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The Roman Models of *mater familias* and *pater familias* in the *Parentalia* by Decimus Magnus Ausonius

Their Literary Creation, Moral Tradition and Compositional Function

ABSTRACT: D.M. Ausonius' *Parentalia* occupy an important place in Latin funeral poetry and constitute a collection of thirty eulogies aimed to commemorate the dead members of *gens Ausoniana*. Ausonius, who intends to honour the memory of his dead relatives, draws in the eulogies first and foremost their moral portraits. Despite these characteristics being more or less individualised, they are in fact composed of quite conventional virtues constitutive of two moral models such as *mater familias* and *pater familias*; ones deeply rooted within Roman culture and moral tradition. In consequence, the eulogies *in memoriam* composed are actually not free from literary, moral and cultural convention but rather seem to be firmly based on it. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to present Ausonius' literary creation of the *mater familias* and *pater familias* models that emerge from the eulogies and to indicate their moral tradition and compositional function as well as the literary and stylistic techniques used by the author to show both these moral patterns in the *Parentalia*.

KEYWORDS: Decimus Magnus Ausonius, Roman funeral poetry of the end of the 4th century AD, Roman culture, Roman moral tradition, *mater familias*, *pater familias*

D.M. Ausonius' *Parentalia*¹ belong to the oeuvre of Latin funeral poetry and constitute a collection of thirty eulogies² aimed to commemorate the author's dead relatives. The reason that prompted this well-known poet and tutor³ of Emperor Gratian, to take up this very personal⁴ subject and create the first collection in Latin literature that honours the memory of dead relatives belonging to one family (*gens Ausoniana*), was probably the death of his beloved father⁵ in 378 AD. This painful

¹ *Commemoration of Dead Relatives* [in this article Polish titles and quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper] – Polish translation of the Latin title according to Cytowska, Szelest 1992: 507; Krynicka 2008: 551, n. 5. In the *Parentalia* Ausonius addresses closer and more distant relatives (33 persons) with whom he is connected by close or distant kinship. As Krynicka (2008: 561) explains, the order in which Ausonius presents his relatives determines both the degree of kinship (or affinity), as well as the place of the dead in the poet's life and the chronology of the deaths. In thirty eulogies the author reports on the course of his relatives' lives and praises their morals, talents and achievements, mentions their activities – cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 133. Time, circumstances of creation, contents and composition of Ausonius' *Parentalia* – cf. Krynicka 2008: 549–561. Decimus Magnus Ausonius – cf. Olszaniec 2013: 68–81; PLRE I, Decimus Magnus Ausonius 7.

² It should be noted that scholars are not unanimous in their opinions about the genre of poems included in the *Parentalia*. According to Zabłocki (1965: 223), the poems are funeral epigrams created by Ausonius with the clear intention of dedicating a series of funeral elegies to his dead relatives. Combeaud (2010: 673) argues that these poems, due to their brevity, are very similar to the most sophisticated form of elegiac epigrams, in which one can find the poignant tone of an elegy – thus, as the scholar indicates, in the light of Ausonius' aesthetics, each poem constitutes a mournful elegy set within the narrow framework of a funeral epigram. Lolli (1997: 26–30) says that it is difficult to establish a uniform genre to which all these poems belong, because one can find in them numerous motifs, both of an epigrammatic nature as well as the elements of a love elegy and a funeral song performed over the grave (ἐπιτύμβιον).

³ Cf. Rogowski 2009: 250; Olszaniec 2013: 69; Mleczek 2023: 358.

⁴ Ch.M. Ternes (2008: 4) defines as *domestica* all the works of the Burdigalian that are of a personal nature. Therefore *domestica* include Ausonius' works addressed to his relatives (also *Parentalia* dedicated to the dead ones) and friends as well as the works focused on the vicissitudes of his life, work and career (cf. also Krynicka 2008: 550–551). It should be noted, however, that among Ausonius' works one can also find (in addition to *domestica*) those of a purely fictional nature, in which the Burdigalian imitates Greek and Latin poets (especially epigrammaticians), using motifs that can be found in their poems – cf. Kay 2001: 11–23; Krynicka 2011: 11. The nature of Ausonius' poetry cf. also Principato 1961: 399–418.

⁵ Ausonius also honoured his father in a separate work entitled *Epicedion in patrem* – cf. Szelest 1994: 15–31.

fact, as one may assume, inspired the author to recall other members of the family who, like his father, had passed away and deserved to be commemorated. Guided by this intention, Ausonius created, above all, moral portraits of his relatives, both male and female. These moral portraits are more or less individualised, but they are actually composed of quite conventional virtues that were essential for two moral models, *mater familias* and *pater familias*, ones deeply rooted in Roman culture and moral tradition. As a result, these eulogies aimed at commemorating individual men and women are not free from moral and cultural convention, although according to Ausonius' intention, as pointed out by present-day scholars (cf. Krynicka 2008: 555; Sivan 1993: 152), variety (*varietas*) is the fundamental principle of the composition of this funeral collection (ultimately completed probably following his return home from Trier after the murder of Gratian in 383 AD).⁶ *Varietas* is manifested, for example, in the fact that the entire collection is preceded by two introductions,⁷ the first⁸ written in prose and the second⁹

⁶ Cf. Lolli 1997: 16–17.

⁷ Lolli (1997: 30) regards the preceding of the *Parentalia* by two introductions (one written in prose and another in verse) as “an extravagance of Ausonius”. Originally collections of poetry in Latin literature were preceded only by introductions written in verse, whereas those written in prose were introduced by two poets of the first century AD, namely Martialis (in epigrams) and Statius (in *Silvae*). After a few centuries, this technique was taken over from Statius by Ausonius, who was the first to combine the introduction written in prose with the one written in verse and to precede his collection with both – cf. Lolli 1997: 30; Krynicka 2008: 551, n. 19; Szelest 1971: 12–13.

⁸ In the first introduction (written in prose) Ausonius explains that the title of the whole collection (sc. *Parentalia*) actually derives from the name of the celebration of the days dedicated to commemorating dead relatives (*Parentalia* or *dies parentales*: 13th–21st February), which was established by king Numa Pompilius (*titulus libelli est Parentalia. antiquae appellationis hic dies et iam inde ab Numa cognatorum inferiis institutus* – Aus., *Par.-Praef.*; Ovid in *Fasti* II 543 ff and Vergil in *Aen.* V, 45–60 say that Aeneas established this celebration); the celebration of *Parentalia* – cf. Ovidius, *Fasti* II 533–580; Krynicka 2008: 551–552, n. 20.

⁹ The second introduction (written in verse) complements the first one (cf. also Combeaud 2010: 674). When invoking Nenia (a funeral song or the goddess of funeral song), Ausonius announces that he will commemorate his beloved dead relatives in poems, because they constitute the lasting monument for the dead – this motif appeared in the funeral poetry of Euphorion (born in 275 BC – died in?), an Alexandrian poet from the third century BC; similar opinion appears in Catullus, *Carm.* 65, 11–14 and Statius,

in verse, that contain numerous references to Roman and Greek funeral tradition.¹⁰ Variety can also be seen in the outstanding elaboration of traditional literary motifs that can be found in funeral literature, whose rich oeuvre, well known to Ausonius, included numerous tombstone inscriptions as well as the epitaphs of Martialis (Szelest 1963: 120–126), poems by Horatius, funeral elegies of Catullus (von Albrecht 1997: 1323), Propertius (Krynica 2008: 553), Ovidius and the rhetorical epicedia of Statius (Grimal 1978: 284; Zabłocki 1965: 225; Szelest 1971: 40–57). Notwithstanding the literary and stylistic variety, the presentation of the moral side of the eulogies, which definitely prevails and is clearly accentuated by Ausonius in the *Parentalia*, is rather monotonous and not free from convention. The moral portraits consist of virtues and moral attitudes that actually seem to constitute not so much the individualised virtues of the specific addressees but rather conventional qualities included in (and characteristic of) the models of *pater familias* and *mater familias* that were considered cultural and moral *topoi*. In consequence, the moral characteristics of *viri Ausoniani* and *matronae Ausonianae* presented in the eulogies seem to be models based on moral and cultural convention rather than individualised portraits born out of the author's brilliant invention. Therefore, this article aims to present Ausonius' creation of the *mater familias* and

Silvae III 3, 37. Nenia – cf. Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneis* VI 216; Cic., *De leg.* II 24, 62 (*cantus lugubris*); Quint., *Inst. Orat.* VIII 2, 8 (*carmen funebre*). Ausonius, as Lolli (1997: 53) explains, addresses Nenia as a funeral song in the second introduction written in verse (*Nenia, [...] / Annua ne tacitis munera praetereas* – Aus., *Parent.-Item Praef.*: 5–6), whereas White (1951: 59) takes the view that the poet here addresses Nenia as the goddess of funeral song. Krynica (2008: 552, n. 22) points out that only in *Praefatio* and in *Par.* 28, 6–7 (*quam celebrat sub honore pio / Nenia carmine funereo*) can one have doubts as to whether the poet addresses Nenia as a funeral song or as the goddess of funeral song, while in other eulogies Ausonius considers Nenia a funeral song written in honour of the dead (*nenia nostra*: *Par.* 9, 2; 15, 2; *nenia tristis*: *Par.* 17, 2). Cameron (2011: 404–405) draws attention to Ausonius' thorough literary education, emphasising that he was a leading representative of the Gallic culture of the mid-fourth century AD. Q.A. Symmachus appreciates Ausonius for his erudition and literary talent – cf. Sym., *Ep.* I, 13–43.

¹⁰ The development of Latin funeral poetry from the very beginning to Ausonius' days is thoroughly discussed by Zabłocki 1965.

pater familias models that emerge from the *Parentalia*¹¹, and to discuss their cultural background, moral tradition and compositional function as well as to indicate stylistic techniques and literary motifs used by Ausonius to present both these moral patterns in his seemingly individualised eulogies.

¹¹ This article presents a new interpretation and a new look at Ausonius' *Parentalia*, in which *elogia* are not only pieces of funeral poetry arranged without apparent logic (Sivan 1993: 152), based on literary funeral convention and aimed to commemorate the dead (Szelest 1995: 152; Krynicka 2008: 553–555; Krynicka 2010–2011: 148) by showing their literary portraits (Szelest 1995: 152), but also seem to be coherent and complementary elements from which Ausonius consistently builds two moral models strongly rooted in Roman tradition and culture and inseparably linking several generations of his family. As the author of this article points out, it is the consistent presentation of *mater familias* and *pater familias* models that joins the *elogia* together by means of a consistently highlighted moral aspect, which provides internal coherence to the entire collection. It should be clarified that the important role of this moral link between the *elogia* and their moral aspect (sc. *mater familias* and *pater familias* models) neither have been indicated nor thoroughly discussed so far. Scholars in their works have focused on problems related to composition (e.g. degree of kinship, chronology of deaths, grouping *elogia* together around a certain idea or person in order to combine them into small parts linked by the same or different literary motif – e.g. Krynicka 2008: 555, 560; the lack of any logical arrangement – Sivan 1993: 152) as well as on conventional literary funeral motifs (e.g. Krynicka 2008: 553–554; Grimal 1978: 284; Szelest 1995: 148, 152; Lolli 1997: 26–27), the types of meter and the artistic, syntactic and stylistic devices that Ausonius used in his *elogia* to weave this funeral literary convention round the dead members of his family (e.g. Krynicka 2010–2011: 136–137, 139–140; Krynicka 2014: 57–122; Dräger 2012: 430–523). At the same time, however, the virtues of Ausonius' relatives have been either passed over (*viri*: there are no studies, in which the virtues and moral attitudes of *viri Ausoniani* are discussed) or only briefly enumerated by scholars (*feminae*: e.g. Krynicka 2010–2011: 148–149) in addition to general remarks about the poet's true admiration, respect and pride for these *virtutes* but without their thorough analysis (*gens Ausoniana* – e.g. Szelest 1995: 149–150; Krynicka 2014: 57–122).

1. *Mater familias*:¹² *matronae Ausonianae earumque virtutes*.

Women occupy an important place in Ausonius' memory and family. There are fifteen¹³ of them among all the family members mentioned in the *Parentalia*; the author has more or less intimate ties with them and is related to them through various degrees of kinship.¹⁴ However, it is worth noting that the noble *matronae Ausonianae* are not only related to each other by ties of kinship – a very important binder is also the common moral tradition, that is the similarity in virtues and good

¹² In Roman sources the meaning of this term is varied. Initially, the term *mater familias* defined a wife who was directly subject to the authority of her husband or of a person under whose authority the husband was, if he was not *sui iuris* (sc. was a person subject to anyone's authority). According to some ancient authors, the term *mater familias* defined a wife who was directly under the authority of the father of the family (*pater familias*) and had children. In legal sources of the classical and postclassical periods, the term *mater familias* was used in a different meaning and defined a woman who was *sui iuris* (sc. she was not subject to anyone's authority). In yet another sense, the term *mater familias* referred to any woman of good morals, regardless of whether she was married or not – in this sense it appeared as a synonym for the term *matrona Romana* and was used in connection with crimes of a moral nature and with the infliction of insults. As it can be concluded, in the *Parentalia* the meaning of the term *mater familias* that emerges from the eulogies is varied: Ausonius uses it to define both a woman who was a wife and mother as well as a woman of good morals who was *sui iuris*. *Mater familias* and *matrona Romana* – cf. also Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 18, 6, 8–9: *quod idonei vocum antiquarum enarratores tradiderunt, "matronam" dictam esse proprie quae in matrimonium cum viro convenisset, quoad in eo matrimonio maneret, etiamsi liberi nondum nati forent, dictamque ita esse a matris nomine, non adepto iam, sed cum spe et omine mox adipiscendi, unde ipsum quoque "matrimonium" dicitur, [...], "matrem familias" appellatam esse eam solam quae in mariti manu mancipioque aut in eius in cuius maritus manu mancipioque esset, quoniam non in matrimonium tantum, sed in familiam quoque mariti et in sui heredis locum venisset*; Gardner 1991: 13; Fiori 1993–1994: 455–498; Zabłocki 1995: 48.

¹³ Cf. Krynicka 2008: 549–561; Krynicka 2010–2011: 133–134. Among women commemorated in the eulogies are both those closest and dearest to Ausonius as well as those being more distant whom he hardly knew, although they belonged to the family (*Par.* 21, 1–2; 29, 1).

¹⁴ Lolli (1997: 29) draws attention to the fact that in the *Parentalia* Ausonius sometimes creates a fictitious system of degrees of consanguinity ("un sistema relazionale fittizio di aveccinamento": *Par.* 6, 1, 11; 13, 12; 15, 1; 16, 1; 24, 6; 26, 6; 28, 4), which – according to him – has no equivalents in Latin literature – cf. also Favez 1946: 130–131.

moral attitudes that appear over the course of subsequent generations in different branches of the *gens Ausoniana* family tree and thus create the family canon of feminine virtues. It is worth noting that these good moral qualities were not only individual *virtutes* of *matronae Ausoniana* but were also virtues constitutive of a moral model of *mater familias* (sometimes tantamount to a model of *matrona Romana*¹⁵), which constituted a pattern of a noble Roman woman, being most often a wife and mother. It existed in the Roman tradition and culture from the earliest times, and was used to define not only the virtues but also the moral, social and legal¹⁶ status of a Roman woman. As regards Ausonius, in the eulogies he focuses on a moral aspect of *mater familias* model, whereas legal and social aspects are omitted (*Par.* 27) or given by means of very concise remarks since the author limits himself to scant information as to whether a woman was married or not (*Par.* 2; 5; 6; 9; 12; 16; 19; 21; 25; 26; 30). Moreover, when drawing portraits of women in *elogia*, Ausonius concentrates first and foremost on the presentation of their virtues,¹⁷ good manners and moral attitudes (*Par.* 2; 5; 6; 9; 12; 16; 19; 25; 26; 30), whereas remarks upon their bodily appearance are usually omitted or given only occasionally and very briefly (*Par.* 5, 3: *cute fusca*; 28, 3: *speciem meruit Veneris*). Therefore in the *Parentalia* we can find mainly moral portraits of noble addressees, but

¹⁵ The term *matrona Romana* was most often used to define a married woman who deserved the highest respect; she was distinguished by an outfit that consisted of a long white *stola* and *palla* thrown over it as well as a woollen band worn on her smoothly combed hair.

¹⁶ As regards the social and legal status of a Roman woman, according to the law (especially in the pre-classical period) obtaining the title of *mater familias* by a woman was associated with her transfer to the agnatic family of her husband and being given the position of agnatic daughter (according to some ancient authors, the title *mater familias* was given to a wife directly subordinate to the authority of *pater familias*). Cf. also Wilczyński 2024: 19–24; Zabłocki 1995: 47–48; *mater familias* – cf. also Fiori 1993–1994: 455–498.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that a similar tendency can also be found in funeral speeches delivered in honour of dead women. As Jońca (2011: 23) indicates, in those *laudationes funebres* emphasis was put on the qualities of the woman as a wife and mother as well as on typical feminine virtues that were highlighted in a rather conventional way. Cf. also Korpanty 1978: 95–103; Korpanty 1980: 156–164; Hillard 2001: 45–63. Riess (2012: 491–501) points out that conventional feminine virtues were also accentuated in Roman funerary inscriptions.

at the same time we are almost unaware of what their faces and figures looked like.

As regards virtues, Ausonius underlines that all women in *gens Ausoniana*, who were mostly¹⁸ wives and mothers (rarely being single), were distinguished by *pudicitia*¹⁹ (austere morals; decency), which was based on preserving good moral habits, austere standards of behaviour and virtuous conduct. Ausonius presents *pudicitia* in three ways, as if in accordance with the maxim *varietas delectat* (cf. Krynicka 2008: 555; Sivan 1993: 152), to which he appears to be faithful in depicting his dead relatives in the *Parentalia*. Firstly, in some eulogies, *pudicitia* is named and directly indicated, that is by means of an adequate noun, without synonymous and descriptive terms or situational context. *Fama pudicitiae* was an important virtue of the author's mother (Aemilia Aeonia²⁰) who (in addition) was also endowed with all other virtues (*Par. 2*): *virtus cui contigit omnis, / fama pudicitiae*. *Pudicitia* was also the leading virtue of Aemilia Hilaria (the poet's aunt) whose death was

¹⁸ Aemilia Hilaria (the sister of Ausonius' mother sc. maternal aunt of Ausonius: *Par. 6* – PLRE I, Aemilia Hilaria), Iulia Cataphronia (Ausonius' aunt: *Par. 26* – PLRE I, Iulia Cataphronia) as well as Aemilia Melania (Ausonius' sister: *Par. 29* – PLRE I, Aemilia Melania 3) and Iulia Idalia (the author's cousin: *Par. 28* – PLRE I, Iulia Idalia), who both died in childhood, were single persons, whereas the family status of Iulia Veneria (paternal aunt of Ausonius: *Par. 27* – PLRE I, Iulia Veneria) was not specified. When presenting the moral portrait of Aemilia Hilaria, Ausonius first and foremost emphasises her good morals (*pudicitia*; in addition to *virginitas*). In the case of Iulia Cataphronia, he also accentuates *pudicitia*, which was based on her *amor virginitatis*, and the fact that Iulia was *innuba* (unmarried) and *parca* (frugal). The author does not mention the virtues of Iulia Veneria and her daughter Iulia Idalia because they died prematurely (*properiter obiit* – *Par. 27, 1*; *parva etiam fuit Idalia* – *Par. 28, 1*) and, as we can suppose, perhaps that is why he (as a child at that time) was not able to know and remember their virtues well. Ausonius, as if compensating for the lack of virtues, emphasises only physical qualities of Iulia Idalia, such as her extraordinary beauty and grace (*nomine praedita quae Paphiae / et speciem meruit Veneris* – *Par. 28, 2–3*) that he managed to notice and remember in childhood (*quae genita est mihi paene soror* – *Par. 28, 4*). So, as it can be seen, Ausonius does not add any virtues that could improve the images of the addressees. Let us add that such a reasonable approach makes Ausonius' *elogia* true moral portraits rather than idealised literary images created by his imagination.

¹⁹ *Pudicitia* was a fundamental virtue of Roman matrons. Its strong influence could also be seen in Roman funeral art – cf. Mikocki 1997: 211ff.

²⁰ Cf. PLRE I, Aemilia Aeonia; Olszaniec 2013: 68.

not only the end of her life, but also the end of her *pudicitia* (*quique aevi finis, ipse pudicitiae* – *Par.* 6, 10; cf. also Mastroianni 2019: 120). Let us notice that Ausonius by clearly equating (*aevum* = *pudicitia*) here *aevum* (life) and *pudicitia* (good and austere morals) clearly emphasises that Aemilia's life was filled with care to observe good and austere morals and that is why it was tantamount to *pudicitia*. Secondly, Ausonius also presents *pudicitia* by indicating it with the help of an appropriate synonym or descriptive phrase. In the *elogium* dedicated to his wife Sabina,²¹ Ausonius emphasises her perfect morals and virtuous conduct by saying that her character and morals were much more noble than the noble family in which she was born (*Par.* 9, 5–6): *nobilis a proavis et origine clara senatus, / moribus atque bonis clara Sabina magis*.²² *Pudicitia* is here indicated by means of the synonymous and descriptive phrase *moribus bonis clara* (cf. *fama pudicitiae* – *Par.* 2), in which the term *mores boni* is synonymous with the noun *pudicitia*. In addition, the enormity of this virtue was underlined by means of hyperbole, which – from the stylistic point of view – was expressed by grading the adjective *clara* and using a comparison with its comparative degree, so: *origine clara* (*positivus*: famous and illustrious because of her noble origin), but *moribus bonis clara magis* (*clara magis* = *clarior* – *comparativus*: more illustrious and more noble because of her good and austere morals than on account of her noble origin). Let us notice that a very concise and contrasting reference to *pudicitia* appears in *Par.* 9, 23, where in the sequence of asyndetically juxtaposed adjectives denoting the virtues of his wife, Ausonius puts the adjective *pudica* (decent; distinguished by good morals), and almost next to it (so just like in *Par.* 9, 5–6) puts the phrase *genus inclita*, which indicates origin from a noble family: *laeta, pudica, gravis, genus inclita et inclita forma*. It is worth noting that the sequence of virtues *pudica* [...] *genus inclita* (*Par.* 9, 23) seems to be a concise equivalent of extended

²¹ Cf. PLRE I, Attusia Lucana Sabina 5; Olszaniec 2013: 78.

²² *Clara magis* (comparative degree of the regular adjective *clarus*) seems to be a rather unusual stylistic solution (and even solecism) because this *comparativus* was formed by means of a descriptive method (*clara magis*) whereas the adjective *clarus* is graded in a regular manner with the help of a comparative suffix *-ior* (*clarior* in a comparative degree – so in this case the verse would be as follows: *moribus atque bonis Sabina clarior*).

hyperbole (*Par.* 9, 5–6) included in the phrase ***nobilis a proavis et origine clara senatus*** (sc. *genus inclita*) / ***moribus atque bonis clara Sabina magis*** (sc. *pudica*). The third way of showing *pudicitia* is its descriptive presentation, mostly by sketching an appropriate situational context that reveals behaviour consistent with *pudicitia*. This method was used by Ausonius to present *pudicitia* in *Par.* 5, 5–8 (Aemilia Corinthia Maura,²³ grandmother): *et non calcata qui nive candidior / et non deliciis ignoscere prompta pudendis / ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit*. So the comparison *nive candidior* that has a clear moral tint and moral reference is a descriptive term for *pudica* (distinguished by good and austere morals), whereas the long phrase *et non deliciis ignoscere prompta pudendis / ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit*, in which the situational context is sketched (“unwilling to indulge in shameful pleasures”²⁴ = decent; distinguished by austere morals [*pudica*] / “she kept herself and her family in discipline” = she consequently demanded good moral conduct from her family members [*pudica*]), constitutes a descriptive presentation of *pudicitia* by means of accentuating the leading feature of Aemilia’s behaviour [*pudica*; *pudicitia*] that was consistent with this virtue. So, as we can find out, she avoided indulging and shameful pleasures (*pudica*) and she firmly demanded the same virtuous behaviour from her relatives and disciplined them to it (*pudica*). The description of Iulia Dryadia’s *pudicitia*²⁵ (Ausonius’ sister) is maintained in a similar tone (*Par.* 12, 5–6): *docta bonos mores ipsa suosque docens / [...] / moribus austeras aequiparavit anus*. Ausonius says that Iulia (who was also presented as a typical example of *femina prudens* – Mastrosera 2019: 121), taught her relatives good moral habits and the principles of right and wrong (*bonos mores docens*), so she was (to use the author’s words) a teacher of good morals because she was an expert specialised in such virtuous and moral behaviour (*ipsa docta bonis moribus* = *pudica*). It is worth pointing out that the situational context sketched here by the author with the help of references to the realities of the Roman school (school – teacher

²³ Cf. Olszaniec 2013: 68; PLRE I, Aemilia Corinthia Maura.

²⁴ In this article the English translation of the *Parentalia* is by the author of this paper.

²⁵ Cf. Olszaniec 2013: 78; PLRE I, Iulia Dryadia 3.

and teaching – pupils and learning) is based on a metaphor: in the school of life Iulia's pupils (sc. the members of her family: *sui = discipuli*) are taught by a virtuous teacher (sc. Iulia) the subject called *boni mores* (good morals: this being a descriptive term and, at the same time, a synonym for *pudicitia*). Iulia, as a perfect teacher and an expert at virtuous and moral conduct, is well educated and has specialised in this subject (sc. in good morals = *pudicitia*) and that is why, due to her specialisation in *pudicitia*, she is *pudica* herself (so *ipsa docta in moribus bonis = pudica*). The reference to *pudicitia* appears again in *Par.* 12, 10: *moribus austeras aequiperavit anus*. Let us note that in Iulia's moral conduct as presented here, which – as can be inferred from *Par.* 12, 10 – was based on imitating moral habits, the virtuous conduct and behaviour of the ancestors and on regarding the moral norms established by the older generation as a model and the moral norm for the younger one, Ausonius reveals the characteristic feature²⁶ of Roman mentality, that is a tendency to perceive the past in a normative way. Therefore the *pudicitia* of older generations (*mores anuum austerarum*) becomes a moral norm and model of good moral conduct, in which younger generations try to imitate and equal their ancestors (*moribus aequiperavit*) when shaping the moral standards of their day. Another interesting presentation of *pudicitia* can be found in *Par.* 30, 1–5 (Pomponia Urbica, mother of Ausonius' son-in-law; PLRE I, Pomponia Urbica 2): *Ut generis clari, veterum sic femina morum, / Urbica [...], / ingenitis pollens virtutibus auctaque et illis, / quas docuit coniunx, quas pater et genetrix: / quas habuit Tanaquil, quas Pythagorea Theano [...]*. Let us notice that here Ausonius presents three areas of *pudicitia* in an ascending order: the personal (narrow and inner: innate virtues) – the family (wider: virtues passed on by parents and husband) – the historical (the widest and external area related to the Roman and Greek moral tradition and illustrated by means of the *exemplum* of Tanaquil and Theano). Thus, as regards the personal area, *pudicitia* is (*Par.* 2; 5, 5–8; 6, 10; 9, 5–6; 23; 12, 5–6; 10) an innate and individual virtue (*Par.* 30, 1–3): Urbica, as Ausonius underlines, was a woman endowed with innate virtues (*ingenitis pollens virtutibus*) and good and virtuous by nature (*pudica = veterum femina morum*) who lived in accordance

²⁶ Cf. Mleczek 2018: 53–54; Mleczek 2022: 75–76; Mleczek 2023: 383–384.

with old austere moral principles (*mores veteres* = *pudicitia*). Then the scope of *pudicitia* (which is referred to as *virtutes* by means of this synonymous noun) is clearly broadened (*auctaque et illis* [sc. *virtutibus*] – *Par.* 30, 3–4): *pudicitia* here refers to the moral tradition of Urbica's closest family, in which she was born and brought up, since it indicates the virtues that her parents passed on to her ([*auctaque et illis*] *quas docuit pater and genetrix*) as well as those virtues that she took from her husband and his family ([*auctaque et illis*] *quas docuit coniunx*) – therefore, in this context, Urbica's *pudicitia* is presented as a common heritage of the *virtutes* of two families and two generations. A significant extension of the scope of *pudicitia* (from the family area to the historical area) is indicated by the Roman *exemplum* of Tanaquil²⁷ included in *Par.* 30, 5 ([*auctaque et illis*] *quas habuit Tanaquil*). As regards stylistic techniques, this gradual broadening of the scope and reference of *pudicitia* was illustrated in *Par.* 30, 1–5 by means of *gradatio a minore ad maius* (a rhetorical figure of speech): *veterum femina morum, ingenitis pollens virtutibus* (*pudicitia* = *virtutes ingenuae*: inner and individual virtues) – *virtutes, quas docuit pater et genetrix et coniunx* (*pudicitia* = *virtutes auctae*: the virtues of two families and two generations [Urbica's parents and her husband's family]) – *virtutes, quas habuit Tanaquil* (*pudicitia* = *virtutes traditae*: *pudicitia* as a virtue included in the old Roman moral tradition). Let us add that *pudicitia* was closely connected with *castitas* (moral purity;²⁸ *castae praeconia vitae* – *Par.* 19, 5, Namia Pudentilla – cf. PLRE I, Namia Pudentilla 2). In Ausonius' eulogies it indicated the moral impeccability of a virtuous wife (*inviolata* – *Par.* 19, 5) who cared for her children and husband as

²⁷ To some extent this *exemplum* seems to be a *topos*: in the Roman tradition Caia Caecilia Tanaquil was considered a model of a good wife (she was the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, the sixth Roman king). As for the name Caia, it was included in the Roman wedding legal formula (*ubi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia*) to commemorate Tanaquil – cf. Winniczuk 1985: 242.

²⁸ *Virginitas* (virginity) was the aspect and austere form of *castitas* (moral purity). Ausonius mentions *virginitas* twice, using the same phrase *amor devotae virginitatis*: *crevit devotae virginitatis amor* (*Par.* 6, 8: Aemilia Hilaria); *innuba devotae quae virginitatis amorem [...] coluit* (*Par.* 26, 3: Iulia Cataphronia). *Virginitas* was the virtue of women who had never been married (*innuba* – *Par.* 26, 3; 6, 8) and never indulged in carnal pleasures (*devotae virginitatis amor* / *quae tibi septenos novies est culta per annos* / *quique aevi finis* – *Par.* 6, 8–10).

well as devoted herself to the care of their common household²⁹ and who was always the pride of her husband (*rexit opes proprias otia agente viro: / non ideo exprobrans aut fronte obducta marito, / quod gereret totam femina sola domum* – Par. 19, 6–8).

Fides (most often in the *Parentalia* defined as *fides coniugii* sc. fidelity to a spouse) and *morigeratio* (submissiveness) were other virtues of *matronae Ausonianae*, which were also constitutive for a model of *mater familias*. *Fides* and *morigeratio* were *virtutes* closely related to *castitas* (moral chastity) because, to some extent, they were its aspects. Ausonius mentions both these virtues several times, combining them together and using various techniques (*varietas*) in their presentation. One of these methods is based on indicating *fides* and *morigeratio* directly in a sequence of juxtaposed virtues: *morigerae uxoris virtus cui contigit omnis, / fama pudicitiae lanificaeque manus / coniugiique fides et natos cura regendi / et gravitas comis laetaque serietas* (Par. 2, 3; 5: Aemilia Aeonia, Ausonius' mother); and in a similar way in *cuius si probitas, si forma et fama fidesque / morigerae uxoris, lanificaeque manus / nunc laudanda forent* (Par. 16, 3–4: Veria Liceria, Arborius'

²⁹ Cf. Winniczuk 1985: 234–235; L.I. Moderatus Columella, *De re rustica* XII, Praef. 4–5; 7: *ea, quae [...] domi custodiri oporteret, iure, ut dixi, natura comparata est opera mulieris ad domesticam diligentiam [...]. Mulieri deinceps, [...], domestica negotia curanda [deus – A.M.] tradidit. [...] domesticus labor matronalis fuit.* Let us clarify that – according to Roman authors – performing only domestic (non-public) duties by a Roman woman (who was considered not to have by nature qualities proper for activity in a public forum) was as important and valuable as the public activity and state duties of a Roman man (who was considered to have by nature qualities proper only for activity in the public, not in domestic, forum). Thus, *mater familias* (*matrona Romana*) and *pater familias* (*vir Romanus*) were equal by nature in their innate qualities and abilities as well as in the importance of their work – cf. L.I. Moderatus Columella, *De re rustica* XII, Praef. 4–8: *natura comparata est opera mulieris ad domesticam diligentiam, viri autem ad exercitationem forensem et extraneam [...] Mulieri deinceps, quod omnibus his rebus eam fecerat inhabilem, domestica negotia curanda tradidit, et, quoniam hunc sexum custodiae et diligentiae adsignaverat, idcirco timidiorem reddidit quam virilem [...]. Quod autem necesse erat foris et in aperto victum quaerentibus nonnumquam iniuriam propulsare, idcirco virum quam mulierem fecit audaciorem [...] idcirco alterum alterius indigere voluit, quoniam, quod alteri deest, praesto plerumque est alteri [...] nam et apud Graecos et mox apud Romanos usque in patrum nostrorum memoriam fere domesticus labor matronalis fuit [...] cum forensibus negotiis matronalis industria rationem parem faceret; cf. also – Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* III.*

wife – PLRE I, Veria Liceria). Let us notice that in *Par.* 2, 3; 5 and *Par.* 16, 3–4 *morigeratio* was indicated by means of rather schematic and similar descriptive phrases, such as *morigerae uxoris virtus* and *fama morigerae uxoris*, but in the latter phrase Ausonius added a skillfully used *hyperbaton* (a rhetorical figure of speech) ***fama fidesque morigerae uxoris***, instead of the typical order ***fides famaue morigerae uxoris***.

Another method of presenting *fides* and *morigeratio* is based on their allusive and concise indication by means of the adverb *iugiter*, which refers to the essence of both these virtues (because *iugiter* in the sense of “always, constantly, continually” alludes to *fides*, while in the sense of “fervently, insistently, immediately” it refers to *morigeratio*) – this adverb is included in a descriptive phrase that closes a series of virtues enumerated asyndetically in *Par.* 19, 3–4 (Namia Pudentilla³⁰): *nobilis haec, frugi, proba, laeta, pudica, decora*,³¹ / *coniugium Sancti iugiter* [sc. *virtus/fama morigerae uxoris* – A.M.] *haec habuit*. Ausonius also alludes to *fides* and *morigeratio* in two juxtaposed metaphors (the third method) in *Par.* 9, 15 (Sabina, Ausonius’ wife): *Vulnus alit, quod muta domus silet et torus alget*. In the former metaphor (*muta domus silet*) Ausonius alludes to *morigeratio* (sc. *virtus morigerae uxoris*), emphasising the emptiness and penetrating silence at home, which is silent, because – as one may suppose – there is no calm and

³⁰ Krynicka (2010–2011: 143) points out that line 3 of the *elogium* devoted to Namia Pudentilla (*Par.* 19, 3), in which asyndetic enumeration of the addressee’s virtues appears, is the most conventional in the entire *elogium*. Apart from that, according to the scholar, the characteristics of Namia are individualised, and that is why she is presented as a specific person (an individual), not the heroine of a standard epitaph of a Roman matron. In the text above we focus on Namia’s conventional features (enumerated in *Par.* 19, 3) that are clear references to the moral convention of the *mater familias* model.

³¹ In terms of style, these conventional virtues have been presented (*Par.* 19, 3) in a notable manner. In a very concise asyndeton Ausonius juxtaposes six adjectives in three pairs. In each of them he combines features that are not related to each other, although they are certainly not mutually exclusive and are not opposed. Thus Namia Pudentilla is of noble birth (*nobilis haec*), and at the same time she is modest, full of simplicity and cheerful (*frugi, proba, laeta*); she is also virtuous and beautiful at the same time (*pudica, decora*) – cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 143–144; more for syntactic and stylistic questions cf. also Dräger 2012: 430–523.

submissive wife in it. In the latter metaphor (*torus alget*) Ausonius makes a clear allusion to *fides coniugii*: his marriage bed is cold because it lacks his beloved wife, who warmed it with her presence and love resulting from fidelity to him (*fides coniugii*)³². Moreover, the allusive reference to *morigeratio* and *fides* also appears in *Par.* 9, 17–18: *Maereo, si coniunx alii bona; maereo contra, / si mala: ad exemplum tu mihi semper ades*. Ausonius here accentuates that his wife has always been, still is and will always be for him an ideal woman³³ and the model of a perfect wife (*ad exemplum ades*) – thanks to *morigeratio* and *fides* (as well as other virtues that the author enumerates asyndetically in *Par.* 9, 23: *laeta, pudica, gravis, genus inclita et inclita forma*) this model of a perfect wife (*ad exemplum: mater familias*), which is tantamount to his wife Sabina (*tu*), becomes his own immortal ideal (*mihi semper ades*) and constitutes an inexhaustible source of his pride (*decus coniugis Ausonii* – *Par.* 9, 24).

Another stylistic technique of presenting *fides* is used in *Par.* 30, 5–6 (Pomponia Urbica). Ausonius here alludes to this virtue by means of a Greek *exemplum*, in which he mentions Theano (Pythagoras' wife), who faithfully and devotedly suffered with the dying Pythagoras and – because of her suffering – emotionally died at the same moment, in which her husband died: *virtutibus auctaque et illis, / [...] / quas habuit [...] Pythagorea Theano / quaeque sine exemplo in nece functa viri*. Let us notice that in this *exemplum* fidelity (*fides*) is presented in a very subtle and meaningful way because it is referred to by means of one tender and suggestive gesture. This gesture is shown in the phrase *in nece functa viri*, in which Theano's hugging of the dying Pythagoras's neck (*in nece*) is aimed to illustrate her undying fidelity (sc. *fides coniugii*) and devotion to her husband (*morigera uxor*).

³² Mastrorosa (2019: 121) points out the bond of affection based on mutual and everlasting love (“una relazione ispirata all’amore reciproco esistente fra i due coniugi”). Combeaud (2010: 676) indicates that the composition of the *elogium* addressed to Sabina (*Par.* 9), strongly marked by personal accents as well as exceptionally flexible, soft and skillful, is clearly aimed at expressing Ausonius' emotions and his affection towards his wife.

³³ Ausonius' recreation of classical (and conventional) love motifs in *Par.* 9 addressed to his wife Sabina (analysis) – cf. Soldevila 2019: 139–161.

Industria (industry) and *diligentia* (thriftiness) – also included in the model of *mater familias* – were virtues, for which *matronae Ausoniana* were distinguished. Ausonius presented these virtues by means of the metonymic phrase *lanificae manus* (hands busy with yarn³⁴ [A.M.] – *Par.* 2, 4; well trained to spin wool³⁵ [A.M.] – *Par.* 16, 4), which is used twice (*Par.* 2, 4; 16, 4), as well as by references to the daily duties and household chores performed by women, such as child-care (*natos cura regendi* – *Par.* 2, 5), honest housekeeping and keeping family members disciplined (*ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit* – *Par.* 5, 8), diligent management of the household and performing all other household chores and duties (*rexit opes proprias otia agente viro / [...] / gereret totam femina sola domum* – *Par.* 19, 2; 4). As regards the phrase *lanificae manus*, it should be explained that the motif³⁶ of spinning wool appeared often in literature in descriptions of high-born women (because wool spinning was an occupation that did not offend the dignity of a Roman matron), and in the course of time this became a *topos*. This literary and cultural motif (or *topos*) was also used by Ausonius to present (*Par.* 2, 4; 16, 4) the *industria* and *diligentia* of women of *gens Ausoniana*, who were noble Roman matrons being mostly wives and mothers (models of *mater familias* and *matrona Romana*). Therefore in *Par.* 2, 4 and *Par.* 16, 4 the phrase *lanificae manus* (due to its essence and its moral context) expresses not only industry and thriftiness, but also alludes to the high birth³⁷ of these women and has a meaning tantamount to *nobilis a proavis et origine clara senatus* (Ausonius only twice refers to the noble origin of *matronae Ausoniana* directly: *nobilis a proavis et origine clara* – *Par.* 9, 5: Sabina uxor; *genus clarum* – *Par.* 30, 1: Pomponia Urbica). Let us notice that in such a context of presenting *industria* (*lanificae manus*), Ausonius in

³⁴ Polish translation cf. Stadler 2017: 87.

³⁵ Polish translation cf. Stadler 2017: 95.

³⁶ The motif of spinning wool (here expressed by means of the phrase *lanificae manus*) can be found not only in ancient authors (e.g., Ter., *Andr.* 75; Hieronymus, *Ep.* 107, 10), but also in authors of the medieval literature (e.g., Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* 19) – cf. Stadler 2017: 87, n. 75.

³⁷ Therefore the phrase *lanificae manus* can also be understood as an allusive reference to the high social position of the women mentioned in *Par.* 2 and *Par.* 16 – in this way Ausonius also seems to define the social aspect of the model of *mater familias*.

quite a modern way (because – as we indicate above – according to the old Roman tradition,³⁸ a woman, *matrona Romana*, generally appeared in the role of *mater familias* being a wife and mother) shows the industry of his maternal aunt, Aemilia Hilaria (*Par.* 6, 5–6). She was the only woman in *gens Ausoniana* who “was constantly busy with the treatment of ill people” (which Ausonius considered a typical male occupation – cf. Mastrososa 2019: 120), whereas other matrons in Ausonius’ family were usually wives and mothers focused on performing household duties and, as we may assume, they had only the general education³⁹ (*Par.* 12, 5–6) necessary to keep a house in order and bring children up. So Aemilia must have had a thorough medical education and she could probably work⁴⁰ as a doctor just like a man (*more virum medicis artibus experiens* – *Par.* 6, 6).

Also noteworthy is the presentation of other virtues included in the model of *matrona Romana*, such as *laetitia* (cheerfulness), *serietas* (seriousness), *comitas* (kindness and serenity) and *gravitas* (dignity and austerity; gloom). Ausonius juxtaposes these virtues on the basis of the antithesis of their meaning, such as *comitas* – *gravitas* and *laetitia* – *serietas*, although he actually uses quite unusual stylistic solutions and replaces these antitheses with other rhetorical figures. So in *Par.* 2, 6 the author uses two oxymorons, namely *gravitas comis* (kind dignity/serene austerity = kindness/serenity and dignity/austerity: *comitas* and *gravitas*) and *laeta serietas* (cheerful seriousness = cheerfulness and seriousness: *laetitia* and *serietas*). Next, in *Par.* 9, 23 asyndeton appears

³⁸ Cf. Winniczuk 1985: 234.

³⁹ Cf. Winniczuk 1985: 301; Quint., *Inst. Orat.* I 1, 6: *In parentibus vero quam plurimum esse eruditionis optaverim. Nec de patribus tantum loquor: nam Gracchorum eloquentiae multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cuius doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistulis traditus, et Laelia C. filia reddidisse in loquendo paternam elegantiam dicitur, et Hortensiae Q. filiae oratio apud triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus honorem.* At the end of the republican period, and then under the principate of Augustus and during the imperial period, the number of educated women increased significantly.

⁴⁰ Ausonius does not precisely indicate the medical arts (*artes medicae*) in which Aemilia Hilaria specialized. It is worth explaining that in ancient Rome women were involved in medicine mainly as midwives (Winniczuk 1985: 345), so Aemilia Hilaria probably could have worked as a midwife. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine precisely her medical profession and the *artes medicae* known to her.

in the phrase composed of appropriately and aptly chosen adjectives: *laeta, pudica, gravis, genus inclita* (**cheerful**, virtuous, **austere/gloom**, being of noble birth), whereas in *Par.* 19, 3 in the asyndetic phrase, in which the adjective *laeta* is used, we can find a subtly suggested omission of the adjective *gravis* (*nobilis, frugi, proba, laeta, pudica, [gravis?], decora* sc. **cheerful**, virtuous, [**austere/gloom?**], beautiful), which is clearly indicated in the analogously constructed sequence in the asyndeton used in *Par.* 9, 23: *laeta, pudica, gravis, genus inclita* (see above). Let us add that by means of the antithetical combination of these virtues, that is the oxymorons *gravitas comis* and *laeta serietas* (*Par.* 2, 6) as well as the asyndeton *laeta, gravis* (*Par.* 9, 23), Ausonius emphasises and presents *aequanimitas*⁴¹ (equanimity; moderation), another essential virtue, which – in his opinion – constitutes the golden mean⁴² of disposition. In the case of Aemilia Aeonina (*Par.* 2, 6) *aequanimitas* is based on the combination of cheerfulness with seriousness and kindness/serenity with dignity/austerity/gloom – in this sense equanimity constitutes a middle⁴³ between these virtues. It is worth pointing out that Ausonius, when presenting *aequanimitas* (by means of aptly selected rhetorical figures) as a middle between cheerfulness and seriousness (sc. the golden mean of disposition), refers to

⁴¹ Green (1991: XVIII) and Lolli (1997: 70–71, n. ad v. 6) note that Ausonius stands out among Latin authors for his particular predilection for the use of the adjective *aequanimus*. Regardless of presenting the model of *mater familias*, Ausonius in *Par.* 2 uses two motifs often found in tombstone epigrams and funeral literature: it is the motif of meeting (after death) of two dead persons (a man and a woman) who loved each other (in this case spouses – *Par.* 2, 7) and the motif of joining them together in one common grave (*Par.* 2, 8) – an analysis of epitaphs with these motifs cf. Lattimore 1962: 58, 62–63, 117, 247–250; Zabłocki 1965: 89–94, 126, 141–142, 195. In *Par.* 2 Ausonius combines both these motifs and elaborates them using rhetorical figures such as chiasmus combined with paronomasia (*Tarbellae matris || patris et Haeduici* – *Par.* 2), paronomasia (*proxima, genetrix, mixto* – *Par.* 2, 1; *Aeonina, tarbellae, Haeduici* – *Par.* 2, 1–2; *pudicitiae lanificaeque* – *Par.* 2, 4; *laetaque, aeternum* – *Par.* 2, 6–7) and a rhetorical trope, such as metonymy (*coniugii* [G. sg. of *coniugium*] *fides* instead of *coniugis* [G. sg. of *coniunx*] *fides*: so *coniugium* is used with the sense of *coniunx* – *Par.* 2, 5) – cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 136; Dräger 2012: 430–523.

⁴² Cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 148. It should be clarified that the golden mean constituted the essence of moderation.

⁴³ Cf. Arist., *EN* 1109a20.

the concept of virtue created by Aristotle,⁴⁴ according to whom virtue (also defined in his works as ethical prowess or ethical valour) constitutes the middle (sc. moderation) between two opposites (sc. opposite vices of disposition), such as an excess (here: cheerfulness referred to by means of the adjective *laeta*) and lack or deficiency (here: seriousness referred to by means of the noun *serietas* and the adjective *gravis*). However, it should be clarified that in Ausonius' eulogies (*Par.* 2, 6; 9, 23; 19, 3) we can only find reminiscences of Aristotle's conception, because neither cheerfulness nor seriousness are vices, but positive, though opposite, spiritual qualities. In general, the virtues of women (mostly wives and mothers) presented by Ausonius do not substantially differ from feminine *virtutes* and attitudes often indicated in the Roman tradition. Accordingly, this traditional canon of duties performed by a thrifty and hardworking (*lanificae manus*) wife and mother (*mater familias/matrona Romana*) included managing the entire household (*rexit opes proprias*), raising children (*natos cura regendi; ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit; bonos mores suosque docens*) as well as carefully keeping the whole family in domestic order and discipline (*decus coniugis*). So, it can be said that Ausonius seems to present moral stereotypes (*topoi*) rather than individualised moral portraits of *matronae Ausoniae* as he refers to the virtues and moral attitudes preserved in the Roman tradition and characteristic of a Roman matron (*matrona Romana*), who – according to the old moral tradition – was most often a wife and mother (*mater familias*).

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the case of women we usually deal in the *Parentalia* with the presentation of conventional moral models (*mater familias-matrona Romana*) rather than with the individualised portraits of women endowed with their particular and individual virtues.⁴⁵ Such a tendency can be seen, for example, in the *elo-*

⁴⁴ Cf. Arist., *EN* 1106b25, 1106b35–1107a, 1109a20, 1109b20.

⁴⁵ As we have indicated above (cf. Part 1), it results from presenting virtues consistent with the model of *mater familias* and therefore stereotyped rather than individual, although Ausonius indicates them as individual *virtutes* of *matronae Ausoniae*. Therefore, as one may conclude, Ausonius in his eulogies (perhaps contrary to the actual purpose and his real intention) seems to deal with the presentation of a model of *mater familias* rather than with showing individualised moral portraits (and virtues) aimed at commemorating the women of *gens Ausoniana*.

gium commemorating Ausonius' wife Sabina, whose literary portrait is actually devoid of individual features,⁴⁶ and in the *elogium* dedicated to the author's mother, Aemilia Aeonia (*Par.* 2), which seems to be an expression of Roman *pietas*⁴⁷ rather than Ausonius' filial affection and cordial intimacy (Krynica 2010–2011: 135): even the term *proxima* (the closest), which opens this *elogium* devoted to the mother, is ambiguous (Krynica 2010–2011: 135) and it is difficult to say whether it really has the meaning "closest to my heart". When enumerating the virtues of his mother, Ausonius, as Krynica (2010–2011: 135, 137, n. 23) and Zabłocki (1965: 97–99) point out, actually delivers a conventional praise of an exemplary Roman matron (*matrona Romana*), who – in accordance with the moral tradition and cultural model of *mater familias* – was usually presented (like Aemilia Aeonia) as an obedient wife distinguished by conventional virtues, such as modesty, diligence, faithfulness (*Par.* 2, 4–5), and as a mother focused on bringing up children (*Par.* 2, 5 – cf. above) as well as a woman endowed with a balanced disposition (*aequanima = gravitas comis laetaque serietas*), who knew how to maintain the golden mean in everything (*aequanimitas*). As Krynica (2010–2011: 136) rightly points out, the ending of the *elogium*, composed in the least conventional way, allows Ausonius to show Aemilia Aeonia primarily as an exemplary wife, while her presentation as a mother, surprising with the dryness of tone and closed in the concise phrase *natos cura regendi*, seems to be clearly secondary for him: let us add that it is to some extent an emotional paradox, considering that the author was her son. Paradoxically, the presentation of both maternal and filial affection is predominant in the *elogium* addressed to Ausonius aunt (his mother's sister) Aemilia Dryadia⁴⁸ (*matertera* – *Par.* 25) who did not have her own children (she died soon after her wedding), but learned to be a mother by treating Ausonius as her own

⁴⁶ Krynica (2010–2011: 142) explains this by the still great and severe pain after the death of his wife, which does not allow Ausonius to speak in detail about her, as well as by his discretion and the desire to maintain the intimacy that he had with his wife only for himself.

⁴⁷ Analysis of Ausonius' recreation of classical (and conventional) love motifs in *Par.* 2 addressed to his mother (Aemilia Aeonia) – cf. Soldevila 2019: 139–161. Roman *pietas* cf. Korpanty 1975: 7–18.

⁴⁸ Cf. PLRE I, Aemilia Dryadia 2.

son (*discebas in me* – *Par.* 25, 9) and transferring all her maternal love to him (*matertera / mater uti fieres* – *Par.* 25, 10). Therefore Ausonius pays tribute to his aunt with his almost filial love (*hoc maestum tibi deferro / filius officium* – *Par.* 25, 11–12) resulting from his gratitude (cf. Szelest 1995: 150). Let us notice that thanks to such an approach Ausonius seems “to warm up” the conventional *mater familias* model because instead of presenting the canon of feminine virtues, he highlights the warm affection (not a virtue) of both maternal and filial love. Let us add that such a method was used by the author only in this *elogium* (*Par.* 25), although in other *elogia* (*Par.* 5; 6; 26) he with gratitude mentions (in addition to conventional virtues) and appreciates the fact that Aemilia Corinthia (his grandmother: *ab ubere matris blanda* – *Par.* 5, 9) and two aunts, Aemilia Hilaria (*uti mater monitis et amore fovebas* – *Par.* 6, 11) and Iulia Cataphronia⁴⁹ (*quod potuit [...] / mater uti, adtribuit / [...] vocata pro genetrice* – *Par.* 26, 5–8) also treated him as a son and showed their maternal affection towards him. A conventional moral model of *mater familias* was also shown in the *elogium* aimed to commemorate Ausonius’ grandmother Aemilia Corinthia Maura, an austere and stern Roman matron (*Et non deliciis ignoscere prompta pudendis / ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit* – *Par.* 5, 7–10), although – as he underlines (*Par.* 5, 1) – it was his affection⁵⁰ for his grandmother (*pia cura nepotis*) that prompted him to compose

⁴⁹ Aemilia Hilaria and Iulia Cataphronia (aunts) also (like Aemilia Dryadia – *Par.* 25) took care of Ausonius after his mother’s death (Szelest 1995: 150). Aemilia Hilaria gave her nephew maternal love and advice (*uti mater monitis et amore fovebas* – *Par.* 6, 11); Iulia Cataphronia always satisfied all his needs from her very modest financial means (*et mihi, quod potuit, quamvis de paupere summa, / mater uti, adtribuit* – *Par.* 26, 5–6; cf. also Olszaniec 2013: 80). Considering Iulia Cataphronia’s frugality and difficult financial situation (*pauperies summa*), one can conclude that her maternal affection for Ausonius was probably relatively strong and, as he implies (*vocata pro genetrice* – *Par.* 26, 8), was reciprocated on his part – as Szelest (1995: 150) points out, gratitude is the predominant affection also in the *elogia* addressed to Iulia Cataphronia (*Par.* 26) and Aemilia Hilaria (*Par.* 6).

⁵⁰ Krynicka (2010–2011: 137) points out that the characteristics of Aemilia Maura are individualised, personal and emotional. Nevertheless – which is worth clarifying and emphasising – this is rather due to the method of presentation and the stylistic techniques used to create the proper climate and mood in the eulogy, because Aemilia’s virtues shown by Ausonius are quite conventional.

this eulogy. As a result, the emotional tone of this *elogium* (*Par.* 5) is warmer (Krynicka 2010–2011: 136) than that of the *elogium* dedicated to the mother (Aemilia Aeonina – *Par.* 2) because the characteristics of Aemilia Maura are more individualised and thus more personal and emotional⁵¹ (Krynicka 2010–2011: 137) than those of the mother, but let us clarify: despite the presentation of conventional features included in the model of *mater familias*. So among Aemilia Maura's virtues (let us add: that were also constitutive for the *mater familias* model based on the Roman tradition) Ausonius points out her good morals and moral housekeeping (*non deliciis ignoscere prompta pudendis* – *Par.* 5, 7), her self-discipline and keeping discipline in her household (*ad perpendicularum seque suosque habuit* – *Par.* 5, 8) as well as her kindness shown to everybody and love deeply rooted and hidden in her seemingly austere nature (*blanda sub austeris imbuat imperiis* – *Par.* 5, 10). Let us add that a subtle reference to the model of *mater familias* (and *matrona Romana*) also appears in the *elogium* addressed to Ausonius' sister Iulia Dryadia⁵² (*Par.* 12), a woman endowed (as he accentuates with admiration) with all the virtues desired both by resourceful women (*si qua fuit virtus, cuperet quam femina prudens / esse suam, soror hac Dryadia haud caruit* – *Par.* 12, 1–2) and also by noble men (*quas sexus habere / fortior optaret nobilitasque virum* – *Par.* 12, 3)⁵³, who devoted herself

⁵¹ Krynicka (2010–2011: 137) points out that the characteristics of Aemilia Maura (*Par.* 5) are individualised. Nevertheless, it should be clarified and emphasised that at the same time Ausonius praises quite conventional virtues of his grandmother that were also included in the *mater familias* model: this proves that even more individualised (in the author's intention) portraits are not free from the moral and cultural convention that was the model of *mater familias* (and *matrona Romana*).

⁵² Krynicka (2010–2011: 141) and Lolli (1997: 130, n. ad v. 27) claim that Iulia Dryadia was a Christian and as a Christian widow, according to the teaching of the Church (cf. 1 Cor. 7, 39–40; 1 Tim. 5, 9–10), she devoted herself to a life in chastity, service to God, raising children and kindly caring for others – cf. Degórski 2002: 303–318; Wilczyński 2024: 9–31. Nevertheless, her moral attitude and virtuous conduct were consistent with the moral and cultural convention included in models of *mater familias* and *matrona Romana*. Let us add that chastity (*castitas*) was also enumerated among the virtues of Julian the Apostate who (like Iulia after the death of her husband) did not remarry following his wife's death – cf. Amm. Marc., *Res Gestae* XXV 4, 2: *Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venerium*.

⁵³ Interestingly, Iulia Dryadia – due to her inborn virtues (both feminine and masculine) – was actually presented (*Par.* 12, 1–4) as a combined moral model consisting

to household duties, thanks to which she “managed to add splendour to her good reputation with the help of the spindle” and became “a personification of virtues and a family teacher of good and austere morals” (*bonos mores ipsa suosque docens; moribus austeras aequiperavit anus* – *Par.* 12, 6; 10). Ausonius also refers to the moral model of *mater familias* in the eulogies aimed at commemorating his wife Sabina (*Par.* 9), Veria Liceria (*Par.* 16) and Namia Pudentilla (*Par.* 19). In these *elogia* he draws (*Par.* 9, 18; 19, 2) – in accordance with the Roman moral tradition – the model of a good wife and mother (*mater familias*), emphasising equanimity, cheerfulness, modesty, chastity and good morals, faithfulness and the industry of the noble *matronae Ausonia-nae* (*Par.* 9, 23; 16, 3; 19, 3–9) as well as their devotion to household duties and managing their husband’s household (*Par.* 16, 4; 19, 6–9). The conventional model of the Roman matron (*matrona Romana*), wife and mother (*mater familias*) was also depicted in *Par.* 30 in the moral portrait of Pomponia Urbica, whose conventional virtues⁵⁴ were presented by means of the mythological and historical examples (*exempla*) of queen Tanaquil (*pudicitia, fides* and other Roman feminine virtues) and Theano (*fides*). However, it should be accentuated that in his eulogies aimed to commemorate these noble women, Ausonius⁵⁵ refers to the model of *mater familias* very skillfully: by means of various literary

of the entire model of *matrona Romana* (*virtus, cuperet quam femina prudens*) and also the virtues included in the *vir Romanus* model (because of clear reference to masculine virtues: [*virtutes*] *multas habuit, quas sexus habere fortior optaret nobilitasque virum*). The keyword, through which the author subtly but unambiguously defines Iulia’s social role as a *mater familias*, is the noun *colus* (spindle) used in the phrase *vitamque colu famamque tueri* (*Par.* 12, 5), which implies that the addressee performed household duties resulting from and connected with her social role as a wife and mother of the family. As Krynicka points out (2010–2011: 141) Ausonius admired Iulia’s virtues and considered his sister a model of **all** virtues desired by both virtuous women and virtuous men.

⁵⁴ Cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 147. Interestingly, Mikocki (1997: 211ff) mentions the propaganda of female virtues also in Roman art.

⁵⁵ Ausonius was a well-educated Roman poet and a well-known teacher of rhetoric in the school of rhetoric at Burdigala (cf. Olszaniec 2013: 69), whose cultural horizon – as Sogno (2006: 7) and Green (1991: XXV) point out – was defined by the academic world. Such an education (and approach to local culture) allowed him to very skillfully use and apply in his *elogia* all the rhetorical devices (tropes and figures, *topoi*) and literary motifs known to him to present moral portraits of his relatives (both women and

techniques and stylistic devices as well as rhetorical *topoi*, figures and tropes (*varietas*) he directly indicates or only subtly alludes to the virtues and good moral attitudes of noble *matronae Ausonianae* (cf. above – Part 1). In consequence, conventional qualities rooted in Roman moral tradition seem to be tantamount to the individual virtues of the women close to the author's heart. Thus even the more or less individualised virtues (and moral portraits) of noble *matronae Ausonianae* are not free from moral convention (*mater familias*, *matrona Romana*), but are firmly based on it.

2. *Pater familias*:⁵⁶ *virī eorumque virtutes*

2.1. *Viri*

The dead men in Ausonius' family, like the women, were mostly personifications of old Roman virtues.

men). Therefore, also from the artistic point of view, we are dealing in the *Parentalia* with a literary and stylistic convention.

⁵⁶ The term *pater familias* was used to define the father of family who was the head of an agnatic family (sc. bound not only by family ties [*cognatio*], but – first and foremost – by legal ties [*agnatio*]). He had unlimited power over his wife and children born in *matrimonium iustum* and also over those who were legitimised and adopted. Although all these family members were free and had legal capacity, in the light of the law they were *alieni iuris* and not *sui iuris*, because they were subject to the authority of *pater familias*. Initially, the power of *pater familias* was very broad: he had the right to punish with death, and – as regards his children – he had the right to abandon them (*ius expositionis*), to sell them (*ius vendendi*) and to give them up in *mancipium*; *pater familias* also decided about the marriage and the fate of children – cf. e.g. Wierzbowski 1977: 23ff; Harris 1986: 81–95; Mastrorosa 2019: 117. In classical law, *potestas patris familiae* was maintained, but it was mitigated; during the reign of emperor Justinianus, it was limited to the right to discipline and raise children; the power of *pater familias* over his wife disappeared with the disappearance of marriage with legal status *in manu*. In the *Parentalia* Ausonius concentrates on the public (sc. extra-domestic) activity (*exercitatio forensis*) of *patres familias*, showing them first and foremost as noble and virtuous men (*virī Romani*) involved in public duties and activity most frequently in the judicial forum and, in addition, also focused on intellectual activities. References to the activity of *patres familias* in a domestic and family forum (sc. presenting them as husbands and fathers) are very rare or most frequently are omitted (cf. also Winniczuk 1985: 232–234). Let us add that such a perception of the activity and duties of *pater familias* (*vir Romanus*) can be found not only in the *Parentalia*, but also in the

Viri Ausoniani (some of whom, as the author says, were high-born⁵⁷ – *Par.* 4, 4; 8, 1–3; 14, 5–7; 15, 6; 22, 1–2) showed noble character and qualities and their conduct reflected the virtues included in two Roman moral *topoi*, such as *mos maiorum* and *virtus Romana*.⁵⁸ Therefore their moral and virtuous conduct aroused admiration and respect: during their life they constituted unsurpassed moral patterns for their contemporaries, and – after death – they became moral models for their descendants⁵⁹ (*Par.* 1, 15–18): *Inde et perfunctae manet haec reverentia vitae, / aetas nostra illi quod dedit hunc titulum: / ut nullum Ausonius, quem sectaretur, habebat, / sic nullum, qui se nunc imitetur, habet*. The maintaining of good morals (*boni mores*) in accordance with the teachings of the old philosophers was a very important trait of the moral attitude

works of other Roman authors: this tendency resulted from the common culture and moral tradition (to some extent being a moral and cultural *topos*) to which these authors referred – e.g., cf. M.I. Moderatus Columella, *De re rustica* XII, *Praef.* 7: *domesticus labor matronalis fuit, tamquam ad requiem forensium exercitationum, omni cura deposita, patribus familias intra domesticos penatis se recipientibus*; more on *pater familias* cf. also: Capogrossi Colognesi 1970: 357–425; Szelest 1994: 25–31; Cytowska 1995: 97–103; Zabłocki 1995: 45–47, 50.

⁵⁷ It should be noted that Ausonius very rarely mentions the parentage of *viri Ausoniani* or even omits this problem. In the *Parentalia* we find no mention of the parentage of Ausonius' father (*Par.* 1) and his paternal grandparents (cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 133), his two paternal uncles (*Par.* 7), his maternal uncle (*Par.* 3) and his nephew (*Par.* 17) as well as his brother-in-law (*Par.* 21) and his brother-in-law's son (*Par.* 20). As for Flavius Sanctus (husband of Ausonius' wife's sister – *Par.* 18), the author only mentions that he was the overseer of Rutupiae (*Par.* 18, 8) – such a remark suggests that, hypothetically, he could have been high-born. Similarly, as regards Paulinus (his sister's son-in-law – *Par.* 24), Ausonius very briefly says that he was an official in Libya and Tarragona (*Par.* 24, 10–12) – so it can be hypothesised that he could come from a family of high social status. As regards the parentage of Ausonius' paternal ancestors, modern historians (who try to explain such a cautious approach of the author to this problem) have even accepted the hypothesis that this social status may have been either very low (as in the case of Ausonius' father, whose probably low social status clearly contrasted with the high status of his mother's family – cf. Combeaud 2010: 674) or, perhaps, even slavish (e.g. cf. Hopkins 1961: 241; Green 1991: XXV; Krynicka 2010–2011: 134) – as one may assume, this could have been the reason for Ausonius' omission of this problem in the *Parentalia* (Green 1991: XXV; Krynicka 2010–2011: 134).

⁵⁸ Cf. Mleczek 2018: 16, n. 25, 26. More on Roman manliness based on *virtus* cf. also McDonnell 2006.

⁵⁹ Symmachus has a similar opinion about Praetextatus (Sym., *Rel.* 12, 2) – cf. Mleczek 2022: 82–84.

of *virī Ausoniani* who through their excellent deeds “added glory to the ancestors’ fame” (*moribus ornasti qui veteres proavos* – Par. 8, 4). An interesting presentation of *boni mores*, by which all high-born men⁶⁰ in *gens Ausoniana* were distinguished, was given in Par. 1, 9–11, in the *elogium* addressed to the author’s father, Iulius Ausonius:⁶¹ *Quem sua contendit septem sapientibus aetas, / quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit, / viveret ut potius, quam diceret, arte sophorum*. In order to present his father’s virtues (first of all his prudence and wisdom that were manifested in his moral deeds: *quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit; viveret arte sophorum*), Ausonius used the Greek *exemplum* of the “Seven Wise Men”⁶² (*septem sapientes*), each of whom represented a different

⁶⁰ Ausonius emphasises the high birth of some men in his family, who – as he points out – came from great aristocratic families that did not necessarily have Roman roots: *Arborem, Haeduico ductum de stemmate nomen, / complexum multas nobilitate domus, / qua Lugdunensis provincia quaque potentes / Haedues, Alpino quaque Vienna iugo* (Par. 4, 3–6: Caecilius Argicius Arborius, Ausonius’ grandfather – cf. PLRE I, Caecilius Argicius Arborius 2; Olszaniec 2013: 68); *Qui procures veteremque volet celebrare senatum / claraque ab exortu stemmata Burdigalae, / teque tuumque genus memoret, Lucane Talisi* (Par. 8, 1–3: Attusius Lucanus Talisius, Ausonius’ father-in-law – cf. PLRE I, Attusius Lucanus Talisius 2); *genus clarae nobilitatis erat* (Par. 14, 6: Valerius Latinus Euromius, Ausonius’ son-in-law – cf. PLRE I, Valerius Latinus Euromius); *o veteres, Calpurnia nomina* (in this case it is the origin from the famous Roman plebeian family of *Calpurnii* – Par. 22, 1: Severus Censor Iulianus – cf. PLRE I, Severus Censor Iulianus 28). Cf. also Sivan 2002: 49–73.

⁶¹ Cf. PLRE I, Iulius Ausonius 5; Olszaniec 2013: 68, 78.

⁶² According to Greek tradition, the seven wise men (*septem sapientes*) were the group of seven philosophers, lawgivers and statesmen of the 6th century BC. In the course of time, the motif of the “seven wise men” in Greek cultural memory took on the character of a paradigm presenting various aspects of wisdom and began to constitute an *exemplum* illustrating comprehensive wisdom (likewise, in the Roman cultural tradition Cato the Elder [Cato Maior] became the paradigm of the old *virtus Romana*; in the course of time, this paradigm turned into an *exemplum* based on Cato the Elder’s virtues, such as *asperitas*, *modestia* and *simplicitas vitae* – cf. Mleczek 2018: 55–56, n. 192). Despite frequent modifications of the composition of this group, among the most common *septem sapientes* was Cleobulus of Lindos (an expert in Egyptian philosophy and a poet included in the circle of the seven wise men by Plato – cf. Plato, *Protagoras* 343a; Reale 2003: 226), Solon of Athens (a lawgiver who significantly contributed to the development of democratic state system – cf. Bravo, Wipszycka 1988: 237–247), Chilo of Sparta, Thales of Miletus (a philosopher – a representative of the Ionian philosophy of nature, who was the first to initiate the explanation of reality by referring to nature and reason; a scholar, astronomer and mathematician), Periander of Corinth

aspect of wisdom (*ars sophorum*). Let us add that this *exemplum* serves not only to present impeccable morals, but also emphasises *humanitas* and *eruditio*, that is the comprehensive and thorough education of Iulius Ausonius, who shaped his moral conduct and intellectual attitude on the basis of the teachings of these *septem sapientes* (*quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit*). The sciences, knowledge of which Ausonius' father could rightly boast, included – as we can infer from the names of *septem sapientes* alluded to in the *exemplum* in question – philosophy (allusive references to Cleobulos of Lindos who knew Egyptian philosophy, Chilo of Sparta, Thales of Miletus who was an expert in Ionian natural philosophy, Bias of Priene and Pittacus of Mytilene), poetry (allusion to Cleobulos of Lindos and Solon), law (indicated by the allusion to Solon) and the natural sciences⁶³ (most likely mathematics, alluded to by means of reference to Thales). Other aspects of *humanitas* and *eruditio* were indicated explicitly: these are mainly *facundia* (sc. talent for eloquence: *facundo non rudis ingenio* – Par. 1, 12 – Iulius Ausonius, Ausonius' father; *facundo maior ab ingenio* – Par. 8, 6: Attusius Lucanus Talisius, Ausonius' father-in-law; *facundus* – Par. 14, 7: Valerius Latinus Euromius, Ausonius' son-in-law; *facundus* – Par. 17, 12: Pomponius Maximus Herculanus⁶⁴, Ausonius' nephew) and *eloquentia* (sc. proficiency in delivering speeches and excellent knowledge of the art of eloquence: *per mille oracula fandi doctus* – Par. 3, 17–18; *ornasti [...] Latio sermone tribunal et fora* – Par. 3, 13–14; *Constantinopolis rhetore te vixit* – Par. 3, 16: Aemilius Magnus Arborius⁶⁵, Ausonius' uncle) as well as fluency in the medical sciences (*ratio medendi* – Par. 1, 13) and other arts and, in general, a love of learning and acquiring knowledge (*artibus ornasti, quas didicisse iuvat* – Par. 3, 9–10). Good morals, comprehensive education (*humanitas* and *eruditio*), innate talent as well as a thorough rhetorical education (*facundia* and *eloquentia*) allowed the noble *viri Ausoniani* to act fruitfully in the judicial forum. According to the old Roman tradition

(635–585 BC: the second tyrant of Corinth), Bias of Priene (a sage – cf. Diog. Laert. 2006: 52–56), Pittacus of Mitylene (648–569 BC; a philosopher, politician and soldier).

⁶³ Cf. Winniczuk 1985: 295–298.

⁶⁴ Cf. PLRE I, Pomponius Maximus Herculanus 3.

⁶⁵ Cf. PLRE I, Aemilius Magnus Arborius 4.

dating back to the republican period,⁶⁶ this was a very important aspect of activity for a Roman aristocrat in the civil area, which testified to his *virtus*.⁶⁷ Such virtuous activity resulted in well-deserved fame⁶⁸ (as *gloria* was considered *praemium virtutis*), which fell to the noble *virī Ausoniani* and caused their names to be included in the group of outstanding and well-known scholars, excellent orators known for their talent of eloquence (*facundo maior ab ingenio* – Par. 8, 6: Attusius Lucanus Talisius, father-in-law) and excellent teachers of rhetoric (Par. 3, 11–16: Aemilius Magnus Arborius, the author's uncle) in their day: *Te sibi Palladiae antetulit toga docta Tolosae, / te Narbonensis Gallia praeposuit, / ornasti cuius Latio sermone tribunal / et fora Hiberorum quaeque Novem populis. / Hinc tenus Europam fama crescente petito / Constantinopolis rhetore te viguit*. Moreover, good morals as well as a comprehensive and thorough education enabled the noble men of Ausonius' family to obtain state dignities (*honores*) and hold high state positions. Therefore, according to the old Roman tradition (dating back to the republican period), *honores* were awarded to them as *praemia* (awards) for their exemplary moral attitude (*virtus = boni mores*) and excellent deeds (so in accordance with the principle⁶⁹ established in the old Roman republican tradition, that *honores* – in addition to *gloria* – are *praemia virtutis*). Let us add that holding state dignities and performing the duties of high state officials were important aspects of a Roman aristocrat's activity in the civil forum in peacetime (*in pace*). The male line of Ausonius' family obviously did not deviate from this old Roman tradition. His noble ancestors were prefects, governors and administrators of the imperial tax office (*hoc praefecturae sedes, hoc Illyris ora / praeside te experta est, fiscus et ipse cliens* – Par. 14, 9–10: Valerius Latinus Euromius, Ausonius' son-in-law); they were senators (*sensit acerbum / saucia pro casum curia Burdigalae / te primore*

⁶⁶ Cf. Korpanty 1976: 10–24.

⁶⁷ Cf. Korpanty 1979: 23–32; Mleczek 2018: 16, n. 25; Mleczek 2002a: 193, 197–200; Mleczek 2002b: 133–135.

⁶⁸ Ausonius does not deviate here from the traditional understanding of *gloria* (fame), which – in addition to *honor* (dignity and prestigious position in the state) – was regarded (in the republican period) as a reward (*praemium*) for being virtuous (*virtus Romana*) and maintaining good morals (*boni mores*).

⁶⁹ Cf. Korpanty 1976: 22; Korpanty 1979: 25; Mleczek 2018: 17, n. 31.

*vigens, te deficiente relabens*⁷⁰ – *Par.* 15, 5–7: Pomponius Maximus, Ausonius' brother-in-law – cf. PLRE I, Pomponius Maximus 44), governors and overseers in the provinces famous for their honest and conscientious service (*Militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit, / praeside laetatus quo Rutupinus*⁷¹ *ager* – *Par.* 18, 7–8: Flavius Sanctus – cf. PLRE I, Flavius Sanctus 2) and officials in provincial cities (*rationibus praepositus Libycis* – *Par.* 24, 9–10: Paulinus – cf. PLRE I, Paulinus 7). Let us add that Ausonius also continued the old tradition supported by the noble *viri Ausoniani* since he followed the path of *cursus honorum* (Olszaniec 2013: 70–77) fulfilling the hopes and expectations of his ancestors. In the *elogium* commemorating his grandfather Caecilius Argicius Arborius (*Par.* 4, 30–32) Ausonius meticulously enumerates the dignities he held, emphasising that his career was the fulfillment of his noble ancestor's dreams: *fata tui certe nota nepotis habes. / Sentis, quod quaestor, quod te praefectus et idem / consul honorifico munere commemoro*.

As regards *otium*,⁷² the noble *viri Ausoniani* spent it in accordance with tradition preserved in the circle of Roman aristocracy: as *homines privati* (sc. free from public duties and holding offices after finishing the state service) they undertook activities often practiced by the aristocrats in their days (*Par.* 8, 6–11: Attusius Lucanus Talisius, *socer*): *facundo quamvis maior ab ingenio: / venatu et ruris cultu vicusque nitore / omne aevum peragens, publica despiciens: / nosci inter*

⁷⁰ Ausonius here says about “the cry of the Senate in Burdigal”, which was a reaction of noble senators to the death of Pomponius. It is worth adding that Symmachus analogously describes a reaction of the Roman senators and people to the death of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, a Roman virtuous senator and benefactor of *populus Romanus* (Sym., *Rel.* 12, 2: *nam praeter illum populi Romani inusitatum dolorem etiam senatus impertiens dispendii sui solatium de honore virtutis vestrum numen precatur* – cf. Mleczek 2022: 82).

⁷¹ Ausonius here mentions the Roman fort in Rutupiae (in *provincia Britannia*). Fort Rutupiae, now known as Roman Fort Richborough (or Saxon Fort), is located in south-eastern England near Sandwich in Kent. Probably after the Battle of Mons Graupius (83 AD) a triumphal arch was erected in this fort to commemorate the Roman conquest of Britain. It is assumed that the army of Emperor Claudius landed in this area in 43 AD when the Romans began their conquest of the Island. At the beginning of the 5th century AD Roman troops abandoned Britain and the fort.

⁷² Cf. also Cracco Ruggini 1986: 73–96.

primos cupiens, prior esse recusans, / ipse tuo vivens segregus arbitrio. These were, as Ausonius says, hunting⁷³ (*venatus*), farming and breeding (*ruris cultus*), as well as also other rural entertainments popular in the circle of the then aristocracy (*victus nitor*). For example, the above-mentioned Attusius Lucanus Talisius (Ausonius' father-in-law) consciously chose to live in the countryside after he had finished his activity in the state forum, because he wanted to escape from publicity (*publica despiciens [...] prior esse recusans*), although he actually deserved this high public regard (*nosci inter primos cupiens* – *Par.* 8, 8–11). It is worth noting that Ausonius, by accentuating life in rural seclusion (*vivens segregus*) and involvement in farm duties (*ruris cultus*) and rural activities (*venatus*) as specific parts of the *otium* of a Roman noble, shares the conservative views of Symmachus,⁷⁴ who considered life in the countryside (cf. Aus.: *vivens segregus*) as well as leisure spent in rural and farm activities (cf. Aus.: *venatus, ruris cultus*) important aspects of the *otium* of a Roman aristocrat, an owner of a country estate (cf. Sym., *Ep.* I 1, 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 8; 12). With regard to the indication of the daily activities of *viri Ausoniani*, it is worth explaining that

⁷³ It is worth pointing out that hunting as a form of spending *otium* by Roman aristocrats was also mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary of Ausonius (*Res Gestae* XXVIII 4, 18). However, the historian (unlike Ausonius) uses this reference to present in a grotesque and parodic way (*alienis laboribus venaturi*) the sloth and indolence (*ignavia* and *desidia*) as well as effeminacy (*mollitia*) of the Roman aristocracy of his time – cf. Mleczek 2018: 312–313. Let us add that a similar position to that of Ammianus was taken by Sallust, who considered hunting an occupation suitable for slaves (*officium servile*) and inappropriate for a Roman noble (Sal., *Cat.* 4, 1). Nevertheless, in the light of Roman tradition, hunting was generally regarded as an aristocratic activity (Sym., *Ep.* V 68, 2) and one of many forms of spending *otium* by Roman aristocrats (Winniczuk 1985: 418); moreover, the Roman aristocratic elite considered hunting good preparation for military service (Cic., *Nat. deor.* II, 161; Hor., *Serm.* II 2, 10–11) – cf. Mleczek 2018: 313; den Boeft et al. 2011: 200. Ausonius here seems to share these favourable opinions with other authors as he does not mention that *venatio* was discreditable to a Roman aristocrat: *nosci inter primos* – cf. *Par.* 8, 7, 9). *Otium* of the Roman aristocracy – cf. also Miozga 2008: 67–68.

⁷⁴ It should be explained that in Symmachus' works the *otium* of a Roman aristocrat is a synthesis of several important aspects (in addition to farm activities in the countryside) such as *natura loci* (sc. an escape to the countryside from duties in the public forum of the city) and the combination of physical recreation with mental (mainly literary) activity – cf. Miozga 2008: 131.

the presentation of broadly understood everyday activity (sc. both the private *otia* and public *negotia* of the noble men) was not Ausonius' innovation aimed to present vivid portraits of his relatives but constituted – as Krynicka (2008: 553) and Lattimore (1962) point out – one of the traditional motifs in funerary epigrams, both tombstone and literary ones.

Let us add that by presenting moral portraits of the noble *virī Ausoniani*, their duties performed in a public forum (*negotia*) as well as their leisure activities (*otia*), Ausonius pointed out not only the individual virtues of his noble relatives and forms of spending their *otium*, but also – at the same time – the quite conventional activities and virtues that constituted essential parts of the model of *pater familias*. Moreover, it should be accentuated that these *virtutes* were also included in two moral models (*topoi*), such as *mos maiorum* and *virtus Romana*⁷⁵ which were deeply rooted in the Roman moral tradition and were fundamental to it.

2.2. *Virtutes*

Ausonius presents the moral perfection⁷⁶ of *virī Ausoniani* by means of the reference to the Greek ideal of beauty and goodness defined as καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός⁷⁷ (beautiful and good sc. καλοκαγαθία [kalo-

⁷⁵ Cf. Mleczek 2018: 16, n. 25–26.

⁷⁶ Interestingly, a similar tendency can also be found in funeral speeches delivered in honour of outstanding men in the Christian era – in these *laudationes funebres* (under the strong influence of Greek patterns) first and foremost virtues (and consolatory elements) were emphasized, whereas biographical elements (e.g. *curriculum vitae*, achievements, *cursus honorum*) that were predominantly highlighted in masculine *laudationes funebres* delivered in the pre-Christian era played a secondary role (cf. Jońca 2011: 19).

⁷⁷ Καλοκαγαθία (from καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός) in ancient Greek philosophy constituted the ideal of a harmonious combination of physical (bodily) beauty with the goodness and moral valour of a human being – it was a combination of physical beauty with moral goodness (sc. spiritual and mental beauty), which was reflected in virtuous conduct. Aristotle was the first philosopher who used this term and who referred to the model of καλοκαγαθία in his statements and reflections on ethics and *paideia*. According to the Stagirite (Arist., *EE* 1248b–1249b), καλοκαγαθία indicates a virtuous life and even is the highest virtue of all others (cf. similarly Plato) that is attained after the prior acquisition of these, which are lower in this hierarchy, thus καλοκαγαθία becomes the

kagathia]), to which he refers *expressis verbis* in the phrase *pulcher honore oris, tranquillo pectore comis* in the *elogium* commemorating Lucanus Talisius (*Par.* 8, 5). When referring to *καλοκαγαθία* the author means a harmonious combination of external beauty and the virtues of the spirit (as in the case of his father-in-law, Lucanus Talisius): *Lucane Talisi, / moribus ornasti qui veteres proavos. / Pulcher honore oris, tranquillo pectore comis*. In his reference to the Greek *καλοκαγαθία* Ausonius emphasises (as in the case of Lucanus Talisius) the numerous virtues of *virī Ausoniani* (good: *ἀγαθός*) and, at the same time, also indicates their physical qualities (beautiful: *καλός*). However, it should be noted that in showing the portraits of the noble men in the *elogia* a clear disproportion between the physical and spiritual aspects can be found, because the presentation of virtues (*virtutes*: *ἀγαθός*) is much more strongly emphasised and is much more extensive, so – in consequence – it definitely prevails (*Par.* 3, 18; 7, 11–12; 8, 5; 14, 7–8; 12; 17, 13; 15–16; 22, 6–8; 24, 1–2) over the presentation of physical qualities (*καλός*: *Par.* 8, 5; 14, 7–8; 17, 14). In scarce references to them (*καλός*), Ausonius indicates external beauty, by which he understands possessing a beautiful body (*corpore pulcher*⁷⁸ – *Par.* 17, 13) and physical attractiveness (*ore decens* – *Par.* 14, 7; *pulcher honore oris* – *Par.* 8, 5). This is defined as grace that results from having a nice face and a proportional body structure as well as physical fitness (*omni dexteritate vicens* – *Par.* 14, 8), whose important aspect is the ability to run fast (*volucer pede*⁷⁹ – *Par.* 17, 14).

ability to do good for good itself. *Καλοκαγαθία*, as Aristotle claims, directs us towards reflection and contemplation of the Supreme Being and subordinates all areas of human life to this act. Moreover, *καλοκαγαθία* also has a cultural, social and political extent. For the Greeks, the values of physical beauty and spiritual (sc. mental and moral) goodness were inseparably linked (cf. Plato), but since modern times beauty and goodness have been considered separable values, which results in the separation of aesthetics and ethics.

⁷⁸ Cf. Amm. Marc., *Res Gestae* XXV 4, 22: *liniamentorum recta compago* (Julian the Apostate); XXX 9, 6: *corpus lacertosum et validum [...] pulchritudo staturae liniamentorumque recta compago* (Valentinian I); XXXI 14, 7: *figura bene compacta membrorum* (Valens).

⁷⁹ *Volucer pede* (with fast legs sc. being able to run quickly) – this physical quality allowed one to master the ability to run fast; it was also pointed out by Ausonius' predecessors and by these authors who were contemporary to him – cf. Sall., *Iug.* 6, 1:

As we have pointed out above, Ausonius paid much more attention to the spiritual aspect of καλοκαγαθία that is defined as ἀγαθός. It denotes the beauty of spirit (sc. virtues, intellectual qualities and innate abilities), which in Ausonius' eulogies is described as "an excellent and tranquil heart" (*pectus tranquillum* – *Par.* 8, 5). It should be clarified that Ausonius' concept of *pectus tranquillum* was based, first and foremost, on wisdom and virtue (*sapientia virtusque: sapiens* [sc. *sapientia*] *comesque Censori* [sc. *virtus*] – *Par.* 22, 6). As regards virtue (*virtus Ausoniana*), it embraced all the good qualities of the spirit (virtues), among which Ausonius points out (*Par.* 22, 7–8) *gravitas* (seriousness and dignity), *comitas* (kindness, generosity and helpfulness), *iustitia* (justice), *austeritas* (austere morals) and *temperies* (moderation): *Tu gravis et comis cum iustitiaque remissus, / austeris doctus iungere temperiem* (Severus Censor Iulianus⁸⁰). As for wisdom (*sapientia Ausoniana*), Ausonius regarded it as the maturity of mind (*maturitas indolis: indole maturus* – *Par.* 14, 12). This sometimes contrasted⁸¹ with a young body (*flos primae iuventae* – *Par.* 14, 3) and therefore was a virtue possessed not only by old but also by young men (as in the case of young Valerius Latinus Euromius: *Par.* 14, 3; 11–12): *Occidis in primae raptus mihi flore iuventae, / [...] / Nil aevi brevitate tamen tibi laudis ademptum: / indole maturus, funere acerbus obis*. It should be underlined that in Ausonius' eulogies *sapientia* and *virtus* are closely connected and complement each other since wisdom (*sapientia*) regarded as maturity of mind provides a virtuous way of life (*virtus*) which testifies to this mental maturity – thus *virtus* constitutes (and serves as) evidence of *sapientia*. Such an understanding of the relationship between *sapientia* and *virtus* (that is the spiritual perfection: ἀγαθός) can be found in some eulogies: *qui nullum insidiis captas nec lite lacessis* [*virtus* – A.M.], / *sed iustam et clemens vitam agis* [*virtus* – A.M.] *et sapiens* [*sapientia* – A.M.] (*Par.* 18, 3–4: Flavius Sanctus); *Quem sua contendit septem sapientibus aetas* [sc. *sapientia* – A.M.],

pollens viribus [...] cursu cum aequalibus certare (Iugurtha); Amm. Marc., *Res Gestae* XXV 4, 22: *viribus valebat et cursu* (Julian the Apostate).

⁸⁰ Cf. PLRE I, Severus Censor Iulianus 28.

⁸¹ Cf. Amm. Marc., *Res Gestae* XXV 4, 7: *virtute senior quam aetate* (Julian the Apostate).

/ *quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit* [sc. *virtusque* – A.M.] (*Par.* 1, 9–10: Iulius Ausonius); *Tu procerum de stirpe satus, praegressus et ipsos* [sc. *virtus* – A.M.], / [...] / [...] *bonus ingenio* [*maturitas indolis* sc. *sapientia* – A.M.] [...] *et omni / dexteritate vigens praecipuusque fide* [*virtus* – A.M.] (*Par.* 14, 5–7: Valerius Latinus Euromius).

As regards the presentation of the virtue of the noble *viri Ausoniani*, Ausonius applies various stylistic methods to show it in his *elogia*. One of these stylistic techniques is the asyndetic enumeration (*enumeratio*) of virtues that constitute *virtus* of the addressee of the *elogium*: the poet uses both adjectives and longer phrases to indicate the individual virtues of a noble man (so it is a similar technique to the one used to present the virtues of the noble *matronae Ausoniana*e – cf. Part 1). By means of this method Ausonius presented the virtues (*virtus*) of his uncle Aemilius Arborius (*Par.* 3, 18): *doctus, facundus, tu celer, atque memor*. Let us notice that the adjectives enumerated here indicate good qualities such as *sapientia* (wisdom: *doctus*), *eloquentia* (eloquence: *facundus*), *celeritas* (sharpness of mind: *celer*) and *memoria* (good memory regarded as an important and useful ability of the mind: *memor*). The virtues of Ausonius' son-in-law, Valerius Latinus Euromius, were shown in a similar way in *Par.* 14, 7–8: *ore decens, bonus ingenio, facundus et omni / dexteritate vigens praecipuusque fide*. Here both the adjective and the shorter or longer juxtaposed phrases are used to present the addressee's virtue that includes good character (*bonus ingenio*), eloquence (*eloquentia*: *facundus*) as well as loyalty and reliability (*fides*: *vigens praecipuusque fide*). A similar method was used in the presentation of the virtues (*virtus*) of Pomponius Maximus Herculaneus (Ausonius' nephew) in *Par.* 17, 13–16: *acer, / mentem bonus, ingenio ingens, / [...], / lingua catus, ore canorus*. In this presentation of the addressee's *virtus* (and also *sapientia*) Ausonius with the help of short phrases indicated wisdom and prudence (*sapientia et prudentia*: *mentem bonus*), a noble and virtuous character (*virtus*) and extraordinary sharpness of mind (*ingenio ingens*: *sapientia*), eloquence (*eloquentia*: *lingua catus* sc. *sapientia*) and a talent for singing (*ore canorus*).

Another stylistic technique used to present *virtus* is based (as in the case of the virtuous *matronae Ausoniana*e – cf. Part 1) on applying

the Tacitean motif of *aemulatio virtutum*⁸² (sc. competition in virtues), which – as we have pointed out above (cf. Part 1) – was based on the belief that descendants develop better virtues and moral attitudes than their ancestors had. Ausonius, in presenting the *virtus* of his noble relatives, uses this motif twice, namely in *Par.* 8, 4 to show the virtue of his father-in-law, Attusius Lucanus Talisius (*teque tuumque genus memoret, Lucane Talisi, / moribus ornasti qui veteres proavos*) and in *Par.* 14, 5–7 to present the impeccable morals of his son-in-law, Valerius Latinus Euromius (*tu procerum de stirpe satus, praegressus et ipsos, / unde genus clarae nobilitatis erat*). The *virtus* of both these noble descendants, as we can read in the passages in question, was based upon the fact that they surpassed the moral perfection of their ancestors: Attusius Talisius added glory to his ancestors' fame by his virtuous behaviour and impeccable morals (*moribus ornasti veteres proavos = aemulatio virtutum*), whereas Valerius Euromius, thanks to his splendid deeds, surpassed his ancestors in virtue (*praegressus ipsos = aemulatio virtutum*).

Another stylistic method of presenting *virtus* can be found in *Par.* 22, 5–6 (in the *elogium* addressed to Severus Censor Iulianus), where Ausonius uses the motif of *aequalitas virtutum* (equality in virtues). Let us explain that this motif was created by Ausonius himself *per analogiam* to the Tacitean motif of *aemulatio virtutum* (competition in virtues) – therefore *aequalitas virtutum* is based on the development by descendants of virtues and moral attitudes as perfect as (sc. equal to) those of their noble ancestors: *Nam sapiens quicumque fuit verumque fidemque / qui coluit, comitem se tibi, Censor, agat*. Ausonius here

⁸² It should be explained that the use of the Tacitean motif of *aemulatio virtutum* testifies not so much to Ausonius' brilliant invention as to his erudition, since the authors contemporary with him also knew this motif and often used it in their works. For example, Symmachus refers to *aemulatio virtutum* in his posthumous eulogy of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*Rel.* 12, 2) to illustrate and emphasise his virtues – cf. Mleczek 2022: 83; Ammianus Marcellinus also used this motif in the *Res Gestae* XVI 1, 4 to present and accentuate the moral perfection of Julian the Apostate, whereas in the *Res Gestae* XXI 16, 8–10 he travesties this motif in order to illustrate the increasing cruelty of Constantius II and other bad emperors – cf. Mleczek 2018: 168–169; Mleczek 2023: 374, n. 34. Let us add that Ausonius also used the motif of *aemulatio virtutum* in *Act.* XVI 73–74 to present the moral perfection (especially *bonitas* and *liberalitas*) of Emperor Gratian – cf. Mleczek 2023: 373–374.

emphasises that Iulianus' faultless morals which were as perfect as those of his noble ancestors allowed him to be equal in virtues with them and thus support and continue an excellent moral family tradition that had been passed down for centuries (*Par.* 22, 1–4): *Desinite, o veteres, Calpurnia nomina, Frugi / ut proprium hoc vestrae gentis habere decus. / Nec solus semper censor Cato nec sibi solus / iustus Aristides his placeant titulis.*

The allusive presentation of the *virtus* of *virī Ausoniani*, namely by means of references to similar virtues that the reader of the *elogia* was expected to possess, is an interesting stylistic solution in some eulogies – this stylistic technique and motif created by Ausonius can be defined as *unanimitas virtutum*, as it refers to the unanimity in virtues between the addressee of the *elogium* and its reader. Ausonius, in presenting the *virtus* of his noble ancestors in eulogies, uses the motif of *unanimitas virtutum*⁸³ twice. It appears in *Par.* 18, 1–6 composed to honour the memory of Flavius Sanctus: *Qui ioca laetitiamque colis, qui tristia damnas / nec metuis quemquam nec metuendus agis, / qui nullum insidiis captas nec lite lacessis, / sed iustam et clemens vitam agis et sapiens: / tranquillos manes supremaque mitia Sancti / ore pio et verbis advenerare bonis*; it can also be found in *Par.* 24, 1–3 composed to commemorate Paulinus: *Qui laetum ingenium, mores qui diligit aequos / quique fidem sancta cum pietate colit, / Paulini manes mecum veneratus [...]*. Let us notice that in *Par.* 18, 1–6 and *Par.* 24,

⁸³ It is worth noting that the motif of *unanimitas virtutum* and its stylistic presentation (*Par.* 18, 1–6 and *Par.* 24, 1–3) seem to be a reminiscence of the traditional tombstone motif of an apostrophe to the passerby (*qui legis, siste gradum, respice lector*) – the authors of some tombstone epitaphs who used and analysed this motif suggested in this way that this passerby was somehow similar to the dead person commemorated in the epitaph (e.g. in similar customs, preferences, interests or activities etc.), as if they expected better understanding and deeper compassion from him (cf. Krynicka 2010–2011: 144; Duval 1967: 266–267). In *Par.* 18, 1–6 (Flavius Sanctus) and *Par.* 24, 1–3 (Paulinus) Ausonius, by making moral demands on the reader (*unanimitas virtutum: qui colis, qui damnas nec metuis, qui captas nec lacessis sed agis, manes Sancti ore pio advenerare* – *Par.* 18, 1–6; *qui diligit, qui colit, Paulini manes mecum veneratus innolet* – *Par.* 24, 1–3), seems to refer (*unanimitas virtutum*) to this tombstone motif (like the authors of tombstone epitaphs), so – as a result – these moral demands made on a reader seem to sound (in some way) like a reminiscence of that epitaphic motif and apostrophe (*qui legis, siste gradum, respice lector*).

1–3 *unanimitas virtutum* is alluded to (and indicated at the same time) by means of the stylistics and structure of these sentences that open both *elogia*. Ausonius begins them by making moral demands on the reader, which (as far as the stylistic aspect is concerned) are expressed by means of anaphora (*repetitio*): **qui ... colis, qui ... damnas, qui ... captas nec lite lacessis** (if ... you cultivate, if ... you condemn, if ... you neither deceive nor threaten with judgment⁸⁴ – *Par.* 18, 1–6) as well as **qui ..., qui ... quique colit (who..., who ..., and everyone who cultivates** – *Par.* 24, 1–3). The reader must meet these moral requirements in order to be able to honour the memory of the noble *vir* *Ausoniani* (*tranquillos manes [...] Sancti [...] advenerare* – *Par.* 18, 5–6; *Paulini manes mecum veneratus inroret* – *Par.* 24, 3), because Ausonius clearly expects or even demands from him a moral unanimity (*unanimitas virtutum*) with the noble men commemorated in these eulogies. This means that the reader should (and even must) possess the same virtues as the noble addressee of the *elogium* had. Possessing these virtues by the reader is in fact tantamount to the fulfilment of all the moral demands made at the very beginning by means of anaphora (cf. above), and is necessary to enable him to commemorate Ausonius' noble relatives who distinguished themselves by these *virtutes*. In this way in *Par.* 18, 5–6 and *Par.* 24, 1–3 Ausonius – by means of the motif of *unanimitas virtutum* – allusively presents the *virtus* (sc. good moral qualities) of both noble men, namely the *laetitia* (serene disposition: *qui ioca laetitiamque colis, qui tristia damnas*), *facilitas* (openness and approachability: *nec metuis quemquam nec metuendus agis*), *honestas* (honesty: *qui nullum insidiis captas nec lite lacessis*) and *pietas* (righteousness), *clementia* (gentleness/clemency) and *sapientia* (wisdom) of Sanctus⁸⁵ (*Par.* 18, 1–6), as well as the serenity (*qui laetum ingenium*

⁸⁴ The English translation of Ausonius' Latin text is by the author of this article.

⁸⁵ However, it should be clarified that Ausonius, although he emphasises Sanctus' virtues by means of the motif of *unanimitas virtutum* (*Par.* 18, 1–5), he also implies that he was not a man free from minor flaws (*Par.* 19, 6–8). In the *elogium* addressed to Sanctus' wife Namia Pudentilla (*Par.* 19) Ausonius, by glorifying the industriousness of the addressee, who actually was overburdened with a great deal of household duties (*gereret totam femina sola domum* – *Par.* 19, 8), simultaneously hints at the laziness and inactivity (*inertia*; this *vitium* also pointed out by Mastroianni 2019: 121–122) of her husband Flavius Sanctus in the domestic forum: the author says (with a clear pinch

colit), good morals (*mores qui diligit aequos*), loyalty (*fides sancta*), reliability and piety (*pietas*) of Paulinus (*quique fidem sancta cum pietate colit* – *Par.* 24, 2). Let us add that twice, namely in *Par.* 7, 10–11 (in the *elogium* composed to honour the memory of Clemens Contemnus and Iulius Calippio⁸⁶) and in *Par.* 22, 7–8 (in the eulogy aimed to commemorate Severus Censor Iulianus), Ausonius, when presenting the *virtus* of these noble men (as in the case of the noble *matronae Ausonianae* – cf. Part 1), refers to the Aristotelian concept of virtue which was defined by the Stagirite as a middle between two extremes, that is between an excess and a lack: *Ambo pii, vultu similes, ioca seria mixti* (*Par.* 7, 10–11) and *Tu gravis et comis cum iustitiaque remissus, / austeris doctus iungere temperiem* (*Par.* 22, 7–8). These references can be found in the phrases *ioca seria mixti* (*Par.* 7, 11) and *austeris doctus iungere temperiem* (*Par.* 22, 8) and they are indicated by means of the key words such as *mixti* (a joke **intertwined with** seriousness and reason) and *iungere* (you were able **to combine** gentleness **with** strict discipline). By means of these allusive references to the Aristotelian

of subtle irony) that Namia worked very hard so that her husband would not have to struggle with household chores (*otia agente viro* – *Par.* 19, 6). In fact, as Ausonius says (*Par.* 19, 6) with disapproval, lazy and selfish Flavius was devoted only to carefree leisure (*otia agente*) at home: he never toiled at household chores and thus never spent a single unpleasant day at home (cf. also Krynicka 2011: 7–8). Interestingly, in *Par.* 18 addressed to Flavius Sanctus Ausonius (*Par.* 18, 7) underlines the diligence (*diligentia: sedulus*), reliability and zeal (*industria: nullo turbine*) of the addressee only in his activity in the public forum (*militia*) without any references to his home life (*militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit, / praeside laetatus quo Rutupinus ager*). As one can conclude, this omission, on the one hand, allows Ausonius (who was a master of irony) to highlight Sanctus' virtues in the *elogium* addressed to him (*Par.* 18, 7), while – on the other hand – the subtle allusion to his laziness and inactivity in the *elogium* addressed to his wife Namia (domestic *inertia* which clearly results from and contrasts with the *industria* of hard-working Namia in *Par.* 19, 6–8) enables to hint subtly at his flaws and, in this way, complete his moral portrait. Moreover, such a method enables Ausonius to maintain “the moral balance” in the presentation of Flavius Sanctus as his flaws (*Par.* 19) seem to have been only put aside (*Par.* 18) to be actually shown (in addition to the author's disapproval) under the guise of sincere praise of Namia's virtues (*Par.* 19). In this way the author presents (*Par.* 18, 1–8; 19, 6–8) Flavius Sanctus not as a monumental and flawless ideal, but as a man endowed with virtuous although not perfect character (it is worth noting that such a method makes Ausonius' presentation true, more credible and to some extent free from idealisation).

⁸⁶ Cf. PLRE I, Iulius Callippio; PLRE I, Clemens Contemnus.

concept of “virtus as a middle”, Ausonius (*Par.* 7, 10–11; 22, 7–8) presents the *virtus* (sc. ethical courage)⁸⁷ of the noble men. Let us recall that *virtus* (sc. ethical courage) – according to the Stagirite – was based on “maintaining the middle measure and occupying the middle position between two extreme vices, one of which resulting from excess and the other from lack – this process of maintaining the middle measure is determined by reason in such a way as a reasonable man would determine this middle measure”⁸⁸ (Arist., *EN* 1107a15). As Ausonius points out in the discussed *elogia* (*Par.* 7 and *Par.* 22), Contemnus and Calippio⁸⁹ (*seria*: seriousness and reason – *Par.* 7, 11) and Severus Censor (*gravis*: serious, prudent; *sapientia*: wisdom – *Par.* 22, 6–7) acted in accordance with this Aristotelian conception. They occupied the middle position between extremes since they **intertwined** jokiness **with** seriousness (*mixti* – *Par.* 7, 11) and **combined** gentleness **with** strict discipline (*iungere* – *Par.* 22, 7–8). It is worth adding that this “middle position” was defined in the Roman moral language as moderation (sc. *temperantia* or *moderatio*) – it was a virtue that Ausonius described as “preserving the middle” or, in other words, “maintaining the right and middle measure” in everything. As in the case of women (cf. Part 1), Ausonius regarded moderation (*moderatio/temperantia*) defined in this way as “the golden mean of disposition” (Aristotelian

⁸⁷ Aristotle called and described *virtus* as ethical courage – cf. Arist., *EN* 1106a10, 1106b20, 1106b35–1107a, 1109a20.

⁸⁸ Here and further the English translations of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (*EN*) are by the author of this paper.

⁸⁹ It is worth pointing out that Ausonius, when emphasising the virtues of his uncles, hints at their flaws as well. In this way the author (like in the case of Flavius Sanctus – *Par.* 18; 19, 6–8) seems to maintain “a moral balance” in the presentation of both uncles. Clemens Contemnus, apart from his virtues, was reckless (*temeritas*) as he did not appoint any heir (although he knew he had no natural one) who would take over his property after his death so, in consequence, all his fortune was lost (*magna cui et variae quaesita pecunia sortis / heredis nullo nomine tuta perit* – *Par.* 7, 3–4). Iulius Calippio, although was endowed with noble character, was wasteful because he recklessly squandered his property – his extravagance, as Ausonius implies, probably consisted on spending too much money on frequent and overly lavish feasts (*Iulius [...] / adfectus damnis innumerabilibus. / Qui comis blandusque et mensa commodus uncta* – *Par.* 7, 8). In consequence, as the author says with a pinch of pungent irony, his uncle only nominally (and, unfortunately, not actually) made him his heir (*heredes solo nomine nos habuit* – *Par.* 7, 10).

aurea mediocritas) and the important virtue of the noble men of *gens Ausoniana*.

Let us note that Ausonius in his presentation of the virtues and moral attitudes of the noble *virī Ausoniani* consequently refers to the model of *pater familias* putting special emphasis on their activity in the public forum (*vir Romanus*) and, at the same time, ignoring or most frequently omitting their family and domestic activities. So Ausonius' literary creation of the *pater familias* model is in fact a combination of this model and also of the *vir Romanus* model, which in Roman culture and tradition defined a man endowed with virtues and engaged in the activity in the public forum as a state dignitary or a high state official. Moreover, it is also worth adding that the virtues and good moral attitudes of the noble *virī Ausoniani*, which were also constitutive for Ausonius' concept of the *pater familias* model, were mostly consistent with the *virtutes* often indicated in the Roman tradition and included in two moral models (*topoi*) such as *mos maiorum* and *virtus Romana*.⁹⁰ Thus, also the male line of *gens Ausoniana*, which actually had Gallic roots, was presented as strongly connected to the old Roman moral tradition and culture (models of *pater familias* and *vir Romanus*) just like Ausonius himself who was – as Krynicka (2008: 550) says – “a patriot of his native Burdigala, a statesman and a proud citizen of Rome.”⁹¹

Conclusions

As we have pointed out above, Ausonius in the *Parentalia*, by means of skillfully selected literary motifs and *topoi*,⁹² not only commemorates,

⁹⁰ Cf. McDonell 2006; Mleczek 2018: 16–20.

⁹¹ Cf. Aus., *Ordo urbium nobilium* XX 40–41: *Diligo Burdigalam, Romam colo. civis in hac sum, / consul in ambabus: cunae hic, ibi sella curulis*. The English translation of the Polish quotation (from Krynicka 2008: 550) is by the author of this paper.

⁹² Krynicka (2008: 553–554) draws attention to the presence of traditional literary funeral motifs (*topoi*) in the *Parentalia*, by means of which Ausonius in a conventional, though in an undoubtedly varied way (*varietas*), expresses pain and grief after the loss of his relatives. These funeral *topoi* include: the motif of premature death at a young age (*Par.* 7, 5; 13, 5–7; 14, 3; 20, 3 – cf. also Lolli 1997: 26); the motif of complaining about *Parcae* and cruel fate (*Par.* 4, 8–9; 10, 6; 11, 11–12; 13, 7; 17, 10; 25, 6; 29, 5;

praises and mourns his dead relatives (like the other authors dealing with Latin funeral poetry⁹³ – Krynicka 2008: 554), but also presents (with the exception of a few cases of children and single persons) his literary creation of two moral models, *mater familias* and *pater familias*. These models, deeply rooted in Roman culture and moral tradition, consisted of virtues and moral attitudes that were practiced in Roman families and passed down from generation to generation. The presentation of these models and – consequently – the presentation of the family moral tradition⁹⁴ of *gens Ausoniana*, which was also passed down

also Lolli 1997: 33; Zabłocki 1965: 38); the motif of vanity of human hopes destroyed by death (*Par.* 11, 3, 13; 13, 9–10; 15, 9–10; 17, 11); the motif of mockery of fate, which brings a ridiculous death to a man (*Par.* 11; also Lolli 1997: 27); the motif of mourning the dead persons (*Par.* 9, 7–8; 10, 1; 16, 9; 17, 17–18; 23, 9, 11; 24, 3–4; 25, 2–4); the motif of the injustice and cruelty of fate, which forces parents to bury their children (*Par.* 10; 11, 15–16); the motif of protecting by the earth the mortal remains that were buried in it (*Par.* 7, 2); the comparison of the deathbed to the marriage bed combined with the belief that the spouses sleep together in it after death and that, in general, they are together after death (*Par.* 2, 7–9; 9, 30; 16, 14–16; 25, 7) – Zabłocki (1965: 89–94) argues that this motif was not introduced into Latin literature by Ausonius, but Lolli (1997: 29) disagrees with this statement and emphasises the authorship of the Burdigalian; rhetorical questions about the existence of life after death (*Par.* 15, 11; 22, 15). Krynicka (2008: 554) also draws attention to conventional farewell formulas, such as *vale* (*Par.* 3, 23; 7, 14; 29, 7) and *ave ... vale* (*Par.* 26, 7–8); apostrophes to the dead relatives introduced by their names put in the Vocative (*Par.* 6, 3; 8, 3; 11, 3; 14, 2; 15, 2; 16, 2; 20, 1; 21, 4; 22, 6; 24, 5; 30, 2); wishes that the mortal remains of the dead person rest in peace (*requiescat in pace*: *Par.* 5, 11–12); conviction that the life of a just man is too short (*Par.* 14, 1–12) – this motif also appears in Apuleius (*O celeres bonorum hominum dies* – *Florida* 9, 40) – cf. Pastorino 1971: 416–418; Shackleton Bailey 1976: 249–250.

⁹³ This group of authors includes Catullus, who mourns his dead brother in elegies (Catullus, *Carm.* 65, 68, 101), Martialis, who laments the death of the slave Erotion (Mart., *Epigr.* V 34) or Statius, who grieves over the death of his father (Statius, *Silvae* V 3).

⁹⁴ The family moral tradition of *gens Ausoniana* presented in the *Parentalia* was rooted in the indigenous Roman culture and tradition, although Ausonius' family (on his mother's side) had Gallic roots (cf. Olszaniec 2013: 68). Ausonius' father, Iulius Ausonius (probably born in 290 AD and died in 378 AD) was a physician of Greek origin (cf. Hopkins 1961: 241; Sivan 2002: 55–56; Combeaud 2010: 674; Olszaniec 2013: 68), whereas the author's mother, Aemilia Aeonia, on both sides had ancestors from aristocratic families that came from southwestern Gaul (cf. Combeaud 2010: 674; Olszaniec 2013: 68). Ausonius himself was born (310 AD) in the Gallic Burdigala

from generation to generation, is an important compositional element (in addition to the degree of kinship, emotional ties, differences and similarities between relatives – Krynicka 2008: 555) and enables the author to combine into a coherent work all the eulogies that seem to be arranged rather randomly, chaotically (Krynicka 2008: 555) and without any precise and visibly logical principle (Sivan 1993: 152).

The model of *mater familias* in Ausonius' eulogies consists (in accordance with Roman moral tradition⁹⁵) of virtues such as *pudicitia* (Par. 2; 5, 5–8; 6, 10; 9, 5–6; 12, 5–6; 10; 30, 1–5), *castitas* (Par. 19, 5) and *virginitas* (a more austere form of *castitas* – Par. 6, 8; 26, 3), *fides* (sc. *fides coniugii*) and *morigeratio* (Par. 2, 3; 5; 9, 17–18; 16, 3–4; 19, 3–4), *industria* and *diligentia* (Par. 2, 4–5; 5, 8; 6, 5–6; 16, 45; 19, 2; 4), *laetitia* and *serietas*, *comitas* and *gravitas* (these four virtues are combined together in pairs as oxymorons – Par. 2, 6; 9, 23) and *temperantia*. Ausonius presents in the *Parentalia* three social aspects of the model of *mater familias* that depended on the role a woman performed and the status she had in her family. One of them, according to which a woman submissive (or subject)⁹⁶ to the authority of her

(present-day Bordeaux) and was mostly educated there (cf. Olszaniec 2013: 69; only initially he was educated in Tolos under the supervision of his uncle Aemilius Magnus Arborius, who was a rhetorician in Constantinople – cf. Aus., Par. 3, 15–22). Also at a mature age, after returning from Trier, where he served as the tutor and teacher of Emperor Gratian, his further fate and career were related to Burdigala (he died in 395 AD in Aquitania in Gallia). Therefore preserving by the members of *gens Ausoniana* the old Roman moral tradition, may testify to a Romanocentric cultural and moral orientation of both the ancestors and Ausonius himself (“fedeli ad un’idea di *Romanitas* elevata a baluardo identitario” – Mastroianni 2019: 126), who with approval and respect presents the old Roman virtues of his dead relatives included in the Roman models of *mater familias* and *pater familias*. Ausonius and his family (*gens Ausoniana*) – cf. also Coşkun 2002.

⁹⁵ As we have said above in this paper (Part 1), in both the old and later Roman tradition, the term *mater familias* (often used interchangeably with the term *matrona Romana*, especially in the later period) always referred to a woman of good morals, regardless of whether she was married or not.

⁹⁶ Ausonius in his literary creation of the model of *mater familias* gives such a tint to the term *fides*, so – in consequence – it generally indicates fidelity to the husband, but not devoid of a certain admixture of submission and obedience to his domination – cf. Par. 2, 5 (submission: *coniugii fides*); Par. 19, 45 (*iugiter*); Par. 30, 3–5 (Pomponia Urbica compared to Theano).

husband took care of the household and the upbringing of children, emerges from the *elogia* dedicated to the author's mother Aemilia Aeonina (*Par.* 2), the author's grandmother Aemilia Corinthia (*Par.* 5), as well as from the eulogies dedicated to Veria Liceria (*Par.* 16), Namia Pudentilla (*Par.* 19) and Pomponia Urbica (*Par.* 30). Another aspect of this model showing a woman as a virtuous person who was not subject to anyone's authority appears in the eulogies devoted to widows who did not decide to remarry (e.g. Iulia Dryadia – *Par.* 12), whereas an aspect which defined *mater familias* as a virtuous and moral woman regardless of her marital status (i.e., whether she was married or single) emerges from the *elogia* composed to commemorate two unmarried women, Aemilia Hilaria (*Par.* 6) and Iulia Cataphronia (*Par.* 26).

As regards the model of *pater familias*, this was presented in the *Parentalia* as a canon of virtues, which – according to the old Roman moral tradition – should be possessed by a virtuous and high-born Roman man (*vir Romanus*). This model includes the *virtutes*, good moral qualities and attitudes, by which all noble men in Ausonius' family were distinguished. Among these virtues Ausonius indicates *boni mores* (good morals – *Par.* 1, 10; 8, 4), *humanitas* and *eruditio* (*Par.* 1, 9–11), *facundia* (*Par.* 1, 12; 8, 6; 14, 7; 17, 12) and *eloquentia* (*Par.* 3, 13–14; 16; 17–18); *sapientia* and *virtus* (*Par.* 22, 6; 14, 12; 18, 3–4; 1, 9–10; 14, 5–7), *laetitia*, *facilitas*, *honestas*, *pietas* (sc. being moral and straightforward in behaviour), *clementia* (gentleness: *Par.* 18, 1–6), *fides*, *pietas* (sc. honesty as well as godliness and being god-fearing – *Par.* 24, 2) and *temperantia* (*Par.* 7, 11; 22, 7–8). When presenting his literary creation of the model of *pater familias*, Ausonius focuses not so much on its family aspect, but rather on its social aspect, that is on showing the noble men as high-born and virtuous *viri Romani*, who were well educated and involved in duties and activities in the public forum. So in the presentation of this model the author concentrates first and foremost on showing the noble origin (*Par.* 4; 8; 14; 15; 22), the illustrious career and activity as well as the excellent deeds and achievements (*Par.* 1; 3; 8; 14; 15; 17; 18; 24) of the virtuous *viri Ausoniani*, whereas references to their private and domestic life are very concise (*Par.* 1; 4; 8; 14; 15; 21; 22; 24) or, most frequently, are simply omitted (*Par.* 3; 7). For this reason, all *patres familias* are presented in

the eulogies as excellent orators, reliable dignitaries and just high state officials who performed their functions honestly and diligently or as well-educated men engaged in various fields of knowledge.

Ausonius uses various stylistic techniques and devices as well as different literary motifs and philosophical concepts (*varietas*) to present virtues and moral attitudes constitutive for his literary creation of the model of *mater familias* and *pater familias*. As regards stylistic techniques used to present virtues, we can generally point out the three ones, such as straightforward presentation with the help of an appropriate noun or adjective (*Par.* 2; 3, 18; 6, 10; 14, 7–8; 17, 13–16), presentation by means of a synonym or descriptive phrase (*Par.* 9, 5–6; 23) and presentation through a situational context, in which a virtue is presented in moral conduct or virtuous behaviour adequate to its essence (*Par.* 2, 5; 5, 5–8; 12, 5–6; 10; 30, 1–5). Stylistic devices used in the eulogies include rhetorical figures and tropes, namely *gradatio a minore ad maius* (*Par.* 30, 1–5), hyperbole (*Par.* 9, 5–6; 23), metaphor (*Par.* 9, 15), asyndeton (*Par.* 9, 23; 19, 3), metonymy (*Par.* 2, 4; 16, 4), oxymoron (*Par.* 2, 6), *enumeratio* (*Par.* 3, 18; 14, 7–8; 17, 13–16) and hyperbaton (*Par.* 16, 3–4).

As regards the literary motifs used by Ausonius to present both models, we can indicate *exempla* (*Par.* 1, 9–10; 30, 5); the Tacitean motif of *aemulatio virtutum* (competition in virtues with ancestors: *Par.* 8, 4; 14, 5–7) and its paraphrases created *per analogiam* by Ausonius, namely the motif of *perfectio virtutum* (ancestors' perfection in virtues: *Par.* 1), the motif of *aequalitas virtutum* (equality in virtues with ancestors: *Par.* 22, 6) and the motif of *unanimitas virtutum* (unanimity in virtues between the addressee of the *elogium* and its reader (*Par.* 18, 1–6; 24, 1–3). Among the philosophical concepts, by which Ausonius illustrates some virtues (mainly moderation and equanimity, as well as moral perfection in general), we have pointed out the Aristotelian conception of virtue as the middle between two extremes (*Par.* 2, 6; 7, 10–11; 22, 7–8) and the Greek moral ideal καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός (καλοκαγαθία) based on the harmonious combination of physical beauty (sc. external bodily beauty) with spiritual beauty (sc. moral perfection: goodness and moral courage – *Par.* 8, 5).

As we have pointed out above, when showing in the eulogies the virtues and perfect moral attitudes of both the noble *viri Ausoniani* and virtuous *matronae Ausoniana*, Ausonius actually presented (with a few exceptions of single persons or children) his literary creations of two moral models, *mater familias* and *pater familias* that were deeply rooted in the old Roman tradition and culture. As regards the former, it was presented by Ausonius as a model of an obedient, thrifty and hard-working wife and mother devoted to bringing up children and managing the common household, as well as (in a general sense) as a model of a noble woman distinguished by her good morals and virtuous conduct. As for the latter, it was shown by the author, first and foremost, as a model of a well-educated Roman aristocrat distinguished by his virtues and impeccable morals who was engaged in duties in the judicial forum as an excellent orator and also in duties in the public forum as a state dignitary or high state official (*vir Romanus*) performing his functions honestly and diligently. At the same time the author's references to the activity of *viri Ausoniani* in the family forum are very rare or are most often omitted, but – as we can infer from their moral portraits – also in this area the noble men were supposed to be virtuous mentors for their children caring about their good morals and thorough education. Both these models of *mater familias* and *pater familias* appear in each generation of *gens Ausoniana* presented in the *elogia*. Therefore as the perfect *matres familias* were presented Ausonius' grandmother (*Par.* 5), mother (*Par.* 2) and mother-in-law (*Par.* 30), wife (*Par.* 9) and his sister (*Par.* 12), as well as the wife of his sister's son (*Par.* 16); as the excellent and noble *patres familias* were shown Ausonius' grandfather (*Par.* 4), father (*Par.* 1), uncle (*Par.* 3) and father-in-law (*Par.* 8), as well as the author's sister's husband (*Par.* 18), Ausonius' son-in-law (*Par.* 14) and his sister's son-in-law (*Par.* 24).

Ausonius, in consistently showing the presence of both these models in each generation of *gens Ausoniana*, clearly presents his family as the mainstay of the old Roman moral tradition (the moral *topoi* such as *mos maiorum*, *virtus Romana*).⁹⁷ In this way he also emphasises that the strongest bond between various generations in one family is the

⁹⁷ These are two of many *topoi* that Ausonius used and combined in the *Parentalia* to diversify his collection of eulogies (*varietas*) – cf. Krynicka 2008: 555; Lolli 1997:

common moral tradition based on transmitting the same virtues and good moral attitudes from one generation to another, whereas genealogical connections and degrees of kinship play a secondary role in this process. It is worth noting that in the case of Ausonius' family, which had Gallic roots and was associated with Gaul, preserving by successive generations the Roman moral models of *mater familias* and *pater familias* (let us add: presented by the Burdigalian in the *Parentalia* not without a pinch of idealisation⁹⁸) may indicate the Roman cultural orientation of the author's family and its strong connection not so much to the local Gallic, but to the Roman old moral tradition (*virtus, mos maiorum*). Let us emphasise that the presentation of both these models (*mater familias* and *pater familias*) and, consequently, the presentation of the family moral tradition of *gens Ausoniana* tantamount to them and thus based on Roman moral patterns and culture, constitutes (in addition to the degree of kinship, similarities and differences between relatives and the emotional bonds between them and the author – Krynicka 2008: 555) an important compositional principle and the leading idea in the *Parentalia* that gives coherence to the whole collection of these thirty eulogies. Such a method enabled Ausonius to create the outstanding *opusculum funebre* that commemorates members of the same family (Krynicka 2008: 554) and is internally coherent, although it is composed of *elogia* that seem to be arranged without any precise and clearly visible logical principle (Sivan 1993: 152).

24–28. Due to the subject matter of this article, we refer primarily to these two *topoi* (*mos maiorum* and *virtus Romana*).

⁹⁸ As Krynicka (2011: 14) and Starowieyski (2006: 29) point out, Ausonius often immortalises in his works an idealised and unreal image of the world and people, seeing them as he would like them to be, not as they actually are, and thus he often does not talk about difficult and unpleasant matters. Given the aim (to commemorate) and climate (grief and lamentation) as well as the addressees of the *Parentalia* (dead relatives), it is difficult to expect Ausonius to use a less laudatory tone in the eulogies. So – in consequence – both presented models are not free from a pinch of idealisation (with the exception of two *elogia*, in which Ausonius tries to maintain “a moral balance” by alluding to minor flaws of the dead men in *Par.* 7; 19, 6–8 – cf. Part 2.2.), although the author aims to show the real virtues of the noble *viri Ausoniani* and *matronae Ausoniana*.

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