for his panegyric.[127]

Like the correspondence, Sidonius's last poem is notable for its careful arrangement. Its symmetrical structure corresponds to two stages of the author's life, the two roles of politician and bishop reflecting two phases of his creative writing: poetry in his youth (vv. 1–42) and letter writing and lives of saints in his old age (vv. 42–84). The *recusatio* of poetry is placed centrally.[128] His role models were Horace, who exchanged the poetry writing of his youth for a philosophical lifestyle, and Prudentius, who in his later years renounced the life of the world to embrace the composition of Christian hymns.[129] In late antique Gaul, where libraries shelved popular Christian texts and pagan classics side by side, "it was a frequent practice to read writers whose artistry was of similar kind," such as the lyric poets Horace and Prudentius.[130] The role construction engaged in by Sidonius is a feature of the dialectic then developing between the pagan literary tradition and Christian identity discourses. The reason Sidonius offered for abandoning the playful poetics of his youth was his position as a bishop. His statement to this effect is modeled on Ovid's self-portrait,[131] constructed as a good-humored reply to Horace's conviction that a part of him, his poetic achievement, would not die with him, and that his posthumous fame (*postera laus*) would grow ever greater.[132] Sidonius's own fame as a poet (*fama poetae*) reached a magnitude even during his lifetime that threatened to compromise his reputation as a strict cleric.[133] For purposes of constructing his "self," he selected a thought from Ovid's epitaph stylizing himself as the poet who died through his own art and claimed that through the beauty of his words (*amoena dicta*) and the inventiveness of his figures (*schema . . . phalerasque*) he was losing his own identity and would perish.[134] Like Ovid, Sidonius cultivated a perception of himself as creator and victim of his poetry.

Martyr hymns on the Prudentian model now represented the only escape from the dilemma, and the only poetic genre still available to Sidonius the bishop.[135] For his subject he chose the martyrdom of Saint Saturninus: this was a gesture of homage to Prudentius's *Peristephanon*, in which four Saturnini were among the eighteen martyrs put to death in Zaragoza.[136] But the Saturninus invoked by Sidonius had been the first bishop of Toulouse, and his cult was extremely popular in fifth- and sixth-century Gaul. The Clermont-Ferrand basilica was dedicated to him, and Sidonius's epitaph intimated his wish to be interred close to the saint.[137] As in Prudentius, the magnitude of the martyr's suffering enhanced his power. The cruel martyrdom of Saturninus, who was thrown down from the temple of the heathen gods and then dragged to death by a bull during the Decian persecution, was shown, as in a film, from different vantages: a wide-angle view including the distant Capitol, and close-ups of the scattered body parts and the rock stained with the warm pulp of his mangled brain.[138] No wonder Sidonius, faced with this "aesthetic of horror," chose not to

follow Prudentius in praising the other saints in verse form![139] Discourses of this kind with the voices of the past may draw a writer into either excessive self-depiction or critical self-reflection. It is characteristic of Sidonius's subtle sense of humor that he resorted to citing Prudentius's hymn to the Saturnini—the name not fitting his (likewise Sapphic) meter either—to justify his inability to compose similar hagiographic verse.[140] He also used his *recusatio* to distance himself from Prudentius, who hoped to emulate his subjects in earning eternal salvation, not, as they had, through actual martyrdom, but as a poetic eyewitness of their martyrdom.[141] The paronomasia of *chordae nequeunt sonare* and *corda sonabunt* sharpens the contrast between the now silent lyre of the poet Sidonius, whose voice would never be heard again, and the sounds welling up within the bishop's heart in praise of his patron saints; it forms the transition to an "epilogue without verses."[142]

THE POETIC PROGRAM: UNITY *SECUNDUM REGULAS FLACCI*

The closing passage of Sidonius's volume of letters invites his readership one last time to engage with voices from the past, when he emphasizes that he wishes to return to colloquial style, so as not to end his prose work (*opus prosarium*) with a poetic epilogue (*epilogis musicis*)—and in so doing employs an image common to Horace and Prudentius, while attempting to outdo both (*Ep.* 9.16.4):

> *Redeamus in fine ad oratorium stilum materiam praesentem proposito semel ordine terminaturi, ne, si epilogis musicis opus prosarium clauserimus, secundum regulas Flacci, ubi amphora coepit institui, urceus potius exisse videatur. Vale.*
>
> In conclusion, let me return to prose style and so bring my present material to an end according to the plan which I determined at the outset, lest, if I round off my prose with a poetic epilogue, it might look like what Horace has in his manual—the wine jar that was to have been moulded turning out to be a pitcher instead. Farewell.

These lines seem to suggest renouncing all poetry (*epilogi musici*), not merely that he has outgrown his youthful delight in lyric poetry. The conclusion, however, shows such an inference to be fallacious. Sidonius certainly returns to the prose style (*oratorium stilum*) of letters; but his program for the nonpoetic work of epistolography is woven into a poetic metaphor from Horace's *Ars poetica* (vv. 21–22) and designed in accordance with the most important rule of Horace's poetics (*secundum regulas Flacci*). The image of the potter's botched product is the key to understanding the overall concept of Sidonius's letter collection. Horace uses the example of the potter who produces a small jug after setting out to make an amphora to show how, if an artist's control of form should slacken, then, together with the work's form, its name and its function will also change.[143] Unlike the incompetent potter, Sidonius possessed the artistry (*ars*) to impose his design consistently from beginning to end of the work, even going so far as to convert Horace's well-crafted hexameters into prose.

Prudentius, too, it may be noted, used the image of the potter and his clay vessel in the epilogue of his collection. A moment's reflection on this point may lead to a clearer perception of Sidonius's poetics. Prudentius's symbolism of God as the potter forming mankind, like clay in the potter's hands, into a vessel as he thinks fit, is drawn from the Bible.[144] By comparing his work with an earthenware pot (*olla fictilis*) and offering up to God his hymns as *earthen* and *earthly* tribute (*munus fictile*), he was assuring himself of his reward in heaven.[145] How this was done, and in what form, are irrelevant. Prudentius presents a lengthy catalogue of vessels and emphasizes that none of these is useless if it is fit for the service of the Lord;[146] Sidonius, however, perceives his work as an aesthetically perfect work of art (*amphora*) and identifies himself, its creator, with the potter. The aristocratic bishop would not have considered an undersized product that had turned out wrong, such as a cooking pot (*olla*) or a small pitcher (*urceus*), to be satisfactory. Sidonius distances himself from Prudentius and the concept underlying his hymns by expressly citing the authority of Horace and adopting "the Horatian rules" as poetic program for his letter collection.

But what were these principles of classical poetics? A cultivated reader such as Firminus would certainly recognize the celebrated maxim of Horatian poetics that immediately follows the simile of the potter (*Ars p.* 23): *denique sit quidvis,*[147] *simplex dumtaxat et unum*—in short, "Let [the work of art] be anything you like, but at least homogeneous and whole."[148] In the letter collection's final metaphor, the intertextual reference to the failed creation of the potter, the author discloses the crucial principle of his own composition: coherence and inner unity.[149] The late antique epistolographer Sidonius Apollinaris has conceived his epistolary collection in conformity with the instructions of the classical handbook of poetic composition and the principles of Horatian poetics (*Ars p.* 23). The onomatopoeic furling of the book roll in the introductory letter and the rapid rotation of the potter's wheel evoked by Sidonius's allusion to Horace bring to life the movement from opening to closing of the volume.[150]

Allusions to the classics as exemplars are then, in the light of the new critical approach to the poems and new focus on reception aesthetics, in no way mere art for art's sake, but play an important structural role in Sidonius's letter corpus, generating unity and meaning. In a controlled, gradual progression of lyrical concentration, the allusions reveal a succession of fresh facets of the author's self, thus providing the key to the development and program of the entire letter collection.

RECEPTION AND AFTERLIFE: A FAMILY PROJECT?

The collection of letters that Sidonius had designed according to the precepts of ancient epistolographic theory and classical poetics and then edited and circulated by his own efforts itself became a classic of the genre within a generation. During this process, the intricate network of Sidonius's own aristocratic clan, reaching far and wide across Gaul, was both vehicle and focus of the letters' reception. As Ralph Mathisen[151] has shown, all four of the largest late antique epistolary collections from the Roman West were the work of fifth-century Gallo-Roman aristocrats linked by overlapping literary circles and family ties. Joining

Sidonius were Ruricius, bishop of Limoges ca. 485–507 (82 letters), Avitus, bishop of Vienne ca. 490–518 (103 letters), and Ennodius, bishop of Pavia ca. 490–534 but an Arles native (297 letters). The commemorative efforts of Sidonius's son Apollinaris contributed to the transmission of his letter collection. Ruricius, whose circle had twelve correspondents in common with Sidonius's, assisted Apollinaris in editing some of Sidonius's works, quoted Sidonius three times in a letter (*Ep.* 1.4) to a mutual friend, and confessed how difficult he found it to follow Sidonius's rhetoric.[152] Avitus wrote an homage to a literary showpiece of Sidonius, his maternal uncle, and presented his own biblical epic to Apollinaris as an arbiter of taste.[153] Verbal allusion to the works of an admired role model or of mutual friends was a compliment, the expression of a shared elitism and mutual understanding.

Ennodius too, distantly related to both Sidonius and Avitus, would, like the latter, quote entire passages from Sidonius's poems.[154] Gregory of Tours, an Arvernian himself, quoted liberally from Sidonius's letters and possessed a copy of his now-lost masses.[155] He reported that Ferreolus of Uzès, descendant of a Papianilla and of Tonantius Ferreolus of Nîmes, had written a collection of letters "in the manner of Sidonius."[156] In the case of Sidonius, archiving collected epistolography became a means of maintaining family ties. It was thus no coincidence that an earlier copy of the ninth-century Codex Sangallensis 190 had originally preserved for posterity the letter collections of three generations, stretching from the fifth century to the seventh, of familially linked epistolographers and correspondents: the letters of and to Ruricius, of and to Desiderius of Cahors (ca. 580–655), and twenty-seven letters of Sidonius.[157]

The image of the poet and his literary fame that Sidonius crafted in his poems and letters was meant to inscribe itself firmly in the collective memory of later generations. Gennadius cited Sidonius's practice of writing to different correspondents in different meters alongside his mixing poetry and prose as proof of his literary talent.[158] Claudianus Mamertus called him very learned (*doctissimus*) and classed him as a learned poet (*poeta doctus*), one whose work referred to his predecessors, explicitly or through allusion.[159] Gregory of Tours admired his virtuosity in assembling—quickly, seemingly spontaneously, and with the utmost clarity—all the elements of a harmonious composition.[160] In an epitaph for Sidonius, a contemporary author immortalized a scene in which the bishop, "after receiving such a gift from the Muses, seated on the episcopal throne," turns over all secular affairs to posterity.[161] But unlike the modern age, he judged that Sidonius, who must be known to all, should be read the world over—and articulated his praise in Sidonius's favorite meter, hendecasyllables.[162]

NOTES

Recent research by Roy Gibson (Manchester), analyzing Plinian architecture in Sidonius's correspondence and diagnosing "similarities between books of letters and poetry collections," prompted me to investigate the poetic dimension of the letter collection. During my Fellowship at All Souls College I gleaned further stimulating insights from Jill Harries (St. Andrews), Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser (Göttingen), Annick Stoehr-Monjou (Clermont-Ferrand), and Jaś Elsner and Jesús Hernández Lobato's impressive colloquium "Towards a Poetics of Late Latin Literature" (Oxford,

June 25, 2012). I thank Ralph W. Mathisen, Helga Köhler, Silvia Condorelli, Luciana Furbetta, and Aaron Pelltari most sincerely for granting me access to their stimulating manuscripts, "The 'Publication' of Latin Letter Collections in Late Antiquity," the German translation of Sidonius's letters, and their contributions on Sidonian poetry.

1. For a biographical sketch, see Sigrid Mratschek, "Creating Identity from the Past: The Construction of History in the Letters of Sidonius," in *New Approaches to Sidonius Apollinaris*, ed. Joop van Waarden and Gavin Kelly (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 250–54.

2. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.11.1: *sed quoniam fraternae quietis voto satis obstrepit conflictantium procella regnorum, saltim inter discretos separatosque litterarii consuetudo sermonis iure retinebitur, quae iam pridem caritatis obtentu merito inducta veteribus annuit exemplis.* See Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 108–12; Joop van Waarden, *Writing to Survive: A Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris; Letters Book 7*, vol. 1, *The Episcopal Letters 1–11* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 19 and 24; and Scott McGill, "Latin Poetry," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 341. Cf. Jill Harries, *Sidonius and the Fall of Rome, AD 407–485* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 246, distrusting Sidonius's picture of a unified Gallic aristocracy.

3. From the first family he took C (Madrid BNac. 9449, tenth/eleventh c.; previously, Ee 102); from the second F (Paris, BN Lat. 9551, twelfth c.); from the third P (Paris, BN Lat. 2781, tenth/eleventh c.); from the fourth T (Florence, BLaur. plut. 45.23, twelfth c.), M (Florence, BLaur. S. Marco 554, tenth c.), and L (Oxford Radcliffe Science Lib., previously Bodleian Lib. Laud. Lat. 104, ninth c.). See Christian Luetjohann, ed., *Gai Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina*, MGH AA 8 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), *Praefatio*, vi–xxii; André Loyen, ed. and trans., *Sidoine Apollinaire*, vols. 2–3, *Lettres* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1970), 2: xlix–liv, esp. liii (stemma); and Helga Köhler, *C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius: Briefe Buch 1* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995), 25–30.

4. Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. Jonathan James Graham Alexander and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 3–22. It is also possible that this manuscript's archetype may have been the one sent to various scriptoria.

5. Cod. R (Reims, BMun. 413, ninth c.), N (Paris, BN Lat. N. D: 18584, tenth c.), and V (Vat. Lat. 1783, tenth/eleventh c.).

6. Lacunae in Cod. Laud. 104: §§7–8 in *Ep.* 3.3; the end of 6.12 and the beginning of book 7 down to *Ep.* 7.5.2 (a quaternion is missing; i.e., *Ep.* 7.1–7.4 are missing in their entirety); *Ep.* 7.6 and 7.7; the end of *Ep.* 7.18; *Ep.* 8.2 and 9.1; *Ep.* 7.10 is placed after 7.11. See Luetjohann, *Praefatio*, xvii; van Waarden, *Writing to Survive*, 34; and Loyen, *Sidoine*, 2:liii (stemma).

7. Luetjohann, *Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina*; and Paul Mohr, ed., *C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895).

8. Jacques Sirmond, ed., *C. Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii Arvernorum Episcopi Opera* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1614); Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Sanctorum Hilarii . . . Sidonii Apollinaris . . . opera omnia, nunc primum cura qua par erat emendata, ad eruditissimas lucubrationes . . . Jacobi Sirmondi perquam diligenter collata et expressa*, PL 58 (Paris: Migne, 1862); M. Eugène Baret, ed., *Oeuvres de Sidoine Apollinaire: Texte Latin, publiées pour la première fois dans l'ordre chronologique d'après les mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1879); Loyen, *Sidoine*; William B. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Sidonius*, vol. 1, *Poems and Letters 1–2* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), vol. 2, *Letters 3–9* (London: Heinemann, 1965).

9. Systematically demonstrated by Ralph W. Mathisen, "Dating the Letters of Sidonius," in van Waarden and Kelly, *New Approaches*, 221–47.

10. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.1.2: *simplex principium, triplices epilogos.* See Köhler, *Sidonius*, 8; and Roy Gibson, "Reading the Letters of Sidonius by the Book," in van Waarden and Kelly, *New Approaches*, 200, also 311–13 in this volume.

11. E.g., Michaela Zelzer, "Die Briefliteratur," in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Lodewijk J. Engels and Heinz Hofmann, vol. 4: *Spätantike* (Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag, 1997), 348; and Manfred Fuhrmann, *Rom in der Spätantike: Porträt einer Epoche*, 2nd ed. (Zürich and Munich: Artemis & Winkler, 1995), 274–81.

12. This was a characteristic feature of "planned literary collections," according to Ralph W. Mathisen, "The 'Publication' of Letter Collections in Late Antiquity," in *Zwischen Alltagskommunikation und literarischer Identitätsbildung: Kulturgeschichtliche Aspekte lateinischer Epistolographie*, ed. Gernot Michael Müller (Stuttgart: Steiner, forthcoming). On comparable strategies in Cicero, Seneca and Augustine, see Therese Fuhrer, "Autor-Figurationen: Literatur als Ort der Inszenierung von Kompetenz," in *Performanz von Wissen: Strategien der Wissensvermittlung in der Vormoderne*, ed. Therese Fuhrer and Almut-Barbara Renger (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012), 129–47.

13. Claudianus's *De statu animae* was dedicated to the *praefectorio patricio doctissimo et optimo viro Sollio Sidonio* (Sidon. *Ep.* 4.2.2 [letter of Claudianus]): *quod libellos illos, quos tuo nomine nobilitari non abnuis, nullo umquam inpertivisti rescripto;* 4.3.9 (Sidonius's reply): *arbitro me in utroque genere dicendi.*

14. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.3.9: *tamquam parvo auro grandis gemma vix capitur emicatque.* See Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 14, 51–52, 151, 155.

15. Iul. Vict. 27 (105, 11–12 in Remo Giomini and Maria Silvana Celentano, eds., *C. Iulii Victoris Ars rhetorica* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1980]): *Epistolarum species duplex est: sunt enim aut negotiales aut familiares. Negotiales sunt argumento negotioso et gravi.*

16. Mathisen, "Dating the Letters," 240–42.

17. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.12.1: *quia nimirum facilitati posset accomodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat gravitas actionum.*

18. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.12.1: *quippe qui parum metiens, quid ordinis agam, carmina a nobis nunc nova petat. Primum ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio renuntiavi.* Ennod. *Carm.* 1.6, *praef.*; 1.9, *praef.*; see Bianca-Jeanette Schröder, *Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jh. Studien zum Mailänder Diakon Magnus Felix Ennodius* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 172–74; and Marc Reydellet, ed., *Venance Fortunat: Poèmes I* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1994), xxv. Adrian N. Sherwin-White (*The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], 289) conjectures on the basis of *Ep.* 7.4.3 that Pliny too gave up writing verses about the beginning of his public career.

19. Here too the act of renunciation was less than total, with the occasional poetic excursus or classical or mythological reference still occurring; see *Ep.* 6.12.6 (bishop Patiens compared with Triptolemus), 7.2.9 (wedding fraud as comedy from Attica or Miletus), 7.9.8 ("Scyllas" of abusive tirades), and 7.3.1 (simile of Apelles, Phidias, and Polyclitus).

20. Sidon. *Ep.* 6.1.4: *norma morum, columna virtutum.* Note the parallelism.

21. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.11.5: *Adde . . . quod sicut tu antistitum ceterorum cathedris, prior est tuus in libro titulus.*

22. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.12.1: *Si amicitiae nostrae potius affinitatisque quam personae tuae tempus ordinem statum cogitaremus, iure vobis in hoc opere . . . primae titulorum rubricae . . . dedicarentur. Ep.* 7.12.2, *explicandis antiquorum stemmatibus,* might be an echo of Iuv. 8.1, *stemmata quid faciunt?* On Ferreolus (*Carm.* 24.35: *rector columenque Galliarum*), *praef. praet. Galliarum* 451, see *PLRE* II:465–66, s.v. "Tonantius Ferreolus."

23. See the chiasmus in Sidon. *Ep.* 7.12.4: *secundum bonorum sententiam computatur honorato maximo minimus religiosus.*

24. Sidon. *Ep.* 3.2.3: *nobilitate sublimis;* 3.2; 7.18: *presbyter.* A son of Ruricius was called Constantius. On nomenclature and possible kinship, see Ruric. *Ep.* 2.24 and 2.43; Ralph W. Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: A Collection of Letters from Visigothic Gaul; Letters of Ruricius of Limoges, Caesarius of Arles, Euphrasius of Clermont, Faustus of Riez, Graecus of Marseilles, Paulinus of Bordeaux, Sedatus of Nîmes, Sidonius Apollinaris, Taurentius, and Victorinus of Fréjus* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 24n30; and Mathisen, "Epistolography, Literary Circles, and Family Ties in Late Roman Gaul," in *Studies in the History, Literature, and Society of Late Antiquity,* ed. Mathisen (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1991), 25n46.

25. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.1.3: *tuaeque examinationi has* (sc. *litterulas*) *non recensendas . . . sed defaecandas . . . limendasque commisi;* 6.6.3: Constantius's *examinatio der litterulae;* 2.10.3: *eminens poeta;* cf. the verse inscription in the basilica of Lyon.

26. Roy K. Gibson, "Pliny and the Letters of Sidonius: From Constantius and Clarus to Firminus and Fuscus," *Arethusa* 46 (2013): 351. Books 1–7 were published as a unit. See Harries, *Sidonius,* 9; and Mathisen, "Dating the Letters," 225.

27. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.1 = Verg. *Ecl.* 8.11: *A te principium, tibi desinet;* 7.18.2: *Commendo igitur varios iudicio tuo nostri pectoris motus.* Constantius serves as *lector delicatissimus,* as the origin and end of Sidonius's project.

28. See the following verses in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.11–13: *accipe iussis / carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum / inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.*

29. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.2: *Dictavi enim quaepiam hortando, laudando plurima et aliqua suadendo, maerendo pauca iocandoque nonnulla.*

30. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.4: *cum singulae causae singulis ferme epistulis finiantur.* Note the polyptoton of *singulae.*

31. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.16.5: *sicut istic nil acre, nil eloquens, ita nihil inditum non absolutum, non ab exemplo.* The import is in the litotes. Iul. Vict. 27 (105, 24 Giomini and Celentano): *Lucem vero epistolis praefulgere oportet.* Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 8.2.22 (*perspicuitas*).

32. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.16.1: *Nam peritia tua si coactorum in membranas inspiciat signa titulorum, iam copiosum te . . . pulsat exemplar.* Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.5 on the *copia rerum ac verborum,* an abundant source of always accessible idioms and facts. Gibson ("Pliny," 346) suggests that an address list may have been appended.

33. The act of "circulation" was the late antique equivalent of "publication." On Sidonius's use of the term *publicare,* see Mathisen, "Publication." Harries's distinction (*Sidonius,* 4) between "private circulation" and "formal publication" has "publication" meaning the final and "authorised" edition. Alan Cameron (*The Last Pagans of Rome* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2011], 416) posits an editorial process during which the Pliny reminiscences were given more weight.

34. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.1.1: *omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno volume includam.* See Harries, *Sidonius,* 7–8, but only with reservations due to Sidonius's imprecise terminology: *volumen, liber/libellus, opus/opusculum* can refer either to a single book or to an entire work. See the examples in Mathisen, "Dating the Letters," 225n13, also 224–32, on the circulation of partial collections.

35. Ilaria Marchesi, *The Art of Pliny's Letters: A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 242; and Aaron Pelttari, *The Space That Remains: Reading Latin Poetry in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 164.

36. A letter in book 3 (3.14.1), describing how intensively Placidus in Grenoble devoted himself to reading Sidonius's letters, shows that one or both of the first two books were already circulating there. When Leo advised Sidonius to turn to historiography because the letter collection was

now finished (4.22.1), a collection of three books was available to the public. On "false" endings as a literary game with the reader, see Gibson, "Reading the Letters of Sidonius," 200 and 212.

37. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.11.1: *Propter libellum, quem non ad vos magis quam per vos missum putastis.* Probably the part of the collection comprising letters to bishops (B. 6–8): Anderson, *Sidonius*, 2:548n2. Comparable to Augustine's circulation of letters using the "snowball" system (Aug. *Ep.* 1A*.2.2: CSEL 88.8): Sigrid Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 473–74.

38. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.11.6: *Nempe ad extremum palam videtur etiam tibi transmissa proprietas, cui usus absque temporis fixi praescriptione transmissus est quique supradicto tamdiu potes uti libello, ut eum non amplius zothecula tua quam memoria concludat.*

39. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.1.1: *scrinia Arverna petis eventilari;* Petronius as *inlustris vir* (8.16.1) and lawyer (2.5.2; 5.1).

40. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.1.1: *actionem tamen stili eatenus prorogaturi, ut epistularum seriem . . . in extimo fine parvi adhuc numeri summa protendat, opus videlicet explicitum quodam quasi marginis sui limbo coronatura.*

41. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.1.3: *sicut adhibendam in conscriptione diligentiam, ita tenendam in editione constantiam.* As already argued by Birt (in M. Kraemer, *Res libraria cadentis antiquitatis Ausonii et Apoll. Sidonii exemplis illustrata* [Marburg, 1909], 35), opposing Anderson, *Sidonius*, 2:402n1.

42. The end of the book roll had been reached; see Sidon. *Ep.* 8.16.1: *iam venitur ad margines umbilicorum.*

43. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.16.1: *Spoponderam Petronio . . . praesens opusculum paucis me epistulis expediturum. . . . Malui namque, ut illum correctionis labor, te honor editionis aspiceret. . . . Peracta promissio est.*

44. On "Plinian" architecture, see Gibson, "Pliny," 335–40; Gibson, "Reading the Letters of Sidonius," 217–19; and Gibson, "On the Nature of Ancient Letter Collections," *JRS* 102 (2012): 69.

45. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.1 alludes to the *propemptikon* (24) at the end of the poetry collection. Cf. *Carm.* 3.6 (*famae pelagus sidere curro suo*). See Isabella Gualandri, *Furtiva lectio: Studi su Sidonio Apollinare* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1979), 105–7; and the commentaries by Köhler, *Sidonius*, 114–17, and Stefania Santelia, *Carme 24: Propempticon ad libellum* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2002).

46. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.1.1; cf. 9.16.3: *Restat, ut te arbitro non reposcamur res omnino discrepantissimas, maturitatem celeritatemque.* On speed (*celeritas*) as a reference to Statius's impromptu verse-making, see Meike Rühl, *Literatur gewordener Augenblick: Die Silven des Statius im Kontext literarischer und sozialer Bedingungen von Dichtung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 111–12.

47. Ennod. *Ep.* 1.8.1 (Firminus): *doctus auctor.* He was younger than Sidonius (*Ep.* 9.1.1; 16.1: *domine fili*), the same age as Sidonius's son (9.1.5: *Apollinaris tuus*), and distantly related to Magnus Felix Ennodius; see Mathisen, "Epistolography," 22.

48. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.1.1: *eo quod Gaius Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistulare determinet;* 9.1.2: *primum, quod opusculo prius edito praesentis augmenti sera coniunctio est.* See Gibson, "Pliny," 353–55. It was not until the time of Ambrosius and Symmachus that Pliny's collection was expanded to include the tenth book, the author's correspondence with Trajan. See Johannes Divjak, "Epistulae," in *Augustinus-Lexikon* 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 899.

49. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.2: *minime ignarus, quod ita mens pateat in libro velut vultus in speculo.*

50. E.g., Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 13.2: *sermo enim viri mentis est speculum.* See Michaela Zelzer, "Der Brief in der Spätantike: Überlegungen zum literarischen Genos am Beispiel der Briefsammlung des Sidonius Apollinaris," *Wiener Studien* 107/108 (1994/95): 542.

51. As Jill Harries, *Sidonius*, 300, has convincingly demonstrated.

52. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.3: *scias volo Christi dextera opitulante numquam me toleraturum animi servitutem.*

53. Mratschek, "Creating Identity," 249–71.

54. Sidon. *Ep.* 3.12.5, vv. 11–12: *exemploque aliis periculoso / liber sub dominantibus tyrannis.* Cf. 7.18.3 (about himself): *Nam ut timidi me temerarium, ita constantes liberum appellant.* Gibson ("Pliny," 348–49) points out parallels with depictions of the elder and younger Pliny.

55. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.14.10: *Ego turbam quamlibet magnam litterariae artis expertem maxumam solitudinem appello.*

56. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.11.14: "Who taxes me with satire, mighty prince, / say he must prove it or be made to wince"; 16: *famam mihi parasset;* 17: *finis gloria fuit.* See Harries, *Sidonius,* 93–94. *Ep.* 5.17.10: *subditum . . . epigramma* on Philomatius's sweat-drenched towel, by Sidonius, "redolent of the Muses."

57. Sidon. *Ep.* 5.21.1: *Mihi quoque semper a parvo cura Musarum.* Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.19–20: *At mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant, / inque suum furtim Musa trahebat opus.*

58. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.9.8: *cum ad praefecturam sub ope Christi stili occasione pervenerim.* Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.35–40.

59. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.18.1: *quamquam incitatus semel animus necdum scripturire desineret;* 9.13.6: *Ecce, dum quaero quid cantes, ipse cantavi.* Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.25–26: *sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos, / et quod temptabam dicere versus erat.*

60. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.1.3. See above.

61. Sigrid Mratschek, "Identitätsstiftung aus der Vergangenheit: Zum Diskurs über die trajanische Bildungskultur im Kreis des Sidonius Apollinaris," in *Die christlich-philosophischen Diskurse der Spätantike: Texte, Personen, Institutionen,* ed. Therese Fuhrer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 373–77.

62. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.2.2: *solum erit posthac nobilitatis indicium litteras nosse.*

63. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.12.3: *litterae . . . versu refertae;* 8.11.1: *cantilenae veteres;* 8.11.2; 5.17.10: *subditum carmen, epigramma.*

64. John Henderson, *Pliny's Statue: The Letters, Self-Portraiture, and Classical Art* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), 7–40; and Marco Formisano, "Towards an Aesthetic Paradigm of Late Antiquity," *AnTard* 15 (2007): 277–84.

65. Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.440–41 = *Ars* 440–41: *delere iubebat* (sc. *Quintilius*) / *et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.* Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.13.2: *Horatiana incude formatos Asclepiadeos.* On the image of the anvil, see Gualandri, *Furtiva lectio,* 127–28.

66. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.8.5: *cum . . . non te lateret intra officinam litteratorum carminis si quis incus metrica produxerit non minus forti et asprata lima poliri.* See Silvia Condorelli, "Improvisation and Poetical Programme in Sidonius, *Ep.* 9.13," in van Waarden and Kelly, *New Approaches,* 111n2.

67. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.17.1: *Iubes me, domine frater, lege amicitiae, quam nefas laedi, iam diu desides digitos incudibus officinae veteris imponere et sancto Abrahae diem functo neniam sepulchralem luctuosis carminibus inscribere.*

68. Sidon. *Ep.* 7.17.2: *nihil aliud exaraturi stili scalpentis impressu quam testimonium mutuae dilectionis.*

69. Jaś Elsner, "The Genres of Ekphrasis," *Ramus* 31 (2002): 3–9; Jas Elsner and Michel Meyer, eds., *Art and Rhetoric in Roman Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 4–5, 21; Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination, and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 1–11, 81–84; on Sidonius, see Jesús Hernández Lobato, *Vel Apolline Muto: Estética y poética de la antiguedad tardía* (Bern: Lang, 2012), 257–317.

70. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.8.2: *Post quae precatu parentis orbati neniam funebrem non per elegos sed per hendecasyllabos marmori incisam planctu prope calente dictavi.*

71. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.8.2: *Quam si non satis improbas, ceteris epigrammatum meorum voluminibus applicandam mercennarius bybliopola suscipiet; si quod secus, sufficit saxo carmen saxeum contineri.*

Cf. *Ep.* 3.12.5, 4.11.6, and 7.17.2. See Silvia Condorelli, "Gli epigrammi funerari di Sidonio Apollinare," in *La renaissance de l'épigramme dans la latinité tardive: Actes du Colloque de Mulhouse (6–7 octobre 2011)*, ed. Marie-France Guipponi-Gineste and Céline Urlacher-Becht (Paris: De Boccard, 2013), 261–79.

72. Sidon. *Ep.* 3.12.4: *ego venerabili Gaudentio reliqui pretium lapidis;* 3.12.5: *quod peto, ut tabulae . . . celeriter indatur; sed vide ut vitium non faciat in marmore lapidicida.*

73. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.11.6 (nenia), vv. 4–5: *triplex bybliotheca quo magistro, / Romana, Attica, Christiana, fulsit.* See also *Ep.* 2: *scientiae suae thesauri.*

74. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.11.6, vv. 22–25: *At tu, quisque doles, amice lector, / . . . udis parce genis rigare marmor: / mens et gloria non queunt humari;* 4.11.7: *lacrimis habenas anima parturiente laxavi fecique ad epitaphium quod alii fecerunt ad sepulchrum.* The process of poetic genesis, *anima parturiente*, could allude to Claudianus's *De statu animae.*

75. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.4 (possibly an apse mosaic with inscription) and 4.18.5 (building inscription).

76. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.3: *Huius igitur aedis extimis . . . tumultuarium carmen inscripsi.* It was composed in hendecasyllables and had been commissioned by Patiens.

77. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.4, vv. 1–2: *Quisquis pontificis patrisque nostri / conlaudas Patientis hic laborem.* See also *Ep.* 2.10.2 ; and Jesús Hernández Lobato, "La écfrasis de la catedral de Lyon híbrido intersistémico: Sidonio Apolinar y el Gesamtkunstwerk tardoantiguo," *AnTard* 18 (2010): 297–308.

78. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.4, vv. 8–10: *Intus lux micat atque bratteatum / sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar, / fulvo ut concolor erret in metallo.* Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 27.387–88 (on the *splendor* of the Basilica Nova). Note anaphora and apostrophe in vv. 28–30: *sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator; / namque iste est locus omnibus petendus, / omnes quo via ducit ad salutem.* Lyon, the "*caput Galliarum*," stood at the confluence of the Arar (Saône) and the Rhodanus (Rhône).

79. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.18.5 (*elegiae nostrae* on the occasion of the consecration in 474), vv. 13–14: *quae* (sc. *aedes*) *Salamoniaco potis est confligere templo, / septima quae mundo fabrica mira fuit;* and vv. 19–20: *dumque venit Christus, populos qui suscitet omnes, / perpetuo durent culmina Perpetui.*

80. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.8.4: *poposcisti, ut epigramma transmitterem duodecim versibus terminatum;* 4.8.5: *istoque cultu expolitum reginae Ragnahildae disponis offerre.* On late antique silver hoards, see Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 68–69.

81. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.8.5, vv. 9–12, with a macarism on the water reflected in the silver: *felices lymphae, clausae quae luce metalli / ora tamen dominae lucidiora fovent! / Nam cum dignatur regina hinc tinguere vultus, / candor in argentum mittitur e facie.*

82. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.8.5: *Namque in foro tali sive Athenaeo plus charta vestra* (sc. *Euodii*) *quam nostra scriptura laudabitur.*

83. Plin. *Ep.* 4.14.2 (*accipies . . . hendecasyllabos nostros*); 7.4.3 (*hendecasyllabis nunc primum*); see Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny*, 289.

84. Book 4 is the only book that contains three poems (29–31); book 6 has none.

85. Admirably interpreted by Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser, "Bleibende Klänge: Das hymnische Briefsiegel des Bischofs Sidonius (*Ep.* 9,16)," *Millenium* 7 (2010): 257–92, esp. 268–69. Cf. Suet. *Vit. Hor.* (486 Rolfe): *eumque coegerit* (sc. *Augustus*) *. . . ex longo intervallo quartum* (sc. *carminum librum*) *addere;* Sidon. *Ep.* 7.17.2 (epitaph for Abraham).

86. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.12.2: *postquam in silentio decurri tres Olympiadas.* Twelve years since the bishopric in 469 (inclusive). See Mathisen, "Dating the Letters," 231n45.

87. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.13.2: *poscis, ut Horatiana incude formatos Asclepiadeos tibi quospiam . . . transmittam;* 9.13.6: *Ecce, dum quaero, quid cantes ipse cantavi. Tales enim nugas in imo scrinii fundo muribus perforatos post annos circiter viginti profero in lucem, quales pari tempore absentans, cum domum rediit, Ulixes invenire potuisset.* Here Sidonius distances himself by twenty years from the poetry of his youth.

88. For Horace's play with the idea of "poet" in his later *sermones*, see Stephen Harrison, "Horatian Self-Representations," in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. Stephen Harrison (repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 33.

89. Cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 23.454–55: *quamvis . . . tendat / ille* (sc. *Flaccus*) *ad Pindaricum volare cygnum*. See Harrison, "Horatian Self-Representations," 29; Ernst-Richard Schwinge, "Horaz, *Carmen* 2,20," *Hermes* 93 (1965): 438–59; and Michael von Albrecht, "Zur Selbstauffassung des Lyrikers im augusteischen Rom und in Russland: Horaz (carm. 2,20 and 3,30)—Deržavin—Puśkin—Jevtušenko—," *Antike und Abendland* 18 (1973): 58–86.

90. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.2: *necdum enim quicquam de hereditate socruali vel in usum tertiae sub pretio medietatis obtinui*. Sidonius had not even received the *ususfructus* of one-third; the other two-thirds had been taken by a Goth. See Harries, *Sidonius*, 240–41.

91. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.3: *ago laboriosum, agis ipse felicem; ago adhuc exulem, agis ipse iam civem*.

92. The poet, of sensitive disposition, had had an attack of aphasia, his throat knotted by anxiety. Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.2: *ingenia maeroribus . . . amiciuntur* (like fish in a net); *poetica teneritudo: a vinculo incursi angoris elaqueat*. See Reiner Henke, "Eskapismus, poetische Aphasie und satirische Offensive: Das Selbstverständnis des spätantiken Dichters Sidonius Apollinaris," in *Vom Selbst-Verständnis in Antike und Neuzeit = Notions of the Self in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Alexander H. Arweiler and Melanie Möller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 161, 167–69.

93. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.4: *nutu indulgentiore susceperis, persuadebis mihi, quia cantuum similes fuerint olorinorum, quorum est modulatior clangor in poenis*. Cf. Call. *Ait.* 1, fr. 1.39–40; Iamb. fr. 194, 46–47; see commentary by Annette Harder, *Callimachus: Aetia*, vol. 2, *Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 86; and Socrates's simile as he faces death, in Pl. *Phaed.* 84e3–85b7.

94. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.4: *quod si quopiam casu ineptias istas, quas inter animi supplicia conscripsimus*.

95. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.4: *similes etiam chordae lyricae violentius tensae, quae quo plus torta, plus musica est*.

96. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.5, vv. 6–10: *et me scribere . . . cogis / ac si Delphica Delio tulissem / instrumenta tuo novusque Apollo / . . . agam*.

97. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.5, vv. 52–54: *qui* (i.e., Parthicus Arsaces) *cognata licet sibi astra fingens / Phoebea tumeat propinquitate, / mortalem hic tamen implet obsecrando*.

98. Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.41–44. On Horace as a "metonym for Apollo," see Michael C. J. Putnam, *Artifices of Eternity: Horace's Fourth Book of Odes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 121. On Augustus in the role of Phoebus Apollo on the Feast of Twelve Gods, see *SIG*³ 798; Phil. *Leg.* 13.95; and Suet. *Aug.* 70.1. Jupiter's prophecy of a golden age for Rome had not been fulfilled (Verg. *Aen.* 1.259–60): *sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean*.

99. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.5, vv. 55–57: *Haec inter terimus moras inanes; . . . dum nil mereor precesque frustra / impendo;* vv. 17–18: *nos istic positos semelque visos / bis iam menstrua luna conspicatur* (sc. *dominus*).

100. In the confiscations at Venusia, Horace lost his patrimony (App. *Civ.* 4.3; Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.50–51). See Robin Nisbet, "Horace: Life and Chronology," in Harrison, *Companion to Horace*, 9.

101. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.5, vv. 12–16: *tu iam, Tityre, rura post recepta / . . . tibi modos resultant / chorda, voce, metro*. On Lampridius as loudest-voiced (i.e., epic) poet, *poeta vel vocalissimus* (8.9.5), see Annick Stoehr-Monjou, "Sidonius and Horace: The Art of Memory," in van Waarden and Kelly, *New Approaches*, 147. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.1–2: *Tityre, tu . . . / tenui musam meditaris avena;* 1.46: *ergo tua* (sc. *Tityre*) *rura manebunt*. Likewise Mommsen (MGH AA 8, s.v. "Orpheus") referring to Verg. *Ecl.* 8.55 (*sit Tityrus Orpheus*); Harries, *Sidonius*, 87; and Silvia Condorelli, *Il poeta doctus nel V secolo D.C.: Aspetti della poetica di Sidonio Apollinare* (Naples: Loffredo, 2008), 209–10.

102. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.5, vv. 57–59: *nam non invideo magisque miror, / qui . . . / Meliboeus esse coepi;* 8.9.6 (no further *carmen*). Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.3–4: *nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva. / Nos patriam fugimus ;* v. 77: *carmina nulla canam; non me pascente, capellae*.

103. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.9.6: *nisi prius ipse destiterim vaticinari magis damna quam carmina.*

104. A further member, apart from Lampridius and Sidonius, was Pontius Leontius, nicknamed Bacchus. Orphism was closely bound up with the cult of Dionysus; see Herbert Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* 6th ed. (Vienna: Hollinek, 1969), 295.

105. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.11.3: *hic me quondam, ut inter amicos ioca, Phoebum vocabat ipse a nobis vatis Odrysii nomine accepto.*

106. Ralph W. Mathisen, "Phoebus, Orpheus, and Dionysos: Nicknames and the Literary Circle of Sidonius," in Mathisen, *Studies,* 31–35; and Luciana Furbetta, "Remarques sur la présence du mythe dans l'oeuvre de Sidoine Apollinaire," *Lalies* 33 (2013): 284–85.

107. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.11.3 (*Carm.* 54): *subditum carmen* instead of *aliquid . . . lugubre.* See also the witty allusions to Apollo: *vide, domine Solli, ne magis Apollo forte moveatur, quod suas alumnas solus ad secreta sollicitas* (*Ep.* 5.17.9); *et licet in carmen non passim laxet habenas / Phoebus* (*Carm.* 22.3, vv. 7–8). On this point, cf. Mathisen, "Phoebus," 34–35.

108. Maria-Xeni Garezou, "Orpheus," in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae,* ed. John Boardman et al. (Zürich: Artemis, 1994), 7.1: 81–105; 7.2: 57–77.

109. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.11.3 v. 2 (*commonitorium*), vv. 18–19: *memento / Orpheum visere;* 30: *dic: "Phoebus venit."* Cf. Mart. 10.20.3–4, 6–7: *facundo mea Plinio Thalia / i perfer . . . / Illic Orphea protinus videbis / udi vertice lubricum theatri.* On the reconstruction, see Charles Picard, "Lacus Orphei," *Revue des Études Latines* 25 (1947): 80–85.

110. Ov. *Met.* 11.51–52: *et (mirum!) medio dum labitur amne / flebile nescio quid queritur lyra, flebile lingua.* Cf. Phanocles in *Stob.* 4.20.47.

111. Pl. *Rep.* 10.620a. See Schwinge, "Horaz, *Carmen* 2,20," 440.

112. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.11.7: *Subtilis, aptus, instructus quaque mens stilum ferret eloquentissimus, prorsus ut eum iure censere post Horatianos et Pindaricos cygnos gloriae pennis evolaturum.* Given the obituary context, the passage cannot refer to the living Lampridius, *pace* Stoehr-Monjou, "Sidonius and Horace," 144.

113. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.11.7: *In lyricis autem Flaccum secutus;* 8.11.3, vv. 23–24 (on Lampridius): *nunc stilus aut Maronianus / aut quo tu Latium beas, Horati.* Horace (*Carm.* 2.20) refers to himself using the swan image; later (*Carm.* 4.2.25) he calls Pindar a swan (cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 23.454–55) and himself a bee. Cf. Pindar's self-portrait (*Pyth.* 10.53–54) as a winged being, a bee, and an eagle.

114. Compare the state ritual of imperial apotheosis with an eagle soaring up to heaven (Dio 75.5), or on the Antoninus Pius column, on which the imperial couple are borne off to heaven by a winged *genius.* See Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 93–168; and Lise Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

115. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.2.2 (on Jerome *interpres, dialecticus* Augustine, *allegoricus* Origen): *Hoc more tu et olorinis cantibus anseres ravos et modificatis lusciniarum querelis inproborum passerum fringultientes susurros iure sociaveris.*

116. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.13.5, vv. 96–103: *procul hinc . . . / et Apollinem canorum / comitantibus Camenis / . . . deus ista praestat unus.*

117. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1: *Tu modo placidus excipias, sive oden hanc ipsam mavis vocare sive eglogam.* Sidonius leaves it to Gelasius, the addressee, to decide what title he wants the poem to have.

118. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, vv. 15–20: *Quae temperare vix valet gregarius / poeta, ut ipse cernis esse Sollium; / mihi pecten errat nec per ora concava / vaga lingua flexum competenter explicat / epos.*

119. Cf. the Horatian *recusatio* of writing epics in the Maecenas ode (Hor. *Carm.* 2.12) and the praise for his client, who composed an epic.

120. On Leo: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, vv. 19–20: *Sed istud* (sc. *epos*) *aptius paraverit / Leo ;* 9.13.2, v. 20: *Leo, rex Castalii chori;* as epic poet: *Carm.* 9.314; 14, *ep.* 2; 23.450–52; *Ep.* 8.3.3; 9.15.1, vv.

19–20; as learned jurist: *Carm.* 23.447–49; on his eloquence: *Ep.* 4.22.3; 8.3.3; see also Ennod. *Vit. Epiph.* 85. On Consentius: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, vv. 21–28, esp. 21–22: *cum prior sit Attico / Consentiorum qui superstes est patri;* on Consentius's mastery of the art of poetry in different meters: *Carm.* 23.5–7, 20–28, and 204–9, and *Ep.* 8.4.2; as eloquent in Greek and Latin: *Carm.* 23.233–40; as versed in the theatrical arts: *Carm.* 23.263–303. On Severianus: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, v. 37: *Severianus ista rhetor altius* (sc. *dictitasset*); on identification with the Severianus who during Majorian's banquet composed impromptu verses celebrating the book of Petrus (*Ep.* 9.13.4; cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. "Severianus 3"), and with Iulius Severianus, author of *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* (*PLRE* II, s.v. "Iulius Severianus 7"); and on the literary gathering, see Harries, *Sidonius*, 91–92, Mathisen, "Majorian and the Gallic Aristocracy after the Fall of Avitus," in Mathisen, *Studies*, 611–14; and Condorelli, "Improvisation." On Domnulus: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, v. 38: *Afer vaferque Domnulus politius* (sc. *dictitasset*); Domnulus, whose epic style "rang out like a trumpet" (*Carm.* 9.315), who was an authority on scientific terms in poetry (*Carm.* 14, *ep.* 2) and was perhaps of African origin (Mohr, opposing Mommsen), had likewise composed impromptu verses at Majorian's banquet (*Ep.* 9.13.4); on Domnulus's identification with Fl. Rusticius Helpidius 2 (*PLRE* II:374–75), the Christian poet Rusticius Helpidius 7 (*PLRE* II:537) and Bishop Rusticius of Lyon (*sic* in Ennod. *Vit. Epiph.* 151; elsewhere Rusticus 5, *PLRE* II:964), see Harries, *Sidonius*, 122–24; and Mathisen, "Majorian," 613–14. Lampridius, not mentioned here, had died earlier. On Petrus: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, vv. 39–40: *scholasticusque sub rotundioribus / Petrus Camenis dictitasset acrius;* Petrus, *magister epistularum* in 458 and *Maecenas temporis huius* (*Carm.* 3.5), was a writer of letters and poems (*Ep.* 9.13.4–5, vv. 6–8; 87). The Arles banquet under Majorian was given to celebrate his new volume of letters (*Ep.* 9.13.4, vv. 89–97). On Proculus: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, vv. 47–49: *Venetam lacessat ut favore Mantuam / Homericaeque par et ipse gloriae, / rotas Maronis arte sectans compari;* Ennod. *Carm.* 1.3, vv. 22–23 (to Proculus's grandchildren): *horum Pindareus flumina vicit avus, / docta Camenali cecinit qui carmina plectro.*

121. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.245–70, esp. vv. 257–59: *sed neque parvum / carmen maiestas recipit tua nec meus audet / rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.* See Hans-Christian Günther, ed., *Brill's Companion to Horace* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 256–61, 494–95.

122. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.15.1, v. 50: *Ego corde et ore . . . despicabilis.*

123. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3 (*Carm.* 41), vv. 79 (*labores*), 17 (*comite arte*), 25 (*statua perennis*). Henderson, *Pliny's Statue*, ix, makes a similar observation, but focuses on the statue in the center of the collection.

124. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.1–2: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius / regalique situ pyramidum altius.* It was not only the mounted statue of the founder, Trajan, that had a view of the bronze statues of honor: Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 25–28: *cum meis poni statuam perennem / Nerva Traianus titulis videret, / inter auctores utriusque fixam / bybliothecae.* See Robert Chenault, "Statues of Senators in the Forum of Trajan and the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 102 (2012): 111 and 130 (Table A: honorific inscriptions). On historiography compared to a visible monument, see Liv. 1, *praef.* 10.

125. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.13–14, *Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos / deduxisse modos,* refers the reader to the association of lyric poetry with Alkaios and Sappho. Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 33–40, esp. vv. 37–40 (*undenas . . . syllabas, metro / Sapphico . . ., citato / . . . iambo*). On the use of different meters (*poikilia*), see Stoehr-Monjou, "Sidonius and Horace," 145; and Condorelli, *Poeta doctus*, 40.

126. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.14–16: *Sume superbiam / quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica / lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.* Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 19–20: *geminae potiti / fronde coronae.* Cf. the *dupla corona* of the abbot and martyr Abraham (7.17.2, v. 26).

127. Vv. 21–28 (statue). The donors were the *populus Quirini*, the *blattifer senatus*, and the *peritorum ordo iudiciorum* (vv. 21–24). Sidonius lays claim on his own behalf to the honor intended for Augustus (Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.1–5); see Stoehr-Monjou, "Sidonius and Horace," 150–51; vv. 29–32:

Quamque post, visus prope, post bilustre / tempus accepi, capiens honorem / qui patrum ac plebis simul unus olim / iura gubernat. On the urban prefecture, see above; and cf. the panegyric to Anthemius (*Carm.* 2).

128. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, v. 49–50: *Quod perhorrescens ad epistularum / transtuli cultum genus omne curae.*

129. *Recusatio* of poetry as *nugae:* Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.141–44 (to Iulius Florus): *Nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis / . . . / non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis, / sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae;* 1.1.10 (to Maecenas): *nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono: / quid verum atque decens, curo.* Prud. *Praef.* 37–38: *hymnis continuet dies, / nec nox ulla vacet quin Dominum canat.*

130. E.g., in the Prusianum of Tonantius Ferreolus (Sidon. *Ep.* 2.9.4): *nam similis scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus hinc Varro, hinc Horatius hinc Prudentius lectitabantur.* See Matthias Gerth, *Bildungsvorstellungen im 5. Jh. n. Chr.: Macrobius, Martianus Capella und Sidonius Apollinaris* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 206–7.

131. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 47–48: *plus pudet, si quid leve lusit aetas, / nunc reminisci.* Cf. Ovid's self-characterization as *tenerorum lusor amorum* in his epitaph (*Tr.* 3.3.73) and autobiography (4.10.1).

132. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6–8: *Non omnis moriar multaque pars mei / vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera / crescam laude recens.*

133. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 55–56: *clerici ne quid maculet rigorem / fama poetae.*

134. Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.73–74: *Hic ego . . . / ingenio perii Naso poeta meo.* See Jo-Marie Claassen, *Ovid Revisited: The Poet in Exile* (London: Duckworth, 2008), 197–98; and Gareth D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 197. Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 53–54: *Neu puter solvi per amoena dicta, / schema si chartis phalerasque iungam.* For the listeners, the subjunctive form *puter* of the verb "to believe" evokes associations with the adjective homophone meaning "putrefied."

135. Prud. *Praef.* 37 (*hymnis continuet dies*); 42 (*carmen martyribus devoveat*); *Epil.* 7–9: *Nos citos iambicos / sacramus et rotatiles trochaeos / sanctitatis indigi.*

136. Prud. *Perist.* 4.161–64: *quattuor posthinc superest virorum / nomen extolli renuente metro, / quos Saturninos memorat vocatos / prisca vetustas.* On the intertextual reference, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser, "Bleibende Klänge," 284; on the local tradition of the Spanish Saturnini, see Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 241; as Christianized *laus urbis*, see Michael Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The "Liber Peristephanon" of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 30–31.

137. Luetjohann, *Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina*, vi, vv. 1–2: *Sanctis contiguus sacroque patri / vivit sic meritis Apollinaris.* Those referred to were St. Saturninus and Sidonius's predecessor Eparchius. On this and on the revised dating to the end of the fifth century, see Françoise Prévot, "Deux fragments de l'épitaphe de Sidoine Apollinaire découverts à Clermont-Ferrant," *AnTard* 1 (1993): 224–27. Patrice Montzamir, "Nouvel essai de reconstitution matérielle de l'épitaphe de Sidoine Apollinaire (*RICG*, VII, 21)," *AnTard* 11 (2003): 325–27, deliberates on the possibility that Sidonius was translated from *vicus Christianus* at Clermont to the basilica of St. Saturninus.

138. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 66–68: *qui Tolosatem tenuit cathedram, / de gradu summo Capitoliorum / praecipitatum;* vv. 71–76: (sc. *quem Saturninum*) *vinxit ad tauri latus iniugati / plebs furibunda, / ut per abruptum bove concitato / spargeret cursus lacerum cadaver / cautibus tinctis calida soluti / pulte cerebri.* Reception in Ven. Fort. 2.7 (Saturninus's martyrdom) and 2.8 (church dedicated to him); see Michael Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 166–77.

139. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 77–82: *Post Saturninum volo plectra cantent, / quos patronorum reliquos probavi / . . . / auxiliatos, / singulos quos nunc pia nuncupatim / non valent versu cohibere verba.* On

definition of "the disgusting" with reference to the systematic destruction of the human corpse, see Manfred Fuhrmann, "Die Funktion grausiger und ekelhafter Motive in der lateinischen Dichtung," in *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste: Grenzphänomene des Ästhetischen*, ed. Hans Robert Jauss (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1968), 26–27.

140. Prud. *Perist.* 4.162: *renuente metro.* In v. 163 Prudentius deliberately violates the Sapphic meter by beginning with a spondee in order to admit the name *Saturninos* (n136). It was held that "golden names" conferred dispensation from observance of the rules of poetry, and that to speak of saints was never incorrect (vv. 165–68).

141. Prud. *Praef.* 43–45: *haec (hymnos martyrum) dum scribo vel eloquor, / vinclis o utinam corporis emicem / liber, quo tulerit lingua sono mobilis ultimo! Epil.* 30: *inimus intra regiam salutis.* See Palmer, *Prudentius*, 15–16.

142. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3, vv. 83–84: *quos* (sc. *patronos*) *tamen chordae nequeunt sonare, / corda sonabunt.* The stylistic expression derives from Augustine (*In psalm.* 32.2.1.5 *certus in deo tuo, tange chordas in corde*), the idea itself from Horace (*Ep.* 2.2.143–44, cited in note 129 above). Dissenting view in Condorelli, *Poeta doctus*, 237.

143. Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.21–22 = *Ars* 21–22: *amphora coepit / institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?* Sidonius's allusion in *Carm.* 22.6 to Hor. *Ars* 14–16 refers to his poetry and has no significance for his epistolary collection. For a different ironic view, see Aaron Pelltari, "Sidonius Apollinaris and Horace *Ars Poetica* 14–23," *Philologus* 161 (2016).

144. Cf. Rom 9:20–21; Is 64:8; Jer. 18:6.

145. Prud. *Epil.* 29–30: *munus ecce fictile / inimus intra regiam salutis.*

146. Prud. *Epil.* 17 (*olla fictilis*), 21–22: *omne vas fit utile / quod est ad usum congruens erilem.*

147. I prefer the Bentley reading *quidvis* to Adolf Kiessling and Richard Heinze's (*Q. Horatius Flaccus: Briefe* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1914], 292) *quodvis* (sc. *opus*). See Charles O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The "Ars poetica"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 104; and Niall Rudd, ed., *Horace, Epistles Book II and the Epistle to the Pisones* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 153.

148. *Simplex* and *unum* are read here as a hendiadys conveying emphasis. See also Andrew Laird, "The *Ars poetica*," in Harrison, *Companion to Horace*, 136–37 and 142. Alternatively, the expression may have semantic content independently of the work's structure ("all of a piece and unique"), with *simplex* denoting harmonious unity as opposed to diversity (thus Arist. *Poet.* 7–8 and Pl. *Rep.* 10), and *unum* referring to artistic distinction according to the model of Callimachus.

149. Not merely ring composition and prose style, but the "harmony of the whole"; see Stoehr-Monjou, "Sidonius and Horace," 166, opposing Condorelli, *Poeta doctus*, 159–60. In Prud. *Epil.* 33–34 only the first part of Horace's rule is invoked, in modified form; for him the cardinal thing is the joy of having sung Christ's praise: *quidquid illud accidit, / iuvabit ore personasse Christum.* See Jean-Louis Charlet, "Tendances esthétiques de la poésie latine tardive (325–470)," *AnTard* 16 (2008): 165.

150. Sidon. *Ep.* 1.1.4: *volumina numerosiora percopiosis scaturientia sermocinationibus multiplicabuntur;* 9.16.4 (cited above); and Hor. *Ars* 22: *currente rota cur urceus exit?*

151. Mathisen, "Epistolography," 13–26, 27 (stemma). Ruricius became a relative of the emperor Eparchius Avitus and of Sidonius's family through his marriage to the blue-blooded Hiberia (Sidon. *Carm.* 10–11, 17). See Mathisen, *Ruricius*, 22, 79–84 (Ruricius's marriage), and 29 (a fanciful stemma of Ruricius' family). On Avitus's and Ennodius's relatives, especially the family of Magnus from Narbonne (Sidon. *Carm.* 24.90–91), see Mathisen, "Epistolography," 22, 23; and Stephanie A. H. Kennell, *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 129–30.

152. Ruric. *Ep.* 2.26 (to Apollinaris); see Mathisen, *Ruricius*, 183–85; cf. 32–33 (overlap between the circles); *Ep.* 1.4 (to Hesperius) cites Sidon. *Ep.* 4.16.1; 8.10.2; 1.10. Hesperius was a protégé of Sidonius (Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10; 4.22.1); cf. Mathisen, *Ruricius* 53–55 and 109–10.

153. See the description of a parasite in Sidon. *Ep.* 3.13.3ff. (Gnatho) and Av. *Ep.* 86 (Sapaudus). Avitus (*Ep.* 43) extolled the *facundiae paternae delicias* and gave *De spiritalis historiae gestis* as a present to Sidonius's son (Av. *Ep.* 51). See Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood, eds., *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 66–67, 280–84, and 342–48, as well as Alexander H. Arweiler, *Die Imitation antiker und spätantiker Literatur in der Dichtung "De spiritalis historiae gestis" des Alcimus Avitus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999). Three further letters were addressed to Apollinaris; see Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus*, 416–17 and 42 (Peiper's stemma of the manuscripts).

154. E.g., Sidon. *Carm.* 7.44 (*ignotum plus notus, Nile, per ortum*) and Av. *Poem.* 1.162: *Nilus . . . ignoto cunctis plus nobilis ortu.* Sidon. *Carm.* 2.70 and Ennod. *Carm.* 1.9.116 (*non datur eloquio, nec si modo surgat Averno*). See Rudolf Peiper, ed., *Alcimi Ecdici Aviti opera*, MGH AA 6.2 (Berlin, 1883), 302–8. By contrast, in epistolography Schröder (*Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jahrhundert*, 3, 54, 164) emphasizes the differences from the tradition of Sidonius and Symmachus. But cf. the other view taken by Kennell, *Ennodius*, and in this volume.

155. On Sidonius's masses, see Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 2.22. References to Sidonius's letters in Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 2.24–25, 34; 4.12; cf. Mathisen, "Epistolography," 26n52.

156. Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 6.7: *Ferreolus Uticensis libros aliquos epistularum quasi Sidonium secutus composuit.* The corpus does not survive.

157. Ralph W. Mathisen, "The Codex Sangallensis 190 and the Transmission of the Classical Tradition," *IJCT* 5 (1998): 163–94; Mathisen, "Epistolography," 26; and Mathisen, *Ruricius*, 72–73 and 183. On the archives and Desiderius's family connections to Ruricius and Sidonius, see Ralph W. Mathisen, "Desiderius of Cahors: Last of the Romans," in *Gallien in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Kulturgeschichte einer Region*, ed. Steffen Diefenbach and Gernot Michael Müller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 461–65.

158. Genn. *Vir. ill.* 93 (94 in Ernst C. Richardson, ed., *Hieronymus: Liber de viris inlustribus. Gennadius. Liber de viri inlustribus* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896]): *acerque ingenio scripsit ad diversos diverso metro vel prosa versu compositum "Epistularum" insigne volumen, in quo, quid in litteris posset ostendit.*

159. Genn. *Vir. ill.* 93: *doctor habetur insignis.* See the title of Condorelli's book, *Il poeta doctus.*

160. Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 2.22: *Sanctus vero Sidonius tantae facundiae erat, ut plerumque ex improviso luculentissime quae voluisset, nulla obsistente mora, conponeret.*

161. Luetjohann, *Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina*, vi, vv. 12–14: *Et post talia dona Gratiarum / summi pontificis sedens cathedram / mundanos soboli refudit actus.* See Prévot, "Deux fragments," 224–27; ascribed to Sidonius's son by Condorelli, "Epigrammi," 279.

162. Vv. 17–18 (above Sidonius's tomb in St. Saturnin): *Nulli incognitus et legendus orbi / illic Sidonius tibi invocetur.* See Prévot, "Deux fragments," 229. Note the analogy between jewels and units of composition in Sidonius's style forgotten in the Middle Ages (Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus* 3.240–42); see Roberts, *Jeweled Style*, 155.

FURTHER READING

For an understanding of the history and communications of the aristocratic elites of Gaul who transmitted culture, and for interpretation of the social functions of epistolography in late antiquity, the standard works by Harries, Mathisen, and Gualandri are indispensable, the first two for the historical perspective, the other for her literary and philological contributions. All three have researched Sidonius's circle and oeuvre minutely, and in conjunction with Gibson's comparative, van Waarden-Kelly's comprehensive, and Elsner-Lobato's aesthetic studies on epistolography, they form a

bridge connecting the history, prosopography, and manuscript tradition to the soft skills that help decode the rhetorical and visual culture of the educated elites of late antiquity.

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