

Ammianus Marcellinus' narrative of the brief and vicious reign of Gallus Caesar (*Res Gestae* 14) is replete with the rhetoric of excess (Seager, 1986, 43-68). Characterization of his behavior ranges from inhumane, to bestial, to monstrous, until the narrative ends with Gallus' illegal execution by the Augustus Constantius. Yet Ammianus marks the Caesar's death with a double allusion to the *Aeneid* that seems to mitigate his harsh judgement. At *RG* 14.11. 23, the historian indirectly compares the headless body of Gallus both to the slain Cacus (*Aen.* 8.264-5) and to the slain Priam (*Aen.* 2.556-558): *cervice abscisa, ereptaque vultus et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paulo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum*. In his commentary, Fontaine (1968, 229) notes that while the former seems consistent with Ammianus' negative portrayal of Gallus in feral terms, the latter grants his demise an incongruous measure of dignity, not to mention pathos. The contradiction is explained by arguing that Ammianus employs two superficially apt, yet thematically divergent, references in order to evoke a Vergilian sense of ambivalence. It is implied that this ambivalence is sanctioned only by the fact that Gallus is the victim of nefarious plotting on the part of Constantius, who will similarly persecute the worthy Julian (Ammianus' imperial hero) in the subsequent narrative. My paper both refines and extends the scope of this reading by showing that (1) the double allusion caps a thematically coherent series of Vergilianisms in Book 14; and that (2) it deliberately looks forward to Ammianus' introduction of Julian as a Vergilian hero in following book.

Through examination of two previously adduced allusions (*RG* 14.9.3 = *Aen.* 3.424; *RG* 14.11.22 = *Aen.* 6.480) and two brought forth here for the first time (*RG* 14.1.10 = *Aen.* 2.305/2.496; *RG* 14.7.13 = *Aen.* 5.273-9), I show how the account of Gallus' uncivilized ferocity in Book 14 is punctuated, and indeed sustained by, Vergilianisms evocative of mythological monstrosity, natural excess, and the destruction of human order. I then argue that the cumulative force of this series encourages a more constructive reading of the double allusion at its end: the reference to Cacus evokes not simply monstrosity, but its purgation by a culture hero (Hercules); the reference to Priam recalls not only the illegal murder of a regal personage, but also the inauguration of a new world order by the Trojan remnant (led by Aeneas). Both aspects of the allusion thus point toward the coming reign of Julian, which Ammianus evidently regards as a glorious renewal, heralding it at *RG* 15.9.1 with an explicit quotation of Vergil's "second proem" (*Aen.* 7.37-44): *ut Mantuanus vates praedixit excelsus—maius opus moveo maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo*.

In the effort to explore Ammianus' allusions as intrinsically meaningful, rather than merely decorative, this paper contributes to a trend represented by several recent studies (e.g. Sabbah, 1978, 543-47; Salemme, 1989; Fornara, *Historia*, 1992). Whereas many cogent interpretations of individual allusions have been advanced in such work (and see also the multivolume commentaries of de Jonge, den Boeft et al, 1939-, and of Fontaine et al, 1968-96), conclusions on the way such intertextualities combine to shape overarching themes in Ammianus' history have been lacking. By demonstrating Ammianus' sustained thematic engagement with his favorite poet over an extensive portion of narrative, this paper suggests a direction in which future studies might go.