

Ausonius' cities: perception of the urban space in fourth-century Gaul

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Introduction.

Late antique cities have recently become a very popular historiographic field. Since Peter Brown coined the term late Antiquity both historians and archaeologists have attempted to define the nature of the late antique city. The recent interest in this long-despised period has led to an increase in archaeological data available for this period, and a better understanding as to how Roman cities evolved topographically. However, because this archaeological data is either too patchy, or because regional differences were too important, attempts so far made to define the late antique city, as a historical entity, have failed. The Classical City was easier to define, as the whole Roman Empire shared similar administrative, cultural and topographical developments. *Fora* appeared in all conquered cities as well as baths, temples and triumphal arches. However, the study of the fate of these monuments in Late Antiquity has not been able to uncover any generalised trend of abandonment or maintenance. Similarly, the Medieval City legally defined the difference between town and countryside but no such distinction has been found in late Roman cities. As a result, historiography has had to find other ways of assessing late antique urban environments. One of these new approaches has used the notion of perception of space and it is in this perspective that this thesis will approach the late antique city.

This study will be restrained to three particular sources. The main one will be the fourth century poet and politician Ausonius. Ausonius was born in

310 in Bordeaux,¹ studied in Toulouse,² and his political career culminated in 364 when he was summoned to Trier by the emperor Valentinian I to be the tutor of his son Gratian.³ Ausonius' poetry has been the subject of several studies, especially his famous poem, *Mosella*. However, none of these studies have attempted a global analysis of the cities mentioned in Ausonius' extensive literary production. This is all the more surprising as Ausonius was the author of a poem ranking the most important cities of his time, the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*.⁴ The purpose of this thesis will therefore be to compare Ausonius' depictions of cities, analyse them in their individual contexts and put them against the archaeological evidence available for the cities described in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*.

Alongside Ausonius' works, this study will also incorporate the writings of Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus. Paulinus of Nola was a former pupil of Ausonius, arguably his most gifted one, and a member of one of the most influential families of Aquitaine.⁵ His conversion to an ascetic monastic lifestyle and his retirement from public life was an event that shocked his contemporaries,⁶ not least his former master. Sulpicius Severus was also an Aquitanian aristocrat, a few years younger than Paulinus,⁷ who also sold his property to create a monastic community between Toulouse and Narbonne.⁸ Sulpicius Severus was the author of the famous *Life of Saint Martin*, but like Ausonius and Paulinus, he also wrote letters to the leading men and women

¹ Etienne 1986: 5.

² Etienne 1986: 37.

³ Hopkins 1961: 243.

⁴ See Appendix A for the full text of this poem.

⁵ Trout 1999: 25-26.

⁶ Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 6.

⁷ He was born in 355, see Stancliffe 1983: 15.

⁸ Stancliffe 1983: 30.

of his time. The zealous epistolary activities of all three sources are the reason why they are included in a same study.⁹ The correspondence between Paulinus of Nola and Ausonius has recently received new attention with the publication by D. Amherdt of their letters alongside a comparative commentary of their texts.¹⁰ Because Sulpicius Severus was a correspondent and friend of Paulinus, the addition of his writings could broaden the focus of this study while keeping the point of view of class-conscious Aquitanian aristocrats. Even though Ausonius died in 395, this thesis' chronological span will extend to the first decade of the fifth century, up until the barbarian invasions, and subsequent settlement, of 416. The death of Ausonius did not have any major effect on either Paulinus' or Sulpicius' writings, which stopped before the invasions.¹¹ They could therefore be considered as coherent collections.

In this perspective literary and archaeological evidence will be used as different means of expressing one's perception of cities. Aristocrats like Ausonius and Paulinus did not only have a literary monopoly, but they were also the ones which decided on, and sometimes financed, public works in their cities. There are no records of Ausonius' building activities, but as a high ranking imperial official, he was at the very least aware, if not involved, in decisions affecting urban topography in Gaul. Moreover, coming from an Aquitanian curial family, whose members he celebrated in the *Parentalia*, Ausonius must have had a detailed knowledge of the administration of the

⁹ Concerning Ausonius' letters, I have used Green's commented edition of Ausonius' works, except for the letters to Paulinus of Nola, for which I used Amherdt's edition. The numbers attributed to the letters differ in both editions so each reference to a letter of Ausonius will be accompanied by the indication of which edition was used for that particular example.

¹⁰ Amherdt 2004.

¹¹ Writings dating from after the barbarian invasions attributed to Paulinus of Nola, are now considered as doubtful and will therefore not be included in this study.

region's cities. On the other hand, Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola wrote to each other about their respective building activity in their ascetic communities. In the case of Paulinus, archaeology has found traces of the constructions described in his letters.¹² The extent to which literary sources reflected the realities of the time will not be assessed against what archaeological data suggests, but rather, the context in which both occur will be analysed to determine how the contemporary perception of the urban space was shaped.

To answer these questions, this thesis will start by analysing the different aspects of the idealised and abstract city in Ausonius', Paulinus' and Sulpicius' works. Then, the role of city walls as boundaries for the city will be assessed because of the omnipresence of urban fortifications in late antique texts in general and more specifically in Ausonius' *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*. And finally, the extent to which cities were perceived as structural units of the Empire will be analysed by comparing the texts of this thesis' corpus to late Roman itineraries and maps.

¹² See Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006 for a detailed study of Paulinus' edification works at Nola.

Chapter 1: The ideal city as abstract entity.

The late antique city has mainly been studied in relation to the two archetypal models which preceded and succeeded it: the classical city and the medieval one. This focus is reflected in the titles of some of the most influential works on the subject: W. Liebeschuetz' article "The end of the ancient city" implies a classical focus,¹³ while D. Nicholas' book, *The Growth of the Medieval City*, presented the late antique city as the precursor of the Medieval City¹⁴ and P.-A. Février included both perspectives in his article "Vetere et Nova: le poids du passé, les germes de l'avenir, IIIème-Vème siècles".¹⁵ This debate could, to a certain extent, fall within the scope of this thesis: how much did Ausonius, Paulinus and Sulpicius conceptualise the city in terms of what we now call its classical qualities? And how much did they acknowledge, or even hope for, a change? These questions will be asked but their answers will not be taken as an end in themselves. That is to say that the purpose of this study is not to determine to what extent the fourth-century Gallic city is an heir to the classical city or the origin of the medieval one, but to show how the tensions between our sources' classical education, the rise of Christianity, and their perception of the realities of their contemporary urban environment shaped their conceptualisation of the city in general as well as in specific contexts. This thesis therefore ought to begin with a study of the contemporary conception of the ideal city, as an abstract entity, in order to

¹³ Liebeschuetz 1992.

¹⁴ Nicholas 1997.

¹⁵ Février 1980.

see how this conception fluctuated from one writer to the other and from one context to the other.

I. City Personifications and Urban Mythology.

The most common, way of describing cities in fourth-century literature was through personification. The act of personifying cities in art and literature was already ancient in Ausonius' time.¹⁶ The city was usually represented by an allegorical female figure bearing symbolical attributes.¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, Ausonius' works are rich in such personifications. The poet was a rhetoric professor and had been the emperor's preceptor, and as such he was deeply attached to classical literary traditions. On the other hand, Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus did not personify cities except in rare cases and always in an indirect way. It is therefore necessary to study the different personifications of cities present in Ausonius' work and compare them with other contemporary personifications, as well as to explain why the use of this literary device does not appear in works of Christian authors.

First of all, it is noticeable that city personifications in late antique literature and art have been only superficially studied. Their common character has reduced academic attention to their attributes only.¹⁸ While this is not an invalid approach, it will also be necessary to understand the contexts in which such personifications appear in Ausonius' works and compare them to what is found elsewhere in poetry and art. The abundance of

¹⁶ McCormack 1981: 41.

¹⁷ Roberts 2001: 534.

¹⁸ This methodology has been applied by Toynbee 1934, and 1947.

personifications on coins and in the plastic arts have led some historians to consider personifications as a literary *topos* used out of habit by poets, and by default by artists who needed a way to represent cities on small surfaces or busy scenes.¹⁹ However, Ausonius used personifications in a very varied way, and did not always stick to the pictorial *topoi* of the time.

The divine appearance of most of city personifications, especially in art and coinage, has been especially stressed. Kantowicz even rejected the term anthropomorphic to describe Roman city personifications and replaced it by the neologism 'angelomorphic' to express the out-of-this-world quality of such figures.²⁰ Ausonius often described cities in the guise of goddesses. However, when he does it, it is not always to describe famous cities, but rather to describe cities closer to home, and especially the *patriae*. These familiar yet divine personifications take the shape of a nurturing deity. *Patriae* were often spoken of as a proud parent, towards whom filial piety is expected. The divine mother embraces,²¹ and nurtures her offspring in her lap.²² In a variation of the image of the divine mother, Toulouse is described as Ausonius' nurse.²³ The term *patria* therefore symbolised the nearly divine mother that is one's hometown,²⁴ and this word seems to have often been enough to evoke the admiring maternal emotions traditionally attached to the native city. This aspect of city personification is paralleled in coins and art by the depiction of fertility attributes, such as the cornucopia, or by military symbols like the spear

¹⁹ McCormack 1981: 29.

²⁰ Paxson 2009: 179.

²¹ Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XVII. 8: 'Narbo ... recipit'.

²² Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV, 29-30: 'Trevericaeque ... urbis ... / ... in mediae gremio secura quiescit'.

²³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XII. 198: 'altricem nostri'.

²⁴ Various cities are described as *patriae* in Ausonius, according to the subject's personal origins: *Epicedion ad Patrem*, 4; *Mosella*, 19, 450; *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 129, 166; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I. 1-4; XVIII. 4; XIX. 3 are but a few examples.

(see Plate A, Figures 1 and 2), because the *patria* 'does not only feed and clothe, but she also arms the men of the Empire'.²⁵ The warrior goddess type of personification was therefore another side of mother image that emphasised protection.

Beyond mere poetic showing-off, the use of a mother-like deity to describe a city could also show a wish to formally express a genuine attach to the city. By extension, the divine dignity of a mother could reflect very well on her offspring. This relationship between a city and its inhabitants is subjected to the relationship between an individual and god by Paulinus of Nola in the *Epistula XI*, written to Sulpicius Severus: 'for my native land is my first country and chief dwelling but my true home is my eternal one'.²⁶ In this sentence, Paulinus of Nola asserted a shift in his allegiance. Furthermore, he later congratulated Sulpicius Severus for living like a *peregrinus*, with no attach to a particular place.²⁷ The ascetic monk's duty was to detach himself from the ties of the secular world.

Additionally, cities could also be associated with divine epithets relating to their local specificities. Toulouse is, for instance, described by Ausonius as 'Palladia Tolosa'. This epithet refers in all probability to the prestige of Toulouse's schools (in which Ausonius was educated). It is employed in poems about *professores*, both times associated with the term 'toga' on the same verse.²⁸ Ausonius was not the first to use this epithet, as it is found in

²⁵ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV, 31.

²⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XI*, 14: 'domus vera ubi aeterna; ibi verius patria, ubi originalis terra et principalis habitatio'; *Epistula XX*, 6 makes a similar statement.

²⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXIV*, 3; see Stancliffe 1983: 31.

²⁸ Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XVII. 7: 'Palladiae primum toga te venerate Tolosae'; *Parentalia*, III. 11: 'Te sibi Palladiae antetulit toga docta Tolosae'.

Martial's epigrams as well.²⁹ The epithet was therefore not only derived from the author's personal experience of the city but it was also aimed at an audience which would automatically associate the epithet 'Palladia' to the city of Toulouse. The practice of associating a specific epithet to cities was very common in Roman literature and can be found throughout Ausonius' works. These generic epithets often outlined a local specificity (for instance schools for Toulouse, the topography of the city as in 'duplex Arelate',³⁰ the ethnicity of 'Punica...Carthago'.³¹) but their overall effect was to emphasise the complementary nature of the cities in the Roman Empire.

A similar process also applied to provincial personifications.³² Ausonius' description of the 'armipotens Gallia',³³ or the 'laeta Aquitanica',³⁴ could thus be compared to the Hadrianic coin series depicting the provinces of the Empire (see Plate B, Figure 3). Their dates, attributes and positions are different – the literary figure of Gallia is powerful in war and the coin one is kneeling – but they share a similar role. It is significant that city and provincial personifications were both represented as gods and goddesses: they all had their distinctive attributes and epithets, but were all part of the same cosmology. Provinces were, like cities, units that materially structured the Roman Empire and the fact that both are described through divine personifications gave a spiritual relevance to the way the Roman Empire was structured. The choice of a well-known and nearly *cliché* epithet for Toulouse therefore indicates that Ausonius wanted to stress not only the city's schools

²⁹ Martial, *Epigrammata*, IX. 99.

³⁰ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VIII. 73.

³¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, II. 1-14: 'Carthago ... Punica Byrsa fuisti'.

³² Toynbee 1934: 3.

³³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 28.

³⁴ Ausonius, *Mosella*, 443.

but also the international quality of the city and its place in the cultural geography of the Roman world. Moreover, the divine quality of the personification puts Toulouse on a more abstract level, in a context of legends and mythology: it thus presents a nobler version of the real city.

Among divine personifications, the case of Rome and Constantinople stands out. Ausonius described Rome not only as a warrior goddess, but also as the queen of all cities, the head of the Empire.³⁵ Again, this was a traditional personification of Rome, already used by Martial,³⁶ among others. Like the Princeps of the Principate, Rome is the first among equals. The structure of the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* itself illustrates this idea. Rome is described first in the poem, and she also appears in the last verse where her superiority is once again stressed: 'Rome surpasses all *patriae*'.³⁷ Rutilius Namatianus also described Rome as queen of the world and mother of all men.³⁸ Similarly, Trier, the third capital, was described in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* as feeding, clothing and arming 'the men of the Empire'.³⁹

Concerning Constantinople, Ausonius stayed within the limits of the contemporary debate which concentrated on the new situation of having two capitals. Coins representing the personifications of both Rome and Constantinople, as sister-cities, each with their own distinctive attributes, started to appear in the 340s.⁴⁰ Art also represented the two cities together to display the fact that both were the heads of the Empire. In some cases, one

³⁵ Rutilius Namatianus *De Redito Suo*, I. 46-120.

³⁶ Martial, *Epigrammata*, XXII. 21: 'domina urbs'.

³⁷ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 166: 'patrias sed Roma supervenit omnes'.

³⁸ Rutilius Namatianus, *De Redito Suo*, I. 47-49: 'exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi, inter sidereos Roma recepta polos, exaudi genetrix hominum'.

³⁹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 31.

⁴⁰ Toynbee 1947: 138.

city is given obvious prominence over the other, such as on the *Chronography* or *Calendar* of 354, which was produced in Rome. This document shows Constantinople offering a laurel wreath to Rome, on the same level as Trier and Alexandria.⁴¹ Ausonius also chose to put Rome and Constantinople in separate entries in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, thus overshadowing their sister-like quality. Nevertheless, dual representations of Rome and Constantinople generally promoted the concord between the east and west.⁴² Beyond the rivalry which sometimes appears between the two cities, literary sources expanded on the relevance of the relationship between the two capitals for the Empire as a whole. This relationship was articulated around the tension between the *New Rome* and the *Old Rome*. This is a theme fully exploited by Ausonius in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* ('Constantinople ... is preferred for her recent fortunes')⁴³ as well as in his panegyric to Gratian ('the cities celebrated ... Rome by tradition, and Constantinople by imitation').⁴⁴ In these passages, Rome is presented as the holder of sacred traditions while Constantinople is described as a newcomer, an imitator. However, contemporaries could also present a reversed version to that of Ausonius. Ammianus Marcellinus thus depicted Rome as an old lady,⁴⁵ while Rutilius Namatianus, hoped for the resurgence of Rome.⁴⁶ In such cases, the tension between old and new is articulated around the ideas of decline and renewal.⁴⁷ While Ausonius interpreted the antiquity of Rome with the aura of sacred and

⁴¹ Bertelli 1999: 130.

⁴² Küllerich 1993: 64.

⁴³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, II. 2-6: 'Constantinopoli/... / praefert/ hanc fortuna recens'.

⁴⁴ Ausonius, *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34: 'Celebrant equidem sollemnes istos dies omnes ubique urbes ... Roma de more et Constantinopoli de imitatione.'

⁴⁵ Ammianus Macellinus, *Res Gestae*, XIV. 6. 3-6.

⁴⁶ Rutilius Namatianus, *De Redito Suo*, I. 115-120.

⁴⁷ Roberts 2001: 536.

eternal traditions, his contemporaries sometimes associated it with decay and the need for renewal. This shows how attached Ausonius was to the classical urban model. This does not mean that he had no interest in the reality of his world, but rather that he had strong ideas as to how cities should be represented in poetry.

Nevertheless, Ausonius was able to turn *clichés* upside down even in the most formal contexts, such as the description of legendary cities in poetry. Ausonius' divine personifications can sometimes be rather different from the ones found in contemporary art and coinage. For instance, Ausonius described the cities of Constantinople and Carthage as racing: 'Carthage is rising up before Constantinople/ Not quite willing to concede a step, too proud to be called/ The third, yet not daring to hope for a second place/ Which is in view of both.'⁴⁸ The idea of a race is nearly comical and it contrasts with the static and dignified representations of Constantinople and Carthage on coins and art (see Plate B, Figures 3 and 4).

On the other hand, some city personifications in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* are clearly negative. This is the case for Capua, which is displayed as lacking another Roman quality: loyalty (*fides*), because it had sided with Carthage during the Punic Wars. The moralising purpose of this entry is clear. Ausonius not only criticised the city for her betrayal, but he also disclosed the effect that her action brought upon herself: 'This city, once powerful and strong of a great wealth, this other Rome ... is rejected to the eighth place, which she barely holds.'⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, II. 2-5: 'Constantinopoli adsurgit Carthago priori/ non toto cessura gradu, quia tertia dici/ fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum/ qui fuit ambarum'.

⁴⁹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VI. 61-63: 'Illa potens opibusque valens, Roma alter/ comere quae paribus potuit fastigia conis/ octavum reiecta locum vix paene tuetur.'

In a similar perspective, the entry of Alexandria and Antioch is particularly interesting because it starts as a conventional city personification. Antioch is attached to its famous local specificity, the great temple of Apollo.⁵⁰ This famous local site is also depicted on the *Peutinger Map*'s representation of Antioch (see Plate C, Figure 5).⁵¹ However, in the third verse, there is a change of tone: Antioch and Alexandria are described as displaying a lack of moderation and restraint (*modestia* and *moderatio*). This passage of their entry is therefore dominated by a lexical field of frenzy and madness.⁵² Contrary to Trier, Toulouse or Arles, Antioch and Alexandria are more like unruly teenagers than dignified matrons. This contrast is not only a sign of Ausonius' sense of humour, but it also emphasised an ideal behaviour. On a more literal level, the description of Antioch and Alexandria in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* corresponded to the fourth-century reality: Alexandria had had Christian riots in the 320s (caused by the conflict with Arianism)⁵³ and again in the 330s when Athanasius was accused of causing riots and plundering acts at the Council of Tyre.⁵⁴ Antioch was also described as an extravagant city elsewhere in Ausonius' works.⁵⁵ In the case of Antioch and Alexandria, the real cities were therefore shown as failing their ideals. It must be noticed that the quality of *moderatio* is one that appears in another specific context in Ausonius' works: it is substantially of a lack of *moderatio* that Ausonius accused Paulinus when he converted to an ascetic life.⁵⁶ His

⁵⁰ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, III. 15: 'Tertia Phoebeae lauri domus Antiochia.'

⁵¹ Salway 2005: 120.

⁵² Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, III. 17: 'furor ambitionis'; 18: 'certamen ... vitiorum. Turbida vulgo'; 19: 'male sana tumultu'.

⁵³ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, II.61; III.4. See also Galvao-Sobrinho 2006: 321.

⁵⁴ Haas 1997: 290-291.

⁵⁵ For instance in the *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulate*, 34: 'Antiocha pro luxu'.

⁵⁶ Paulinus of Nola answered the lost criticisms of Ausonius one by one in his *Carmen X*.

interpretation of Christianity was too extreme⁵⁷; his rejection of the world in which Ausonius' lived was too drastic. Like Alexandria and Antioch, Paulinus fails to live to the ideal of a learned aristocrat and Ausonius often showed his discontent about Paulinus' lifestyle.⁵⁸

The specification of contexts in which city personifications occur also highlights the question of the closeness between city representation in art, poetry and panegyrics. It is through panegyrics that the link between Roman cities and the Emperor was achieved. Panegyrics were publicly declaimed for emperors on various occasions, such as his visit to a city, a triumph, a religious festival. They were highly political works,⁵⁹ which aimed at achieving concord between the citizens of the cities and the Emperor by engaging the audience (in which name the panegyric was given to the Emperor) in a form of popular consent.⁶⁰ Ausonius himself wrote several panegyrics, of which the most famous is the *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulato*. Some entries in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, such as Narbonne's, displayed panegyric elements. The city was addressed in the second person singular, its glory was emphasised, as well as its past achievements.⁶¹ Similarly, the last part of the Mosella seems to be a panegyric for Valentinian.⁶² Furthermore, the imperial cities are singled out in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*: Trier is the throne-city ('solium') and Arles is called 'Gallula Roma Arelas'.⁶³ Arles had always had a

⁵⁷ Fontaine 1980: 249.

⁵⁸ See chapter 1.3.

⁵⁹ McCormack 1981: 3.

⁶⁰ McCormack 1981: 9.

⁶¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIII. 107-109: 'Nec tu Martie Narbo, silebere, nomine cuius/ fusa per immensum quondam provincia regnum/ optinuit multos dominandi jure colonos.'

⁶² Roberts 1984: 350.

⁶³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 29; VIII. 74.

very close connection to the emperor (she was renamed Constantina in the fourth century) to whom she owed her importance and wealth.⁶⁴ Ausonius' works in general and the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* in particular, were the reflection of an imperial world as much as a classical and mythological one.

The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* therefore shows that personifications in Ausonius were varied and adapted to their particular context. While most of them followed traditional typology and showed no particular novel uses, they were not always a mere poetic habit as they often played or expanded on generic patterns. Certain types of personifications served the purpose of displaying the author's sense of humour and ability to turn *clichés* around, while others attempted to bring an eternal and legendary aura to local as well as far away cities. The different aspects of the divine city personifications described by Ausonius corresponded to a late antique taste for repetition and variation.⁶⁵ The *variatio* consisted of describing the same object or theme in various lexical fields and from different perspectives. It was a literary device much appreciated in Late Antiquity and of which the *Mosella*, Ausonius' most famous poem, is considered a masterpiece.⁶⁶ Four verses of the *Mosella* show very clearly that Ausonius was aware of his own role, as a poet:

...At modo, coeptum
detexatur opus, dilata et laude virorum
dicamus laeto per rura virentia tractu
felicem fluvium Rhenique sacremus in undas.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Loseby 1996: 49-50.

⁶⁵ Roberts 1989: 38.

⁶⁶ Roberts 1996: 537.

⁶⁷ Ausonius, *Mosella*, 415-418.

In other words, it is through the action of the poet that the personified subject is made divine ('sacremus'). Ausonius was therefore not describing a long gone world, in archaic terms, as he has in the past been accused of, but he took it as the duty of the poet to raise his spatial environment to a nobler nature. As a result, city personifications in his work must be considered as much as the heirs of a long tradition as the expression of Ausonius' personal sensibilities and aspirations.

This personal sensibility was certainly shaped by the classical tradition and Ausonius attempted to ennoble his urban environment and raise it to a golden age standard by using other means apart from city personifications. The first of these means was the reminiscence of a mythological past, or of a foundation legend. In the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* Alexandria and Antioch are attached to their foundation stories: one was created by Alexander, the other by Seleucus.⁶⁸ Similarly, Athens and Syracuse are defined by some famous mythological episodes which took place there: Athens was linked to the contest between Athena and Poseidon and Syracuse's entry hinted at a now obscure legend involving the two brothers Anapias and Anphinomos.⁶⁹ Secondly, Ausonius also attached famous historical moments to his descriptions of cities. Thus, he described the role of Capua in the Punic Wars and Aquileia as the set of the execution of the usurper Maximus.

The expression of the attachment to the native city and to Rome, as well as the description of the antiquity of the city, its foundation myths and the great historical figures attached to it served the purpose of projecting the

⁶⁸ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, III. 24-27.

⁶⁹ Anapias and Anphinomos saved their parents miraculously from the flames of the magma waves coming down for the Etna.

reflection of *Roma aeterna* onto the city described.⁷⁰ Thus, the use of literary *topoi* in a culture which revered antiquity and literary authorities shows not only the poetic fluency of a rhetoric professor but also a conception of the world based on a classical ideal. The ideal and mythological world described by Ausonius in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* is a coherent one: his use of personifications fitted and expanded on earlier models (*amplificatio*) and they were applied to a wide range of contexts, some of them more intimate than others. This abstract world of classical ideals is therefore the first level of understanding of Ausonius' *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*. Furthermore, the use of city personifications represented the collective existence and complementarity of the different structural units of the Roman world.⁷¹ That is to say that by making city personifications belong to a coherent ideal world, Ausonius also stressed their structural coherence in the real world.

On the other hand, city personifications could in turn become metonymic representations of the urban community. This is the case on the Arras medallion, where the inhabitants of London were represented by a personification of the city of London (see Plate C, Figure 6). Similarly, in literature, it is when city personifications represented the urban community as a whole that verbs of emotions and human feelings appear. Thus, Ausonius' cities are found to be happy,⁷² desiring,⁷³ and they acted with lightness,⁷⁴ or arrogance.⁷⁵ Personifications could therefore also be considered as characters interacting against the backdrop of a classical idealised world.

⁷⁰ Février 1989: 1371-1372.

⁷¹ Toynbee 1947: 135.

⁷² Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VII. 71.

⁷³ Ausonius, *Parentalia*, XXIV. 12.

⁷⁴ Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XVII. 8.

⁷⁵ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VI. 49.

II. Christianity and Theatricality: the ambiguity of urban interaction.

It is as a representation of the urban community that one of the very few city personifications in Sulpicius Severus' works appears.⁷⁶ This shows that Sulpicius and Paulinus, as Christian ascetics, targeted the urban community rather than the entity-city. However, their attitude towards both the city and its urban community was very ambiguous.

On the one hand, they preached an ostentatious rejection of the traditional urban society. For Paulinus, this rejection was mandatory to a full acceptance of Christianity.⁷⁷ He described high secular offices as pleasures of worldly men,⁷⁸ and the walled city as a prison.⁷⁹ However, Paulinus' ascetic writings indirectly give clues as to his way of interacting with urban landscapes and society. In several of his letters, Paulinus mentioned going to Rome every year for the feast of the Apostles. He did not describe the ceremonies which he participated in but he stated in the *Epistula XVII*, that he was unable to visit the sights of Rome during his annual stay in the city, because he was too busy nurturing his clerical networking skills.⁸⁰ Paulinus' inability to visit the sights of Rome, contrasts with contemporary accounts of interactions with the urban environment. When Ammianus Marcellinus recalled in his *Res Gestae* the triumph of Constantius in the city of Rome, after his victory over the Alammani, he described the triumphal procession

⁷⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus III*, IV: 'attonita civitate'.

⁷⁷ Frensdorff 1969: 4.

⁷⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula I*, 7.

⁷⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXX*, 5.

⁸⁰ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XVII*, 2.

through Constantius' interaction with the monuments of the Forum, as well as with the Senate-House and the palace.⁸¹ Similarly, Ausonius imagined, in a letter to Paulinus, his friend's return to Bordeaux against the background of a crowded port.⁸² Whether Ausonius was aware or not of the contradiction between the ways he imagined Paulinus making his way through a crowded city and Paulinus' own rejection of the urban environment, this letter conveys a strong emotional meaning. Significantly, Paulinus himself imagined a visit from his friend Nicetas to his sanctuary at Nola,⁸³ using a similar typology. Like Constantius in Ammianus Marcellinus' text, Nicetas marvelled at the buildings that Paulinus built, and there is a spatial progression through the sanctuary.⁸⁴ Paulinus also described at length, in another letter, Saint-Peter's basilica in Rome,⁸⁵ through a spatial progression.⁸⁶ He also congratulated his friend Sulpicius Severus for his building activity at Primuliacum.⁸⁷ Paulinus of Nola therefore knew of the traditional literary way of interacting with an idealised space and he used it to describe interaction with a space he Christianised himself. His rejection of the sights of Rome was therefore a conscious choice. In *Epistula XVII*, Paulinus not only fails to marvel at Rome's

⁸¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVI, 10.13: "Proinde Romam ingressus imperii virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad rostra, perspectissimum priscoe potentiae forum, obstupuit perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent miraculorum densitate praestricus, adlocutus nobilitatem in curia populumque e tribunali" and XVI, 10.15: "Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram, ut opinamur, etiam numinum adsensione mirabilem, haerebat adtonitus per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem nec relatu effabiles nec rursus mortalibus adpetendos. Omni itaque spe huius modi quicquam conandi depulsa Traiani equum solum locatum in atrii medio, qui ipsum principem vehit, imitari se velle dicebat et posse".

⁸² Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 111-124 (Amherdt 2004) or *Epistula XXIII*, 43-45, in Green (2001).

⁸³ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXVII*, 345-595.

⁸⁴ Symbolised by the use of the verb 'gredior', 348.

⁸⁵ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XIII*, 13: 'qua sub eadem mole tectorum geminis utrimque porticibus latera diffundit; quave preatento nitens atrio fusa vestibulo est; ubi cantharum ministra manibus et oribus nostris fluenta ructantem, fastigatus solido aere tholus ornat et inumbrat, non sine mystica specie quatuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens.'

⁸⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XIII*, 13: 'Decet enim ecclesiae ingressum talis ornatus, ut quod intus mysterio salutari geritur, spectabili pro foribus opera signetur'.

⁸⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXXII*, 2.

monuments, but also rejects any literary interaction with the classical urban space.

The main reproach that Paulinus has for the traditional city is that it is fake and perverse. In a letter to the son of a friend, Paulinus denounced Rome as an evil Circe-like seductress which enslaves whoever wishes to dominate it.⁸⁸ Similarly, in a letter to Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus wrote that ‘the forum ... is the theatre of the world’.⁸⁹ Contemporary panegyrists and secular poets were also aware of the theatricality of urban life, albeit in a more positive way. The notion of the theatricality of life was an ancient one. Domestic decorations from the late republic and early imperial periods used architectural elements and perspective to create satiric, comic or tragic stage décors on the walls of the house.⁹⁰ Fourth-century texts privileged the procession over the domestic space as platform for the display of the theatrical nature of urban life. The description by Ammianus Marcellinus of Constantius’ triumph in Rome singles out the same particular location that Paulinus decried: the forum. The forum, and especially the *rostra*, had been carrying since the earliest times of Rome a sense of drama and theatricality, as it was a stage for literary performances.⁹¹ This aspect is made obvious by the connection that Ausonius drew between the forum and the *professores* in the *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium* and in the *Parentalia*.⁹² The forum represented, in these poems, the place of culture and rhetorical

⁸⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula VIII*, 3: the word ‘illecebras’ shows the perversely seductive side of the city.

⁸⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula V*, 5.

⁹⁰ Little 1937: 487-491.

⁹¹ Boyle 2006: 4.

⁹² Ausonius, *Parentalia*, III. 14; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I. 19; II. 17; XXIV. 7.

speech, and by extension, it was the set of civilised urban life. More broadly, the whole city could become a stage during processions. According to A. J. Boyle, during a Roman funeral, the procession route itself was a stage.⁹³ Moreover, processions could be halted to perform ritual dramas,⁹⁴ using the cityscapes as their décor.

The classical backdrop which was conjured by Ausonius through the use of city personifications could, in the case of processions, be represented by urban monuments. Several articles of the Theodosian code insist on maintaining and restoring traditional urban monuments,⁹⁵ as well as preventing private houses being built on top of, or next to, civic monuments.⁹⁶ These articles are interpreted in different ways, notably as evidence that most of the ancient monuments had been abandoned by the fourth century.⁹⁷ But it could also show that there was a reaction to such abandonment and therefore a will to maintain ancient monuments. The article 10.3 in the code is particularly telling as it advises to keep temples located outside city walls, not for religious use but for the sake of the circus and other amusements.⁹⁸ The fact that this article only concerns monuments outside city walls might not necessarily rule out their urban context because amphitheatres as well as circuses were often kept outside city walls in Gaul.⁹⁹

⁹³ Boyle 2006: 4.

⁹⁴ Ostenberg 2009: 13.

⁹⁵ *Codex Theodosianus*, XV. 1. 11; 27.

⁹⁶ *Codex Theodosianus*, XV. 1. 25.

⁹⁷ Brogiolo 1999: 102.

⁹⁸ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10.3: “Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen volumus, ut aedes templorum, quae extra muros sunt positae, intactae incorruptaeque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis vel ludorum vel circensium vel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus populo Romano praebeatur priscarum sollemnitas voluptatum”.

⁹⁹ Toulouse’s circus was built after its city walls, which at the time still had space intra-muros, yet they were constructed quite far from the city, see Labrousse 1968: 453. The amphitheatre of Nîmes was located within the walls, but as far as possible from the occupied area of the city inside the walls.

Processions used the monuments of the cities they paraded through in a similar way. They set the participants-performers against a classical décor, which helped give them the authority of past leaders for whom this décor was thought to have been an urban reality. A sort of catalogue list of “typical” urban monuments is found in the Milan entry in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* which mentions in three lines, the circus, the theatre, the temples, the bath as well as peristyles and statues.¹⁰⁰ The cataloguing of classical monuments was taken up by modern historiography, albeit in a different context and to a different end. While the listing of urban monuments in Ausonius’ *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* helps create an urban décor, modern archaeological catalogues have been produced within the debate around the passage from the classical city to the medieval one.¹⁰¹ However, Ausonius’ list of the monuments Milan seems more like a snapshot, a still-life, than evidence of decline or survival of the classical cityscape. The numerous sarcophagi and other relief sculpture displaying architectural décor are also pointing to this aspect. For instance, an anonymous sarcophagus from Avignon represented a funeral procession (or a biblical passage in connection with a funeral procession); with a background of city walls and classical-looking buildings (see Plate D, Figure 7). This background served the purpose to inform the viewer that he was admiring an urban ceremony.

Parallely, banners bearing the personified representations of cities and provinces conquered are known to have been paraded during triumphal

¹⁰⁰ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, V. 39-42: ‘circus et inclusi moles cuneata theatra, templa/... Herculei ... lavacri/ cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis.’ A catalogue of fishes is part of the *Mosella* poem (75-149). Ausonius seems to have had a tendency to insert descriptive lists in his works.

¹⁰¹ See Labrousse 1968, for Toulouse and Heijmans 2006 for Gaul.

processions.¹⁰² In this way, far away cities could be integrated into the procession as performers. Processions staged the ideal city. They were ritualised plays,¹⁰³ which precipitated consensus from the whole urban community. In this respect, the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* can be understood as a form of literary procession. It has been seen above that the poem's city personifications were characterised differently: some belonged to the traditional view of the dignified matron, or the warrior goddess, while others were negative characters, and in the case of Carthage and Constantinople, even comical ones. These characters can not be understood as static representations only. Carthage and Constantinople's entries contain a racing metaphor with cities as contestants.¹⁰⁴ As seen above, this movement was slightly comical, but given that other cities of the poem are more dignified characters, one could imagine that the race was but a part of a larger procession. In the text, cities are listed in the order of their position in the world, which is reminded in every entry.¹⁰⁵ The reader could thus picture cities passing in front of him in a kind of triumphal procession.

The diptych of a Christian ascetic ideal and a theatrical and over-complicated urban society would however be a too simplistic one. From Paulinus' letters to Sulpicius Severus alone, one might conclude that Paulinus' ascetic way of life was strictly separated from the worldly business and from cities. However, Paulinus' discourse adapted to his correspondent.

¹⁰² Ostenberg 2009: 189.

¹⁰³ Ostenberg 2009: 7.

¹⁰⁴ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, V. 39-43.

¹⁰⁵ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, I. 1: 'Prima urbes inter'; II. 3-4: 'quia tertia dici/ fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum'; III. 15: 'tertia ... Antiocha'; VI. 63: 'octavum reiecta locum'; VII. 65: 'nona inter claras ... urbes'.

When writing to Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus rejected unambiguously the traditional worldly society and his ascetic ideals were uncompromised. Cities are hardly mentioned in this set of letters, and when they are, it is in very negative ways. However, when writing to bishops, Paulinus appeared more sympathetic to the idea of a Christian involvement in city life. In a letter to Augustine, Paulinus hoped that the books he had sent out to be copied would be of great ‘service to the Church in many cities’, especially ‘over Catholic cities’.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, in another letter, he congratulated Victricius of Rouen for his Christianising work in ‘his city’, adding that Rouen was insignificant until its conversion, and that it found status and glory through its new Christian identity.¹⁰⁷ Besides, Paulinus mentions of cities in letters showed that Christian figures, even ascetic ones, were not as detached from cities as Paulinus would like to imagine. In *Epistula III*, Paulinus wrote to the bishop of Thagaste, Alypius, that he went to Rome to fetch him some books,¹⁰⁸ and he mentioned a common friend, Ambrose, bishop of Milan.¹⁰⁹ He then wrote about his own baptism at Bordeaux and ordination at Barcelona.¹¹⁰ The letter was finished by a list of African cities: Carthage, Thagaste and Hippo Regius.¹¹¹ Behind the ostentatious rejection of the urban environment, Paulinus was therefore aware of a parallel Christian urban movement. He even criticised, in one instance, the ‘tumult of the church assemblies which is not unlike the uproar of the competitors in the forum’.¹¹² This passage could

¹⁰⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula IV*. 1: ‘multarum urbium’; ‘catholicis urbibus’.

¹⁰⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XVIII*. 5: ‘tua ... civitate’.

¹⁰⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 4.

¹¹⁰ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 4.

¹¹¹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 6.

¹¹² Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXXVIII*, 10: ‘sed iam paene forensibus turbis aemulos ecclesiarum tumultus’.

be compared to Ausonius description of Alexandria and Antioch in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, which hinted at the religious rioting which took place at several occasions in these cities in the fourth century.

There therefore seems to have been two, apparently contradictory, Christian attitudes towards the city. One, advocated by ascetics such as Paulinus of Nola or Sulpicius Severus, was encouraging Christians to leave behind their property, cities, and personal networks of business and family in order to live an isolated life of devotion. On the other hands, bishops such as Victricius of Rouen or Ambrose of Milan were actively Christianising the city. Nevertheless, the two attitudes are not necessarily contradictory. Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola's ascetic ideals were not meant to extend to the whole population. Jerome himself, in a letter to Paulinus, advocated an isolated ascetic life while admitting that the call for the desert was only meant for the monk, and not for the priest or the bishop.¹¹³ Moreover, Paulinus and Sulpicius had no true reflection on "the Christian city" and it has even been argued that Paulinus' constant quotations from the Bible were more a rhetorical exercise than theological thinking.¹¹⁴ Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus were therefore not too concerned about theological coherence, and often merely repeated commonplaces, adapting them to their correspondents. Concentrating on the ascetic stances of Paulinus and Sulpicius must however not overshadow the rise of the bishop in the urban community. Paulinus of Nola himself would become a bishop and Sulpicius Severus made a saint out of the bishop of a relatively unimportant city. Similarly, bishops, through the growing influence of characters such as Ambrose, Victricius or Augustine

¹¹³ Jerome, *Epistula LVIII*, 4-5.

¹¹⁴ Walsh 1967: 16-17.

would eventually become the dominant figures of the early church. Fourth-century bishops were responsible for the construction of the first urban cathedrals, within the city walls. For instance, Victricius built a new cathedral in Rouen and consecrated it at the occasion of the arrival of some relics.¹¹⁵ Similarly, the trace of a fourth-century church at the heart of Toulouse seems to have been discovered,¹¹⁶ and Arles' original *intra-muros* cathedral was transferred to a more central location in the fifth century.¹¹⁷ Paulinus did not write about his pastoral work as a bishop, but one might imagine that the episcopal position must have forced him to interact with the urban space and society. While it is probable that his rejection of the worldly city might have been softened by his own prominent role in its administration, one must not necessarily conclude that he abandoned it completely. The monastic ideal would become hugely successful alongside the growing figure of the bishop for centuries to come. Paulinus' vision of the world, which so far only extended to his own choice of an ascetic life, would probably have extended to the city as well when he became a bishop. According to P.-A. Février, the fourth and fifth century were both a movement toward solitude and a return to the city of the ascetic Christians as bishops.¹¹⁸

In addition, Paulinus' rejection of the theatrical and fake aspect of traditional urban life must not be taken too literally. Paulinus was ready to use a theatrical metaphor to advance his own Christian agenda, calling the Church 'Christ's theatre, where spectators are not hostile'.¹¹⁹ Moreover, cities are mentioned in Paulinus' in connection with religious festivals. On several

¹¹⁵ Beaujard 2000: 62-64.

¹¹⁶ Cazes 1998: 21-22.

¹¹⁷ Loseby 1996: 60.

¹¹⁸ Février 1989: 1391.

¹¹⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XIII*, 16.

occasions, he mentioned the fact that he was going to Rome for the Feast of the Apostles.¹²⁰ Cities seem to have acted as cult centres for religious ceremonies; Ausonius mentioned having to go back to Bordeaux each year to participate in the Easter festivities.¹²¹ A religious ceremony in particular was used by both the imperial administration and the Church: the *adventus*. This was an ancient ceremony which celebrated the arrival of the emperor into a city which was recorded in panegyrics pronounced for the occasion.¹²² In the fourth century, such ceremonies were articulated around three phases: first, a procession led by the important men of the city would come out of the city to meet the emperor, then they would escort him back into the city, leading him to a specific location within the walls,¹²³ and finally, a panegyric would be pronounced for the emperor.¹²⁴ By Ausonius' time, the typology of such ceremony had become familiar,¹²⁵ and we hear from Victricius of Rouen of a ceremony (which he presided himself) welcoming some relics into Rouen.¹²⁶ The resemblance to an imperial *adventus* is obvious:¹²⁷ the saints bear imperial insignia of authority and majesty (purple toga and crowns),¹²⁸ hymns were chanted,¹²⁹ and the sermon pronounced by the bishop stood in place of the panegyrics.¹³⁰ Sulpicius Severus also used the imagery of the *adventus* to describe Martin's funeral procession, as the community met the body of Martin outside the city, virgins sang hymns, and the crowd accompanied the

¹²⁰ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XVII*, 1; *Epistula XVIII*, 1.

¹²¹ Ausonius, *Epistula II*, 9-10; *Epistula IV*, 16 (Green 1991).

¹²² McCormack 1981: 6; 19.

¹²³ Fassler 2007: 13-14.

¹²⁴ McCormack 1981: 21; *Panegyrici Latini*, VIII. 7-11 (This anonymous panegyric was pronounced in Trier, after Constantius Chlorus' reconquest of Britain in 297).

¹²⁵ Beaujard 2000: 70.

¹²⁶ Victricius of Rouen, *De Laude Sanctorum*, was the sermon pronounced on this occasion.

¹²⁷ Beaujard 2000: 69; Brown 1981: 98.

¹²⁸ Victricius, *De Laude Sanctorum*, 12.

¹²⁹ Victricius, *De Laude Sanctorum*, 3.

¹³⁰ Beaujard 2000: 69-70.

body to its tomb.¹³¹ The Christian rituals followed the same typology as the imperial *adventus* but swapped the secular object of the ceremony by a Christian one, and changed the organisation of the crowds from an administrative hierarchy to a Christian one, including clerics and virgins. A similar appropriation is displayed on the famous sarcophagus of Junius Bassus which associates the image of the Christ with that of the emperor by depicting Christ's entry into Jerusalem in the imagery of a triumphal *adventus* (see Plate D, Figure 8).¹³²

One of the purposes of such ceremonies was to emphasize the place of the bishop and clerics as leaders of the community. According to Van Dam, 'these ceremonies of arrival were essentially idiomatic rituals that highlighted the men who had authority and that precipitated consensus around those men and the values they represented'.¹³³ They also kept an element of drama and spectacle, even though this aspect of urban ceremonies was decried by ascetic writers. This is made obvious, in the case of nocturnal funeral processions, where the use of candles and incense in the processions was not abandoned by Christians.¹³⁴ Bishops therefore attempted to Christianise the city by reusing familiar ceremonies. In Christian processions, bishops successfully replaced the traditional elites of the city, the *curiales* and imperial officials, by themselves, thus taking the opposite path to that advocated by Paulinus. However, as seen above, the contradiction between these two attitudes towards the city is a false one, as both stances would soon be

¹³¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Epistula III Ad Bassulam*.

¹³² McCormack 1972: 743. Compare the depiction of Christ entering Jerusalem with the Arras Medallion. Both depictions show a mounted figure welcomed by a kneeling character.

¹³³ Van Dam 1985: 60-61.

¹³⁴ Harries 1992: 60.

integrated, as complementary elements, into a global conception of a Christian world.

III. City and countryside.

The diptych between a secular theatrical world and an ascetic and detached Christian life must therefore also be understood as a diptych between the urban life, Christian or traditional, and the ascetic retreat to the countryside.

In this subject, Ausonius seems to have stayed within the limits of the traditional debate. He explicitly placed himself in the line of the Roman literary tradition by using obvious intertextual references. One of the most informative of these intertextual references can be found at the beginning of the *Mosella* poem.¹³⁵ This verse is a clear reference to the famous passage of Virgil's *Georgics*: the *Laudae Italiae*.¹³⁶ The purpose of such obvious references was not only to show off Ausonius' education and his respect of literary authorities, but also to add a level of understanding to the poem. Upon reading these lines, the reader would be signalled that the poem is to be compared to Virgil's *Georgics* and by extension, that the *Mosella* countryside is comparable to that of Virgil's Italy.¹³⁷ The tension found in the *Georgics*, between human intrusion and unspoiled, wild nature was reflected in the *Mosella*.¹³⁸ The ambiguity of human society and behaviour is reflected in a letter in which Ausonius complained about the crowds and noise of the city in non-innovative

¹³⁵ Ausonius, *Mosella*, 23: 'Salve amnis, laudate agris, laudate colonnis'.

¹³⁶ Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 136-176.

¹³⁷ The *Mosella* countryside is elsewhere compared to Virgil's Italian countryside, with an intertextual reference, on verse 216, to the description of the Cumae region in the *Aeneid*, 3.442. See O'Daly 2004: 148-149.

¹³⁸ O'Daly 2004: 15.

formulas.¹³⁹ This kind of remark, complaining about the hustle and bustle of the city, was meant to refer to similar statements made by Juvenal, Pliny or Seneca. The descriptions of the anarchical movements of the city were opposed to the disciplined learned leisure practiced in rural villas. In the same letter, Ausonius invited his friend Axius Paulus to enjoy a life of learned leisure in his estates.¹⁴⁰ This type of attitude was to be expected from the most famous professor of the time. The *otium* that Ausonius advocated was not only a type of gentlemanly leisure, but like Pliny the Younger,¹⁴¹ Ausonius treated this activity as a class duty. As a result, in a letter that he sent to his friend after his conversion, Ausonius criticised Paulinus' epistolary *silentium*, and by extension his isolation, as a failure of the cultural and social values of his class.¹⁴²

As preceptor of a future emperor, it was Ausonius' role to maintain the traditional imagery alive, and pass it on to future generations. And he seems to have been a successful teacher indeed as even his most problematic, student, Paulinus of Nola, reused this traditional imagery. Paulinus inserted intertextual references to the great masters of the dichotomy between city and countryside into his letters and poems. In one of his poem, he quoted nearly word by word Horace's famous second *Epode*: 'Beatus ille qui procul...' ¹⁴³ He also repeated the commonplace of the busy city by complaining about 'the agitation of the forum.'¹⁴⁴ Sulpicius Severus also described Martin being so

¹³⁹ Ausonius, *Epistula IV*, 19-25 (Green 1991): 'Nam populi coetus et compita sordida rixis/ fastidientes cernimus/ angustas fervere vias et congregere volgo/ ... / turbida congestis referitur vocibus echo'.

¹⁴⁰ Ausonius, *Epistula II* (Green 1991).

¹⁴¹ Myers 2005: 104.

¹⁴² See Amherdt's commentary on the *Epistula XXI* (2004: 100).

¹⁴³ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen VII*, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula V*, 4: 'fori strepitu'.

disturbed by the number of people visiting him in the city that he retreated to his country monastery.¹⁴⁵ More significantly, Paulinus' ascetic retreat resembled the learned *otium* advocated by Ausonius, Pliny, Horace or Terence, even though the term *otium* nearly always has a negative connotation in his writings.¹⁴⁶ Paulinus certainly did not abandon a certain lifestyle nor did he enjoy compromising with his comfort. Paulinus' ascetic life was organised and facilitated by an important staff of servants, secretaries and couriers,¹⁴⁷ and similarly to Saint Martin's one, his community did not perform manual labour.¹⁴⁸ The question therefore arises as to what extent Paulinus' ascetic retreat was fashioned on the traditional aristocratic rural retreat. J. Fontaine suggested that Paulinus' final conception of his retreat could have been shaped over a long period of time. Paulinus, after his return to Aquitania, would have enjoyed a typical rural retreat increasingly regulated by prayers and Christian rituals.¹⁴⁹ Ausonius also described in the *Ephemeris*, a day partly organised by Christian rituals such as the prayer, albeit in a very moderate way.¹⁵⁰ The forced and inglorious separation from his homeland after his brother's death,¹⁵¹ could have finalised, or at least eased, his decision to cut any link with public life. Paulinus' ostentatious decision to renounce his properties and place in the secular world might not have been so sudden either. It has been advanced that the selling of Paulinus' numerous estates would have taken years to be completed, and even after having

¹⁴⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, X.

¹⁴⁶ Fontaine 1980: 255.

¹⁴⁷ Frensd 1969: 6.

¹⁴⁸ Stancliffe 1983: 26.

¹⁴⁹ Fontaine 1980: 250.

¹⁵⁰ Ausonius, *Ephemeris*, III (*Oratio*).

¹⁵¹ It has been argued that the ambiguous circumstances of his brother's death, and the suspicions that subsequently fell upon him forced him to retreat to his wife's estates in Spain. See Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 6.

publicly renounced them, Paulinus seems to have kept a *droit de regard* over, and a proprietary attitude toward, his former estates.¹⁵² Moreover, while at Saint Felix's sanctuary, Paulinus' main activities were to embellish the sanctuary, write letters to his friends, and poems in honour of Saint Felix. Contrary to Augustine, he did not make it his responsibility to create a coherent theology to serve as foundation for a new Christian world, nor did he have the defence (or rather creation) of orthodoxy as his mission,¹⁵³ as Jerome did. As a monk, his occupations did not really involve the nearby urban or rural community either, and he did not seem to be particularly concerned with pastoral care. Like Ausonius, Paulinus of Nola's main interest in his ascetic retreat was literary production and networking.

Paulinus indirectly acknowledged in his *Carmen X*, the role of his classical education in his vision of Christianity. When he said to Ausonius 'gratia prima tibi, tibi Gloria debita cedit, cuius praeceptis partum est quod Christus amaret',¹⁵⁴ it is his careful classical education that transpires through. It is however to be noted that Paulinus used his most obvious intertextual references when writing to Ausonius,¹⁵⁵ or when writing poetry.¹⁵⁶ The language choices in *Carmen X*, in particular, were therefore partly conscious decisions to use a language which Paulinus knew would please Ausonius, in an attempt to appease his old master after the shock of his conversion.

For, however influenced by traditional concepts, Paulinus' retreat was still too extreme for Ausonius, who expressed his unhappiness through a

¹⁵² Paulinus wrote in the *Epistula XXXII* that he financed the construction of a church for the community of one of his former estates at Fundi, between Rome and Naples. See Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 214.

¹⁵³ Frend 1969: 2.

¹⁵⁴ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 145-146.

¹⁵⁵ Fontaine 1980: 249.

¹⁵⁶ Frend 1974: 122.

variation of the traditional antithesis between city and countryside: the one that separates civilisation from wilderness. In the *Carmen X*, Paulinus recalled that Ausonius reproached him with living among ruined cities.¹⁵⁷ In his reply, Paulinus defended himself by assuring Ausonius that Catalonian cities had indeed satisfactory levels of sophistication.¹⁵⁸ However, in other places, Paulinus praised unspoiled nature as the unspoilt work of god.¹⁵⁹ Paulinus' rejection of the idyllic Vergilian nature has been interpreted as a turn over of pagan values. However, upon close comparison with Ausonius' texts, it appears more likely to have been a *variatio* on the traditional diptych between nature and civilisation. Ausonius himself criticised the action of Man on Nature in the *Mosella*. The catalogue of the villas on the banks of the river is not all flattering because villas were too big and too adorned and therefore seen as perversion of nature.¹⁶⁰ Here again, what is criticised is the lack of *moderatio*, a recurrent theme of Ausonius' works.¹⁶¹

The duality of nature and civilisation, city and countryside, was therefore a theme that could be turned around, and approached from every angle. While Ausonius portrayed the ambiguous human impact on nature, he also hinted at the civilising human activity, and he considered the city as the condition for civilisation. On the other hand, the forest was a symbol of the lack of civilisation, and of the dark and worrying nature of the wilderness.

¹⁵⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 221-222: 'eversis ... / urbibus et deserta ... oppida'.

¹⁵⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 230-234: 'Birbilis huic tantum, Calagurris, Hilerda notantur/ Caesarea est Augusta cui, cui Barcino amoena/ et capite insigni despectans Tarraco pontum?/ ... egregias ... urbes'.

¹⁵⁹ Frend 1974: 111.

¹⁶⁰ Roberts 1984: 349.

¹⁶¹ Albeit not being a new one: Statius also criticised the extravagant villas of his patrons as perversions of nature. See Myers 2005: 107.

Ausonius was not the first one to use this image,¹⁶² but the ways in which he explains why the forest is worrying are telling. The first verses of the poem allude to Aeneas journey in Hades,¹⁶³ and the forest represents the real world equivalent of the gloom and darkness of the underworld. It is a place where humans are not really meant to be. The idea is most clearly articulated in verses 5 and 6 of the poem, in which the lack of humanity in the landscape is symbolised by the lack of roads as physical proofs of human appropriation of the landscape.¹⁶⁴ Paulinus used a similar image in the *Carmen X* to notify Ausonius that saying that he lived away from the roads of men was an exaggeration.¹⁶⁵ Contrary to what is usually thought, Paulinus' retreat was not meant to be a call to the desert, away from humans and civilisation. Rather, Paulinus complimented another ascetic monk, Sebastianus, because his 'solitude is not isolated, for [he] does not live in the desert but separated [from the world]'.¹⁶⁶

In conclusion, Ausonius and Paulinus kept the traditional ambivalence of Roman authors towards city life.¹⁶⁷ On the one hand, Ausonius longed for the quietness and learned leisure of life in his estates, but he also clearly showed that the civilised world is structured around cities. Fourth-century poets enjoyed exploiting the theme to its full and their poems and letters bear the trace of multiple variations on the same theme. As a result, contradictions

¹⁶² Etienne (1978: 251) showed that the forest had been a cause of fear and concern since the earliest Roman literary sources.

¹⁶³ O'Daly 2004: 151.

¹⁶⁴ Ausonius, *Mosella*, 5-6: 'Unde iter ingrediens nemorosa per avia solum/ et nulla humani spectans vestigia cultus'.

¹⁶⁵ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 226: 'extra hominum tecta atque vias'.

¹⁶⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXVI*, 1: 'quamnis tua solitudo non sola sit, quae non deserta est, sed secreta'.

¹⁶⁷ Frye 2003: 186.

in their writings must not be interpreted as incoherencies but as *variatio* on the debate. When Ausonius wrote in a letter that in Bordeaux the places no longer deserved to be called so,¹⁶⁸ because of the crowds that invaded them and in another text that these same piazzas deserved their names,¹⁶⁹ he is showing his ability to view all aspects of the theme. Similarly, the omnipresence of the image of the aristocratic retreat in Ausonius' works must not be taken as showing a preference for life in the country,¹⁷⁰ but can be explained by the fact that the country villas were the place where all of Ausonius' and Paulinus' letters and poems were written.¹⁷¹ The link between literary pursuits and rural *secessus* would therefore naturally lead to an over-representation of country life in both writers' works and hide the fact that a lifestyle equally alternating between city and country was the norm.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Ausonius, *Epistula X*, 24: 'nomen plateas perdere' (Green 1991).

¹⁶⁹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 142: 'latas nomen servare plateas'.

¹⁷⁰ As has been argued by Frye 2003: 186.

¹⁷¹ Fontaine 1980: 264.

¹⁷² Février 1989: 1374; Fontaine 1980: 242.

Chapter 2: City walls and city boundaries.

Wall circuits enclosing southern Gallic cities in the Late Roman period must now be considered. As well as being an important feature for military history late Roman fortifications have recently become central to the study of late Roman urbanism. The reasons for this scrutiny are multiple. First of all, city walls are omnipresent in contemporary urban descriptions. Wall circuits are also the easiest late Roman monuments to identify archaeologically. In some cities, such as Carcassonne, Le Mans or Périgueux, portions of fortifications are even still visible today. In this respect, urban fortifications are to be first assessed in terms of the different reasons which led to their construction in Late Antiquity. Then the perception of walls as monuments in the time of Ausonius will be analysed. From there, the use of city walls as metonyms for the city itself will be discussed and finally, walls will be analysed in terms of their function as boundaries for the city.

I. Wall building and military necessity.

First of all, walls must be considered as a response to the military necessities in Gaul. Late Antique wall circuits in southern Gaul usually enclosed a smaller area than their Augustan counterparts.¹⁷³ Regional capitals received the largest enclosures (Bordeaux's walls enclosed 38ha,¹⁷⁴ Bourges' enclosed surface was 26ha),¹⁷⁵ but even the largest centres could not compete with walls circuits built during the first and second centuries,

¹⁷³ Johnson 1983: 52.

¹⁷⁴ Etienne 1962: 210.

¹⁷⁵ Johnson 1983: 104.

even when those adorned less important cities.¹⁷⁶ Late antique walls were also much thicker than earlier ones.¹⁷⁷ As a result, later city enclosures have mainly been studied as military responses to barbarian invasions, especially the raids of the 260s, which penetrated into the innermost Gallic provinces.¹⁷⁸ The military nature of city walls can not indeed be overlooked. Some cities in south western Gaul, noticeably Bordeaux, Périgueux and Dax had rectangular shaped circuits.¹⁷⁹ This shape and the location of such rectangular defences in Gaul betray clear military concerns. S. Johnson advanced that walls were ordered to be built by the imperial government in order to protect the administrative and legal system of the empire.¹⁸⁰ In this perspective, one can understand why capitals of provinces would have to be fortified.¹⁸¹ However archaeology has revealed that late antique wall circuits often left out important civic buildings.¹⁸² For instance, both the amphitheatre and the forum were left out of the city by the wall circuit of Bordeaux.¹⁸³ But it should be considered that the administrative, military and legal efficiency of the empire relied on the supply and circulation of goods and people. Thus the protection of supply routes for the army would have been a priority.¹⁸⁴ The fortifications of Bordeaux, Périgueux and Dax, as well as the ones of the small fortified town of Bayonne could have therefore been planned to secure the road from Spain, towards Trier and the north-east frontier. Similarly, the third- century additions

¹⁷⁶ Albeit being a less important city than Bordeaux, Toulouse maintained in late antiquity one of the largest urban fortifications in Gaul, with an *intra-muros* area of 90ha. See Guyon 2000: 222.

¹⁷⁷ Johnson 1983: 37.

¹⁷⁸ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 193.

¹⁷⁹ See Garmy and Maurin 1996 for a detailed study of these three cities' walls.

¹⁸⁰ Johnson 1983: 117.

¹⁸¹ Christie 2001: 115.

¹⁸² Johnson 1983: 117.

¹⁸³ Etienne 1962: 205.

¹⁸⁴ Nicholas 1997: 14.

to the Augustan walls of Toulouse, alongside the Garonne bank,¹⁸⁵ and the construction of Bordeaux' walls around its internal port,¹⁸⁶ could have been designed to protect the river Garonne. Arles could also have been refortified in Late Antiquity because of its position on the Rhone and on the main road between Italy and western Gaul. This city was actually the only one in Gaul whose Augustan wall circuit was reduced in Late Antiquity.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, Dijon, Beaune, Mâcon, Chalon-sur-Saone and Tournus could have protected the important Saone and Rhone valleys.¹⁸⁸

Building a wall was very costly: it required skilled builders and engineers to be found and brought in; they also needed an extensive supply of stone and their location in the city had to be cleared of previous occupation. Towns must therefore have received some sort of incentive to take the decision to build walls. S. Johnson advanced the theory that there must have been an imperial order sent out to cities to answer a global defence necessity.¹⁸⁹ This theory raises the question of the degree of involvement of civic authorities in the fortification of their cities: who ultimately decided the start of a construction and who paid for it and in which proportion? Unfortunately these questions are not answerable with the evidence available for Gallic cities. Constructions of late antique walls are hardly ever recorded,¹⁹⁰ and the archaeological dating of the walls excavated so far is

¹⁸⁵ Guyon 2000: 222.

¹⁸⁶ Bordeaux' internal port is clearly described by Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon*, 46-47.

¹⁸⁷ Rouquette and Sintès 1989: 40. The reduction of the walls in Autun has also been thought to have been reduced in Late Antiquity, but recent archaeological discoveries tend to point to the construction of a fortress within the maintained Augustan walls. See Rebourg 2002: 59.

¹⁸⁸ Johnson 1983: 86.

¹⁸⁹ Johnson 1983: 10, 114.

¹⁹⁰ Christie 2001: 111.

often vague. There is no trace either of the provenance of the funds necessary to undergo such building programs, either in city finances or in the imperial treasury: the only literary evidence for a large scale imperial involvement would be a sentence of Julian, explaining how his predecessor “restored thirty cities”.¹⁹¹ This was a type of praise common in fourth century panegyrics in general,¹⁹² and therefore might not reflect contemporary practices. Johnson rightly pointed out that it would never have been possible for the emperor to finance directly the construction of so many walls all over Gaul and Italy over a time-scale of over a century. He therefore suggested that the imperial administration must have used indirect means of helping out cities: tax reliefs, loans of engineers and soldiers, or setting the example by building walls for Rome.¹⁹³ This theory is very tempting because it shows a coherent explanation for the appearance of walls all over Gaul and Northern Italy. However, such a coherent and systematic strategy would have been extremely difficult to implement in existing civilian settlements so efficiently and over such a long period of time. Moreover, as N. Christie remarked, ‘there is a natural limit to what can be planned in any period of Roman military history’.¹⁹⁴ Johnson’s theory can therefore not account for all late antique wall circuits, and even when it applies, the idea that military necessity was the only reason behind wall building can not be sustained.

Apart from a hypothetical imperial incentive other processes could have pushed the majority of Gallic cities to build urban defences. Johnson

¹⁹¹ Johnson 1983: 114.

¹⁹² McCormack 1981: 20.

¹⁹³ Johnson 1983: 63, 118.

¹⁹⁴ Christie 2001: 115.

argued for an imperial policy by pointing out the similarity of designs and materials used within provinces, concluding that this was a sign that gangs of engineers and architects must have been at work within Gallic provinces, and sent out from the centre.¹⁹⁵ However, similarity can not be taken, on their own, as proof of similar origin. It is also possible that a few regional centres, especially important for the imperial government, were given walls on the orders of the emperor, and that neighbouring towns imitated them. These smaller towns could have employed the same workmen, or simply imitated the style of their regional capital. Local patriotism, which is very much felt in Ausonius' works, could have led minor or peripheral cities to obtain walls. The fact that late antique walls were carefully constructed, and not hastily built, as previously thought,¹⁹⁶ also proves that they were not a response to military emergency.

Additionally, the association between walls and emperors can not be considered on a military strategy perspective alone as it was an ancient and nearly sacred one. In the early empire city walls were *res sanctae* and "belonged" to the emperor.¹⁹⁷ City gates bearing dedications to emperors or being named after them can be found throughout the empire.¹⁹⁸ This does not necessarily mean that emperors directly financed the construction of walls, but that there was a wish from the cities undertaking such constructions to show their loyalty to the Empire and their loyalty towards the Emperor.

A distinction must be made concerning the military nature of late antique walls as well. Imperial policies could have planned the construction of

¹⁹⁵ Johnson 1983, 84, 88, 112.

¹⁹⁶ Johnson 1983: 116.

¹⁹⁷ Johnson 1983: 62.

¹⁹⁸ Johnson 1983: 63.

walls around important centres and cities on supply routes, as part of a military strategy, but the military nature of city walls could also be more abstract. According to N. Christie ‘town walls were powerful statements of the need to protect cities’.¹⁹⁹ This suggests that the military protection of cities, empire-wide, could be symptomatic of military necessity as well as of the wish to protect the city as a structural entity of the empire. Walls were a powerful display of the city’s importance, as it showed that it deserved to be defended. In this respect, walls can be seen as monuments to the urban structure of the Empire.

II. City walls as monuments and metonyms.

The vocabulary used to describe walls is often orientated towards the size, shape and impressiveness of the walls. For instance, in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, Ausonius portrays the walls of Trier as large and stretching forward (‘lata per extantum procurrunt moenia’),²⁰⁰ those of Toulouse as incorporating an immense area (‘coctilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens’),²⁰¹ and finally those of Bordeaux as square and lofty (‘quadra murorum species, sic turribus altis/ ardua, ut aerias intrent fastigia nubes’).²⁰² The focus of descriptions on the size and shape of walls shows firstly that the military nature of walls was not forgotten altogether in Ausonius’ time. The square appearance of walls in particular often singles out the walls as military monuments. Moreover, the discovery of a fourth-century soldier’s epitaph in Bordeaux could point to the presence of a garrison in the city, or in its

¹⁹⁹ Christie 2001: 116.

²⁰⁰ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 32.

²⁰¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XII. 99.

²⁰² Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 140-141.

vicinity.²⁰³ On the other hand, the link between fortified circuits and warfare, barbarian invasions and city sieges started to appear in sources in the first years of the fifth century. Sulpicius Severus, in his *Vita Sancti Martini*, mentioned the fear of a barbarian attack of the city of Paris,²⁰⁴ while Paulinus of Pella (Ausonius' presumed grandson),²⁰⁵ discussed the role of walls in city sieges he personally witnessed in Bazas and Bordeaux.²⁰⁶ Paulinus of Nola did witness the capture of Nola, of which he had by then become the bishop, by the Goths.²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, only two doubtful fragmentary texts survive from the period after his accession to the episcopate so one can only conjecture about the effects this invasion had on his conception of the city.²⁰⁸ The chronological and geographic development of the mentions of city sieges and military use of city walls seems to follow the progression of barbarian incursions into Gaul. Sulpicius only mentioned barbarians and city sieges in the *Vita Sancti Martini*, which takes place in Northern Gaul, Martin's area of influence, while Paulinus of Pella, a few decades after Sulpicius Severus, described war incidents in Aquitaine itself and the devastation of his house in Bordeaux, something that Ausonius would probably never have imagined, and certainly never mentioned. The relative feeling of peace of the second half of the fourth century, which enabled Ausonius to reassert his Roman cultural identity, was to give way to the insecurities brought by the barbarian invasions suffered by Paulinus of Pella and his contemporaries in Aquitaine. The very end of the period studied in this thesis therefore shows the beginning of a

²⁰³ Barraud and Maurin 1996: 37.

²⁰⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, XVIII, 1.

²⁰⁵ White 2000: 127.

²⁰⁶ Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon*, 386-388.

²⁰⁷ Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 9.

²⁰⁸ The information we have about his life after 407 comes from letters and writings of Saint Augustine and it is fairly fragmentary.

changing attitude towards city fortifications and their re-militarised meaning. This change was paralleled by a late period of wall building in the Pyrenees region where city walls such as at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Saint-Lizier or Auch, encircled an extremely reduced area and acted more as citadels above open cities.²⁰⁹ In Cassiodorus' words walls were 'an adornment in times of peace, a precaution in times of war'.²¹⁰

Nevertheless, as N. Christie pointed out, older walls, maintained in late antiquity are often left aside in studies concentrating on new builds and their connections to the barbarian invasions.²¹¹ It is worth remembering that the phase of wall building in the late third century-early fourth century was a generation before Ausonius started to write. He therefore lived and wrote at a time where city walls had started to become part of the urban fabric. The people who built the late antique Gallic city walls were not the ones who wrote about them in the late fourth century and their perception of city walls might have differed. In other words, the building of walls tells us about the perception of the city at the time of the construction and fourth and fifth century texts and images inform on how the presence of walls in urban centres changed the contemporaries' perception of their urban environment. However, in the fourth and very early fifth century, sources do not seem to have made a qualitative difference between walls built a generation before them, or those built in Augustan times. Ausonius describes walls in terms of their monumentality, not in terms of their original function. In these

²⁰⁹ See Jones and Esmonde-Cleary 1996, for Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, and Souilhac 1996, for an overview of the city walls in Novempopulania.

²¹⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae Epistolae*, I. 17.

²¹¹ Christie 2001: 108.

descriptions, the military necessity of having solid walls is joined by the more abstract value of these walls as impressive monuments. Apart from their size, the monumental quality of walls is also demonstrated by the discovery of decorative patterns on late antique walls in Le Mans or Rennes for example.²¹² Earlier walls, especially from the Augustan period, also displayed a clear aesthetic concern, such as *trompe-l'oeil* red masonry in Autun,²¹³ or brick patterns in Toulouse. The stylistic identity of Toulouse's Augustan walls was actually respected in the third-century addition of the Garonne fortification (which closed the circuit alongside the river), as it was also built entirely in bricks (a very rare technique in early and late imperial Gaul).²¹⁴ Furthermore, walls could be clearly seen and identified by visitors approaching a city as the roads (or rivers, as in Bordeaux or Arles) would lead the visitor through the suburbs or cemeteries, straight to the gates of the city. These gates often displayed some decorative elements, such as windows,²¹⁵ arches,²¹⁶ or statues. Additionally, walls were paralleled by ditches, and/or an embankment placed in front of the walls.²¹⁷ A glacis could also be created on the city side of walls, thus disconnecting streets and houses from the wall. This is the case in Autun, whose Augustan walls were still in use in Late Antiquity.²¹⁸ The creation of ditches and glacis primarily served military purposes, rather than aesthetic ones, but their ability to provide a clear view of the wall in its entirety, both from outside and from within, helped create a monumental image for the wall circuits. The case of August's defences could be added to

²¹² Johnson 1983: 91.

²¹³ Rebourg 2002: 51.

²¹⁴ Baccrabère and Bodie 1996: 129.

²¹⁵ Such as in Susa, see Christie 2001: 117.

²¹⁶ Such as in Trier, see Plate E, Figure 9. For Autun, see Rebourg 2002: 53.

²¹⁷ Christie 2001: 117. Bordeaux seems to have had an embankment, see Garmy and Maurin 1996: 70.

²¹⁸ Rebourg 2002: 63.

the argument, even if they fall out of this study's geographic focus because the remains of its incomplete set of walls were located around the two main routes leading to the city.²¹⁹ This suggests either that the interrupted construction started at these points, thus conferring a certain importance to the city entrances. It has also been advanced that these walls were token defences, designed to impress the visitor.²²⁰ A similar situation might have applied to the Augustan walls of Arles, whose early walls were only located around city gates.²²¹

Additionally, the mention of city walls in contemporary descriptions of cities is nearly systematic, even in cases where archaeology has found no trace of any fortification.²²² This trend is well exemplified by Ausonius' works in general and his poem *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* in particular. In this poem, city walls are mentioned in six poems out of twelve.²²³ Walls are also mentioned in his letters,²²⁴ and the rest of his poetic works.²²⁵ Fortified circuits are also regularly described in the letters written by Paulinus of Nola,²²⁶ and in the writings of Sulpicius Severus, although to a lesser extent.²²⁷ City walls were all the more significant as they were the only physical aspect of cities regularly mentioned in the aforementioned works. Other monuments such as temples, churches, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, or basilica, are mentioned only once if not at all, and often within a list of commonplace urban features.

²¹⁹ Johnson 1983: 18.

²²⁰ Johnson 1983: 18.

²²¹ Esmonde-Cleary 2003: 78.

²²² Such at Eauze, whose walls were described by Claudian (*In Rufinum*, I.137), See Guyon, Boissavit-Camus and Souilhac 1996: 11.

²²³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 32; V. 37, 40, 43; VII. 67; IX. 84; XI. 99; XII. 140, 142, 144, 145.

²²⁴ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV* (Amherdt 2004), 76; *Epistula XI* (Green 1991), 11.

²²⁵ Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, VI. 15; *Ludus Septem Sapientum*, 44; *Mosella*, 2, 24, 370, 422, 456; *Epitaphia*, XVI. 4; *Periocha Iliadis*, 3, 21, 22; *Periocha Odysssiae*, 1.

²²⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XII*, 10; *Epistula XXVIII*, 2; *Epistula XXX*, 5; *Carmen X*, 234.

²²⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, XX.

In conclusion, it appears that by the time Ausonius wrote his poems and letters, walls had started to become part of the generic monumental representations of the city,²²⁸ and had started a movement of redefinition of the urban aesthetic. It is therefore significant that the three cities where Ausonius was educated (Toulouse), had an imperial career (Trier) and retired (Bordeaux) are physically described through their walls.²²⁹ In these cases, the descriptions of city walls offer an insight into not only Ausonius' perceptions of cities in general but also into his personal experience of them.

Progressively, city walls, which had become a usual sight in Gaul by the end of the fourth century, came to be used as metonyms for the city itself, not only by Ausonius, but also by most of his contemporaries. These metonyms are present in poetry and letters, as well as maps, friezes, sarcophagi etc.²³⁰ Furthermore, it has to be noted that the idea that the wave of wall building described by Johnson was caused single-handedly by the fear of barbarian invasions of the late third century can not be archaeologically and chronologically substantiated. In Aquitaine, for instance, Bordeaux seems to have received its set of walls in the late third century, Périgueux in the fourth century and Dax in the fifth century.²³¹ This shows that as well as a policy of defence of Gaul, a circular process could have started to take place: the construction of walls around important cities could have induced smaller neighbouring cities to acquire urban fortifications, leading to a gradually systematic association between wall circuits and urban identity. This

²²⁸ Brogiolo 1999: 100-104, finds that walls had replaced temples, amphitheatres and *fora* in the monumental representation of cities in Italy as well, but he interprets this change as a purely militaristic phenomenon and considers wall-building as a sign of decay and destruction.

²²⁹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 32; XI. 99; XII. 140-141

²³⁰ See Plate C, Figure 6; Plate D, Figure 7; Plate E, Figure 10; Plate F, Figure 11 and 12.

²³¹ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 193.

association pushed more cities to build their own walls, which in turn reinforced the image of the walled city.

The strength of the model of the walled city in contemporaries' minds is also shown by the fact that it was rejected by ascetic Christian writers. As has been discussed in chapter one, Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus attempted to replace the city as symbol of the secular Roman civilisation, by a Christian imagery. They rejected the materiality of the city, its administrative, political, commercial image and called for an ascetic life, away from cities. As a result, walls as metonyms for the city were described with a negative vocabulary. For example, they could be seen as prison walls, preventing the sinner to reach God.²³² In a similar way, Paulinus paraphrased Bible passages in which Jews or Christians were physically kept prisoners within the city walls of their enemies.²³³

The Christian city therefore needed its own Christian protection. This idea was expressed by Victricius of Rouen as he remarked that saints protected from demons, while city walls merely protected from earthly enemies.²³⁴ The idea that saints protected the city better than city walls is paralleled at the same period elsewhere in the Empire.²³⁵ Paulinus expresses this idea most clearly, when talking about Jerusalem; he said that 'Christ has become not only the foundation but also the Tower and the Gate of the city'.²³⁶ However, even saints' lives started to be written in vast quantities at

²³² Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XII*, 6.

²³³ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen IX*, 1-6 recalls the capture and retention of the Jews in Babylon; *Epistula XXX*, 5 is a reference to *Psalms XXX*, 22.

²³⁴ Victricius of Rouen, *De Laude Sanctorum*, 6.

²³⁵ In the east as well as in the west, see John Chrysostom, *Laudatio Martyrum Aegyptiorum*, 1.

²³⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXVIII*, 2.

the time, such as Sulpicius Severus' famous *Vita Sancti Martini*,²³⁷ archaeology has not been able to sustain the presence of monumental complexes associated with saint's tombs before the fifth century. The majority of the sanctuaries whose origins were put in the fourth century by tradition were not found or rather they did not particularly stand out from other tombs in the area in the fourth century.²³⁸ Moreover, sources describing these sanctuaries for the first time often do not appear until the sixth century.²³⁹ What archaeology reveals throughout Gaul, and even Italy, is that in the fourth century some tombs attracted other tombs around them. But the first monumental buildings did not appear until the mid-fifth century and basilicas not before the early sixth century. This chronology includes the necropolis of Saint-Seurin in Bordeaux,²⁴⁰ as well as the cemeteries of Saint-Sernin and Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines in Toulouse.²⁴¹ There are a few exceptions, including Paulinus of Nola's monumental complex around the tomb of Saint Felix at Nola,²⁴² but the fact that nothing is heard of the saints introduced by Martin or Victricius of Rouen in their cities after their death could show that their attempt to control and organise, as bishops, the cult of saints partly failed or at least was not picked up immediately.²⁴³ This does not mean that some kind of saintly devotion had not started to develop and that tombs of saints had not started to attract religious activities. Archaeological discoveries at Nola show that the sanctuary of Saint Felix had already been marked out as a

²³⁷ Beaujard 2000: 9, 41.

²³⁸ For Paul's sanctuary in Narbonne and Saint-Saturnin in Toulouse, see Beaujard 2000: 80-81.

²³⁹ Most notably, Gregory of Tours has been used to date the emergence of a Christian topography in Gallic cities, however, he wrote two centuries after the supposed foundations he described.

²⁴⁰ Barraud and Maurin 1996: 52-53.

²⁴¹ Cazes 1996: 150-151; Guyon 2000: 231; Pailler 1996: 21.

²⁴² Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 1.

²⁴³ Beaujard 2000: 72.

place of saintly worship, if in a somewhat modest way, and had attracted wealthy tombs around its mausoleum, well before Paulinus' time.²⁴⁴ What Paulinus brought was the idea that the monumental aspect as well as the multiplication of worship centres glorified God.²⁴⁵ Additionally, the writings of Paulinus of Nola as well as the *Vita Sancti Martini* seem to have been one of the first to associate saintly cult with Christian topographical impact. Both authors discuss their mutual construction activities, Paulinus' at Nola and Sulpicius' at Primuliacum.²⁴⁶ Moreover, Prudentius mentioned, at the very beginning of the fifth century, the martyrial tombs of Genesius in Arles and the monastery of Paul in Narbonne.²⁴⁷ The cult of saints therefore did not begin in the late fourth century but it seems that it is at this time that a Christian topographical attack on the suburbs was planned by charismatic individuals such as Paulinus of Nola, Ambrose, Sulpicius Severus and Victricius of Rouen. The bishops' attempt, in particular, to control saintly cults is exemplified by a passage from the *Vita Sancti Martini* which shows Martin going to an anonymous tomb whose occupant had been locally revered by peasants, and subsequently uncovering the true nature of the supposed saint, actually an evil bandit.²⁴⁸ Later on, Martin would bring a new set of relics approved by him and provided by Ambrose to the city.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the willingness, yet inability of Christian writers to replace the walled city as an urban image by a Christian image of the city organised around saints, shows how strong the urban type of the walled city was rooted in people's

²⁴⁴ Herbert de la Pointcarré-Viard 2006: 13-14.

²⁴⁵ Herbert de la Pointcarré-Viard 2006: 27; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXXII*, 1-10.

²⁴⁶ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXXII*.

²⁴⁷ Beaujard 2000: 79.

²⁴⁸ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, XI, 4.

²⁴⁹ Beaujard 2000: 60.

perceptions of their urban environment. The idea that saints protected the city militarily was putting itself in competition with the urban type of the walled city but, in the fourth century, this idea still belonged to the realms of Christian rhetoric. However, this vision would become a familiar one, even in its practical aspect (the presence of relics was seen as physically protecting the city as much as spiritually),²⁵⁰ in the late fifth century.²⁵¹

The use of city walls as metonyms for the city as well as the emphasis on their monumentality therefore goes against the theory which holds late Antique Gallic fortifications as fortresses rather than city enclosures.²⁵² Walls had a prime military importance but this can not overshadow the fact that ramparts were very different from one another in terms of style, dates of construction, specific military need, propaganda, etc. In turn, these differences must be acknowledged without pushing aside the fact that fourth-century sources give them the same semantic value.²⁵³ Not every Gallic city, especially south of the Loire, acquired wall circuits in Late Antiquity.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, even though smaller sized circuits did not enclose the whole city,²⁵⁵ or even its city centre, they grew to be perceived as enclosing the essence of the city, and in particular for ascetic Christian writers, the essence of the pagan, materialistic Roman City. The use of metonymic representations of cities through their walls was not new as it had been used by Virgil, among

²⁵⁰ Frend 1974: 103.

²⁵¹ Beaujard 2000: 333.

²⁵² Nicholas 1997: 12. However, this does not apply for city walls in Novempopulania which were built in the very late fourth century- early fifth century and enclosed minimal surfaces. These Pyrenees fortifications were rather fortresses than city walls. See *Aquitania* 14, 1996 for detailed studies of these city walls.

²⁵³ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 191.

²⁵⁴ Eauze, ancient Eluza, for example seem to have never received city fortifications.

²⁵⁵ Nicholas 1997: 12.

others, and in artistic representations throughout the Roman period. However, the systemisation and topographic accuracy of this image in the fourth century makes not only a historical development but also a witness to the contemporary perception of the urban environment.

III. Walls as boundaries.

The particularity of the use of city walls as metonyms is that it is a synecdoche. That is to say that the implied object (the city) is symbolised by its containing body (the walls). City fortifications must therefore now be studied as boundaries for the city. Ausonius had a very developed sense of boundaries. In the *Mosella*, he expanded at length on the different worlds which coexisted around the river Mosella: the natural world, the action of human civilisation onto this world, the worlds of air and water, etc. All these worlds had boundaries which the author was reluctant to cross.²⁵⁶ However, the nature of his poetic and epistolary work has not given Ausonius the opportunity to disclose his own perception of the role of city walls as boundaries in any detail. As a result, it will be necessary to use archaeological evidence and social theory in order to uncover to what extent contemporaries interpreted their city walls as boundaries.

First of all, walls did not represent such a clear topographic boundary in fourth century Gallic cities. Often, late antique city walls cut into the fabric of the open city. In Bordeaux, the walls left out the forum and the old civic centre,²⁵⁷ to concentrate around a protected internal port.²⁵⁸ This shows that

²⁵⁶ See Roberts 1984: 350 for a study of the natural boundaries and their crossing in the *Mosella*.

²⁵⁷ Etienne 1962: 205.

²⁵⁸ Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon*, 46-47.

the wall builders had privileged the role of the city as a commercial centre and its strategic place on a supply road from Spain. It also shows that the city walls had not been created *ex nihilo* but that they had been located to protect one specific area of the city. However, the choice of the wall designers of Bordeaux was mainly dictated by military necessity, and therefore can not be taken as the expression of what monuments, and functions, a city should house within its walls. Moreover, one must differentiate between the choices made by the people who presided over the fortification works and the effect that the presence of walls had onto the city population in the fourth century.

The fate of the early empire monuments after the construction of the city walls is unclear in Bordeaux. Ausonius did not mention any of them, except for a fountain. However, this literary absence does not seem to reflect the topographic reality of the time. On the contrary, some monuments from the old city centre seem to have survived until the nineteenth century. This is the case of the so-called Pilliers-des-Tutelles, which C. Jullian believed belonged to the forum.²⁵⁹ As seen in chapter one, the maintenance of ancient monuments could simply be motivated by their aesthetic value. In this perspective, it is not surprising that Ausonius described the professors of Bordeaux exercising their art in the forum of the city:²⁶⁰ the professors were the guardians of the classical culture and deserved to be portrayed for posterity against a classical backdrop. The city certainly was, for Ausonius, the epicentre of culture.²⁶¹ On the other hand, it is also possible that the choice of the area to fortify led to a relocation of the civic centre.²⁶² Bordeaux

²⁵⁹ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 30.

²⁶⁰ Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I. 9; II. 17; XX. 2; XXVI, 7.

²⁶¹ Février 1989: 1378

²⁶² Barraud and Maurin 1996: 41.

had gained new functions in Late Antiquity: besides its status as capital of Aquitania Secunda,²⁶³ the city also became the seat of the Aquitanian diocese in 355, thus housing the archives of the *praefectus praetorio*, and of the three *vicarii* under his command.²⁶⁴ However, there is presently no evidence, literary or archaeological, as to the location of the administrative and political buildings in which the daily affairs of the city as well as of the province would have been carried out. The question as to whether the administrative and political buildings of Bordeaux were (re)located within the city walls or not is therefore still open. It is, however, likely that the area enclosed within the walls was not solely a commercial and official compound as residential areas have been discovered. Excavations in the Saint-Christoly area, inside the walls, have uncovered wealthy houses,²⁶⁵ and Ausonius, in a letter to Paulinus, described his house near the port of Bordeaux.²⁶⁶ It even seems that habitat within the walls got denser in the fourth century.²⁶⁷ Additionally, it appears that vast residential areas at the periphery of the city were abandoned in the third century, only to be reoccupied in the fourth century.²⁶⁸ This demonstrates that when the wall was built its contour did not cut out major residential quarters, because these were already abandoned. However, the prosperity of the city in the fourth century led to a densification of the habitat *intra-muros* and as a result of the lack of space, suburbs previously abandoned were reinvested.²⁶⁹ This would imply that people's first choice would have been to move into the city walls, and the creation of

²⁶³ Etienne 1962: 213.

²⁶⁴ Barraud and Maurin 1996: 36.

²⁶⁵ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 72.

²⁶⁶ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 122-123.

²⁶⁷ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 72.

²⁶⁸ Barraud and Maurin 1996: 41; Garmy and Maurin 1996: 74.

²⁶⁹ Barraud and Maurin 1996: 52.

suburban residential areas would be a sign of extension of the town. Was it because the city centre had relocated there or because people felt safer within the walls? A third hypothesis would be to assume that people had integrated the image of the walled city deeply enough to realise their urban identity by moving within its walls. This would imply that city walls became a topographic limit as the result of its status as metonymic representation of the city.

However, the topographical fate of late antique cities was very varied. In Arles, there is also a sign of suburban decay in the late third century but it is unclear whether the population moved within the walls or left the city altogether.²⁷⁰ As seen in chapter one, Ausonius privileged an alternating way of life, spending his time between his town home and his rural estates. It is possible that Arles' aristocrats both retreated within the walls and in their country estates, but there is to date no definite archaeological evidence to support any theory. However, the fact that Caesarius of Arles blamed his community's poor church attendance onto the attraction of the forum implies that the civic centre was still in use in the sixth century.²⁷¹

Like those of Nîmes or Vienne, the Augustan walls of Toulouse were built as a status display and their size shows a will not only to enclose the whole city, but also to allow for *intra-muros* future developments.²⁷² Habitat within the walls was indeed maintained throughout the late antique period,²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Loseby 1996: 47-48.

²⁷¹ Loseby 1996: 55.

²⁷² Nîmes' and Vienne's wall circuits seem to have bore no relation to the extent of the occupied area by the open city, and to have enclosed large uninhabited areas. See Esmonde-Cleary 2003: 73; For Nîmes in particular, see Darde and Lasalle 1993: 26.

²⁷³ Février 1986: 29

and the city's growing prosperity in the fourth century,²⁷⁴ does not appear to have induced any *extra-muros* residential expansion. *Extra-muros* habitat had existed around Toulouse from the early Roman period, but it rarely qualifies as *suburbs*, or residential areas, because it consisted of fairly distant and isolated aristocratic villas (separated from the city by large cemeteries) or extremely sporadic and fairly rural clusters.²⁷⁵ The monumental aspect of Toulouse civic centre was at least maintained until around 400 (at which date the Capitol was dismantled), and the central area of the city witnessed a densification of the habitat and of the street grid in the fourth century.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the first buildings of the Episcopal group of Saint-Etienne chose to be located in this densely occupied area, whereas there was still plenty of space in areas closer to the walls.²⁷⁷ The choice to place the city's main church in this particular area could translate a conscious choice from the city's Christian authorities.

In conclusion, it seems that the choice of what areas and monuments of the city should be enclosed within city fortifications varied enormously between Gallic cities. That was because walls, as seen at the beginning of this chapter, were not all built at the same date, or for the same reasons. Moreover, the effects of the construction of city walls on the urban population might not have been entirely foreseen or desired by the people who decided to build city walls, whether it be the imperial administration, local patriotic leaders, or civic authorities. However, the fact that city walls had become, by

²⁷⁴Guyon 2000: 230 thinks that the city's monumental appearance as well as its economic vitality and political prominence dictated the choice of the Wisigoths to make it their capital; Pailler 1996: 20 adds that the fourth century was a period of expansion for Toulouse.

²⁷⁵ Labrousse 1968: 311-320.

²⁷⁶ Guyon 2000: 224-225; Cazes 1998: 20.

²⁷⁷ Cazes 1998: 29.

Ausonius' time, metonyms for the entire city might have started to influence the patterns of occupation of late antique cities. When one associates so closely the idea of the city to its limit, the wall, one would be led to move within these limits whether it was a voluntary policy to make people move into defensible city walls,²⁷⁸ or a gradual and spontaneous movement. Nevertheless, the future topographic impact of walls on the late antique- early medieval city was not yet clearly visible in the fourth century. The city wall had not yet become an administrative barrier, separating the two distinct entities of the city and its suburbs and the residential choices of the urban population varied from city to city.

City walls' role as a boundary was physically embedded in one particular structure: the city gate. Contrary to the actual walls, there are few archaeological traces of late antique city gates.²⁷⁹ However, Augustan gates continued to be used, and their late antique counterparts seem to have adopted a similar plan and style.²⁸⁰ In Augustan wall circuits as well as in late antique ones, gates were the most adorned part of the structure. Similarly to walls, it seems unlikely that contemporaries made a qualitative distinction between ancient and newly built gates. Furthermore, gates could be pre-existent to walls,²⁸¹ as has been discovered in Britain for instance.²⁸² This fact implies that some of the semantic meanings associated with city gates did not stem from the walls they opened. Their meaning is therefore more complex

²⁷⁸ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 192.

²⁷⁹ Johnson 1983: 44; Christie 2001: 117.

²⁸⁰ Christie 2001: 117. Maurin and Garmy (1996: 19) emphasize the similarities between the *Porte de Mars* in Périgueux and the *Porte d'Auguste* in Nîmes.

²⁸¹ Rebourg 2002: 58.

²⁸² Johnson 1983: 22.

than, and sometimes independent from, that of city walls and as a result, gates are to be studied independently.

City gates were not represented as systematically in literature and art as city walls. They are sometimes present in representations of walled cities or even represent the wall as a whole. This is most apparent on coins, whose size demanded symbolised representations, as well as whenever artistic economy was needed.²⁸³ In other words, gates were not used as metonyms of the city like walls were, but as an easily recognisable element of the wall,²⁸⁴ they could symbolise the walled city as a whole (See Plate D, Figures 7 and Plate E, Figure 10). Nevertheless, the specific role of gates within wall circuits, their ability to control and channel crossings of the boundary that constituted the wall, limited the representation of city gates to certain specific contexts.

This is the case of the ceremony of the *adventus*. As seen in chapter one, the *adventus* ceremony was used by the imperial administration and the Church alike. Even though no surviving works of Ausonius seems to depict such a ceremony, as a high ranking imperial official and poet, he could have had the opportunity to pronounce a panegyric in a similar occasion. His *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, as well as the last part of the *Mosella*,²⁸⁵ shows that he was familiar with the panegyric format. Imperial art as well as panegyrics and coinage did represent city gates in conjunction with imperial *adventus* or with triumphs, such as on the double solidus of

²⁸³ Such as on the fourth century papyrus depicting the arrival of the relics of Saint Andrew and Saint Luke in Constantinople in 336 analysed in Holum and Vikan 1979; 117.

²⁸⁴ Their architecture and decorations made them stand as buildings in their own right. They could also actually be built separately, before or after the wall itself in which case a space was left to connect gate and wall when needed. See Rebourg 2002: 58.

²⁸⁵ Roberts 1984: 350.

Constantius, minted at Trier in 312,²⁸⁶ or the Christian sarcophagus of Milan (so-called Stilicho's sarcophagus) (see Plate F, Figure 11).²⁸⁷ Moreover, the fact that gates could be specially decorated for the occasion²⁸⁸ shows that they belonged to the ceremonial itself. The most obvious role of city gates in *adventus* ceremonies (and their Christian counterparts) was to symbolise the entrance, and the welcoming, of the emperor or of the relics into the heart of the city. This was expressed by the image of the gates welcoming the emperor in an embrace, exemplified in a panegyric of 310, pronounced in front of Constantine.²⁸⁹ In this case, the gate is personified as a mother, which, as seen in chapter one, was a common personification for cities in general. The welcoming, "embracing", aspect of city gates in *adventus* ceremonies can also be translated, in a few cases, into the architecture of the gates. This is the case of the Augustan gate at Fréjus, which was curved back, forming a semi-circular courtyard.²⁹⁰ Such images put the emperor at the centre of the ceremony, and emphasised the welfare and security his presence (*praesentia*) would bring.²⁹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus hinted at this idea when he wrote about Gallic cities trying to prevent Valentinian I to leave for the Balkans because they felt safer when the Emperor was in their city.²⁹²

However, the contexts in which city gates are mentioned in connection to *adventus* ceremonies also highlighted another group of participants. In Sulpicius Severus' *Letter to Bassula* as well as in Victricius' sermon,²⁹³ the

²⁸⁶ Wightman 1970: 59, plate 2.

²⁸⁷ McCormack 1981: 124-125.

²⁸⁸ Pacatus, *Panegyrici Latini*, XII, 37. 3.

²⁸⁹ *Panegyrici Latini* VII, 7. 4-6.

²⁹⁰ Johnson 1983: 15.

²⁹¹ McCormack 1981: 23.

²⁹² McCormack 1981: 18; Ammianus Marcellinus. *Res Gestae*, XXVI. 5. 12.

²⁹³ Victricius of Rouen, *De Laude Sanctorum*, 12

gates are the backdrop of the first phase of the ceremonial. The gates were opening not for the relics, but for the city dwellers, led by their leaders. The Arras medallion also shows the gates of the city behind the personification of the city of London, as if it had just come out from within the walls to greet the Emperor (see Plate C, Figure 6). This suggests that *adventus* were not mere welcoming ceremonies, focused on the guests being invited *in* the city, but that it was also turned inwards, putting forward the urban community as a whole, arranged in a procession and led by its important members *outside* the city. The second focus of the ceremony was therefore the consensus around the leading men of the city/ Christian community and in this respect, processions acted out the urban relations of power.²⁹⁴ The prominent men of the city were presented as leaders, quite literally, as they were the ones leading their community outside the city, and then back, together with the emperor or relics. Similarly, funeral processions were also controlled by the urban elite as their route had to be allowed by the proper authorities.²⁹⁵ The control of the city Gate therefore symbolised the control of the whole urban community.

What is interesting is that city gates were not mentioned or depicted in literary or artistic representations of the ceremony as much as one could expect. It has been advanced that *adventus* ceremonies were both exceptional and common. That is to say that such event needed to follow a precise ceremonial because it involved people/ relics that were out of the ordinary but its frequency made any description of it a bit of a *topos*.²⁹⁶ In the same way, even though gates represented an important part of such

²⁹⁴ Boyle 2006: 3.

²⁹⁵ Harries 1992: 58-59.

²⁹⁶ McCormack 1981: 17.

ceremonies, their sight and their crossing were so familiar that the artist or the writer might have failed to mention them in order to concentrate on what made the particular *adventus* described unique or special. Furthermore, even though gates were an important component of the ceremony of the *adventus*, the ceremony itself might not have been the main subject of literary and artistic recollections of such events.²⁹⁷ Panegyrics in the fourth century still mainly concentrated on the personal qualities and achievements of the emperor,²⁹⁸ and sermons focused on the wellbeing the presence of relics would bring to the city.²⁹⁹ However, the liminal qualities of city gates can not be underestimated. Their under-representation in descriptions of *adventus* stemmed from the focus adopted by the evidence. This double focus expressed the role of the *adventus* as the welcoming of a superior being, accompanied by gestures of obedience,³⁰⁰ while simultaneously enlisting the participation of the urban community in a consensus around its leaders.³⁰¹ The *adventus* descriptions therefore concentrated on the people who participate in them, which is why this ceremony is sometimes depicted through portraits (of the emperor)³⁰² and personifications (of the city).³⁰³ Nevertheless, reading between the lines, the role of city gates in the control of the access to both the material and spiritual city was paramount and such control was regularly enacted in ceremonies such as imperial *adventus* and

²⁹⁷ McCormack 1981: 6.

²⁹⁸ McCormack 1981: 6.

²⁹⁹ Beaujard 2000: 68.

³⁰⁰ Fassler 2007: 17.

³⁰¹ Brown 1981: 98.

³⁰² This formed the core of every panegyric at the time.

³⁰³ See the Arras medallion (Plate C, Figure 6) for instance.

the arrival of relics (and their yearly re-enactment during the saint's festivals).³⁰⁴

On the other hand, gates also physically structured city life. They extracted tolls from the traffic of men and goods passing through them.³⁰⁵ By controlling the access to the city they also ensured its security. For that purpose, gates were usually fortified, flanked by projecting towers,³⁰⁶ and sometimes they contained an internal courtyard, thus creating two doors within a same gate.³⁰⁷ However, the practical military nature of gates can be questionable in cases when they were too adorned to be answering solely to military purposes, as their numerous arches and windows weakened their structure.³⁰⁸ However, in such cases, the military quality and security purposes of gates were still demonstrated to the viewer by their size, crenellations,³⁰⁹ and flanking towers. Moreover, the series of "camp-gate" coins show a similar association between gates and military safety (See Plate G, Figure 13). Additionally, Christian authors of the period, including Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus,³¹⁰ started to employ military metaphors and the idea that saintly power could protect better than walls, as described earlier, emerged.³¹¹ Regarding Constantinople, Paulinus suggested that the city had twin towers in the bodies of Andrew and Anthony.³¹² This idea would be extended to Gallic cities a century later by Avitus of Vienne, who wrote that

³⁰⁴ Brown 1981: 98.

³⁰⁵ Perring, 1991: 289; Christie 2001: 116.

³⁰⁶ Johnson 1983 : 38, 44. For Toulouse, see Labrousse 1968 : 270. For Autun, see Rebourg 2002: 53.

³⁰⁷ This is the case at Autun, see Rebourg 2002: 53.

³⁰⁸ Christie (2001: 117) gives the example of Susa gates.

³⁰⁹ Few gates survived at their full height or indeed above ground level so it is hard to assert that there systematically were crenellations. However, they regularly appear in pictorial and sculptural representations. See Plate D, Figure 7; Plate E, Figure 10 and Plate F, Figure 11.

³¹⁰ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, IV. 3; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XVIII*, 7.

³¹¹ Février 1989: 1388.

³¹² Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XIX*, 337-338.

saints and their suburban sanctuaries placed alongside the main roads leading into the city had replaced the gates in terms of the security necessity to control the access to the city.³¹³ However, this change of perspective was not yet put into practice topographically in the fourth century. The relics acquired by bishops in the fourth century were placed into the city's cathedral, *intra-muros*, not yet in suburban sanctuaries.³¹⁴

A certain military imagery was translated in the imperial *adventus* ceremony by the introduction of triumphal elements. The merging of the two ceremonies of *adventus* and Triumph can be seen on the Arras medallion (see Plate C, Figure 6), which commemorated a military achievement, and showed the emperor mounted on a horse and wearing a military dress.³¹⁵ Moreover, the Arch of Constantine's commemorated the emperor's entry into Rome in 312 using triumphal as well as *adventus* imagery.³¹⁶ Three key aspects of the *adventus* are emphasised in the arch's decorations: panels show the imperial procession (see Plate G, Figure 14), the reading of a panegyric in front of the emperor (see Plate G, Figure 15) and finally the welfare brought by the emperor to the city (see Plate H, Figure 16). The arch also displays triumphal elements. First of all, the procession is composed of soldiers of Constantine, whereas in *adventus* ceremonies, the procession was led by the important men of the city. The fact that this ceremony was depicted also with a reused panel of Trajan's *adventus* in Rome, on a triumphal arch makes the link between city gates and triumphal arches apparent. Monumental city gates, such as the Porte de Mars in Périgueux, the Porta

³¹³ Beaujard 2000: 334.

³¹⁴ Victricius of Rouen made clear that he received the relics in the 'ecclesia civitatis', which seems to have been located underneath the actual cathedral. See Beaujard 2000: 62-63.

³¹⁵ McCormack 1981: 30.

³¹⁶ McCormack 1981: 33-37.

Nigra in Trier (see Plate E, Figure 9) or the Porte d'Auguste in Nimes (see Plate H, Figure 17), actually looked like a compromise between a fortress and a triumphal arch.³¹⁷ Additionally, in Rome the gate through which generals had been passing through in their triumphs since the late Republic was called the Porta Triumphalis, a denomination which appeared before the term 'arcus triumphalis' started to be used.³¹⁸ There is also evidence that some triumphal arches were reused as gates in late antique city walls.³¹⁹ In the increased militarisation of the Emperor figure, and its translation into the merging of the typologies of *adventus* and triumph, city gates and triumphal arches were used in terms of their liminal qualities. Both represented a passage, one towards the inner city, the other towards a victorious state, and linked together, they carried the idea of the city welcoming and displaying its loyalty to a victorious emperor, who would bring security and prosperity to the city. However, some sources did insist on the distinction between what should be classified as a triumph and what could be called an *adventus*. This is clear in the famous *Res Gestae* passage depicting the triumph of Constantius II in 357, where Ammianus Marcellinus argued against the use of the term triumph to describe the ceremony because it was celebrating a victory over the Roman people itself. Instead, he preferred to describe the event as an *adventus*.³²⁰

In the East, Christianity developed the image of the emperor as *miles Christi*.³²¹ However, there is no trace of this image in either Paulinus of Nola

³¹⁷ Garmy and Maurin 1996: 148.

³¹⁸ Beard 2007: 46, 96.

³¹⁹ Johnson 1983: 38, 44.

³²⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVI, 10.1.

³²¹ See the study of Arcadius' triumphal column, put up in 402 in Xeropholos, by Kiilerich 1993: 55-64.

or Sulpicius Severus. On the contrary, Sulpicius seem to have described a military parade into Tours by Avitianus quite negatively, with a procession of prisoners.³²² Although the word triumph is not mentioned, and it is probable that this episode was not an official triumph, it contains the main ceremonial elements expected to happen in this type of event. There is the entry into the city, the parade of chained prisoners, the humiliation and execution of these prisoners,³²³ and the amazement of the city (coined 'a sad amazement'). The difference with traditional triumphal descriptions is that this one is clearly negative. The cruel Avitianus entered the city with his morbid parade while the city gates remained closed to Saint Martin, who had come to rescue the prisoners. In this passage the gate of the city is 'the cruel threshold'. This contrasts with the passage which narrated the funerals of Martin in terms of an *adventus*.³²⁴ There is no inconsistency or contradiction here, but again the expression of the will to replace the material aspect of cities by a Christian identity using a familiar typology. Martin is actually more than once depicted on different thresholds.³²⁵ However, he is rarely depicted as crossing one. Does this show a refusal to participate and integrate the *civitas* and therefore a will to work outside its structure? Concerning the specific passage narrating Avitianus' procession, Sulpicius Severus could have simply been concerned with ascertaining Martin's departure from his own military past.³²⁶ On the other hand, Martin was a bishop, and as such, he must have been forced to interact with the city. The example of Victricus of Rouen re-using the typology

³²² Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus III*, IV.

³²³ On the role of humiliating and executing prisoners in triumphs see Ostenberg 2009: 7-12, 274.

³²⁴ See chapter 1; Sulpicius Severus, *Epistula ad Bassulam*.

³²⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus III*, IV : 'Martinum esse pro foribus'; *Vita Sancti Martini*, III are two particularly significant examples.

³²⁶ Stancliffe (1983: 22;34) reminds us of the Church contemporary rejection of military elements from its ranks.

of the *adventus* to welcome relics into the city, as seen in chapter one, was probably not an isolated case. Paulinus of Nola also used spatial liminality extensively. On several occasions, he described his subject's spatial progression through the passage of thresholds or halted the narrative spatial progression in front of a threshold.³²⁷ It is significant that the passage of thresholds is often symbolised by the verb *ingredior*, the same verb used by Ammianus Marcellinus to describe Constantius' entry into Rome.³²⁸

It is in conclusion noticeable that whether practical, spiritual or merely visually suggested, the association of city gates with security concerns was well established and understood by their viewers and users. In this respect, as well as through its use to collect fees and taxes from the passage of men and goods, the city gate was the point where the crossing of the boundary between the inside and the outside of the walled city could be controlled and channelled. Their mention in accounts and depictions of imperial *adventus* ceremonies shows the concern of city leaders with being seen and accepted as the ones in control of the entry points of their city, both by the emperor they welcomed, but also by their own community. Concerning Christian ceremonies celebrating the arrival of relics, what was important was on the one hand to replace the urban community by a Christian one, and on the other hand, to place the bishop as leader of this new community and sole intermediary between it and the saints via the relics. In P. Gros' words, city

³²⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXVII*, 377: 'pro limine'. This poem described the imaginary visit of Paulinus' friend Nicetas to the sanctuary of Saint Felix at Nola. *Epistula XIII*, 13: 'pro foribus'. In this letter, Paulinus described his visit of Saint Peter's basilica in Rome.

³²⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVI, 10.13; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XIII*, 13.

gates served the function of emphasising 'la solemnisation des accès et la revalorisation des limites'.³²⁹

Chapter 3: a network of cities.

City walls helped define the urban space and their omnipresence in literature and on pictorial representations of the city shows a will to put these cities onto the map of the world. The last level of understanding the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* must therefore be as a representation of the urban network that structured the world. In this respect it can be analysed alongside contemporary itineraries and maps, which also represented cities as part of a universal network.

Written itineraries, such as the late-third/early fourth-century *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* depict journeys from point A to B, through a path made of city stops. Itinerary journeys are represented solely as lists of stops and distances between these stops.³³⁰ The *Antonine Itinerary* is thought to have been a private compilation of Roman itineraries covering the whole of the Roman Empire, more or less thoroughly. This itinerary collection aimed at comprehensiveness and it also included a separate section dealing with maritime itineraries.³³¹ On the other hand, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* seems to have been the recollection of an actual journey previously undertaken, or at least a focused itinerary intended to help travellers going to one precise location, Jerusalem, and made no attempts to

³²⁹ Gros 1987: 162.

³³⁰ Dilke 1987: 235.

³³¹ Salway 2007: 182.

comprehensiveness.³³² Like the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, these two itineraries therefore represent both the contemporary's personal experience of space and the ideal structure of their world. In both itineraries, the image of a network of cities linked by roads dominates. This image of the world is also reflected in pictorial maps, such as the *Peutinger Map* (see Plate I, Figure 18).³³³ It is actually within the context of a road network that Ausonius mentioned the city gates of Bordeaux as 'responding to one another'.³³⁴ This phrase suggests that the gates of Bordeaux were located at the end of the city's *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*, which outside the city walls, transformed into the main roads leading to Cahors, Toulouse, Narbonne or Saintes. This shows the strong link between cities and roads. In a conception of the world structured by cities, communication axes between cities had a prime importance. It is in this sense significant that in the opening lines of the *Mosella*, Ausonius equates a lack of civilisation to a lack of roads.³³⁵ The overall conception of the world for Ausonius therefore appears as a network of cities linked by roads, thus echoing contemporary itineraries and maps.

However, in practice, land transport and travel was difficult, expensive and reliant on the traveller's knowledge of his route.³³⁶ Roads were therefore not the only axes of communication described by Ausonius and rivers are also very present in Ausonius' works. His most famous poem, the *Moselle*, has the river for main subject and it is structured as a journey alongside the river.³³⁷ In

³³² Salway 2007: 189.

³³³ The surviving manuscript is believed to be a medieval copy of a late Roman original, itself a pictorial representation of a written compilation of itineraries like the *Antonine Itinerary*. See Salway 2005: 119-120.

³³⁴ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 144: 'Tum respondentes directa in compita portas.'

³³⁵ Ausonius, *Mosella*, 5-6: 'Unde iter ingrediens nemorosa per avia solum/ et nulla humani spectans vestigia cultus'.

³³⁶ Brodersen 2001: 7.

³³⁷ This journey is introduced by a reference to Aeneas' journey into the Hades, see chapter 1.1.

the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, rivers are omnipresent. The Nile is of course mentioned in connection to the Egyptian city of Alexandria,³³⁸ but apart from this instance, the rivers mentioned are all Gallic ones. The Mosella appears in the Trier entry,³³⁹ the Rhône in Arles' and Narbonne's entry,³⁴⁰ the Garonne in connection to both Toulouse and Bordeaux.³⁴¹ These were rivers Ausonius knew and travelled on.

Late antique itineraries did not really mix land and sea-borne travel. When both type of travel were found together in single documents, they were usually treated within different sections.³⁴² Reading itineraries only one might conclude that people travelled *either* by land *or* by sea. On the other hand, the place of river travel was ambiguous in itineraries. In the *Antonine Itinerary*, rivers are sometimes labelled 'fluvium' or 'flumen' and in other cases their names are indistinguishable from toponyms.³⁴³ Occasionally, rivers seem to be marked out as points of crossing, but on the *Peutinger Map*, at least one river route is mentioned like a land route.³⁴⁴ River routes were therefore not particularly distinguished from land travel in itineraries and the choice of whether to cross, follow on the bank, or sail a river could have been left to the traveller. Ausonius' works gave a detailed description of travel.³⁴⁵ In a letter describing the fictional return to Bordeaux of Paulinus, then exiled in Spain,

³³⁸ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, III. 20.

³³⁹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV.32-34.

³⁴⁰ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VIII. 73-80; XIII. 113.

³⁴¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XII. 100; XIV. 145-147.

³⁴² Dilke 1987: 235. Maritime itineraries were usually written in Greek, or at least used Greek stades measurements, while land itineraries were in miles and in Latin. See Salway 2004: 43-44.

³⁴³ Salway 2004: 72-73.

³⁴⁴ Salway 2004: 72-74; 94.

³⁴⁵ Ausonius' descriptions of journeys could also be compared to journeys described by Rutilius Namatianus in *De Reditu Suo*, or by Sidonius in his letters, a century later. But because of the geographical and thematic span of this thesis, only Ausonius will be considered.

Ausonius described a journey characterised by city stops,³⁴⁶ rural villas³⁴⁷ and local natural features.³⁴⁸ Geographical and directional references are absent from itineraries: there is no mention of east, west, north or south, nor of any geographical features such as mountains, plains, forests, rivers to cross, etc. The *Peutinger Map* does contain pictograms of mountains, forests and rivers,³⁴⁹ but their location on the map does not match their actual geographical position. Moreover, some of these natural pictograms, such as the forests, could be later addition to the map.³⁵⁰ They appear to have acted more as a natural décor or as local natural specificities rather than as a tool for the traveller. Similarly, Ausonius' geographical descriptions must not be taken as translating a concern for cartographic accuracy. In most cases, Ausonius' descriptions are highly rhetorical and they are used for dramatic effects. The 'snowy Pyrenees'³⁵¹ and the 'precipitous Rhone'³⁵² evoked a spectacular and violent landscape, while the 'gentleness of the air ... and the leniency of the earth'³⁵³ of Aquitaine were reflections of the gentleness of Ausonius' *patria*.

Ausonius also described cities in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, through some sort of ethnic geography. In other words, cities were described through their neighbouring historical tribes. For instance, Toulouse was located 'between the Aquitanian peoples and the Iberian nation',³⁵⁴ and Narbonne's

³⁴⁶ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 116-117: 'Iam ninguida linquit / oppida Hiberorum.'

³⁴⁷ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 118-119: 'Ebromagi iam tecta subit, iam praedia fratris/ vicina ingreditur.'

³⁴⁸ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 116-117: 'Iam ninguida linquit / oppida Hiberorum, Tarbellica iam tenet arva.'

³⁴⁹ Talbert 2004: 122-123.

³⁵⁰ Salway 2005: 123.

³⁵¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XII. 102; XIII. 112: 'Pyrenaicis nivibus'.

³⁵² Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIII. 113: 'praeceps Rhodanus'.

³⁵³ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIV. 135-136: 'clemencia caeli / ... indulgentia terrae'.

³⁵⁴ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XII. 103: 'inter Aquitanas gentes et nomen Hiberum'.

territory extended to 'where the Allobroges push into the Sequani shores and ... and up to the Tectosages' lands, Volces was their pagan name'.³⁵⁵ The purpose of such ethno-geographic representations seems to have been similar to that of city personifications and the evocation of their mythological past: to put the cities at the centre of an ideal and semi-mythological geography of the Roman world. Additionally, Ausonius' description of Aquitanian peoples could be a reference to the type of geographic descriptions found in Strabo's *Geography* for example.³⁵⁶ Similarly, the *Peutinger Map* also mentioned the names of tribes alongside the names of provinces and regions.³⁵⁷

It is significant that it is in response to Ausonius' accusation that he lived away from the civilised world,³⁵⁸ that Paulinus wrote about cities in a mythological and geographical way (even though he does not personify cities). The *Carmen X*, written shortly after Paulinus' departure to Spain and at the beginning of his religious life still contained remnants of his classical education: the myth of Atlas is mentioned alongside generic geographical descriptions.³⁵⁹ Paulinus, in this poem to his former tutor, could not back away from the classical literary tradition. However, the way he described cities in this poem is an exception compared to the rest of his surviving writings, as if it was an isolated remnant of his rhetorical education. Therefore, contrary to Ausonius, this particular passage in *Carmen X* does not seem to be the

³⁵⁵ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, XIII. 110-115: 'Insinuant qua se Sequanis Allobroges oris/ ... / usque in tectosagos, paganica nomina Volcas'.

³⁵⁶ Strabo's description of Aquitaine is also made through a list of Celtic peoples, *Geography*, IV. 2. 1: 'Next, I must discuss the Aquitanni, and the tribes which have been included within their boundaries'.

³⁵⁷ Talbert 2004: 123.

³⁵⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 221-224: 'Nam quod in eversis habitacula ponis Hibera urbibus et deserta tuo legis oppida versu montanamque mihi Calgurrim et Birbilim acutis pendentem scopulis collemque iacentis Hilerdae'.

³⁵⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen X*, 227-239.

expression of a coherent vision of the world, but rather a last gift to a former tutor, who despaired at seeing his favourite pupil depart from the classical literary path.

Itineraries, whether on land or rivers or sea, did not only target the traveller, but also the merchant. The commercial importance of cities and their role as structural units of a commercial network is emphasised both by literary sources and archaeology. Ausonius described the commercial and industrial capacities of cities disproportionately more than their administrative and political roles.³⁶⁰ The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* mentioned the commercial role of Trier, Arles, Narbonne and Aquileia.³⁶¹ Moreover, city walls often encompassed the commercial centre of the city rather than its civic centre. This is the case of Bordeaux and its enclosed port.³⁶² Similarly, the part of Toulouse's walls running alongside the Garonne was added to the Augustan circuit in Late Antiquity.³⁶³ In Arles, the city stretched on both sides of the Rhone, around its fluvial port,³⁶⁴ a rare occurrence in Roman cities (which earned the city the name of 'duplex Arelate'). The link between rivers and commerce was especially strong. Water-borne commerce had to be carried out from port to port, and as a result it reinforced the commercial networking of cities which housed ports. This is reflected in Ausonius' works as he systematically associated rivers and fluvial ports with commercial activities. Ausonius himself mentioned that he had an urban residence next to the port

³⁶⁰ Sivan 1993: 37.

³⁶¹ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, IV. 34; VIII. 79; XIII. 124-127; VII. 67.

³⁶² Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon*, 46-47.

³⁶³ Guyon 2000:222.

³⁶⁴ Sivan 1993: 35.

of Bordeaux.³⁶⁵ Commerce therefore seems to have been an activity in which Ausonius was involved and which was reflected in his descriptions of the cities in which he probably would have traded himself. More broadly, the fact that cities alongside supply routes and rivers (see chapter two) were fortified in priority shows that the transport and commerce network of cities was of essential importance to the empire as a whole.

In this perspective, Ausonius' choice of cities in his *Ordo Nobilium Urbium* can be more easily explained. At first the selection of cities in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* can appear puzzling. Toulouse, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Arles and Trier indicate a personal choice of cities by Ausonius, who was born in Bordeaux, grew up in Toulouse, had a career in Trier and traded in Arles and Narbonne. However, this explanation alone would not account for Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch, Catania, Syracuse, Merida, Athens, Milan, Capua, Aquileia and Alexandria. If the purpose would have been to describe the important cities of the Roman world, Aquileia, Merida, Catania or Capua seem odd choices because of their relative economic or political insignificance at the level of the Empire. It is therefore necessary to read the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* through a more complex lens. First of all, it is noticeable that Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus, and Ausonius (in the rest of his works), very regularly mention all but two of the cities described in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*. For instance, Rome is mentioned by all three authors³⁶⁶, and so is

³⁶⁵ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 121-123.

³⁶⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus I*, XXIII; Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I, 4, VI, 8; *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 16, 34; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 3; *Epistula V*, 13; *Epistula XIII*, 11; *Epistula XVII*, 1; *Epistula XVIII*, 1; *Epistula XXIX*, 13; *Epistula XXXVII*, 1; *Epistula XLIX*, 11.

Carthage,³⁶⁷ and Narbonne³⁶⁸. Bordeaux³⁶⁹, Toulouse³⁷⁰, Merida³⁷¹, Alexandria³⁷², Capua³⁷³, Trier³⁷⁴ and Milan³⁷⁵ are present in two different authors' works, while Aquileia³⁷⁶ is only mentioned in Sulpicius Severus' writings and Antioch³⁷⁷, Constantinople³⁷⁸, Athens³⁷⁹ and Arles³⁸⁰ in Ausonius'. The cities described in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* therefore were cities which were regularly talked about by contemporaries.

A comparison between the contexts in which cities occur in Ausonius' works as well as in the writings of Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola can explain the presence of cities which would seem like an odd choice in a thematic analysis of the poem.³⁸¹ The cases of Aquileia and Merida are very interesting in this perspective. Aquileia is mentioned in the same context by both Ausonius and Sulpicius Severus: it was the place where the usurper Maximus was executed in 388. The usurpation of Maximus was a very recent event and had personally touched both Sulpicius Severus and Ausonius. Ausonius' retirement from the imperial court at Trier was probably suddenly

³⁶⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus I*, III; Ausonius, *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 1; 3.

³⁶⁸ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus I*, I; II; Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV* (Amherdt 2004), 73; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XVII, 8; *Epistula III*, 28; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula V*, 22.

³⁶⁹ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV* (Amherdt 2004), 71; *Epistula II* (Green 1991), 2; *Epistula III* (Green 1991), 19; *Epicedion in Patrem*, 4; *Mosella*, 19; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I. 1; 8; *Parentalia*, XV. 6; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 4; *Epistula XV*, 3.

³⁷⁰ Sulpicius Severus, *Epistula III Ad Bassulam*; Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV* (Amherdt 2004), 73; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XVI. 11; XVII. 7; XIX. 4; *Parentalia*, III. 11.

³⁷¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Sacra Historia*, II. 46. 8; Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV*, 66.

³⁷² Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus I*, III, VI; Ausonius, *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34.

³⁷³ Ausonius, *Epistula XII* (Green 1991), 2; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XIV*, 4; *Epistula XV*, 3.

³⁷⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Vitai Martini*, XVI; *Epistula III Ad Bassulam*; Ausonius, *Cupido Cruciatu*, 2; *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34.

³⁷⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, VI; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula III*, 4.

³⁷⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, XX.

³⁷⁷ Ausonius, *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34.

³⁷⁸ Ausonius, *Parentalia*, III. 16; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, I. 4; XVI. 14; *Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, 34.

³⁷⁹ Ausonius, *Griphus Ternarii Numeri*, 2, 71, *Mosella*, 389; *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, XIV. 8, II. 9.

³⁸⁰ Ausonius, *Epistula XXIV* (Amherdt 2004), 71.

³⁸¹ As pointed out by Roberts (1984: 343) the thematic focus adopted by most commentators of Ausonius' poetry has overshadowed the unity and global meaning of his work.

hastened by the arrival of Maximus³⁸² while Sulpicius' master, Martin, controversially accepted a banquet invitation from Maximus in Trier.³⁸³ Moreover, Aquileia was an important military centre until its sack by Attila in 452.³⁸⁴ As to Merida, the unlikeliness of such a choice led scholars to assume that there had been a medieval translation mistake and that the original city described by Ausonius was Seville.³⁸⁵ However, Seville is not mentioned in any of Ausonius' other works, or in any texts from Sulpicius Severus or Paulinus of Nola. Merida, on the other hand is mentioned by Sulpicius Severus in connection with Priscillianism. The Spanish Church at the time seem to have been a turbulent one, and the Priscillian debate was only the second theological battle in which the Gallic Church, in this occasion led by Desiderius, bishop of Bordeaux played a crucial role in 384-385.³⁸⁶ Merida and Aquileia were therefore associated with contemporary or very recent events, and must have been talked about in relation to these events in Gallic aristocratic circles. It therefore appears from the comparison of our source sample that cities like Merida and Aquileia belonged to the personal world in which Ausonius, as well as Sulpicius and Paulinus, lived; the first one in terms of its place in a theological debate which helped define the Gallic Church, and the other one because of its political symbolism and military reputation.

The frequency in which specific cities are mentioned in Sulpicius Severus', Paulinus of Nola's and Ausonius' works also corresponds to their personal geography as well as to a more general recognition of the important cities in the Roman Empire. Thus Sulpicius Severus, who was a monk and

³⁸² Binns 1974: 35.

³⁸³ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, XX.

³⁸⁴ Salway 2005: 125.

³⁸⁵ Green, *The works of Ausonius* 1991: 577.

³⁸⁶ Beaujard 2000 : 38.

disciple of Saint Martin, mainly mentions Gallic cities. Ausonius describes extensively Aquitanian cities as well as important imperial cities (Trier, Constantinople, and Rome). Paulinus of Nola, on the other hand, who chose to have a career in the Senate of Rome, and became bishop in Campania, focuses on Rome and other Italian cities (Milan, Capua). However, the fact that these cities often appear in all three sources, often in similar contexts shows that the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* describes more generally the urban world map of the fourth century Gallic aristocracy. Under the light of the literary comparison of the mentions of the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* cities and their contexts in contemporary sources, the criteria by which cities are usually ranked in modern scholarship must therefore be revised. Ausonius did not only select demographically large and economically powerful cities (although Rome, Constantinople, Trier, Milan, amongst others, qualify under this category), nor only cities to which he was personally attached. The world he describes is rather multidimensional. In this perspective, even Syracuse and Catania, which are not found in any other contemporary source, are not unaccounted for. Indeed, they could have been chosen to represent the ancient myths surrounding old Greek and Roman cities, alongside Athens, Carthage or Capua. All three cities are the past of the glorious Roman Empire as well as features of Graeco-Roman culture and literature. In this respect they are part of the world in which Ausonius, Aquitanian aristocrat, intellectual and preceptor of a future emperor, lived. As a multilayered representation of Ausonius' world (as well as Sulpicius Severus' and Paulinus of Nola's worlds to a certain extent), the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* must therefore be seen as a personalised map of Ausonius' world.

In Ausonius' works, cities are therefore not only creating a flat and lifeless map, but they also interacted with one another. The fact that cities were personified, especially in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, enabled cities to interact with one another, as active actors of their networks. As seen in chapter 1, cities were sometimes described as theatre characters, some being dignified, others unrestrained. In the semi-mythological, semi-theatrical world, they were racing, helping out humans, or rejecting them. However, the interaction between cities could also a certain reality of human networking. The rivalry expressed by the race metaphor in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* thus reflected a certain political reality. Political rivalry between cities was mentioned already by Pliny when he was governor of Bithynia.³⁸⁷ Capua was also described in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* as an overambitious and disloyal politician.³⁸⁸ Cities sent delegations to the Emperor; they welcomed him,³⁸⁹ or rebelled. They therefore appear to have been, to a certain extent, political *personae*.

Complementary to the different types of networks organised around cities that Ausonius described, a Christian urban network appears in Paulinus' works. Two letters in particular offer an insight into not only development of an urban Church network but also into the emergence of an institutional feeling among contemporary Church leaders. In a letter, Paulinus complimented a fellow ascetic monk for the balance he found in his retreat, because his 'solitude is not isolated, for [he] does not live in the desert but separated [from

³⁸⁷ Talbert 1980: 426.

³⁸⁸ Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VI.

³⁸⁹ In *adventus* ceremonies.

the world]’.³⁹⁰ Paulinus’ retreat was not isolated either; as he corresponded with the most important Christian figures of the time.³⁹¹ The rise of the cult of saints studied in chapter 2.2 shows a similar network of church officials. Bishops, such as Ambrose of Milan, sent relics to fellow bishops in Gaul and beyond.³⁹² However, these men did not act in their own name but an attempt to create an organised saintly cult directed by the Church is apparent in their writings. In conclusion, these men felt that their individual actions were organically connected, part of a same movement because: ‘the charity of Christ which binds us together, separated as we are, in the unity of faith’.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula XXVI*, 1: ‘quamvis tua solitudine non sola sit, quae non deserta est, sed secreta’.

³⁹¹ Walsh (1967) lists in the introduction of his translation of Paulinus of Nola’s letters all the correspondents of Paulinus, accompanied by mini-biographies.

³⁹² Beaujard 2000: 60-61.

³⁹³ Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2006: 29; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen 27*, 491-499; *Epistula IV*, 1; *Epistula II*, 4.

Conclusion

The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* is one of the most famous poems of Ausonius and a very important source for the understanding of fourth-century aristocratic perception of the urban space. It has therefore acted as the backbone of this thesis and as a result it is necessary to put together, as a conclusion, the different layers of understanding that this poem offers.

First of all, it has been demonstrated that the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* presented the image of a classical ideal world as well as an imperial world. Ausonius clearly considered that the meaning and structure of his world lay within a long tradition. He depicted cities as classicising decors, or as personified characters interacting with one another in an idealised urban environment. However, his depiction of this ideal environment was not void of self-reflecting elements and Ausonius, alongside other fourth-century authors, acknowledged and embraced the theatricality of urban life. This sense of drama and codified behaviour and interactions was translated in literature as much as in the plastic arts or on contemporary coinage by the depiction of urban processions. The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* itself can be seen as a kind of procession. The poem certainly did not lack a certain sense of theatricality and its subjects, the cities, appear as either dignified tragic characters or even comic characters. On the other hand, Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus rejected this aspect of urban life and turned theatricality into a negative concept. However, Christian figures reused urban ceremonies, including their

more theatrical elements, in order to smoothly transition their communities from their traditional secular urban identity to a Christian one. Finally, it has been explained that a similar treatment was applied to the traditional diptych between city and countryside was used by both Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus. The influence of this traditional theme on the conception of the ascetic retreats of the latter was acknowledged while their wish to depart from the public urban life was recognised. The retreat of fourth-century aristocrats to their villas has been a recurring theme in modern historiography and it has been noted that the overrepresentation of *secessus* in Ausonius' works could stem from the fact that he created all his literary production in such retreats rather than being evidence of an abandonment of city life.

In the second chapter, an interdisciplinary study of the role of city walls as city boundaries has revealed the appearance of the walled city as an urban type. S. Johnson took the differences in sizes, designs, decorations and date in Late Roman defences as showing that 'what was within the walls, therefore, is arguably of greater importance than the walls themselves'.³⁹⁴ However, the systematic use of city walls as metonyms for the city as well the emphasis on their monumental aspects and the importance they had in defining boundaries for the city show that they were an essential part of what defined a city, both physically and conceptually. The image of the walled city was, for Ausonius who praised it, as much as for Paulinus who rejected it, perceived as enclosing the essence of the city. As a result, the points of crossing of the

³⁹⁴ Johnson 1983: 50.

walled boundaries of the city, the city gates, have been maintained as key elements of urban processions, imperial or Christian. The symbolic, as much as the material, control and regulation of these points of crossing displayed one's claim over the whole urban community. Their representation in literature and in the plastic arts therefore bears a highly political and social meaning.

Lastly, it has been demonstrated that the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* mapped out a multidimensional world which defined itself simultaneously by its political allegiances, its cultural heritage as well as its physical and perceived geography, all of which were described through the structural units of the Roman world: the cities. Like itineraries and maps, Ausonius imagined his world as a network of cities linked by roads or rivers. Additionally, the letters of Paulinus of Nola indirectly drew the picture of a Christian world starting to organise itself around cities, in parallel to the growing model of the ascetic monk. The figure of the bishop was growing in importance and they attempted to replace the traditional way of networking by a Christian one.

The writings of Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus can be taken as representing the old and new orders. On the one hand is a rhetoric professor celebrating a long gone classical world, while on the other hand, Christian ascetics rejected extremely strongly this traditional imagery. When reading these three writers, one is under the impression that they lived in different worlds, even though they were contemporary and corresponded with one another. However, it has been demonstrated that the classical imagery promoted by Ausonius was not meant to be taken as representing the reality of his time, but rather as a noble décor for poetic pursuits. Ausonius

was a man of his time, whose role was to promote the traditional culture and education, but he was also a very worldly man, involved in the politics and economy of his world. The depiction of cities as places of culture and as units of the Roman world was both the expression of an ideal and of a personal experience of the urban space. On the other hand, the ascetic ideals of Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola can not hide the fact that the Church was planning a topographic attack on the city and were starting to organise a Christian urban network. The antithesis between the two descriptions of cities was therefore not as clear-cut as has often been thought. On the contrary, both visions were shaped through a similar process: the will to find a balance between the poetic (and religious, in Paulinus' case) requirement of an idealised world and the realities of the world in which both Ausonius and Paulinus lived.

Plate A



Figure 1: Solidus of Constantius II, bearing a personification of Carthage on the reverse.
<http://www.beastcoins.com/Topical/Deities/AncientDeities.htm>



Figure 2: fifth-century ivory diptych representing Roma and Constantinopolis. Kunsthistorische museum, Vienna.
http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/milton1_index.html

Plate B



Figure 3: Hadrianic coin depicting Gallia kneeling in front of the Emperor on the reverse.
<http://www.beastcoins.com/Topical/Deities/AncientDeities.htm>



Figure 4: Statuette representing Constantinople, 300-500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New-York.
http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gaul/ho_47.100.40.htm

Plate C



Figure 5: Peutinger's Map; the personified Antioch is linked to the temple of Apollo by an aqueduct.

<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord05Pcts.html>



Figure 6: Arras Medallion, minted at Trier, commemorated the arrival of Constantius Chlorus to London in 296. Musée d'Arras.

<http://jp29.org/plnoverview.htm>

Plate D



Figure 7: Sarcophagus from Avignon, fourth century. Musée Calvet, Avignon.
Photograph: G. Villais.



Figure 8: Christ entering Jerusalem, sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, 359.
http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/ARTH/ARTH212/post_constant_conc_christ.html

Plate E



Figure 9: The Porta Nigra in Trier.

<http://www.nmz.de/kiz/nachrichten/trierer-welterbestaetten-erhalten-14-millionen-euro-foerdermittel>



Figure 10: Anonymous sarcophagus, fourth-century. Musée Calvet, Avignon.
Photograph: G. Villais.

Plate F



Figure 11: Stilicho's sarcophagus, San Ambrogio, Milan.

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:9822_-_Milano_-_Sant%27Ambrogio_-_Sarcofago_di_Stilicone_-_Foto_Giovanni_Dall%27Orto_25-Apr-2007.jpg



Figure 12: Aquileia's walls, Peutinger Map.

<http://198.62.75.1/www1/ofm/mad/articles/WeberPeutingeriana.html>

Plate F



Courtesy: Harlan J. Berk, Ltd.

Figure 13: Solidus of Constantius II minted at Trier in 327.

<http://www.dirtyoldcoins.com/natto/id/const2.htm>



Figure 14: Procession of the Emperor, Arch of Constantine, Rome.

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RomaArcoCostantinoFregioCostantinianoLaetoW.jpg>



Figure 15: *Oratio* panel, Arch of Constantine, Rome.

http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/ma/htm/related/ma_constant.htm

Plate G



Figure 16: Constantine overseeing the distribution of gifts, Arch of Constantine, Rome.
<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FriezeNorth5.jpg>



Figure 17: Porte d'Auguste in Nîmes. The flanking towers have been destroyed.
<http://tabbychat.spaces.live.com/blog/cns!5D5BCC5F215DFC45!2629.entry?sa=91500753>

Plate H

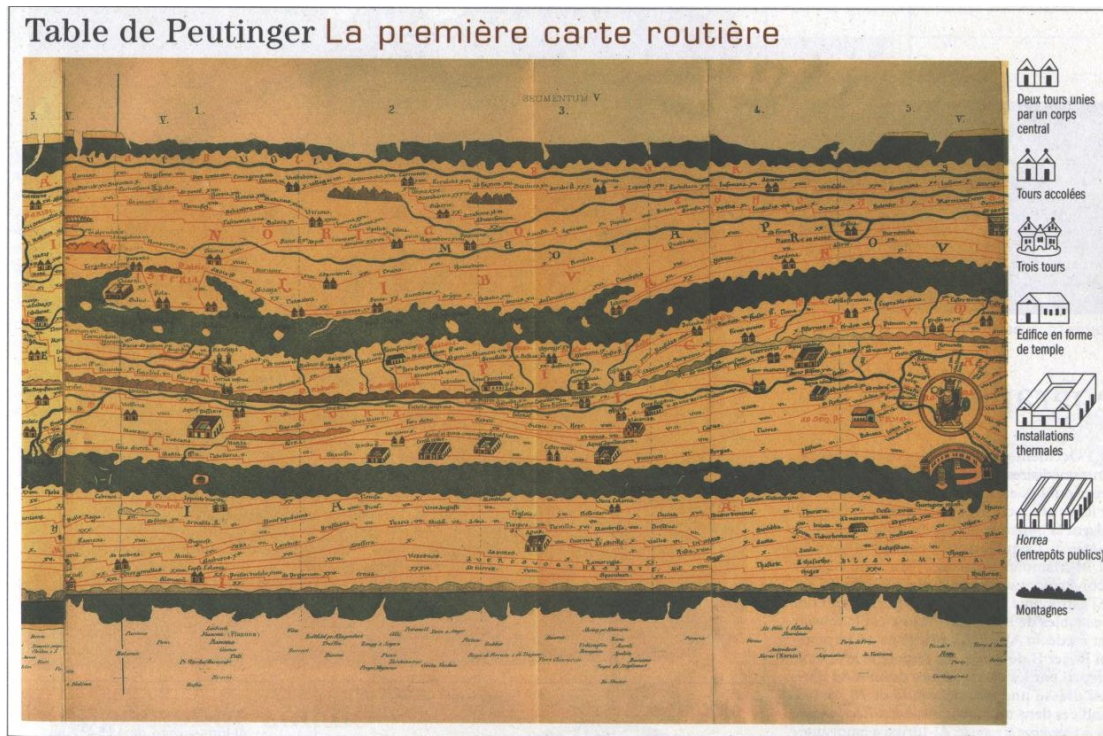


Figure 18: The Peutinger Map, Rome and Western Empire section.

<http://www.math.yorku.ca/SCS/Gallery/images/peutinger335-366.jpg>

Appendix 1: Ordo Urbium Nobilium.

Roma:

Prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma.

Constantinopolis et Carthago:

Constantinopoli adsurgit Carthago priori,
non toto cessura gradu, quia tertia dici
fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum,
qui fuit ambarum. Vetus hanc opulentia praefert,
hanc fortuna recens: fuit haec, subit ista novisque
excellens meritis veterem praestringit honorem
et Constantino concedere cogit Elissam.
Accusat Carthago deos iam plena pudoris,
nunc quoque si cedat, Romam vix passa priorem.
Conponat vestros fortuna antiqua tumores.
Ite pares, tandem memores, quod numine divum
angustas mutastis opes et nomina: tu cum
Byzantina, Lygos, tu Punica Byrsa fuisti.

Antiochia et Alexandria:

Tertia Phoebae lauri domus Antiochia,
vellet Alexandri si quarta colonia poni.
Ambarum locus unus et has furor ambitionis in
certamen agit vitiorum. Turbida vulgo
utraque et amentis populi male sana tumulu.
Haec Nilo munita quod est penitusque repostis
insinuata locis, fecunda et tuta superbit:
illa, quod infidis opponitur aemula Persis.
Et vos ite pares Macetumque adtollite nomen.
Magnus Alexander te condidit: illa Seleucum
nuncupat, ingenuum cuius fuit ancora signum,
qualis inusta solet generis nota certa: per omnem
nam subolis seriem nativa cucurrit imago.

Treveris:

Armipotens dudum celebrari Gallia gestit
Trevericaeque urbis solium, quae proxima Rheno
pacis ut in mediae gremio secura quiescit,
imperii vires quod alit, quod vestit et armat.
Lata per extantum procurrunt moenia collem:
largus tranquillo praelabatur amne Mosella,
longinqua omnigenae vectans commercia terrae.

Mediolanum:

Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum,
innumerae cultaeque domus, facunda virorum
ingenia et mores laeti, tum duplice muro

amplificata loci species populique voluptas,
circus, et inclusi moles cuneata theatri, templa
Palatinaeque arces opulensque moneta
et regio Herculei celebris sub honore lavacri;
cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis
moeniaque in valli formam circumdata limbo.
Omnia quae magnis operum velut aemula formis
excellunt nec iuncta premit vicinia Romae.

Capua:

Nec Capuam pago cultuque penuque potentem,
deliciis, opibus famaue priore silebo,
fortuna variante vices, quae freta secundis
nescivit servare modum. Nunc subdita Romae
aemula, nunc fidei memor; ante infida, senatum
sperneret an coleret dubitans, sperare curules
Campanis ausa auspiciis unoque suorum
consule, ut imperium divisi adtolleret orbis.
Quin etiam rerum dominam Latiique parentem
adpetiit bello, ducibus non freta togatis,
Hannibalis iurata armis deceptaque in hostis
servitium demens specie transivit erili.
Mox ut in occasum vitiis communibus acti
conruerunt Poeni luxu, Campania fastu,
(heu numquam stabilem sortita superbia sedem!).
Illa potens opibusque valens, Roma alter
comere quae paribus potuit fastigia conis,
octavum reiecta locum vix paene tuetur.

Aquileia:

Non erat iste locus: merito tamen aucta recenti
nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,
Itala ad Illyricos obiecta colonia montes,
moenibus et portu celeberrima. Sed magis illud
eminet, extremo quod te sub tempore legit,
solveret exacto cui sera piacula lustru
Maximus, armigeri quondam sub nomine lixae.
Felix, quae tanti spectatrix laeta triumphu
punisti Ausonio Rutupinum Marte latronem.

Arelas:

Pande, duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus,
Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam
accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis,
praecipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis,
ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam,
per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis
nec cohibes populosque alios et moenia ditas,
Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitania lato.

Emerita, Tarraco, Bracara, Corduba:

Clara mihi post has memorabere nomen Hiberum,
Emerita, aequoreus quam praeterlabitur amnis,
submittit cui tota suos Hispania fascēs.
Corduba non, non arce potens tibi Tarraco certat
quaque sinu pelagi iactat se Bracara dives.

Athenae:

Nunc et terrigenis patribus memoremus Athenas,
Pallados et Consi quondam certaminis arcem,
paciferae primum cui contigit arbor olivae,
Attica facundae cuius mera gloria linguae,
unde per Ioniae populos et nomen Achaeum
versa Graia manus centum se effudit in urbes.

Catina et Syracusae:

Quis Catinam sileat, quis quadruplices Syracusas?
Hanc ambustorum fratrum pietate celebrem,
illam complexam miracula fontis et amnis,
qua maris Ionii subter vada salsa meantes
consociant dulces placita sibi sede liquores,
incompactarum miscentes oscula aquarum.

Tolosa:

Non unquam altricem nostri reticebo Tolosam,
coctilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens
perque latus pulchro praelabatur amne Garumna,
innumeris cultam populis, confinia propter
ninguida Pyrenes et pinea Cebennarum,
inter Aquitanas gentes et nomen Hiberum.
Quae modo quadruplices ex se cum effuderit urbes,
non ulla exhaustae sentit dispendia plebis,
quos genuit cunctos gremio complexa colonos.

Narbona:

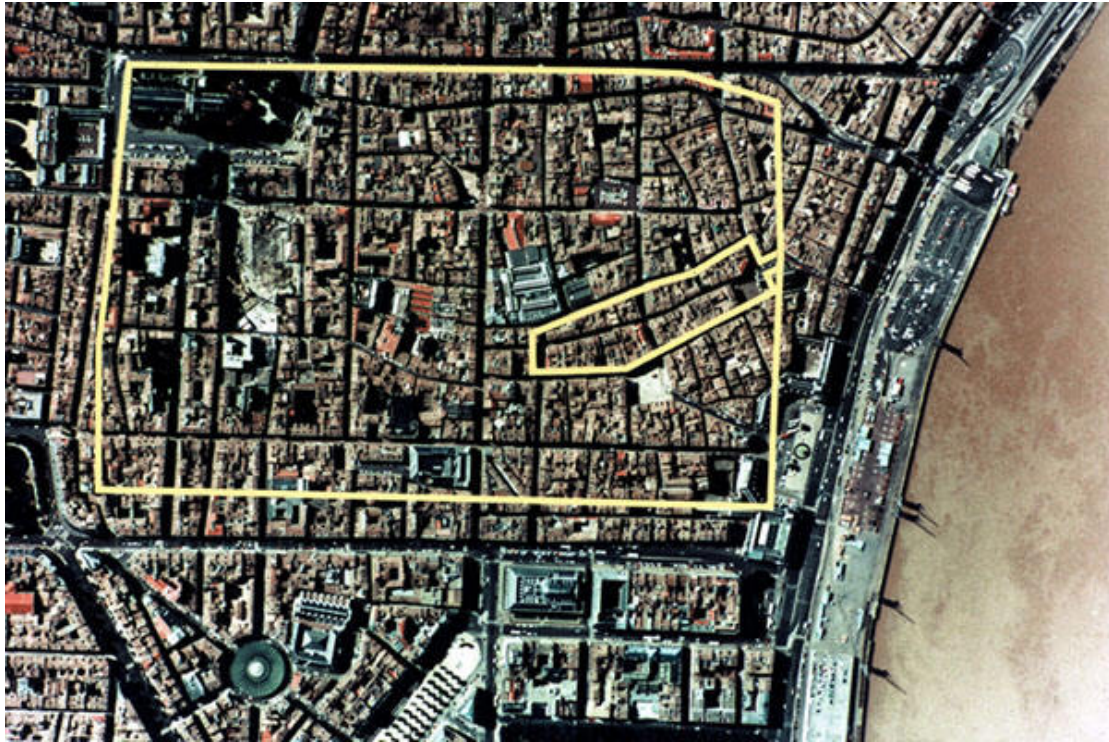
Nec tu, Martie Narbo, silebere, nomine cuius
fusa per immensum quondam provincia regnum
optinuit multos dominandi iure colonos.
Insinuant qua se Sequanis Allobroges oris
excluduntque Italos Alpina cacumina fines,
qua Pyrenaicis nivibus dirimuntur Hiberi,
qua rapitur praeceps Rhodanus genitore Lemanno
interiusque premunt Aquitanica rura Cebennae
usque in Teutosagos, paganica nomina, Belcas,
totum Narbo fuit: tu Gallia prima togati
nominis attollis Latio proconsule fascēs,
Quis memoret portusque tuos montesque lacusque,
quis populos vario discrimine vestis et oris?
Quodque tibi Pario quondam de marmore templum
tantae molis erat, quantam non sperneret olim

Tarquinius Catulusque iterum postremus et ille,
aurea qui statuit Capitoli culmina, Caesar?
Te maris Eoi merces et Hiberica ditant
aequora, te classes Libyci Siculique profundi,
et quidquid vario per flumina, per freta cursu
advehitur, toto tibi navigat orbe catapulus.

Burdigala:

Impia iamdudum condemno silentia, quod te,
o patria, insignem Baccho fluviisque virisque,
moribus ingeniisque hominum procerumque senatu,
non inter primas memorem, quasi conscius urbis
exiguae immeritas dubitem contingere laudes.
Non pudor hinc nobis. Nec enim mihi barbara Rheni
ora nec arctoo domus est glacialis in Haemo:
Burdigala est natale solum, clementia caeli
mitis ubi et riguae larga indulgentia terrae,
ver longum brumaeque novo cum sole tepentes
aestifluque amnes, quorum iuga vitea subter
fervent aequoreos imitata fluenta meatus.
Quadrua murorum species, sic turribus altis
ardua, ut aerias intrent fastigia nubes.
Distinctas in terna vias mirere, domorum
dispositum et latas nomen servare plateas,
tum respondentem directa in compita portas
per mediumque urbis fontani fluminis alveum,
quem pater Oceanus refluo cum impleverit aestu,
adlabi totum spectabis classibus aequor.
Quid memorem Pario contectum marmore fontem
Euripi fervere freto? Quanta umbra profundi!
Quantus in amne tumor! Quanto ruit agmine praeceps
marginis extenti bis sena per ostia cursu,
innumeros populi non umquam exhaustus ad usus!
Hunc cuperes, rex Mede, tuis contingere castris,
flumina consumpto cum defecere meatu,
huius fontis aquas peregrinas ferre per urbes,
unum per cunctas solitus potare Choaspen.
Salve, fons ignote ortu, sacer, alme, perennis,
vitree, glaucae, profunde, sonore, inlimis, opace.
Salve, urbis genius, medico potabilis haustu,
Divona Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis.
Non Aponus potu, vitrea non luce Nemausus
purior, aequoreo non plenior amne Timavus.
Hic labor extremus celebres collegerit urbes.
Utque caput numeri Roma inclita, sic capite isto
Burdigala ancipiti confirmet vertice sedem.
Haec patria est: patrias sed Roma supervenit omnes.
Diligo Burdigalam, Romam colo. Civis in hac sum,
consul in ambabus: cunae hic, ibi sella curulis.

Appendix 2:



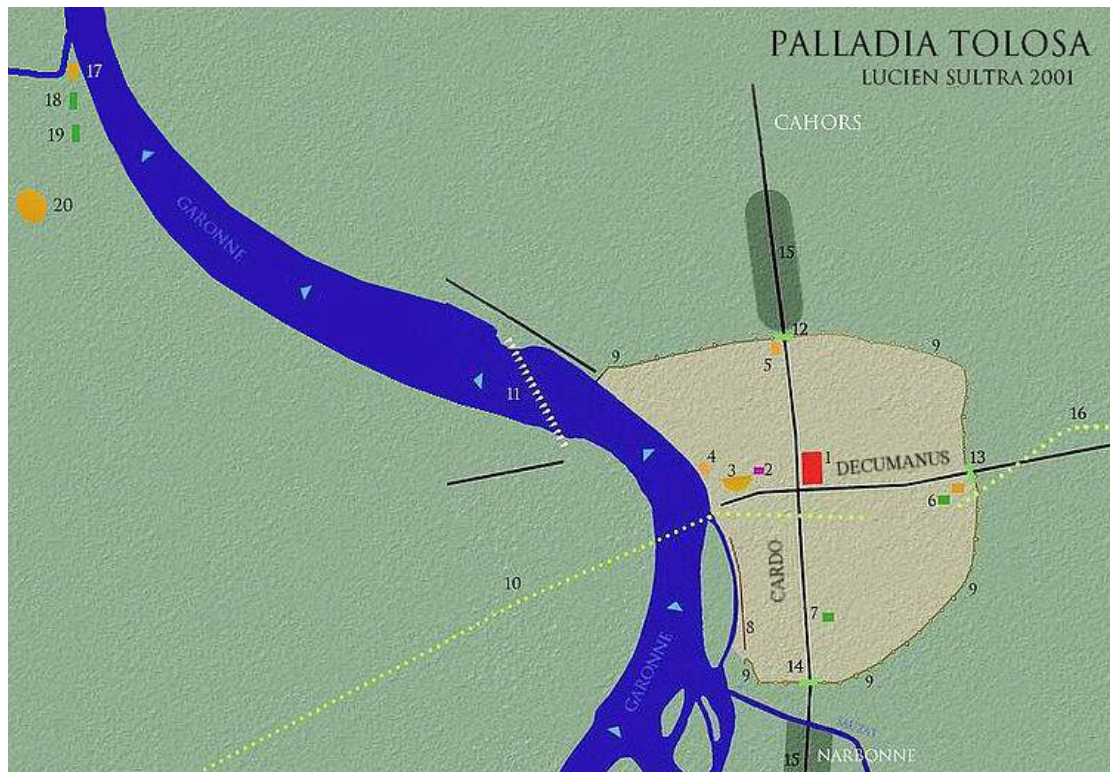
Late Roman Walls of Bordeaux, and its Internal Port.

<http://fichas.free.fr/Plans/VillesAntiques/VA.BordeauxRomaine.jpg>



Map of fourth-century Arles, including the extension of Alyscamps and the Roman Bridge.

http://www.memo.fr/Media/plan_maquette_Arles_antique.jpg



Outline of Roman Toulouse in Late Antiquity. 20 is the amphitheatre; 1 the forum, 7 and 6, late antique baths establishments, 3 is the theatre.

http://pagesperso-orange.fr/palladia/plan_toulouse_romaine_elargi.jpg

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