A STUDY OF PRUDENTIUS’ USE OF VERGIL AND LUCAN IN THE FIFTH COMBAT
OF THE PSYCHOMACHIA

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ABSTRACT

Alexandra D. Mina: A STUDY OF PRUDENTIUS’ USE OF VERGIL AND LUCAN IN THE FIFTH COMBAT OF THE PSYCHOMACHIA
(Under the direction of Robert G. Babcock)

This thesis examines what I consider to be meaningful allusions to Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* in Prudentius’ *Psychomachia*. Crucial to my interpretation that a particular passage constitutes an intentional borrowing is that the consideration of the source text – and of the context of the verbal parallel within the source text – enhances our understanding of Prudentius’ poem. My study, then, locates what I consider to be intentional allusions, analyzes them in their context within the source texts, and discusses their meaning within the *Psychomachia*. My focus is on the speech of Sobrietas (*Psychomachia* 351-406). This speech is replete with allusions to Vergil’s *Aeneid* and to Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, including direct quotes, clusters of words and phrases, and verbal images. I hope to show that these allusions are deliberate and, in the case of Sobrietas’ speech, often demonstrate some intentional undermining of their original context.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348 – c. 410 CE), was a wealthy aristocrat of senatorial rank and an administrator in Theodosius’ court.¹ After retiring from administrative service, Prudentius dedicated himself to writing Christian poetry, all of which dates between c. 392 and his death. Prudentius wrote in politically unstable times for the Christian Roman Empire during which there were wars with the Visigoths and Huns almost yearly. He may have died in the same year that Alaric’s army sacked Rome.² Prudentius’ audience consisted of the educated elite.³ Among the most popular of his poems is the Psychomachia (c. 405 CE), an allegorical battle epic, describing a series of single combats between vices and virtues for a human soul. It culminates in the building of a temple by the victorious Christian virtues. The Psychomachia consists of a 68 line preface in iambic trimeter and 915 lines of dactylic hexameter.⁴ Prudentius blends classical and contemporary pagan sources with Biblical and patristic sources to create the first sustained personification allegory in Western literature.

¹Almost all that is known about Prudentius’ life comes from his poetry. This raises some questions as to the accuracy of the information, a concern raised by Cunningham and Nugent (Cunningham 1976, 56; Nugent 1985, 7). Scholars generally agree that he was a Christian layman of senatorial rank who was an imperial administrator in Theodosius’ court.

²Smith 1976, 8.

³For more on Prudentius’ audience see Smith 1976, 8-10.

⁴The use of the dactylic hexameter combined with the allusions to classical Latin epic have typically led scholars to classify the Psychomachia as epic. In light of its preface and Christian sources, Cunningham finds the classification of the Psychomachia as epic to be problematic. For more on this see Cunningham 1976. Although I agree with Cunningham that the differences between classical epic and the Psychomachia are significant to interpreting the poem, I am not convinced that these differences complicate its genre.
Vergilian allusions in the *Psychomachia* have been extensively noted and studied.\(^5\) Vergil, and in particular the *Aeneid*, is the most important of Prudentius’ pagan sources. According to Macklin Smith, one in every ten hexameters contains direct borrowings from Vergil.\(^6\) G.B.A. Fletcher, Albertus Mahoney, Franz Dexel, and others have created long catalogues of Prudentius’ Vergilian allusions.\(^7\) These catalogues have little to no analysis of the significance of these parallels, but they do provide a useful starting point for locating the allusions. In his brief discussion of the *Psychomachia* and its use of Vergil, Henry Thomson cautions against reading the *Psychomachia* as merely a *cento* of the *Aeneid*.\(^8\) He contends that Prudentius’ reading of the *Aeneid* is fairly straightforward: the virtues are parallel to the Trojan forces and the vices are parallel to the Rutulian and Italian forces. Thomson argues that Prudentius sees Vergil’s text as prefiguring his own.\(^9\) Smith, drawing upon the list of allusions compiled by Mahoney, argues that the Vergilian inter-text in the *Psychomachia* is ironic and subversive.\(^10\) Smith extensively deals with clusters of Vergilian allusions and demonstrates how these clusters create a fuller picture of Prudentius’ use of Vergil.\(^11\) Maurice Cunningham, though not denying Prudentius’ use of Vergil, believes that Prudentius

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\(^5\)For more on this see Thomson’s more thorough discussion (Thomson 1930, 111-2). I have included an appendix which compiles the allusions scholars have seen to Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*. This outline is not exhaustive but is fairly comprehensive.

\(^6\)Smith 1976, 234.

\(^7\)For complete the complete catalogues see Drexel 1907, Fletcher 1933/4, and Mahoney 1934. In their critical editions, Lavarenne and Cunningham also catalogue Vergilian allusions (Lavarenne 1948 and Cunningham 1966).

\(^8\)Thomson 1930, 111.

\(^9\)Thomson 1930.

\(^10\)Smith 1976.

\(^11\)Smith claims that the *Psychomachia* is *cento*-like in that it weaves together pieces from Vergil, but he does not see the need to view a *cento* as inherently simplistic (Smith 1976, 239-40).
engages more with contemporary works than with the classical models. Cunningham places great emphasis on Prudentius’ social, literary, and intellectual context. He claims that Prudentius rejects classical forms and genres while making use of classical diction, techniques and poetics.¹² Ralph Hanna has noted that Vergilian allusions in the Psychomachia are found “in war involving a supranational destiny and heritage.”¹³ He stresses that Vergil is re-worked and re-interpreted to suit Prudentius’ purposes.¹⁴ Georgia Nugent cautions that a strictly allegorical reading robs the Psychomachia of its complexity. She also refutes Smith by suggesting that Prudentius is appropriating Vergil rather than subverting him.¹⁵ More recently, Marc Mastrangelo has claimed that the Psychomachia is concerned with persuasion on both an ethical and political level. According to Mastrangelo, Prudentius uses the images of war and civil war to convince his reader to embrace the Christian Roman Empire.¹⁶ Mastrangelo’s approach is an intertextual study of Prudentius’ relationship to his predecessors. In terms of Vergil’s Aeneid specifically, he shows that Prudentius uses the Aeneid to establish “the soul as the focal point of moral and political development.”¹⁷ This allows the Psychomachia to “stake its claim as the national epic for Christian Rome because it reflects an ideal Christian self in a Roman context.”¹⁸ He further

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¹²Cunningham 1976, 59-61.

¹³Hanna 1977, 119 note 3.

¹⁴Hanna 1977.

¹⁵In her discussion of the combat of Mens Humilis and Spes versus Superbia, Nugent attempts to argue for Prudentius’ appropriation of Vergil. Her argument is not wholly convincing because the reading which Nugent offers for this passage seems subversive. For more on this see Nugent 1985, 39-40.

¹⁶Mastrangelo 2008, 5-6.


¹⁸Mastrangelo 2008, 9-10.
asserts that from beginning to end the *Psychomachia* engages with the *Aeneid*, especially with book 6, in an effort to transform Vergil’s poem. He claims that Aeneas’ *katabasis* provides a basis for the *Psychomachia’s* narrative and “the rite of passage which its poet and reader must complete to reach their individual, and national, Christian identity.”

Some of these scholars make reference to the fact that Prudentius is drawing upon Lucan, but they often do not go much further than simply mentioning Lucan in the context of Prudentius’ engagement with the classical Latin epic tradition of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. Much scholarship on the *Bellum Civile* discusses Lucan’s debt to Vergil’s work, especially to the *Aeneid*. Prudentius read Vergil’s *Aeneid* through the epic tradition that responded to it, i.e. Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. He fashions the *Psychomachia* in response to this tradition. It is worthwhile, therefore, to explore how Prudentius employs other poets reading Vergil, Prudentius’ chief pagan model. I have chosen to examine the references to the *Bellum Civile* because the *Psychomachia* contains some noteworthy allusions to Lucan’s poem that have not yet been explored. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there has not yet been any systematic study of the *Psychomachia*’s use of Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*. My approach, in other respects, follows particularly in the tradition of Mastrangelo.

In addition to using the catalogues and observations of other scholars, I have searched

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19Mastrangelo 2008, 15.

20See Roche 2009.

21G. Sixt has a catalogue of Prudentius’ borrowings from of Lucan and Seneca (Sixt 1892). He claims that *Psychomachia* 50-51 corresponds to *Bellum Civile* 3.573; *Psychomachia* 129 to *Bellum Civile* 4.776; *Psychomachia* 691 to *Bellum Civile* 6.197; *Psychomachia* 709 to *Bellum Civile* 8.305 (Sixt 1892, 506). Lavarenne also notes allusions to Lucan (Lavarenne 1948). He claims that *Psychomachia* preface 26 corresponds to *Bellum Civile* 9.564; *Psychomachia* 129 to *Bellum Civile*. 4.776; *Psychomachia* 645 to *Bellum Civile* 5.238 (Lavarenne 1948; 49, 55, 72). Neither provides a discussion of the significance of these references.
the Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts’ Cross Database Searchtool\textsuperscript{22} for key phrases to locate what I feel are meaningful allusions to Vergil and Lucan. My focus is on the speech of Sobrietas (\textit{Psychomachia} 351-406).\textsuperscript{23} Although verbal parallels constitute a compelling starting point, they alone are not sufficient for locating the model for the speech. The broader context of both passages must also be considered. There are some phrases that recur often enough throughout Latin literature that they do not necessarily constitute direct allusions to any particular source text. I discuss the verbal parallels that I believe are intentional borrowings from specific sources. Crucial to my interpretation that a particular passage constitutes an intentional borrowing is that the consideration of the source text – and of the context of the verbal parallel within the source text – enhances our understanding of Prudentius’ poem. My study, then, locates what I consider to be intentional allusions, analyzes them in their context within the source texts, and discusses their meaning within the \textit{Psychomachia}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{23}For more on intertextuality methodologies in classical Latin poetry see Farrell 1997, Thomas 1999, and Edmunds 2001.
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CHAPTER 2: ALLUSIONS TO VERGIL’S *AENeid*

In the sequence of individual combats in the *Psychomachia*, the fifth is between Sobrietas, “Sobriety or Temperance,” and Luxuria, “Luxury or Indulgence” (*Psychomachia* 310-453). As soon as they catch sight of Luxuria, Sobrietas’ troops are prepared to surrender, but before they can do so, Sobrietas makes a speech in which she encourages them to stand their ground and fight (*Psychomachia* 351-406). Sobrietas’ speech is replete with allusions to Vergil’s *Aeneid* and to Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, including direct quotes, clusters of words and phrases, and verbal images. I hope to show that these allusions are deliberate and, in the case of Sobrietas’ speech, often demonstrate some intentional undermining of their original context.

When Luxuria first appears on the battle field, she is notably fighting in a style different from the other vices (*Psychomachia* 310-339). She enters battle in a chariot, and she uses flowers instead of traditional weapons.24

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non tamen illa pedes, sed curru inventa venusto
saucia mirantium capiebat corda virorum.
o nova pugnandi species! Non ales harundo
nervum pulsa fugit nec stridula lancea torto
emicat amento frameam nec dextra minatur,
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24Nugent discusses the strange nature of Luxuria’s fighting style, claiming that Luxuria is the most seductive and memorable of the vices (Nugent 1985, 41-45).

25For the *Psychomachia* I have used Cunningham’s text unless otherwise specified (Cunningham 1966).
sed violas lasciva iacit foliisque rosarum
dimicat et calathos inimica per agmina fundit

Yet not on foot, but carried by a beautiful chariot she was capturing the wounded hearts of the admiring soldiers. O what a strange way of fighting! No winged arrow flies from her bow; neither does a hissing spear spring from a twisted strap nor does she brandish a sword with her right hand. But she wantonly throws violets and fights with the leaves of roses, and she pours flower baskets through the enemy battle lines.

*Psychomachia* 321-327

Luxuria’s chariot is described in great detail, and her impact on her opponents is intoxicating and seductive (*Psychomachia* 332-339). She is so captivating on the battle field that the opposing forces immediately decide to surrender:

>et iam cuncta acies in deditioinis amorem
>sponte sua versis transibat perfida signis
> Luxuriae servire volens dominaeque fluentis
>iura pati et laxa ganearum lege teneri

And now the entire battle line, traitorous, in love with betrayal, with their standards turned around, was changing sides of their own free will, wishing to serve Luxuria and to endure the authority of the loose mistress and to be held by the loose law of the gluttonous eating houses.

*Psychomachia* 340-343

Sobrietas, alone among the virtues, remains strong; she rebukes her troops for their weakness of will. She plants her standard, the cross, in the ground and begins her speech with a series of rhetorical questions aimed at shaming her troops into standing their ground.

>Ingemuit tam triste nefas fortissima virtus
>Sobrietas dextro socios decedere cornu
>invictamque manum quondam* sine caede* perire.
>Vexillum sublime crucis, quod in agmine primo
dux bona praetulerat, defixa cuspide sistit
>instauratque levem dictis mordacibus alam

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26All translations of Prudentius’ *Psychomachia* are my own unless otherwise specified.
exstimulans animos nunc probris, nunc prece mixta.
“Quis furor insanas agitat caligine mentes?
Quo ruitis? Cui colla datis? Quae vincula tandem
(pro pudor) armigeris amor est perferre lacertis,
lilia luteolis interlucentia sertis
et ferrugineo vernantes flore coronas?
...
En ego Sobrietas, si conspirare paratis,
pando uiam cunctis virtutibus, ut malesuada
Luxuries multo stipata satellite poenas
cum legione sua Christo sub iudice pendat.”

The bravest Virtue, Sobrietas, mourned at such sad crime, at her allies withdrawing from the right flank, at a band once unconquered being lost without slaughter. The standard of the cross which the good general had carried in front of the first battle line, she planted with the point fixed downwards, and she strengthens her unsteady flank with biting words, urging on their minds now with shame now with mixed prayer. “What madness stirs up your insane minds? Where are you rushing off to? To whom are you surrendering? Finally, what chains do you wish to bear with your arm-bearing arms - o shame - lilies shining among yellow garlands and crowns flourishing with a reddish flower?
...
Look! It is I, Sobrietas! If you are preparing to unite, I am laying out a path for all the virtues so that ill-advising Luxuria, crowded by her many attendants together with her legion, may pay the penalty under Christ as judge.”

Psychomachia 344-55 and 403-406

Sobrietas’ speech initially laments her soldiers’ surrender and transitions to a call to arms. The lament, full of rhetorical questions, has resonances with Vergil’s Aeneid and with Lucan’s Bellum Civile. The call to arms largely draws on biblical figures (Psychomachia 374-406). At the end of her speech, Sobrietas rallies her troops with the promise that Christ will serve as the judge of Luxuria and her troops (Psychomachia 403-406). Sobrietas aligns herself and her warriors with a powerful force under the standard of the cross, and as a result, she and her troops achieve victory over Luxuria (Psychomachia 407-431). Sobrietas’ first
rhetorical question begins *quis furor* (*Psychomachia* 351). The phrase *quis furor* is not particularly rare in classical Latin literature, but it only occurs in a handful of key places in the epic tradition on which Prudentius seems to be drawing.\(^{27}\)

The first of these instances is in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*, in the passage in which Ascanius rebukes the Trojan women who have just set fire to the ships.\(^{28}\) Although Sobrietas’ speech is far longer than Ascanius’, Prudentius frames Sobrietas’ speech the same way that Vergil frames Ascanius’.\(^{29}\) The verbal echoes *quis furor* and *en ego* begin and end both speeches (*Aeneid* 5.670, 5.672 and *Psychomachia* 351 and 403). By creating these strong verbal parallels between Ascanius’ and Sobrietas’ speech, Prudentius leads the reader to compare the two speeches.

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\(^{27}\)The phrase *quis furor* occurs 16 times in classical Latin: Tibullus *Elegies* 1.10.33; [Tibullus] *Elegies* 3.9.7 (or 4.3.7); Vergil *Aeneid* 5.570; Ovid *Amores* 3.14.7; *Ars Amatoria* 3.172; *Metamorphoses* 3.531, 6.170; Petronius *Satyricon* 108; Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.8, 1.681, 7.95; Silius Italicus *Punica* 15.33; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 7.36; Martial *Epigrammata* 1.20.1; Statius *Thebaid* 2.213, 11.329. Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014).

\(^{28}\)Both Dexel and Mahoney include this in their catalogues of allusions (Dexel 1907, 50 and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney divides his allusions into longer parallels, briefer parallels, probable, and possible. He includes this passage as a possible parallel.

\(^{29}\)Ascanius’ speech shares verbal parallels with Laocoon’s speech earlier in the *Aeneid* (*Aeneid* 2.40-49). Prudentius does not appear to be drawing on Laocoon’s speech. For more discussion on parallels between *Aeneid* 2 and 5, see Putnam 1965.

\(^{30}\)For the *Aeneid* I have used Mynors’ text unless otherwise specified.
And Ascanius first, as happily he was leading the courses for the horsemen, thus he eagerly sought the disturbed camp on his horse, and the breathless trainers are not able to hold him back. “What strange madness is this? Where, where are you hurrying to now, alas wretched citizens? You are not burning the enemy nor the hostile camps of the Argives, but your hopes. Look! It is I, your Ascanius!” Before their feet he cast the pretend helmet that he was wearing when he was invoking images of war in play. At the same time Aeneas runs up, as do squadrons of Trojans. But those women scatter in fear through separate parts of the shore here and there, and they stealthily head for the woods and hollow rocks, anywhere they can find. They regret the undertaking and the light, and changed they recognize their kin, and Juno has been shaken out from their chest.

Aeneid 5.670-677

In this passage, the question *quis furor* is located at the beginning of the line as it is in the *Psychomachia*. The phrase *quo nunc, quo tenditis* is similar in structure and meaning to *quo ruitis* in the *Psychomachia* (Aeneid 5.670 and Psychomachia 352). Although the wording is not exactly the same, the sentiment and structure are similar in both passages. They are both rhetorical questions that emphasize the recklessness with which the addressees are behaving. The final verbal parallel is at the end of Sobrietas’ speech. Ascanius concludes his speech with the exclamation *en, ego vester / Ascanius* (Aeneid 5. 672-673). The same

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31 All translations of the *Aeneid* are my own unless otherwise specified.

32 So far as I know, this parallel is not mentioned in any previous scholarship.

33 The phrase *en ego* occurs 27 times in classical Latin: Cicero *Post reditum ad Quirites oratio* 18.1; Horace *Satires* 1.1.15; Vergil *Aeneid* 5.672, 7.452; Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.7.6, 8.4.11; Tibullus *Elegies* 1.2.25; Ovid *Amores* 1.2.19, 3.2.26, *Ars Amatoria* 3.598, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.1.45, 2.3.25, 4.4.15, 4.15.19, *Fasti* 3.554, 5.459, *Heroides* 4.61, 6.114, 14.119, *Metamorphoses* 6.206, 14.33, *Tristia* 3.7.45; Calpurnius Siculus *Ecloques* 7.43; Silius Italicus *Punica* 11.85; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 3.514; Pliny the Elder *Natural Histories*
phrase also concludes Sobrietas’ speech. She asserts her authority by aligning herself with Christ, which is ultimately what makes her more successful than Ascanius, who is able to rely on no such powerful force.

   Verbal echoes are not the only indication that Ascanius’ speech is a model for Sobrietas’. In this passage of the *Aeneid*, Ascanius is a voice of reason, making him an ideal candidate as a model for Sobrietas. Both Ascanius and Sobrietas are addressing women. Whereas Sobrietas is attempting to persuade her troops to fight, Ascanius’ purpose is not to persuade the Trojan women, but to reproach them for burning the ships. The Trojan women have already made their mistake whereas Sobrietas’ troops have not yet surrendered.

   The burning of the ships takes place during the funeral games for Anchises. Ascanius is taking part in the *lusus Troiae* when the Trojans receive word that the ships are on fire; he is playing at war. Ascanius goes from mock war to evoking warfare in his speech. He rebukes the women using words such as *hostis*, “enemy,” and *castra*, “military camps” (*Aeneid* 5. 671). Ascanius throws his helmet on the ground (*inanem galeam*, *Aeneid* 5.673-674). This likens the Trojan women’s actions to actions of war. Sobrietas, on the other hand, speaks in an unequivocally military context, in the midst of a battle. Ascanius emphasizes the harm the women have done to themselves and to the Trojans by their actions (*non hostem inimicaque castra / Argiuum, vestras spes uritis*, *Aeneid* 5.671-672). Similarly, Sobrietas emphasizes the harm that the troops are about to do to themselves and to the soul


34*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?* “Where, where are you wicked men rushing off to?” (Horace *Epode* 7.1, translation is my own). This verbal parallel with *quo nunc quo tenditis* may suggest *Epode* 7 as a model for Ascanius’ speech (*Aeneid* 5.670). The speaker of *Épode* 7 laments the civil wars in Rome. This allusion strengthens the image of warfare in Ascanius’ speech.
by willingly surrendering (*sponte sua, Psychomachia* 341). Her question *quis furor* is an attempt both to persuade and to reprimand. The Trojan women are under the influence of Juno much like Sobrietas’ troops are enthralled by Luxuria. In the *Aeneid*, the burning of the ships is ultimately only a setback for the Trojans on their way to found their new city. It does not prevent the group as a whole from reaching its goal, but the women are left behind after the destruction they have caused.\(^{35}\) Sobrietas is ultimately successful in achieving her goal, because she is able to anticipate her troops’ potentially destructive actions. In this way, Prudentius adapts the Vergilian passage, presenting a more capable leader whose success was greater than Ascanius’.

The second portion of Sobrietas’ first question *insanas agitat caligine mentes?* echoes a part of Latinus’ speech in *Aeneid* 12 *quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?*

“why I am carried back so many times? What madness changes my mind?” (*Psychomachia* 352 and *Aeneid* 12.37).\(^{36}\)

\[
\text{“quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?}}^{37}\text{ si Turno extinisco socios sum ascire paratus, cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo? quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet Italia, ad mortem si te (fors dicta refutet!) prodiderim, natam et conubia nostra petentem? respice res bello varias, miserere parentis longaevi, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe}
\]

\(^{35}\)Scholars disagree on how severe the burning of the ships is. The physical damage to the ships is not significant, but the event turns out to be a major blow to morale, particularly Aeneas’. Shortly after the Trojans discover the burning ships, Aeneas prays that Jupiter either extinguishes the flames or kills him (*Aeneid* 5.685-692). After Jupiter puts out the flames, Aeneas, still despondent, considers giving up the mission and settling in Sicily (*Aeneid* 5.700-703). For further discussion see Otis 1964, Putnam 1965, Galinsky 1968, Holt 1979/80, and Nugent 1992.

\(^{36}\)So far as I know, this parallel is not mentioned in any previous scholarship.

\(^{37}\)The half-line *quae mentem insania mutat* also occurs at *Aeneid* 4.595 in the same line position. Dido lamenting Aeneas’ departure begins to wonder what stopped her from harming Aeneas and his men when they landed. She is talking to herself in the middle of her curse in which she invokes multiple gods. The verbal echo does not seem to be sufficient evidence to argue for Prudentius’ use of this passage in Sobrietas’ speech.
“Why I am carried back so many times? What madness changes my mind? If I am prepared to adopt the Trojans as allies with Turnus dead, why don’t I stop these battles with him unharmed instead? What will your Rutulian kinsmen say? What will the rest of Italy say if I hand you over to death (may fortune refute these words!) you who are seeking my daughter in marriage? Consider the varied circumstances in war; pity your aged father, now sad; his country Ardea separates him far from us.” The violence of Turnus is not at all checked by these words; it grows and it becomes sicker with the healing.

_Aeneid_ 12.37-46

This allusion is more complex than the others because it is not a direct quote. The words _mentem_ and _insania_ are adapted to _insanas_ and _mentes_ (_Aeneid_ 12.37 and _Psychomachia_ 531). At this point in the _Aeneid_, Latinus is trying—but failing—to convince Turnus not to fight Aeneas in single combat. Latinus wants to discourage fighting which is harmful to the addressee. Sobrietas is urging her troops to fight for their benefit and the benefit of the soul. Latinus is unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade his audience, but Sobrietas is not. This is another instance of inversion of the pagan models.

Sobrietas’ second rhetorical question begins _quo ruitis_, evoking a passage in _Aeneid_ 12 in which Aeneas’ troops continue to fight with the Rutulians even though he and Turnus have made an agreement to meet in single combat.

At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:

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39Dexel, Mahoney, and Lavarenne included this parallel in their catalogues. None provide any analysis (Dexel 1907, 50, Lavarenne 1948, 62, and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney includes this as a possible reference.
But pious Aeneas was stretching out his unarmed hand, and with an uncovered head and a shout he was addressing his men: “Where are you rushing? What is this sudden discord rising up? Collect your anger! The treaty has already been struck, and all of the terms have been put together. It is right that I alone fight; let me and put away your fear. I will make these treaties firm with my hand. Now these sacred rites owe me Turnus.”

_Aeneid_ 12.311-317

_Quo ruitis_ appears in the same position in the line in both the _Aeneid_ and the _Psychomachia_ (_Aeneid_ 12.313 and _Psychomachia_ 352). In this particular instance, Aeneas offers a logical model for Sobrietas since he is acting as a voice of reason and self-restraint, and unlike Ascanius’ speech in book 5, this speech is made in an actual battle. 40 Both Aeneas and Sobrietas are addressing their troops, but Aeneas is trying to prevent his troops from fighting whereas Sobrietas is trying to encourage her troops to fight. Aeneas’ forces are reckless in a different way than Sobrietas’. Aeneas’ troops are disorganized and fighting when they should be respecting the treaty. In the chaos of the situation, Aeneas is shot in the leg by an unknown assailant (_Aeneid_ 12.318-323). He does not have the same control over the situation that Sobrietas has over her circumstances. She can anticipate the harm her troops are about to cause before it happens. Her troops listen to her before it is too late, and the only one who is ultimately harmed is the enemy Luxuria.

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40 _Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? “Where, where are you wicked men rushing off to?”_ (Horace _Epode_ 7.1). This verbal parallel with _quo ruitis_ may suggest _Epode_ 7 as a model for Aeneas’ speech (_Aeneid_ 12.313). This speech has a model in common with Ascanius’ speech in book 5.
CHAPTER 3: ALLUSIONS TO LUCAN’S *BELLUM CIVILE*

Prudentius’ use of *quis furor* is also drawing on Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*. In Lucan, the phrase occurs three times at the beginning of a line.\(^{41}\) The first of these passages is at the beginning of the poem. The *Bellum Civile* begins with the narrator decrying the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. He addresses his lament to Roman citizens who are fighting each other.\(^{42}\)

*quis*\(^{43}\) *furor*, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?
gentibus invisis Latium praebere cruorem
cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis
Ausoniis umbraque erraret Crassus inulta
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?

What\(^{44}\) madness is this, o citizens? What is this great license of the sword? Did it please you to offer Latin blood to the enemy races when haughty Babylon ought to be deprived of Italian trophies and Crassus wanders with his shade unavenged? Was it pleasing to wage wars that would have no triumphs?

*Bellum Civile* 1.8-12


\(^{42}\)This passage, like the *Aeneid* 5 and 12 passages appears to be engaging with *Epode* 7 of Horace. I do not see enough parallels in *Epode* 7 to argue for Prudentius’ use of it. For more on the influence of *Epode* 7 on the opening of the *Bellum Civile* see Roche 2009 ad loc. Dexel and Mahoney have both included *Epode* 7.1 in their catalogues. Neither provides any analysis (Dexel 1907, 50 and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney includes this as a possible reference.

\(^{43}\)For the *Bellum Civile* I have used Shackleton-Bailey’s text unless otherwise noted (Shackleton-Bailey 1988).

\(^{44}\)All translations of the *Bellum Civile* are my own unless otherwise specified.
The verbal echo of *quis furor* is a strong one. Just as in *Psychomachia* 351, so here in *Bellum Civile* 1.8, *quis furor* uses the same words, has the same position in the line, and is also part of a rhetorical question. But the similarities continue. In both instances this *furor* drives the addressees to do something undesirable and harmful to themselves. The narrator of the *Bellum Civile* is rebuking the Roman citizens for participating in civil war. He refers specifically to the battles between Caesar and Pompey, chiefly that at Pharsalus, but throughout the poem the reader is reminded that Pharsalus is only the beginning of the civil wars that will destroy Rome.\(^4^5\)

The goals of the two speakers of the passages are different. Whereas Lucan’s narrator aims to discourage the Roman citizens from fighting, Sobrietas aspires to rouse the troops to stand their ground and fight. In the *Bellum Civile*, the narrator views the battle of Pharsalus as the pivotal event that began Rome’s downfall. Although he often sympathizes with Pompey more than with Caesar, the narrator faults both sides for undertaking the war.\(^4^6\) This attitude toward civil war begins in the first line of the *Bellum Civile* and pervades the rest of the poem.\(^4^7\)

_Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos_

_iousque datum sceleri canimus…_

We sing of wars more than civil throughout the Emathian fields and legality bestowed on crime.

*Bellum Civile* 1.1-2

Lucan describes the war as “more than civil;” it is even between family members (*Bellum*

\(^4^5\)For more on this theme see Roche 2009. The Roman matron at the end of Book 1 who has a vision of Philippi is an example of this motif (*Bellum Civile* 673-695). At the end of her vision she says: _vidi iam, Phoebe, Philippus *“I have now seen Philippi, Phoebus”* (*Bellum Civile* 1.694)

\(^4^6\)See Roche 2009.

\(^4^7\)Lucan, following Vergil and others, employs the epic convention of beginning his poem with the subject. For more on this see Roche 2009 ad loc. Prudentius also follows this convention; his first word of his first hexameter is *Christe*, making the subject of his poem Christ (*Psychomachia* 1).
Prudentius’ battle, however, is even more intimate than Lucan’s – it is a battle within a single person, within a single soul. Sobrietas wages war because it is necessary for the survival and salvation of the soul. As far as Prudentius is concerned, there is, from a moral perspective, definitely a right and a wrong side in each of the battles. In this particular battle, Sobrietas is on the right side. Lucan’s narrator sees destruction for Rome in undertaking the battle, but Sobrietas sees destruction for the soul by not undertaking the battle. In this allusion, Prudentius undermines Lucan and gives the quote a different meaning.

Prudentius may also be alluding to the speech of the Roman matron at the end of *Bellum Civile* 1. This speech also contains the phrase *quis furor*. In this passage, a Roman matron has a vision of the destruction that the battle of Pharsalus will bring. She witnesses not only the immediate aftermath with the death of Pompey, but also the future destruction of the battle of Philippi (*Bellum Civile* 1.683-686 and 1.694).

“quo feror, o Paean? qua me super aethera raptam constituis terrar? uideo Panguaea nivosis cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos. 680

*Quis furor* hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela manusque Romanae miscent acies, bellumque sine hoste est?”

“Where am I being carried to, Paean? On which land are you setting me taken up above the air? I see Pangaea white with snowy ridges and broad Philippi under Haemus’ crag. Teach, Phoebus, what madness this is. Why do Roman battle lines mix hands and weapons? What war is this without an enemy?”

*Bellum Civile* 1.678-682

Unlike the speeches of Ascanius, Aeneas, Latinus, and Lucan’s narrator, this speech is spoken by a woman. The Roman matron prays that she will not witness the battle that she has

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48 This is a common theme in civil war poetry that Lucan was drawing on. For more on this see Roche 2009.
already seen unfold, but the war is inevitable, so the prayer is ultimately unanswered. This is also a lament for Rome in which the speaker sees the war to be destructive for all parties involved because there is no enemy side. This continues the theme introduced by Lucan’s narrator. Sobrietas is also a woman and also makes a prayer, but her prayer does not go unheard (nunc prece mixta, Psychomachia 350). Her God is both on her side and superior to the god of the Roman matron. Smith has discussed Prudentius’ engagement with the Aeneid 6.56 in Psychomachia 1.

Christe, graves hominum semper miserate labores

Christ, always pity the heavy struggles of men

Psychomachia 1

“Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores”

“Aeneid 6.56

Smith has convincingly argued that from the outset of the poem, Prudentius aims to replace Phoebus Apollo with Christ. Mastrangelo has suggested that this opening puts Prudentius’ whole poem in connection with Aeneid 6. The Roman matron in Lucan also relies on

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49A chief model for the Roman matron is the Sibyl of Aeneid 6. This seems to be particularly significant for Prudentius who sets up his poem as a response to Aeneid 6. For more on the models for the Roman matron see Roche 2009 ad loc.

50The verbal echoes between the Roman matron and the narrator frame Bellum Civile 1. These two laments introduce significant themes for the poem as a whole. For more on this see Roche 2009.

51Smith 1976, 272-276.

52See the following for discussion or mention of Prudentius’ allusion to Aeneid 6.56 in Psychomachia 1: Dexel 1907, 2; Mahoney 1934, 48; Lavarenne 1948, 51; Cunningham 1966, 151; Smith 1976, 272-276; Mastrangelo 2008, 15-20.


Apollo, who cannot help her or Rome. Her vision serves as a passive lament for Rome; no one is able to affect the outcome. Sobrietas and the virtues are in no such predicament. They can change the course of the battle under Christ. Moreover, Sobrietas does not lament the battle because it is absolutely essential. With this allusion, Prudentius again undercuts Lucan and elevates Sobrietas and her divinely sanctioned battle.

The final instance where *quis furor* appears in the *Bellum Civile* is in Book 7. Here Pompey reluctantly agrees to battle Caesar at Pharsalus.

… *ingemuit* rector sensitque deorum esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti: “si placet hoc” inquit “cunctis, si milite Magno, non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor: involvat populos una Fortuna ruina sitque hominum magnae lux ista novissima parti. testor, Roma, tamen Magnum quo cuncta perirent accepisse diem. potuit tibi vulnerem nullo stare labor belli; potui *sine caede* subactum captivumque ducem violatae tradere paci. *Quis furor*, o caeci, scelerum? Civilia bella gesturi metuunt, ne *non cum sanguine* vincant.”

The leader groaned and sensed that these were the tricks of the gods and that the fates were against his intention. “If this pleases everyone,” he said “if the moment needs Magnus the soldier, not Magnus the general, I will not delay the fates any further. Let Fortune envelop the people in one destruction, and let this day be the last for a great part of mankind. Nevertheless, Rome, I swear that this day on which all perish has been imposed on Magnus. The struggle of war could cost you no wound. I could hand over the leader captive and subdued to the violated peace without slaughter. What wicked madness is this, o blind ones? Men who are about to wage civil wars are afraid that they will conquer without bloodshed.”

*Bellum Civile* 7.85-96

There are more verbal parallels between this passage and the *Psychomachia*. Both Pompey and Sobrietas groan before they begin their speeches (*ingemuit, Bellum Civile* 85 and *Psychomachia* 344). *Ingemuit* is found in both passages in nearly the same part of the line
(Bellum Civile 85 and Psychomachia 344). Pompey mourns the undertaking of the war and the fact that the gods are against him (Bellum Civile 85-86). Sobrietas on the other hand has God on her side as evidenced both by the cross standard which she uses to get her troops back in line and her claim that Christ will serve as the judge of Luxuria and her troops. Pompey is a weak leader who was once great, whereas Sobrietas is very strong and capable.

55 At this point in the Bellum Civile, Pompey responds to Cicero, who has just urged Pompey to begin the battle against Caesar (Bellum Civile 7.62-85). Cicero is expressing the concerns of Pompey’s troops, and although Pompey is speaking only with Cicero, his words are meant for the troops as well. The differences between the speakers and situations in this allusion are more pronounced than the ones discussed previously. Whereas Pompey has resigned himself to undertaking a battle that he does not want to fight, Sobrietas is eager and divinely sanctioned to fight for the soul. Pompey has no control over his own troops, who easily talk him into engaging in a battle. Sobrietas is a dynamic and strong leader who directly confronts her troops. 56 Although Pompey blames the troops and Cicero for their eagerness to wage war with their fellow Romans, his speech, like that of the narrator and the Roman matron, primarily serves as a passive lament against civil war. He makes no attempts to persuade his troops of his position. Pompey is confronted with troops who want to fight whereas Sobrietas’ troops want to surrender. This allusion highlights Sobrietas’ leadership and effectiveness as contrasted with Pompey’s. Pompey is ready to renounce his role as leader (si milite Magno, / non duce tempus eget, Bellum Civile 7.87-88). Sobrietas, on the other hand,

55In Bellum Civile 1.136-143, Pompey is compared to an oak tree clinging to roots that are no longer strong but is still venerated. “This comparison is programmatic for Lucan’s characterization of Pompey throughout BC” (Roche 2009, ad loc.). Pompey’s inability to restrain his troop from fighting adds to this characterization of Pompey as weak.
reasserts her role. She is called the “bravest virtue” and a “good leader” (fortissima virtus and dux bona, Psychomachia 344 and 348). Her battle is divinely sanctioned, and so she has more to fight for than Pompey does. Once again, Prudentius undermines his pagan model to demonstrate the superiority of his Christian epic.
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

The key models for Sobrietas’ speech include Ascanius in *Aeneid 5*, Aeneas and Latinus in *Aeneid* 12, Lucan’s narrator and the Roman matron in *Bellum Civile* 1, and Pompey in *Bellum Civile* 7. In almost all of these instances, the speaker can be read allegorically as a voice of reason. Many of them are speaking in a battle context, but not all. Sobrietas takes on the good qualities of nearly every one of these speakers, while also serving as a correction to their negative qualities. Her alignment with God makes her a force to be reckoned with. In nearly every instance the addressees are doing something harmful to themselves, just as Sobrietas’ troops are doing something harmful to themselves. Most of the speakers want to stop their troops from fighting whereas Sobrietas wants to prevent them from surrendering without fighting. It would be difficult to say which of these four instances of *quis furor* was foremost in the mind of Prudentius. It does not necessarily need to be one, and in fact, the use of the phrase *quis furor* evokes a much richer image if we see it as a combination of the four. Sobrietas as a *fortissima virtus* and *dux bona* stands out among all of her pagan models as a superior general (*Psychomachia* 344, 348). With the words *quis furor*, Prudentius has her chastise her troops for their self-destructive act, by looking back at four models that do the same. In each instance however, Sobrietas proves to be the better general. She is able to anticipate her troops’ actions whereas Ascanius in *Aeneid* 5. 670-672 is not able to do so. Ultimately, Sobrietas is successful in persuading her addressees where Lucan’s
narrator is not in *Bellum Civile* 1.8. Her prayer has the force of the true God behind it unlike the Roman matron of *Bellum Civile* 1.681-682. Above all, she demonstrates control over her troops to make the both tactically and morally correct decision as contrasted with Pompey who is depicted as a weak general. Prudentius uses images of civil war for the internal battle that takes place within every person, but he treats it as a necessity, rather than a crime. This is all because Sobrietas is fighting a more worthy battle for the soul’s redemption, and she fights under the superior Christian standard, the cross (*vexillum sublime crucis*, *Psychomachia* 347). With the phrase *quis furor*, Prudentius deliberately undermines his pagan models to show a more worthwhile battle under a stronger leader. This idea of Sobrietas as the better general is also present in the second half of her question.
APPENDIX

As the appendix demonstrates, the majority of the allusions to the *Aeneid* come from the second half of the poem, particularly the battle books. The *Psychomachia* is largely drawing on the *Aeneid* at the beginning of the poem, but the closer the virtues get to the temple, the more typological (i.e., based on the Old Testament) the references become. There are fewer allusions to the *Aeneid* at the end of the poem than at the beginning. This development is paralleled in Sobrietas’ speech which begins with a high density of allusions to the pagan models and then gradually becomes more typological in its references.

Outline of the *Psychomachia* with allusions to the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile* located by scholars

Preface: 1-68
   26: *BC* 9.564
   40: *Aen.* 3.80
1-20: Invocation of Christ
   1: *Aen.* 6.56; 1.597; 2.143
   7: *Aen.* 1.148
21-39: Fides vs. Veterum Cultura Deorum
   23: *Aen.* 11.649
   27: *Aen.* 7.461
   30: *Aen.* 2.133; 6.665
   30-5: *Aen.* 12.901-2; 11.697; 11.755; 4.201; 12.303; 8.260-1; 4.694
40-108: Pudicitia vs. Libido
   40: *Aen.* 5.287
   41: *Aen.* 6.826
   42-8: *Aen.* 5.726; 10.414; 6.593; 7.397; 7.456; 9.68-109
   47: *Aen.* 10.770
   49: *Aen.* 9.414; 2.277; 9.431
   50-1: *Aen.* 2.277; *BC* 3.573
   53-97: Pudicitia’s speech
      53: *Aen.* 12.296
      60: *Aen.* 10.497; 12.690; 5.329
62: *Aen.* 11.664
64: *Aen.* 10.541
89: *Aen.* 2.661
96: *Aen.* 6.605; 3.252
98: *Aen.* 2.621, 705; 4.238, 4.331, 4.663

109-177: Patientia vs. Ira
109: *Aen.* 6.156; 1.482; 6.469; 1.226; 12.304; 5.437; 4.449; 7.314
112: *Aen.* 6.156
114: *Aen.* 7.399
115: *Aen.* 10.644
121: *Aen.* 1.142; 10.776
124: *Aen.* 7.639; 11.487
124-5: *Aen.* 3.467, 5.259
129: *BC* 4.776
130: *Aen.* 5.694, 7.377
137-8: *Aen.* 2.552; 9.417; 12.729; 5.642
140: *Aen.* 9.808; 10.330
145: *Aen.* 12.731
155-161: Patientia’s speech
156: *Aen.* 11.415

178-309: Mens Humilis and Spes vs. Superbia
178: *Aen.* 3.22; 6.682
179: *Aen.* 2.722; 8.177; 8.552; 11.770; 9.306; 5.351
186-7: *Aen.* 11.775-6; 1.320; 8.33; 6.301
190: *Aen.* 4.135; 11.599
193: *Aen.* 11.599-601
205: *Aen.* 10.368; 10.466; 10.591; 8.70; 7.292; 5.482; 5.723
206-252: Superbia’s speech
206: *Aen.* 12.229; 9.598
212: *Aen.* 9.600; *Aen.* 10.77
240: *Aen.* 12.668; 5.455; 10.872
248: *Aen.* 4.14; *BC* 3.149
251: *Aen.* 7.541; 7554

253-309: Spes vs. Fraus
253: *Aen.* 2.679; 10.651
272: *Aen.* 12.364
285-304: Spes’ speech
305: *Aen.* 9.14

310-453: Sobrietas vs. Luxuria
323-4: *Aen.* 9.665; 12.856
329: *Aen.* 8.390
333: *Aen.* 1.494; 7.813; 7.249; 6.209
348: *Aen.* 7.817
350: *Aen.* 10.368
351-406: Sobrietas’ speech to troops
   351: *Aen*. 5.670; *BC* 1.681, 7.95
   352: *Aen*. 12.313
   394: *Aen*. 2.142; 10.903; 6.458; 12.56
   400: *Aen*. 2.157; 4.27


12.611
   413: *Aen*. 6.216
   414-5: *Aen*. 1.115
   420: *Aen*. 12.289; 8.683
   423-426: *Aen*. 5.468-70
   427-431: Sobrietas’ speech to Luxuria
   447: *Aen*. 11.762; 4.672

454-: Ratio vs. Avartia
   459: *Aen*. 6.273; 8.702; 6.280
   466: *Aen*. 12.336
   475: *Aen*. 9.358-9; 12.942
   478: *Aen*. 8.327
   480: *Aen*. 10.602
   482: *Aen*. 3.658
   483: *Aen*. 3.203
   497: *Aen*. 6.173
   499: *Aen*. 7.531
   501: *Aen*. 5.232-3; 6.500

511-550: Avartia’s speech
   517: *Aen*. 12.341
   536: *Aen*. 9.243
   549: *Aen*. 1.475

549-595: *Aen*. 2.389-430

551-643: Avartia changes to appearance of Frugi vs. Operatio
   551: *Aen*. 7.415-6
   577: *Aen*. 5.421
   586: *Aen*. 4.564
   590: *Aen*. 8.260
   597: *Aen*. 9.431
   599: *Aen*. 7.636
   602-3: *Aen*. 5.282

606-628: Operatio’s speech
   607: *Aen*. 6.93; 11.480
   624: *Aen*. 9.114
   629: *Aen*. 6.382; 8.35; 6.276
   634: *Aen*. 1.404

644-725: Concordia vs. Discordia
   645: *BC* 5.238
652: *Aen.* 5.178
654: *Aen.* 1.105
655: *Aen.* 5.178; 3.577; 6.581; 2.419; 7.530
665: *Aen.* 6.45; 6.201
685: *Aen.* 8.702-3; 6.280
689: *Aen.* 12.96; 9.438
692: *Aen.* 1.737
694-699: Concordia’s speech
691: *BC* 6.197
699-715: *Aen.* 2.67, 12.662; 2.333; 2.449; 11.746; 12.705; 11.121; 11.800; 11.812
700: *Aen.* 11.746; 12.705
703: *Aen.* 11.812
705: *Aen.* 12.661-2
709-714: Discordia’s speech
715: *Aen.* 2.407; 8.256; 10.578
716: *Aen.* 10.346; 9.580
726-915: Building the temple
750-797: Concordia’s speech
754: *Aen.* 10.232
796: *Aen.* 5.700; 5.869; *BC* 8.305
798: *Aen.* 5.700
799-822: Fides’ speech
803: *Aen.* 9.261-2; 9.257
804: *Aen.* 1.5-6
823: *Aen.* 2.790; 6.628; 10.633
834: *Aen.* 8.262
868: *Aen.* 1.637; 2.486; 1.428; 12.92; 7.170
875: *Aen.* 1.506; 9.227
878: *Aen.* 12.206
879: *Aen.* 12.208
884: *Aen.* 3.286
889: *Aen.* 8.189; 3.118; 3.264; 12.140; 6.530
892: *Aen.* 2.10; 3.299; 4.695
902: *Aen.* 6.86; 7.41
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