

tion protected this error once it had taken place, as is evidenced in part by the only conjecture, Schenkl's *vivo*, which preserves the rhyming adjective-noun combination. Once *bibulo* is in place, it will not easily be budged from the minds of readers who consciously or otherwise *expect* patterns of rhyme because rhyme is so basic in their own poetic systems. *Bibulo* was also presumably protected by the apparent but false parallelism.<sup>11</sup>

aestivo defessum pulvere  
bibulo decubuisse toro

As for Ilgen's *abisse*, it now perhaps seems less "palmary" (so Goodyear), once we see the exact parallelism between "being inside (drinking)" and "being outside (thirsty)." Moreover—and particularly if one sees the speaker as the poet—*abisse*, with its assumption of discourse and even argumentation with a specific passerby (who is beginning to veer away from the *taberna*), does not really find justification in the poem.<sup>12</sup>

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11. Cf. Goodyear, *ibid.*, p. 122: "As Professor Kenney observes, the phrasing suggests that *bibulo* is opposed in sense to *aestiuo*."

12. Goodyear, *ibid.*, pp. 122, 132, cites as parallels *Anth. Pal.* 16. 227, 228, which invite wayfarers to rest by shady fountains. Though these are surely part of the background of the *Copa*, they are only vaguely a "source"; and significantly, each of these, unlike our poem, places the wayfarer prominently in the text (ὁδῖτα, ξεῖβε). The absence of any such vocative, almost mandatory in the epigrammatic "passing wayfarer" tradition, perhaps suggests a less fully dramatized situation than Ilgen's *abisse* assumes. Even with *abisse*, of course, *bibulum* still stands.

#### THE YEARS 394 AND 395 IN THE *EPITOMA CHRONICON*: PROSPER, AUGUSTINE, AND CLAUDIAN

The literary sources used by Prosper of Aquitaine in continuing Jerome's *chronicon* for the period 379–455 have been notoriously elusive.<sup>1</sup> Since Oswald Holder-Egger's study of the *Epitoma chronicon* (1876), investigators have become ever more reluctant to isolate and identify specific sources behind Prosper's information. At this time only the *De haeresibus* of Augustine remains unchallenged.<sup>2</sup> Yet a previously unrecognized similarity between Prosper's notices for the

1. The *Epitoma chronicon* is cited from the edition of T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, vol. 1 (*MGH:AA*, 9:341–499). Prosper issued the *chronicon* in several editions, first in 433 and finally in 455. On the various editions, see Mommsen's introduction, pp. 345–47, with S. Muhlberger, "Prosper's *Epitoma chronicon*: Was There an Edition of 443?" *CP* 81 (1986): 240–44. On Prosper, see still L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine: Étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au cinquième siècle en Gaule* (Paris and Toulouse, 1900). The question of Prosper's sources is particularly crucial for the years between the end of Jerome's *Chronicle* in 378 and the early 420s, for Prosper, born about 390, would have had to rely on written or oral sources for that period; see Valentin, *ibid.*, p. 416.

2. O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv* 1 (1876): 13–120, 213–368, esp. 15–90 ("Die Chronik Prosper's von Aquitanien," with pp. 80–89 on sources); more cautiously Valentin, *Saint Prosper*, pp. 418–22, 426–27. See now the recent critical judgment of S. Muhlberger, "Prosper, Hydatius, and the Chronicler of 452: Three Chroniclers and Their Significance for Fifth-Century Historiography" (Ph.D. diss.,

final years of Theodosius I's reign and a passage in Book 5 of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* provides new evidence for the reconsideration of this question.<sup>3</sup>

Prosper's entries for the years 394 and 395 are marked by several curious items: a reference to the prophetic monk named John who predicted Theodosius' victory over Eugenius; the only contemporary reference to the date of Augustine's episcopal ordination at Hippo; and the sole mention in the independent portion of the *Epitoma chronicon* of a secular writer, the poet Claudian.<sup>4</sup>

CCCLXVII

Arcadio III et Honorio II.

(an. 394)

Iohannes monachus anachorita clarus habetur, qui ornatus prophetiae gratia Theodosium consulentem de eventu belli, quod adversum Eugenium movebat, victorem futurum praedixit.

CCCLXVIII

Olybrio et Probino.

(an. 395)

Theodosius Eugenium tyrannum vincit et perimit.

Augustinus beati Ambrosii discipulus multa facundia doctrinaque excellens Hippone [regio] in Africa episcopus ordinatur.

Hoc tempore Claudianus poeta insignis innotuit.

Theodosius imperator Mediolani moritur.

Arcadius XLIII cum iam regnasset ann. XII, regnat cum fratre Honorio annis XIII.

Of the three items enumerated above, only John and Claudian will receive our attention here.<sup>5</sup> These two references are sufficiently distinctive that they can function as trace elements amid such common components of the historical tradition as the victory over Eugenius and the death of Theodosius. To be sure, the story of John's prediction of Theodosius' victory can be found in several sources somewhat earlier than the *Epitoma chronicon*, notably in two works associated with Rufinus of Aquileia and in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, Claudian—who does not appear in these passages of Rufinus but is mentioned by Augustine—is seldom referred to in the extant works of contemporaries.<sup>7</sup> For this reason alone, the poet's unusual appearance in this section of the *Epitoma chronicon* should pique our curiosity. Indeed, several historians of Claudian have been attracted to Prosper's notice. It has served them as evidence

University of Toronto, 1981), p. 75 (no particular source used by Prosper for political events can be identified, and only one, August. *De haeres.*, is certain for ecclesiastical matters); see also pp. 93–94.

3. Note that Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, 1:437, cross-referenced Prosper's entry on Origen under the year 228 with *De civ. D.* 11. 23. Mommsen's intention in so doing is not clear, but there is no reason to think that Prosper was dependent upon Augustine in this case.

4. On the uniqueness of this reference within the *chronicon*, see Valentin, *Saint Prosper*, p. 424; Muhlberger, "Prosper, Hydatius, and the Chronicler of 452," p. 102.

5. On the accuracy of Prosper's entry we should note that the Battle of the Frigidus actually took place on 6 September 394, not in 395, and that Theodosius died quite early in 395 (17 January); see O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 284, and Soc. *HE* 5. 25–26. I plan to take up elsewhere the implications of this article for the notice of the date of Augustine's ordination.

6. See Rufin. *Hist. monach.*, PL 21:391 (cf. *ibid.*, 404–5), and *HE* 2. 19 and 32; on Augustine's reference to John, most likely derived from Rufinus, see below, n. 12. John continued to be part of the Greek historiographical tradition in the fifth century (Soz. *HE* 7. 22. 7–8, Theodoret *HE* 5. 24. 2) and was retained in western chronicles (Cassiod. *Chron.* an. 394).

7. A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), p. 1, has noted that the only "contemporaries" to mention Claudian are Augustine and Orosius; perhaps we should add the name of Prosper. On Orosius, see below.

of the immediate reputation that the recently arrived poet acquired in Italy following the delivery at Rome of his panegyric for the consuls of 395, Olybrius and Probinus.<sup>8</sup> Yet a fundamental question remains unanswered. Why, nearly forty years later, should Prosper—who included no other secular writers in the independent portion of his chronicle and even suppressed some of those mentioned by Jerome—have elected to recognize Claudian at all?<sup>9</sup> The explanation, I believe, is to be found in Prosper's immediate source for his account of the years 394 and 395.

Claudian's name and the story of John's clairvoyance on the eve of the battle of the Frigidus can be found in combination in only one other writer of this period. That author, moreover, was a figure whose works Prosper knew quite well.<sup>10</sup> At the end of Book 5 of the *City of God*, as he brought to a climax his exposition of the antithetical qualities of *vera felicitas* and *felicitas terrena*, Augustine turned for dramatic illustration to the imposing figure of Theodosius I.<sup>11</sup> Theodosius' life offered a model of *humilitas religiosa* that only gained further luster from his imperial rank (*De civ. D.* 5. 26. 50). Amid the episodes Augustine saw fit to recount can be found the names of both the prophetic monk John and the poet Claudian. Theodosius, we are told, in his anxiety prior to his contests with Maximus and Eugenius, did not have recourse "ad curiositates sacrilegas atque inlicitas" but "ad Iohannem in Aegypti heremo constitutum."<sup>12</sup> Only a few lines later, Augustine's description of the miraculous winds that blew the missiles of Eugenius' troops back upon them led him to remark that even the pagan poet Claudian had praised Theodosius on this account. Augustine displayed the proof of this assertion in a bowdlerized paraphrase of three lines from Claudian's panegyric on the occasion of Honorius' third consulship (396): "O nimum dilecte Deo, cui militat aether, / Et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti!"<sup>13</sup>

Here, then, in the space of twenty lines in Augustine's discussion of Theodosius' piety, is the combination of those two telltale elements that later appeared in

8. P. Fargues, *Claudian: Études sur sa poésie et son temps* (Paris, 1933), p. 12. Endorsed by Cameron, *Claudian*, pp. 34–35, but without specific reference to Prosper. For an attempt to date Claudian's arrival in Italy to the previous decade, see A. K. Clarke, "Claudian and the Augustinian Circle of Milan," *Augustinus* 13 (1968): 125–33.

9. For pagan authors included by Jerome but suppressed by Prosper, see Valentin, *Saint Prosper*, p. 424. It must be noted that Prosper was himself a poet and that his poetry seems to reveal a familiarity with several of Claudian's works; e.g., echoes of *In Ruf.* 1 were detected by T. Birt (*MGH:AA*, 10:lxix) in Prosper's *Carmen de ingratis*. Thus Prosper may have been predisposed to mention Claudian, but this is not sufficient by itself to explain this unique citation in the *chronicon*.

10. On Prosper's familiarity with Augustine's works, see D. M. Cappeluyens, "Le premier représentant de l'Augustinisme médiéval, Prosper d'Aquitaine," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1 (1929): 309–37; and G. de Plinval, "Prosper d'Aquitaine: Interprète de saint Augustin," *RecAug* 1 (1958): 339–55. For a recent treatment of the controversy over predestination in southern Gaul in the 420s and 430s, and Prosper's role therein, see R. W. Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul* (Washington, 1989), pp. 122–40.

11. *De civ. D.* 5. 26 (CCSL 47:161–63); *De civ. D.* 4–5 were completed by Augustine in 415 (*Epist.* 169. 1).

12. *De civ. D.* 5. 26. 11–12. For a convincing argument that Rufinus' *Historia* was an important source for Augustine's own treatment of Theodosius, see Y.-M. Duval, "L'éloge de Théodose dans la *Cité de Dieu* (V, 26, 1): Sa place, son sens et ses sources," *RecAug* 4 (1966): 144–68.

13. *De civ. D.* 5. 26. 27–30; cf. Claudian's full text: "o nimum dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris / Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aether / et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti" (*III Cons.* 96–98). As Cameron has noted (*Claudian*, p. 191), Augustine has "telescoped three lines into two by neatly excising two half lines alluding to the pagan god Aeolus."

Prosper's notices. For Prosper, of course, the story of John was a natural corollary to his central interest for those years, the story of Theodosius; and presumably he could have known of the episode from Rufinus or from traditions surrounding the defeat of Eugenius. The unusual appearance of Claudian in the *chronicon*, however, is less easily explained without reference to this passage of Augustine, where the poet's words, like John's prophecy and the miraculous winds, stand as further evidence of Theodosius' piety. The very series of events that distinguishes Prosper's account—John's prophecy, the victory over Eugenius, a reference to Claudian, and the death of Theodosius—had already been presented by Augustine in the *City of God*. It is reasonable to assume that Prosper had before him or in his mind *City of God* 5. 26 when he prepared his entries for the years 394 and 395. Moreover, if this is correct, it was probably Augustine's endorsement and quotation of Claudian—more than the reputation the poet may have acquired through his *Panegyricus* of 395—that induced Prosper to include his name amid the noteworthy events for that year.<sup>14</sup>

One final possibility must be explored. Not surprisingly, one other writer used this section of the *City of God* when he composed his account of the last year of Theodosius' life. In Book 7 of his *Historiae adversum paganos* Orosius greatly elaborated the "windy miracle" of the Frigidus, but his exact citation of the same adulterated lines of Claudian (the "paganus pervicacissimus" whose name Orosius could not bring himself to mention) betrays at least partial dependence on Augustine in this section.<sup>15</sup> We might justly wonder if Prosper did not take his cue from Orosius rather than directly from Augustine, for it has been argued, though not convincingly demonstrated, that Prosper elsewhere relied upon Orosius' work.<sup>16</sup> Against such a supposition, however, stands not only the observation that Claudian is left unnamed by Orosius, but also, and more important, the fact that Orosius' account contains no mention of the second "trace element," the desert prophet John. Of course, the absence of John from Orosius' presentation, like the absence of Claudian from Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica*, is not evidence that Prosper was unaware of these other treatments of the last year of Theodosius' reign. It is much more likely, however, that Augustine—who referred to both John and Claudian—was Prosper's immediate source.

The elusive qualities of the literary sources used by Prosper for his continuation of Jerome's *chronicon* are only in part dispelled by the observations offered here; discerning the sources behind the chronicle for the period 379–455 will remain a

14. The two inducements are not mutually exclusive, of course. Prosper may also have believed that Claudian's success began in 395. As Alan Cameron has pointed out to me, Claudian himself, at *Ad Probinum* 12–15 (*Carm. min.* 41), identified his *Pan. Ol. et Prob.* as his first work in Latin. See Cameron, *Claudian*, pp. 458–59. If Prosper knew this poem, he would have found there further support for his decision to place his entry on Claudian under 395.

15. *Hist.* 7. 35. 21 (*CSEL* 5:532); noted by T. Mörner, *De Orosii Vita Eiusque Historiarum Libris Septem adversus Paganos* (Berlin, 1844), p. 55; see also Cameron, *Claudian*, p. 191.

16. See Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen," pp. 87–88, and Valentin, *Saint Prosper*, p. 427, followed by R. A. Markus, "Chronicle and Theology: Prosper of Aquitaine," in *The Inheritance of Historiography*, ed. C. Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter, 1986), pp. 31–43, esp. p. 38; contra, Muhlberger, "Prosper, Hydatius, and the Chronicler of 452," p. 94. Markus' argument (*ibid.*, pp. 38–39), that Prosper's *De voc.* 2. 16 was an *ad hominem* rebuttal of Orosius is weakened by his admission that the Orosian historical paradigm was an "ubiquitous" cliché during this period.

difficult task. Nevertheless, Augustine's *City of God* can now join his *De haeresibus* as an immediate source for this part of the *Epitoma chronicon*: as Prosper prepared the entries for the years 394 and 395—with Theodosius' victory and death claiming pride of place—the chronicler's mind turned not to the histories of Rufinus or Orosius, but to a memorable section of the *City of God*. While such a turn of mind is quite in keeping with the direction taken by Prosper's doctrinal thoughts, it incidentally reveals a further, less often noted influence that Augustine may have had upon Prosper. As Markus and others have suggested, it was perhaps Augustine's own abiding concern for the revelations of God's work in history that provided the very inspiration for the *Epitoma chronicon* itself.<sup>17</sup>

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17. Valetin, *Saint Prosper*, p. 415; Markus, "Chronicle and Theology," p. 40.