THE POETRY OF ENNODIUS

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

ROUTLEDGE LATER LATIN POETRY

BRET MULLIGAN

ROUTLEDGE

THE POETRY OF ENNODIUS

The Poetry of Ennodius offers the first translation into English verse of the entire eclectic corpus of sacred and secular poetry by Magnus Felix Ennodius (c. 473/4–521 CE), amply supplemented by detailed notes that elucidate the literary and cultural references essential for understanding this poet.

Ennodius' poetry affords the reader a remarkable window into how Roman literary culture continued to thrive in the aftermath of the traditional "fall" of Rome in 476 CE. A prolific writer of prose and poetry, Ennodius played an active role in the political and ecclesiastical disputes of Ostrogothic Italy, and he stands as an important exemplar of late antique literary culture. Readers of this volume will encounter esteemed bishops, delicate objects, pets, stately churches, fools, villains, and more in the vivid panegyrics, travelogues, hymns, epistles, and epigrams found in the sweeping poetic archive assembled after Ennodius' death. From the grandiose "Declamation for the anniversary of the holy and most blessed Bishop Epiphanius in his 30th year as bishop of Pavia" to self-deprecating descriptions of silverware that bears the poet's image, Ennodius' poetry sports with the expectations of his audience, composing verse that modulates from the beautiful to the conventional to the stunningly unusual, while always displaying an intimate knowledge of the literary traditions in which he writes and a deep engagement with previous authors, both from the distant classical past and the contemporary world of late antique prose and poetry. Through these poems, the reader can gain an appreciation of the intellectual and aesthetic world of an important bishop (and future saint) in the early sixth-century CE.

Featuring a lucid line-by-line verse translation from the Latin and extensive notes—both firsts in English—richly introduced by a scholarly introduction to Ennodius, his works, and era, and complemented by a comprehensive bibliography, *The Poetry of Ennodius* makes these works accessible for the first time to readers unfamiliar with Latin as well as those seeking a guide into the labyrinthine literary world of this challenging but rewarding poet. Students of the classics, late antique and medieval history, comparative literature, and early Christianity, as well as any independent reader interested in the enduring presence of classical Latin verse, will benefit from this book.

Bret Mulligan is an Associate Professor of Classics at Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA. He is the author of *Life of Hannibal by Cornelius Nepos* (2013), *The Crisis of Catiline: Rome, 63 BCE* (2022), and works on late antique poetry, epigram, and the digital humanities.

ROUTLEDGE LATER LATIN POETRY

Edited by Joseph Pucci
Brown University, USA

The *Routledge Later Latin Poetry* series provides English translations of the works of those poets writing in Latin between the fourth and the eighth centuries inclusive. It responds to the increasing interest in later Latin authors and especially the growth in courses devoted to late antiquity. Books in the series are designed to provide comprehensive coverage to support students studying later Latin poetry and to introduce the material to those wishing to read these important and often under translated works in English.

The *RLLP* is devoted to publishing creative, accessible translations. Each volume is self-contained: introductory material contextualizes the life and output of the poet in question, and includes manuscript and editorial details; some discussion of metrics and Latinity; and a sense of how the work being translated might be interpreted (including where possible the scholarly history of the same). This section concludes, as need be, with maps and a list of any editorial changes made by the translator to the established Latin text. At the conclusion of each volume, in addition to endnotes and a works cited list, there is a general index that, beyond allowing readers to negotiate content, also serves as a glossary of names, dates, figures, places and events. Volumes hew, as much as possible, to line-for-line versions of the Latin original, so that those who come to the translations with a knowledge of Latin can orient their reading with the original.

By offering English translations of later Latin poetry with comprehensive supporting material the series enables a greater understanding of late antiquity through one of its most important literary outputs. The poems are significant sources for the culture, religion and daily life of the period and clear and imaginative translations also offer readers the chance to appreciate their quality.

PRUDENTIUS' CROWN OF MARTYRS
Liber Peristephanon
Len Krisak

PRUDENTIUS' PSYCHOMACHIA
Marc Mastrangelo

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com/Routledge-Later-Latin-Poetry/book-series/LLP

THE POETRY OF ENNODIUS

Translated with an Introduction and Notes

Bret Mulligan

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Cover image: Palace of Theodoric, detail of the 5th century mosaics, Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (UNESCO World Heritage List, 1996), founded 493–496, Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna, Italy. Photo © DEA / A. DAGLI ORTI / Getty Images.

First published 2022
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-77757-6 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-19650-3 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-11998-2 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003119982

OPTIMIS PARENTIBUS

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

CONTENTS

FIGURES

PREFACE

Few late antique Latin poets are more in need of translation than Magnus Felix Ennodius (c. 473/4–521 CE). A prolific writer of prose and poetry, Ennodius played an active role in the political and ecclesiastical disputes of Ostrogothic Italy, and he stands as an important exemplar of late antique literary culture. Nearly 200 poems by Ennodius survive, composed on a range of topics in a variety of meters and genres. Yet, only a small fraction of Ennodius' poetry has ever been translated into English.

Although Ennodius' afterlife in translation has been meagre, he was hardly a marginal figure in his own time. While bishop of Pavia, Ennodius led two papal embassies to Constantinople, thereby contributing to the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches and the ascendency of the Roman See. From his tenure as a deacon in Milan (c. 497/498–c. 512 CE), a sizable corpus of nearly 300 letters survives, offering invaluable (if linguistically challenging) evidence of contemporary events, religious disputes, Italian social networks, and the evolution of Latinity in Ostrogothic Italy at the turn of the sixth century. It is in Ennodius' poems, however—most of which were also composed during his time in Milan—that his literary talents and the diversity of his interests are most in evidence. Written predominately in elegiacs and hexameters, but including pieces in iambics and lyrics, Ennodius' poetry intermingles secular and religious themes. Ranging through chic gardens, elegant houses, and stately churches in vivid travelogues, hymns, epistles, and epigrams, he sketches a world of culture populated by delicate objects, pets, fools, saints, and villains (both comical and vicious). Notable figures from contemporary lay and ecclesiastical society make appearances in his poetry, including Boethius and the poet Arator. The poetic undertakings of this educated man of the Church provide an essential—but too often unheard—witness to the lived world of Ostrogothic Italy.

The lack of translation has doubtless contributed to this deficient knowledge and appreciation of Ennodius. Although Ennodius had his admirers—Conte

called him a man "of originality who composed well-made poems"—judgments about his poetry often betray recycled opinion more than personal knowledge. Indeed, works routinely err in reporting even the number of Ennodius' poems that survive. Often noting merely those poems that appear in the *Carmina*—a compendium fabricated in the seventeenth century when editors reorganized Ennodius' heterogenous corpus by genre—nearly two dozen poems embedded in letters and other prose works often escape mention. Thus, not only has Ennodius' poetry not yet benefited (at least in Anglophone scholarship) from the same sympathetic appraisals and discussions that many late antique poets have enjoyed in recent years, but swaths of his poetic production are often effaced, further impoverishing our understanding of this author, his works, and the vibrant literary world of late antique Latin literature. If the neglect of Ennodius' works is rooted in the sheer diversity of his literary production, it is exacerbated by his challenging, idiosyncratic Latinity. It is not without reason that Arnulf, the erudite bishop of Lisieux (1141–1181), bestowed on Ennodius the derisive sobriquet of "Innodius" or "The Tangled One." Yet, while Ennodius may not have been a natural poet, neither was he intentionally obscure or needlessly precious. Scholarship in recent decades, which has benefited from several successful international conferences, as well as the publication of numerous articles and commentaries (the majority in European languages), reveals a figure who was more sophisticated and attuned to his intellectual milieux than has often been granted. It is my hope that this translation of Ennodius' poetry, one sympathetic to his idiosyncratic style and wide-ranging interests, will help carry this intellectual energy into Anglophone scholarship.

In keeping with the philosophy of the *Routledge Later Latin Poetry Series*, this volume aims to provide an engaging, accessible, and contemporary translation of Ennodius' poetry. Adhering to the goal of a line-by-line translation of these poems, this verse translation aims to capture the unusual hybridity of Ennodius' rhetorical style and his modulation of traditional genres and forms, while representing the perceptive eye that Ennodius cast on his world, its natural wonders, built monuments, and human characters. Concise but abundant notes will help explain nettlesome passages, identify the wealth of classical and Christian sources that bolster his verse, and illuminate the rich portrait of Romano-Ostrogothic culture that emerges from Ennodius' verses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work has been many years in gestation, and I extend my deep thanks to the Series Editor, Joseph Pucci, and the editorial staff at Routledge, who, with consummate patience and professionalism, have helped bring this translation into the light. Over the years, more individuals than I can remember have contributed to this project in ways great and small, and I am deeply appreciative of their efforts, whether in answering a question, helping wrestle through a confounding passage, or just enduring the vagaries of my excitement and frustration with Ennodius. Great thanks are owed to my wonderful colleagues at Haverford College, especially Robert Germany, who provided bountiful guidance at the outset of this project, and Deborah Roberts, without whose knowledge of poetry, skill as a translator, and general benevolence this work would be a meager shadow of its current form. I would like to extend special thanks to Haverford's librarians, especially Margaret Schaus and Robert Haley, for whom no reference was too cryptic nor any text to rare to secure. Students at Haverford College, Bryn Mawr College, and the University of Pennsylvania shared ideas and insights when we read some of these poems in class. Deep appreciation goes to Celine Pak, who offered a fresh set of eyes and ideas during the project's final summer. Last, but by no means least, my deepest gratitude goes to my loving wife, Adrienne, whose patience and support make all things possible.

ABBREVIATIONS

AL	*Anthologia Latina*
Ambr.	Ambrose
Exh. virginit.	*Exhortatio virginitatis*
Expl. Psalm.	*Explanatio Psalmorum*
Hex.	*Hexaemeron*
Hymn.	*Hymni*
Exp. Luc.	*Expositio Evangelium secundum Lucam*
Virg.	*De virginibus*
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus
AP	*Anthologia Palatina*
August.	Augustine
Catech.	*De catechizandis rudibus*
Civ.	*De civitate Dei*
Conf.	*Confessiones*
Doctr. chr.	*De doctrina Christiana*
Mus.	*De musica*
Ord.	*De ordine*
Psal. Don.	*Psalmus contra partem Donati*
Tract. Ev. Jo.	*In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*
Virginit.	*De sancta virginitate*
Auson.	Ausonius
Cent. nupt.	*Cento Nuptialis*
Epigr.	*Epigrams*
Perioch. Od.	*Periochae Odyssiae*
Protrep.	*Protrepticus*
Boeth.	Boethius
PC	*Philosophiae Consolatio*
Cant.	*Canticum Canticorum*
Carm.	*Carmen* or *Carmina*
Cassiod.	Cassiodorus

Exp. Psalm.	*Expositio Psalmorum*
Instit.	*Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*
Var.	*Variae*
Catul.	Catullus
CE	*Carmina latina epigraphica*
Cic.	Cicero
Nat. D.	*De Natura Deorum*
Or.	*Orator*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
Claud.	Claudian
3Hon.	*Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti*
4Hon.	*Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*
6Hon.	*Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*
App.	*Appendix Carminum*
carm. min.	*carmina minora*
DRP	*De raptu Prosperinae*
Epith.	*Epithalamium*
Eutr.	*In Eutropium*
Gild.	*In Gildonem*
Ruf.	*In Rufinum*
Stil.	*De consulatu Stilichonis*
Claud. Mar. Vict.	Claudius Marius Victor
Cod. Theod.	*Codex Theodosianus*
Col	*Colossians*
Comm.	*Commentarii*
Cor	*Corinthians*
Cypr. Gall.	Cyprianus Gallus
Gen.	*Genesis*
Lev.	*Leviticus*
Num.	*Numeri*
Sod.	*De Sodoma*
Dn	*Daniel*
Don.	Donatus
Ars gram.	*Ars grammatica*
Dracont.	Dracontius
Laud.	*De laudibus Dei*
Romul.	*Romulea*
Satis.	*Satisfactio*
Ecclus	*Ecclesiasticus*
Enn.	Ennius
Ann.	*Annales*

Ennod.	Ennodius
Eph	*Ephesians*
Epigr.	*Epigrammata*
Epigr. Bob.	*Epigrammata Bobiensia*
Epist.	*Epistles*
Exod	*Exodus*
Ezk	*Ezekiel*
fr.	*fragmenta*
Fortun.	Fortunatus
Gen	*Genesis*
Hist. Aug.	*Historia Augusta*
Hom. Lat.	*Homerus Latinus*
Hor.	Horace
AP	*Ars Poetica*
Epod.	*Epodes*
Serm.	*Sermones*
Isa	*Isaiah*
Jas	*James*
Jer.	Jerome
Vir.	*De viris illustribus*
Jo	*John*
Jon	*Jonah*
Juv.	Juvenal
Juvenc.	Juvencus
Lact.	Lactantius
Div. inst.	*Divinae Institutiones*
Lk	*Luke*
LP	*Liber Pontificalis*
Luc.	Lucan
Lucr.	Lucretius
Ma	*Matthew*
Manil.	Manilius
Mart.	Martial
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella
Mk	*Mark*
Num	*Numbers*
Ov.	Ovid
Am.	*Amores*
Ars Ars	*Amatoria*
Fast.	*Fasti*
Her.	*Heroides*

Met.	*Metamorphoses*
Pont.	*Epistulae ex Ponto*
Rem.	*Remedia Amoris*
Tr.	*Tristia*
Paul. Nol.	Paulinus of Nola
Natal.	*Natalicium*
Paul. Petr.	Paulinus Petricordiae
VSM	*Vita Sancti Martini*
PCBE	*Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*
Pet	*Peter*
Petr.	Petronius
Phil	*Philippians*
Plin.	Pliny
HN	*Naturalis Historia*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
Plut.	Plutarch
Mor.	*Moralia*
Praef.	*Praefatio*
Proc.	Procopius
BG	*De Bello Gothico*
Propert.	Propertius
Prov	*Proverbs*
Ps	*Psalms*
Prudent.	Prudentius
Apoth.	*Apotheosis*
C. Symm.	*Contra Symmachum*
Cath.	*Cathemerinon*
Ditt.	*Dittochaeon*
Ham.	*Hamartigenia*
Perist.	*Peristephanon*
Psych.	*Psychomachia*
Quint.	Quintilian
Rev	*Revelations*
Rom	*Romans*
Sam	*Samuel*
Sedul.	Sedulius
Carm. Pasch.	*Carmen Paschale*
Sen.	Seneca
Herc. fur.	*Hercules Furens*
Oed.	*Oedipus*
Tro.	*Troades*

Sidon.	Sidonius Apollinaris
Sil.	Silius Italicus
Stat.	Statius
Achil.	*Achilleid*
Silv.	*Silvae*
Theb.	*Thebaid*
Suet.	Suetonius
Tib.	*Tiberius*
Sulpic. Sev.	Sulpicius Severus
VSM	*Vita Sancti Martini*
Tert.	Tertullian
Adv. Jud.	*Adversus Judaeos*
Marc.	*Adversus Marcionem*
Pudic.	*De Pudicitia*
Tibull.	Tibullus
Tim	*Timothy*
Val. Flacc.	Valerius Flaccus
Var.	Varro
Rust.	*Res Rusticae*
Verg.	Vergil
Aen.	*Aeneis*
Ecl.	*Eclogae*
G.	*Georgicae*
Vitr.	Vitruvius

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

1

INTRODUCTION

1 Life and career of Ennodius

In 510 CE Magnus Felix Ennodius, then a prominent deacon in the Church of Milan, found himself adrift on a dangerously flooded Po River as he attempted to visit a grieving relative:

> *the Padus then by chance submerged imprisoned fields,*
> *with baleful foam the swollen river's crest grew white,*
> *as farmsteads' pinnacles raced through unmoving waves . . .*
> (#5.15–17)

Less than a decade before, Ennodius had moved to Milan from Pavia (ancient Ticinum), embarking on a phase of his career that would see him produce a vast, chaotic archive of letters, declamations, speeches, saints' lives, hymns, and miscellaneous verse—one of the great documentary corpora of sixth-century Ostrogothic Italy. Within two years of his perilous trip across the Po, he would return to Pavia as its bishop, and the stream of his writings would dry up. But the literary production from the time of his earliest position in Pavia (c. 494–497/498) until his deaconship in Milan (497/498–c. 512) provides a vital witness to the events, personalities, and culture of his age.

Ennodius was born around 474 CE to a prominent consular family with roots in Gaul.[1] From Ennodius' own writings the contours of his life are visible, although even the most basic details remain tantalizingly elusive. Key elements of his early life emerge from his writings, especially the so-called *Eucharisticon de vita sua* ("Thanksgiving for his Life," 438V), which, in a manner reminiscent of Augustine's *Confessions*, recounts how St. Victor of Milan miraculously cured Ennodius of serious moral and physical illness. Arles is often given as the city of his birth, but evidence for this is thin.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003119982-1

From Ennodius' letters an expansive—but hazy—image of his extended family emerges; yet he is frustratingly laconic about his immediate family, and it is often difficult to pin down the exact relationships at play (Figure 1). His father was probably named Firminus, likely the nephew of the Magnus who was consul in 460. About his mother we know nothing, although she may have been the granddaughter of the Felix Ennodius who had been proconsul of Africa c. 420 CE.[2] We read of two (or three) older sisters, an aunt who would raise him, a niece, and two nephews, whose careers Ennodius fostered. Numerous cousins and other relations of foggy connection make appearances in his letters.[3] His family boasted connections with the famed Gallic author and bishop Sidonius Apollinaris, as well as the Emperor Avitus (455–456). His extended family continued to be tapped into the highest reaches of political power at the turn of the century. Of particular importance to Ennodius' career would be Anicius Probus Faustus, both of whose sons—Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus and Ennodius Messala—would attain the consulship in the first decade of the sixth century.[4]

When Ennodius was orphaned at a young age, he was sent to live in Liguria with his paternal aunt. His intellectual promise and fiscal resources secured him a quality education.[5] This formative period cemented Ennodius' perspective on the world, which was very much that of the Italo-Roman aristocracy, his Gallo-Roman birth notwithstanding.[6] The year 489 CE, however, brought yet more upheaval. Italy was invaded by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who would be the dominant political figure during the rest of Ennodius' life. Over the next four years, northern Italy suffered immensely during the confrontation between Theodoric and Odovacer, who had ruled Italy since he deposed the last emperor in 476. Closer to home, within a year

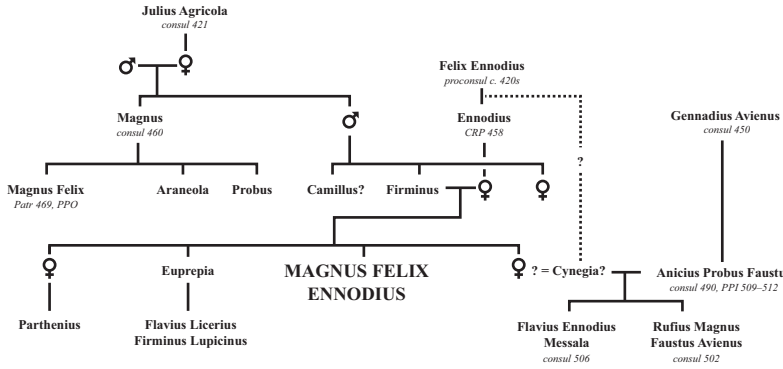

Figure 1 A genealogy for Ennodius.

of Theodoric's invasion, Ennodius' aunt died. The 16-year-old Ennodius was taken in by a wealthy Pavian family and betrothed to their daughter.[7] But when the material situation of the family deteriorated in the chaos and deprivations caused by the conflict, Ennodius' engagement languished. Eventually, through the intervention of Faustus, who would become a close friend and ally, Ennodius came to the attention of Epiphanius, the bishop of Pavia. At his encouragement both Ennodius and his fiancée (or perhaps by then his wife) entered into religious life.[8]

Ennodius served the Church in Pavia until around the time of Epiphanius' death in 497. We know that in 494 he accompanied Epiphanius on a successful diplomatic mission that secured the release of thousands of northern Italians who were being held hostage by the Burgundian king, Gundobad.[9] And around 496, Ennodius made his public literary debut with a high-stakes performance of a poem celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of Epiphanius' investiture as bishop of Pavia (43V = #2).[10] Either just before or soon after Epiphanius' death in 497, Ennodius was transferred to Milan, where he entered the service of the metropolitan Bishop Laurentius (490–511/512) and was soon elevated to the deaconate.

It was during his deaconate that nearly all of Ennodius' surviving writings were composed. He may have played some role in educating sons of the local nobility, but his primary activities remained focused on the Church, and he played a key role in the tenacious dispute that had split the papacy in late 498 between rival popes: Symmachus and Laurentius (not the same man as the bishop of Milan).[11] After the Palmary Synod confirmed the legitimacy of Symmachus in late 502, Ennodius was entrusted with composing an important document promulgating the decision, the "Booklet on the Synod" (*Libellus Pro Synodo*, 49V).[12] He also continued his diplomatic work, travelling to familiar haunts like Pavia, as well as the court of Theodoric. In 506, he was again tasked with a diplomatic mission, this time back to Gaul at the request of Bishop Laurentius. Although his destination and purpose are unknown, it seems that he met with success, for soon after he was tasked with composing a prose panegyric for Theodoric (263V). Despite this, and another mission across the Alps in 508, Ennodius soon suffered a cruel blow to his ambition when he was passed over for promotion to the prestigious episcopate of Milan, which instead passed to Eustorgius II (511/512–518).[13]

Around this time, Ennodius' health began to fail. We know he had travelled again to Gaul c. 510 (305V) and visited his sister the following spring (#5), but later that year ill health prevented him undertaking another diplomatic mission. When Ennodius recovered, he composed his *Eucharisticon de vita sua* (438V), from which so much of our knowledge about his life

derives. Thereafter, a more serious and dogmatic Ennodius emerges, as he renounces the writing of secular works and encourages others to do the same—for a time, as he soon resumes writing such works.[14]

In late 513 Ennodius received his promotion, although not perhaps the one he sought. He returned to Pavia to become its tenth bishop. It is at this point that our archive fails; indeed, it is even silent on Ennodius' elevation to the episcopate. While one can only assume that he continued to compose prayers, speeches, and letters as part of his professional and personal activities, they are all lost, and for his work as bishop and his diplomatic activities on behalf of Rome, we can only turn to later sources.[15] The following year Pope Hormisdas tapped Ennodius to lead the first of two clerical embassies to Constantinople.[16] In advance of the mission of 515, he composed a concise work in support of orthodoxy (*In Christi Signo*, 458V). Nevertheless, this and a second delegation in 517 failed to draw the Emperor Anastasius I and the East into the orbit of the Roman See or to reconcile them with Chalcedonian doctrines.[17]

Ennodius died on July 17, 521, and was buried in the Church of St. Victor in Pavia, which he had founded. His body and a verse epitaph (see Appendix I) now reside in the twelfth-century Church of San Michele Maggiore, which sports several sculptural depictions of the saint (Figure 2).

2 Historical context

Ennodius was still a toddler when history arrived at that paramount year of 476 CE, when Romulus Augustulus, the "last Emperor of the West," was trundled off to a monastery and the mighty Roman Empire was no more. That this epochal event passed unremarked by Ennodius was not merely a function of his youth. He would have been surprised to hear from moderns that he lived after the "Fall" of the Roman Empire.[18] Instead, Ennodius lived in a world in which stark transformations mingled with abundant social, educational, political, and religious continuities with the deep Roman past.[19] His lifetime would be characterized by two broad socio-political trends: (1) the harmonization of traditional conceptions of "Romanness" with Gothic rule in the person of Theodoric and the civil peace and prosperity that Italy enjoyed under his rule; and (2) continued religious strife, both politically within the Western Church and theologically with the East—although, as we will see, the line between politics and religion was rarely clear during the age of Ennodius.

From the perspective of the Gallo-Italian aristocracy that stretched from southern France through northern Italy, the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, while not quite a nullity, possessed little of the importance that later

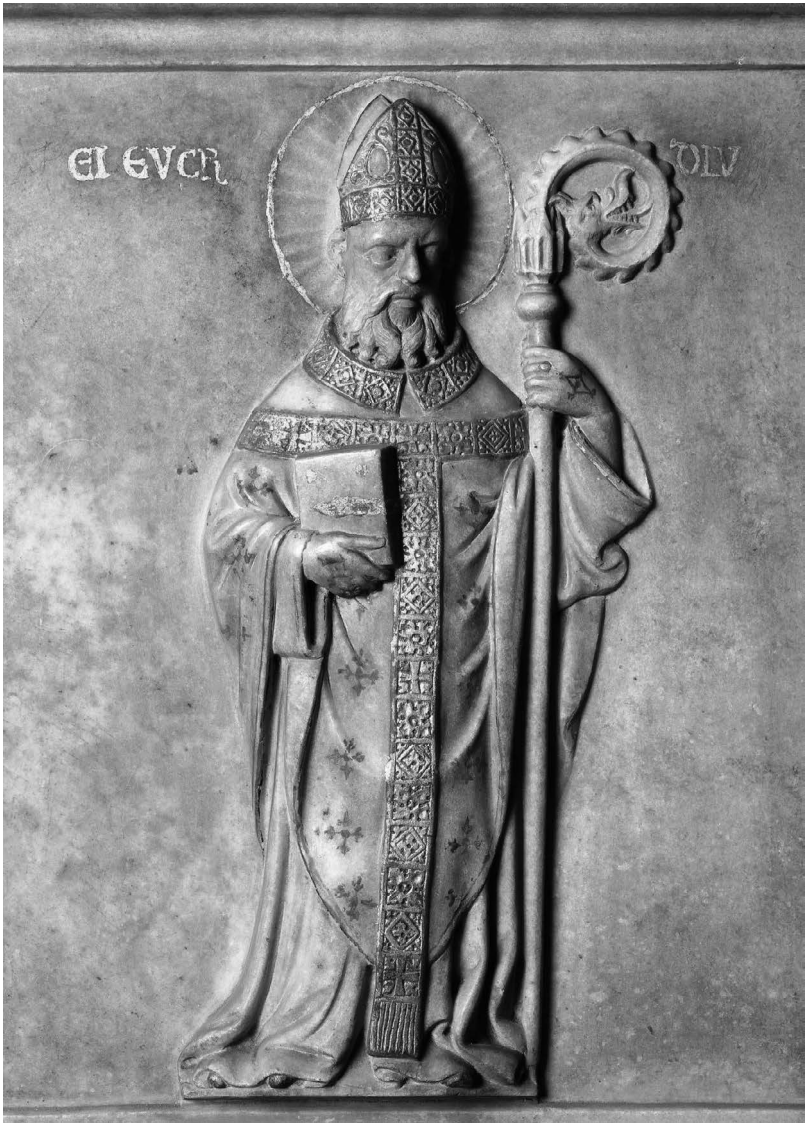

Figure 2 Figure of St. Ennodius. Detail from the marble altar in the presbytery, San Michele Maggiore Basilica, Pavia, Italy.

Source: © Getty Images.

historians would long assign it. Indeed, by the time that Ennodius was born c. 474, even as staunch a Roman as the Gallic bishop Sidonius Apollinaris seemed to have given up any hope for a rejuvenated Empire of, by, and for the Romans.[20] Nearly a century before, the Empire had been decisively split into increasingly rivalrous western and eastern halves. While northern Italy gained the permanent residence and patronage of the Western emperor, first in Milan and then Ravenna, it also attracted the presence of the non-Roman troops who now provided the bulk of Rome's defense against the tribes beyond its ever-shrinking borders—and the attentions of those tribes when they cut through the frontier at regular intervals: Alaric in the 400s, first Atilla and then the Vandals in the 450s, Beorgor in the 460s, etc. The region's proximity to power also made it a regular battleground during the devastating string of civil wars that wracked Italy until Odovacer's ascendency (e.g., 424/5, 432, 456, 461, 476). Since traditional "Roman" emperors had failed to preserve any semblance of peace in northern Italy for generations, the passing of nominal power into the hands of the Visigothic king Odovacer in 476 seemed less a world-historical trauma than yet another transition from one ruler unworthy of the mantle to another, as the exhausted populace waited for a better, truer "Roman" to arrive.[21]

The socio-political backdrop for Ennodius' life emerges in drips and drabs from the archive of his writings—indeed they are a major source for our understanding of this era. Of the fifth century's transformations, one that would have been evident to Ennodius and his contemporaries was the rise of the bishops and clergy as important, often central, figures in the civic life of Roman cities. Ennodius' *Life of Epiphanius* (80V), an extensive prose hagiography of one such figure, offers a key to the interactions of secular and sacred that molded Ennodius' life. One of Epiphanius' earliest acts was to mediate the conflict between Ricimer, a Gotho-Seuve who ruled the West in all but name, and his father-in-law, Anthemius, a competent easterner who sought to reconsolidate Roman power in the West from 467–472. The Ligurian nobles, with a sympathetic Ricimer's consent, sent Epiphanius to persuade a recalcitrant Anthemius to accept peace, which, for a time, he did.[22] But eventually Anthemius and Ricimer would ravage central Italy, and both were soon dead. Power passed through a succession of nonentities until it fell to another appointee from the East, Julius Nepos (474–475). When Nepos clashed with Euric, the Visigothic king beyond the Alps, Epiphanius was again dispatched.[23] While Epiphanius secured peace with Euric, Nepos succumbed to troubles closer to home as his general, Orestes, turned his forces against the emperor. Nepos fled from Italy in 475, leaving the field to Orestes, who placed his young son, Romulus Augustulus, on the throne. Odovacer, with the support of the Roman Senate, soon led a combined tribal

uprising, executed Orestes, and deposed the child emperor after yet another, although brief, civil war. Odovacer declined the invitation of the Eastern emperor, Zeno, to welcome Julius Nepos back to Italy and drew the curtain on the office of the Western emperor when he returned Romulus Augustulus' imperial regalia to Zeno.

Despite this change in the ruler's ethnicity, little of the social or political culture of northern Italy seemed altered by the rise of Odovacer, who ruled a diminished rump of what contemporaries continued to call the "Roman Empire" (or even "Republic"!) in the West.[24] Nevertheless, as Ennodius suggests in his *Life of Epiphanius*, Odovacer's reign continued the degeneration of Roman society. While not a tyrant, his macroscale mismanagement of Italy was paralleled by more intimate crimes: his war with Orestes had caused the devastation of Pavia, and neither Epiphanius' house nor his sister were spared.[25] Still, Odovacer showed Epiphanius more respect than had many of his predecessors. The next 15 years saw relative peace descend on northern Italy, although Odovacer seemed unable or unwilling to remedy the damage inflicted by a short century of grinding upheavals.[26] But if it was still cloudy, at least the storms had stopped.

The sun, from Ennodius' perspective, would arrive in 489 CE in the figure of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, the "most outstanding of kings" who possessed the "measure of every virtue."[27] In his panegyric for Theodoric (263V, c. 506/507 CE), Ennodius recast Odovacer's peace as a transitory deceleration of the decline that had ravaged northern Italy for a century. The rule of Theodoric, in contrast, witnessed the restoration of a golden order, even if this order came at the cost of yet further disruptions in the short-term during the confrontation between Odovacer and Theodoric (489–493).[28] In 488 Odovacer foolishly began meddling in eastern affairs, prompting Zeno to task Theodoric with crushing his rival. Theodoric defeated Odovacer at Isonzo and then Verona before a setback drove him to Pavia, where he was besieged. Theodoric, bolstered by forces from the Visigothic king Alaric II, raised the siege of Pavia, defeated Odovacer at Adda, and then besieged him in Ravenna. In early 493, the local bishop negotiated a power-sharing agreement between the two kings. Ten days later Theodoric attacked Odovacer at a feast, slicing him nearly in half. The old king's supporters and family were purged. Despite this inauspicious start to Theodoric's reign, Ennodius would come to view the new king as a righteous leader who ruled in the style and manner befitting the best emperors.[29] The result was material and spiritual rejuvenation in Italy, a "general peace" (*quies generalis*) under not just another Roman emperor but a "good emperor . . . and good leader."[30]

During the turmoil of the early 490s, northern Italy had suffered raids from the Burgundians across the Alps (Figure 3). In 494, Theodoric sent

Figure 3 The political entities of the Mediterranean c. 500 CE (map).

Epiphanius on a diplomatic mission to secure their freedom, which the bishop enthusiastically and successfully did.[31] Epiphanius and Laurentius of Milan then secured a general amnesty for most of those who had initially opposed Theodoric. The carnage of war and recriminations would not fall on northern Italy for the rest of Theodoric's long reign. The return of the captives, alongside Theodoric's patronage of the local nobility allowed the region to make a quick recovery. Theodoric meanwhile received formal recognition from the East in 497, along with the imperial regalia that Odovacer had ostentatiously remitted. Through savvy politics and improved taxation, he stabilized the public treasury.[32] Peace and governmental competence improved trade and, after generations of setbacks, the standard of living began to creep back up.

Through deft marriage diplomacy, Theodoric secured peaceful relations with most of the surrounding independent states that occupied the fragmented territory of what had been the western Roman Empire: Visigoths and Lombards in southern and east-central Gaul respectively, Thuringians across the Rhine, and the Vandals in north Africa. Italy's revived fortunes, however, brought renewed scrutiny from the East, as Anastasius ordered a fleet to raid the Italian coast in 508 and encouraged the Frankish king, Clovis, to pressure the Visigothic kingdom in southern Gaul, leading Theodoric to annex the region in 511. Theodoric's territory would eventually

stretch from southern Gaul in the west to Dalmatia across the Adriatic in the east, and from Raetia (roughly modern Austria) in the north to Sicily in the south. Within Italy, increased revenues allowed Theodoric to decrease and even suspend regional tribute payments, spurring further economic growth. With the surplus, he financed the restoration of the cities, which "from their ashes" were "clothed with the renewed glory of antiquity."[33] While the material impact of these politically astute building projects may have been less significant than contemporary praise made them seem, that praise points to the real psychological benefits that renewed, large-scale patronage from a secure, stable, beneficent leader had for the inhabitants of Italy. New and restored walls, churches, baths, palaces, and especially aqueducts signaled the rebirth of Italian urbanism, most especially in the ancient seat of empire itself, Rome, which Theodoric visited in spectacular fashion in 500.

For Ennodius, Rome remained the "head of the world," even if its power was largely cultural and, of course, spiritual: the See of St. Peter nurtured the orthodox faith for the community of Christ and its bishop had sole rightful claim to the title of pope (*papa*).[34] As Rome benefited from Theodoric's largess, including the restoration of the grain subsidy, the city resumed its role as a magnet for wealthy and ambitious Italians. Yet Rome would also be the epicenter of two long-running disputes that divided the community of Christian belief during Ennodius' lifetime: the Acacian and Laurentian Schisms.

Tensions between eastern and western Christendom had simmered since 325, when the newly Christian emperor Constantine famously enforced a settlement about the nature of Christ at the Council of Nicea. Despite Constantine's efforts, Christological disputes continued to roil the Church throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, with various groups believing, for example, that Christ was the subordinate Son of God (Arianism), had two distinct natures (Nestorianism), or only one divine nature (Eutychianism or Monophysitism). The Council of Chalcedon in 451 condemned both Nestorianism and Monophysitism, declaring that Christ was a perfect unity possessing, in the formulation of Pope Leo, two distinct natures "unconfused, unchangeable, indivisible, inseparable." Important regions of the eastern Empire, however, continued to be strongly Monophysite. So, in 482, the Eastern emperor Zeno attempted to follow Constantine's example by enforcing a compromise with his promulgation of the *Henotikon*, an irenic document by Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The *Henotikon* followed Chalcedon in condemning Nestorianism and Monophysitism but stopped short of endorsing a particular viewpoint about the nature of Christ. In 484, Pope Felix III of Rome condemned the *Henotikon* and excommunicated Acacius and other pro-*Henotikon* ecclesiastical leaders in the East. Acacius would die in 489. Zeno would follow him two years later. But the next

emperor, Anastasius I, endorsed the *Henotikon* and the schism grew deeper, fomented by the anti-Chalcedonian partnership of bishop Philoxenos and the monk Severus.

In 498 CE, a year after Theodoric's rule of Italy was recognized by the East, the orthodox Church in the West was plunged into confusion when a single day saw two men, Symmachus and Laurentius, elected and consecrated as the bishop of Rome.[35] The catalyst for this split was more political than doctrinal and revolved around a lingering disagreement over how to manage the increasingly strained relations with the eastern Church, with a hardline faction favoring Symmachus and the accommodationists supporting Laurentius. One of Laurentius' supporters was Festus, the same man who had been sent by Theodoric to secure the return of the imperial regalia. When Festus had travelled to the East in 497, he had attempted to heal the Acacian Schism by suggesting to emperor Anastasius I that Theodoric would compel Pope Anastasius to accept the *Henotikon* and retract the excommunication of Acacius. But Pope Anastasius died before Festus returned to Rome. When Festus then attempted to secure the papacy for the pro-eastern Laurentius (allegedly through bribery), he precipitated the papal crisis and the impossible (although not uncommon) existence of two, simultaneous popes.

The intervention of Theodoric on the side of Symmachus pacified the rioting partisans, but the rift lingered until a synod the following year recognized Symmachus as the legitimate pope and assigned Laurentius to the bishopric of Nuceria. But when Symmachus was accused of a host of personal and professional lapses, Laurentius returned to Rome, and violent, even deadly, clashes were renewed. Despite the support of Theodoric and most of the Italian bishops, Symmachus' position in Rome remained weak, and Laurentius seems to have enjoyed operational control of the churches in Rome for nearly four years, leaving Symmachus to concentrate his activities on the outskirts of the city.[36] Repeated attempts by Symmachus to bolster his position through synods (in 499, and several more in 501 and 502) failed to prove decisive in healing the schism, but they do play an important role in the life of Ennodius—and the development of the papacy. At the Synod of 502, the bishops declared that they had no authority to judge the successor of St. Peter. Thus, whatever charges had been directed at Symmachus by the supporters of Laurentius were irrelevant. Pro-Laurentian forces rallied and published a pamphlet ("Against the Synod of the Absurd Absolution") that renewed the charges against Symmachus.[37] Now Ennodius stepped forward, publishing his *Libellus pro Synodo* (49V), which denounced the anti-Symmachan pamphlet and those who felt empowered to stand in judgement of the true pope, a

faction that included Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus and his son-in-law, the famed philosopher Anicius Manlius Boethius.[38] The Church remained divided until c. 507, when Ennodius and Faustus convinced Theodoric to intervene decisively. Theodoric commanded Festus to hand over the churches of Rome to Symmachus; Laurentius retired to one of Festus' estates. After nearly a decade of strife, the Church in the West was at last reunited.

East-West politics erupting into the Church had damaged the community of the faithful in Italy and poisoned any attempt to heal the Acacian Schism. When Hormisdas succeeded Symmachus in 514, he renewed efforts to close the rift caused by the *Henotikon*. Ennodius would be a central figure in Hormisdas' efforts. In 515 Ennodius traveled east bearing a demand that the primacy of Rome be recognized and that the names of the schismatics be struck from the liturgical records. Hormisdas also passed along to Ennodius a densely argued letter that contained answers to every question the embassy might entertain from Anastasius I. Ennodius' mission won from Anastasius I a cordial but firm rebuff, as he agreed with the denunciation of Nestorianism and Monophysitism but refused to endorse the Christological formulation of Chalcedon. Hormisdas sent Ennodius back to Constantinople in 517 with two letters for Anastasius I and more than a dozen to be distributed to orthodox monks for further dissemination. The first letter to Anastasius I rejected Anastasius' call for compassion and expounded on the villainy of Acacius; the second requested that Anastasius suppress a conspiracy against the Chalchedonian bishop of Nicopolis. Unsurprisingly, Anastasius rejected both of Hormisdas' 'requests' and dispatched Ennodius and the rest of his companions on "a life-threatening ship."[39] Ennodius just lived to see the reconciliation of the Church. The impasse was finally broken when Anastasius died in 519. The Patriarch of Constantinople was by this time John II, who supported reconciliation with Rome. The new emperor, Justin I, acceded to Hormisdas' demands, officially ending the schism, if not the lingering tension and mistrust between East and West.[40]

Timeline

c. 473/474	Ennodius born at Arles; the Isaurian general Zeno becomes the Eastern Roman emperor
476	Odovacer deposes the Western emperor, Romulus Augustulus
482	Zeno promulgates the *Henotikon* in an attempt to harmonize the Christological doctrines of the Eastern and Western Churches

484	Pope Felix III (483–492) excommunicates Acacius for his acceptance of Zeno's *Henotikon*, creating the Acacian Schism (484–519)
489	Laurentius becomes bishop of Milan
c. 489/490	Theodoric invades Italy
c. 489/490–493	Ennodius' aunt dies; Ennodius engaged
493	Theodoric, king of the Goths, defeats Odovacer and assumes control of Italy (493–526)
c. 494	Ennodius assumes an ecclesiastical position in Pavia before this date; he accompanies Bishop Epiphanius on embassy to Gundobad, king of the Burgundians
c. 496/497	Ennodius' first notable public commission, the celebration of Epiphanius' thirtieth year as bishop of Pavia (#2)
c. 497/498	Ennodius becomes a deacon in Milan
498	Eastern emperor Anastasius (491–518) recognizes Theodoric's rule; Laurentius and Symmachus simultaneously elected to papacy, leading to the Laurentian Schism
499–502	Repeated synods fail to resolve the Laurentian Schism and reunite the papacy; in late 502 Ennodius composes *Libellus pro Synodo*
c. 504	Ennodius composes the prose *Life of Epiphanius*; at some point before 506 he composes a birthday speech for Laurentius, bishop of Milan
506	Ennodius composes the *Life of Anthony*; in this year or the next he composes his *Panegyric to Theodoric*
c. 507	Ennodius, Faustus, and Dioscorus convince Theodoric to recognize the authority of Symmachus
c. 513	Ennodius elected bishop of Pavia; no writings by him definitively date after this; Hormisdas becomes pope
515	Ennodius conducts first embassy to the East to resolve the Acacian Schism
517	Ennodius conducts second embassy to the East
518	Justin I (518–527) succeeds Anastasius as eastern emperor; within the year he recognizes Acacius' excommunication, formally ending the Acacian Schism
521	Death of Ennodius

3 Works of Ennodius

Ennodius' literary career spans some two decades, from soon after his ordination in 494 CE until his election as bishop of Pavia c. 513. Apart from a few early works, nearly all of his surviving writings come from his time as a deacon in Milan (c. 497/498–c. 512). A quick scan of the surviving corpus reveals a sprawling gallimaufry of genres. Nearly 300 letters and hundreds of poems bump alongside public declamations, works intended to be performed by friends and superiors, theological tracts, and praise of sacred and secular figures. Traditional motifs of hunting, risqué myth, dinnerware, travel, and the liberal arts jostle for attention with mundane business—recouping a debt, renting a house, securing a new horse—works of moral didacticism, matters of canon law (e.g., attempts by Ennodius' niece to navigate a possibly consanguineous marriage), hymns, religious polemics, and other thoroughly Christian works of various kinds.

Our subject is Ennodius' poetry, nearly 200 items strong, ranging from a single hexameter to a 170-verse celebration of a soon-to-be-sainted bishop. In between, we find a kaleidoscope of works across different genres and meters—and at times combining these.[41] To facilitate the reader's approach to this diverse collection, these poems have been grouped, after a prefatory epigram, into eight sections, the contours of which will be sketched here.[42]

After a single ten-verse *General Preface*, the *Longer Poems* comprise seven large-scale works that range from 40 to 170 lines in length. These include his longest and perhaps earliest work (#2), a 170-verse celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of Epiphanius' investiture as the bishop of Ticinum (modern Pavia) in hexameters, destined for a highly visible public performance before an assemblage of ecclesiastical grandees around 496 CE. The shortest of these "long" poems (#3) was also composed for public performance when Ennodius, by 502 CE a deacon in Milan, commemorated his safe return from a synod in Rome. Two other works recount fraught journeys in 52 lines: the first, in 26 elegiac couplets, documents Ennodius' alternately sweltering and frigid journey over the Cottian Alps in 506 CE (#4); the second is an engagingly hyperbolic, hexametric account of his attempt to cross the Po River in full autumnal flood to visit a grieving relative (#5). The three other long poems participate in the cultivation and maintenance of elite friendship.[43] Two of these works are polymetric. The first, an 80-verse composition, praises a prosimetric correspondence sent to Ennodius by Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior Niger, a significant figure in the Italo-Ostrogothic political firmament, and furthers their elite exchange by including new works for Faustus' delectation and

genial criticism (#6). The second is a wedding song, or epithalamium, innovative in both content and meter, for a younger friend, Maximus, who had been celibate but was embarking on a new phase of his life (#8). The final long poem, 56 lines in elegiac couplets, was addressed to Olybrius, an older aristocrat, renowned for his oratorical talents, and dwells on a retelling of Ovid's myth of Phaethon (#7). With the exception of the two personal itinerary poems (#4 and #5), each of these works is introduced by a prose preface that varies in scope but gives a representative window into the effusive style for which Ennodius is known.[44]

Ennodius' laudatory compositions continue in 12 *Hymns* that take us firmly into the lived world of Christian belief and practice in early sixth-century Milan (#9–20).[45] Eight of these hymns celebrate saints—four martyrs, three confessors, and Mary—from Stephen the Protomatyr (#13) to Martin of Tours (#19), including the second-oldest hymn dedicated exclusively to the Virgin Mary (#18); two hymns commemorate important Church holidays (Pentecost, #12, and Ascension, #15); one is set for evening prayer (#9); and finally one, the "Hymn for a time of weariness" (#10), seems more suited to intimate prayer rather than the liturgy.[46] The standard for Latin hymnody had been set in the later fourth century by Ambrose of Milan, who adapted established eastern practices as part of his efforts to reinforce the position of orthodoxy. The imprint of Ambrose's antiphonal hymns can be found throughout Ennodius' compositions, from the quotation of particular phrases to the general structure of eight four-verse stanzas of unrhymed iambic dimeters with scant elision. In Ennodius' lone hymn in a lyric meter (#16, "Hymn for Saint Euphemia") we see the influence of the other great innovator of Latin hymnody, Prudentius.[47] In his choice of topics, Ennodius treads the same ground laid by Ambrose; but he mostly avoids composing on precisely same subjects, and in the one hymn in which he approaches an Ambrosian predecessor, the "Evening Hymn" (#9), his hymn seems destined for a different part of the night. While in broad outline he toes close to the Ambrosian line, Ennodius composes in his own unique idiom, and he deviates from many of the stylistic features that made Ambrose's hymns so popular and so didactically effective—his careful attention to the distribution of words, his matching of sense with line and stanza, his avoidance of subordination, his balanced tetratychal structure.[48] Ennodius' hymns were certainly composed for a Milanese audience. Milan is the only place mentioned in the hymns, and most of their subjects have a local connection (Nazarius, Dionysius, Ambrose, Martin, Euphemia), although some subjects were celebrated throughout contemporary Christendom (Mary, Stephen, Cyprian). But the frequent overflow of meaning from one stanza to another has led some to question whether Ennodius' hymns were meant

for public performance, and they failed to gain purchase in the Milanese liturgy.[49] They did, however, fare better among the Beneventines and Celestines, who incorporated three Ennodian hymns into their liturgy.[50]

The ecclesiastical world of Milan is the basis for another set of laudatory poems: 13 portraits of the *Bishops of Milan* (#21–33).[51] Ennodius' poems in elegiac couplets seem to have been designed to accompany a portrait gallery of Milanese bishops, which may have adorned the city's restored *domus ecclesiae*.[52] The figures in the gallery span from Ambrose (#21), undeniably the most famous bishop to occupy the See, to Theodorus (#32), the predecessor of the contemporary bishop, Laurentius, who receives as part of the sequence a single hexametric wish for a long life (#33). The epigrams frequently dwell on the bishops' physical appearance, especially for some of the more obscure figures in the middle of the sequence, for whom the accompanying image seems to have inspired most of Ennodius' description of the bishop's virtues and character (e.g., Glycerius, #26).[53] While the virtues that Ennodius highlights are, predominately, stereotypical, his descriptions of their physical appearances convey individual touches. Ennodius also shows an intense interest in the predictive power of words, with almost every epigram featuring etymological wordplay on the bishops' names. Information about the social status of the men before they entered the Church, however, is never mentioned, aligning Ennodius firmly with the expectations of his Italian audience and not his own Gallic pedigree.

Ennodius also commemorated the glorious dead in 12 modest *Epitaphs* (#34–45). Among these works, we find poems dedicated to preserving the memory of a relative (#37–38, "Epitaph for Cynegia"); a local bishop (#36, "Epitaph for Saint Victor, bishop of Novara"); a long-deceased emperor (#42, "On the grave of the emperor Majorian"); and five virtuous, and otherwise unknown, women (#40–41, 43–45). Most adhere to the expectations for Christian epitaphs, illuminating how the virtuous life lived by the deceased has secured them eternal life.[54] Ennodius claims that some are real epitaphs that he intends to inscribe on a tomb; others, like that for the emperor Majorian, are clearly intellectual efforts designed for the page and not stone. The poems of virtuous women are typical of the genre, but they do shed just a little more light on a segment of Roman society oft little-mentioned or passed by in silence. In these poems especially, we detect traces of the influential epigraphic practice of Pope Damasus.[55] The epitaphs range from as short as four verses (#39, "Epitaph for Albinus") to as long as 16 (#34, "Epitaph for a good man"). And while most are in elegiac couplets, we also find examples of hexametric (#36) and hendecasyllabic inscriptions (#38). This last is interesting for two additional reasons: it provides crucial evidence for the vexed efforts to untangle Ennodius' lineage (see §1.1), and

it touched off a long-running dispute about metrics and proper criticism between Ennodius and one of his younger friends, Beatus (see Appendix II).

Ennodius also composed 37 *Epigraphs*, poems about and perhaps destined to be inscribed on buildings and other material objects (#46–82). Laurentius, the bishop of Milan, looms large in many of these poems, and a plurality are associated with Laurentius' extensive program to rebuild Milan after the damage it suffered in the war that brought Theodoric to the throne.[56] Everywhere we find buildings that were fired or had collapsed restored and indeed improved through Laurentius' efforts. But we also find epigrams linked to more personal donations, like the baptistry that a certain Armenius dedicated in memory of his young son (#58–59) and other modest epigraphs for the individual rooms in a home (#62–69)—perhaps the residence of Laurentius, although there is no way to know for certain—the library of Ennodius' friend Faustus (#71, the longest of the poems in this category, at 20 lines), an Edenic garden (#76–77), and even an ecclesiastical residence outside of Milan—the fortified residence of Honoratus, the ninth bishop of Novara, on the island of San Guilio (#70)—as well as statuary (#74–75), a bishop's cart (#72), and a variety of engraved household items (#78–81), including a self-deprecatory hexameter for a plate bearing the image of our poet (#78).

The final poems placed in the category of epigraphs tiptoe towards and may have been *Ekphrastic Epigrams*, poems that aim to bring the aesthetic essence of a work before the mind's eye of the reader, who is delighted by apprehension of the wonderous and instructed in the proper reading of images (and epigrams).[57] Ennodius' ekphrastic epigrams (#83–113), all in elegiacs or hexameters, fall more or less neatly into three types: epigrams on living creatures, on miraculous places, and on physical objects. Ennodius praises a good dog (#95), dilates on the anomalous nature of the mule in a riddling and moralizing series of short epigrams (#107–110), and describes a small bird that alights on a mound of foam as it floats on the Po River in flood (#113). Ennodius seems to have had a personal affinity for horses, and two of his longer ekphrastic epigrams vividly take this animal as their subject (#104–105), while one of his more imagistic (and effective) poems describes a dreamlike, pre-dawn summer ride (#103). Two of his ekphrastic poems showcase his most explicit reworking of the material from an influential poetic predecessor, Claudian. In #106, he condenses Claudian's description of a pair of Gallic mules that were controlled by verbal commands, an apt metaphor for the ability of speech to control the physical world. The other poem (#94) is among Ennodius' more intriguing works, a careful, focused adaptation of Claudian's treatment of the hot springs at Aponus (modern Abano). The longest epigram in this category praises a

garden, likely one on the grounds of the palace that Theodoric renovated in Pavia (#98). The other ekphrastic epigrams all describe wondrous objects, such as an exquisite mosaic (#93), a fine platter (#96–97), a sedan chair belonging to a noble woman (#111), which seems to rewrite a misogynistic epigram on the same topic by Luxurius, a cane that conceals a blade (#112), and several replicative series in which the worth of a single object is characterized and augmented through its iterative description, in essence writing the object into the tradition of great works of art that have been the subject of epigrammatic treatment: a goblet depicting Pasiphae and the bull that provides a launching pad for moralizing about the immorality of myth (#83–87); a magnificently fine, almost air-like, necklace that belonged to Firmina (#88–91); and an inlaid whip belonging to his friend, the future poet Arator (#99–101).[58]

Ennodius' epigrammatic production spanned the wondrous to the comically villainous, and his concise, barbed *Skoptic Epigrams* represent the most populous category of his poems (#114–160). Ennodius displays some of Martial's interest in sardonic epigrams with revelatory endings. But we also find affinities with the mocking series of Ausonius that target fools (#147–151), socially marginal figures like women (#144, 153), the bodily infirm (#146), foreigners (#126–128), eunuchs (#137–140), or the sexually anomalous (#122–125, 142, 145), as well as the typical rogues' gallery of greedy men (#129–133), lawyers (#134–136), drunks (#154–160), and the socially inept (#116–119, 121). While most of his targets seem to fall in epigram's sweet neverland between stock characters and real individuals, Ennodius does go after one piece of big game: the famed philosopher and Ennodius' political rival, Anicius Manlius Boethius, who is targeted for his impotence—unless he actually had a floppy sword (#152). We also find the first of two poems in the corpus that claim to be by another author, in this case a couplet by Faustus on the execrable quality of Ligurian wine (#159).

The final category collects *Poems on Literary and Other Matters*. These poems include the genial ribbing of a friend for a metrical flub (#161–164), a meditation on the inspirational effects of wine on poetic composition (#165), a description of his bookshelf (#175, a work that could happily reside in the section on ekphrastic epigrams), and a prosimetric exhortation that Maximus maintain his virginity (#176). Ennodius also composed numerous declamations in the mode of school compositions in which a mythological figure speaks.[59] While most of these are in prose, two mix in poetry: the first imagines the reaction of the Greek hero Diomedes on discovering that his wife has been unfaithful while he was away at Troy (#166); the second, that of Dido on learning that Aeneas plans to depart Carthage, a favorite theme for pedagogical works of this kind (#180). The

former declamation Ennodius composed for the respected Milanese grammarian Deuterius, whose intellect is praised in #168. He also crafted a poem for Deuterius to send "in his own name" as part of his attempt to acquire a fine garden from another noble (#167). The poet Arator is wished happy birthday in a punning couplet (#169), and a prosimetric declamation supports his celebration of an intellectual honor (#174). Another poet, Agnellus, receives a brief poem (#171) and a curse threatening those who would use slander to divide friends (#170). Several of these works claim to be extemporaneous (#169, 170, 174), including a couplet for Faustus that commemorates Ambrose's triumph over Symmachus in the Altar of Victory Controversy of 384 CE (a small poem, but one full of contemporary connections). The final work we will mention was long planned by Ennodius: the prosimetric, polymetric "Pedagogical exhortation" (*Paraenesis Didascalica*) that proclaims the ethical foundations of the liberal arts and sought to connect a pair of favored students with leading, and responsible, educators in Rome (#179).

In addition to this dizzying swirl of poetry, nearly half of Ennodius' total output resides in approximately 300 letters to more than 90 individuals: members of his extended family, senators, holy women, abbots, bishops both obscure and renowned (e.g., Caesarius of Arles, 461V), including nine to Pope Symmachus.[60] Many individuals receive multiple letters, including 54 to Faustus Niger, 24 to Avienus, 7 to Boethius, and the same number to his sister Eutrepia. But dozens of his correspondents received but a single letter. With some calibration of style to content, many of Ennodius' letters gesture to minor but necessary matters of episcopal business. For example, we can read four increasingly exasperated letters requesting the repayment of a loan made by the episcopate of Milan to Pope Symmachus. But most of his letters, beyond any immediate goal, aim to foster the economy of elite friendship for his bishop and himself through engagement with a far-flung social network of powerful clerical and lay relatives.[61] Of special note in this regard is his uneasy correspondence with Boethius over a rental property in Milan (370V, 408V, 415V, 418V) and the breakdown of his friendship with the young Arator (378V, 387V, 422V). Unlike the curated epistolographic collections of Sidonius or Cassiodorus, the archival nature of Ennodius' writings does not coalesce into an intentional self-characterization of the author but rather yields an impressionistic portrait of the thoughts, concerns, and activities of an ambitious official in an important diocese in early Ostrogothic Italy—rich in detail, yet decisively idiosyncratic and partial.[62]

The existence of a preface to an edition of his poems suggests that Ennodius had plans to publish at least some works in an ordered collection (#1),

and a few certainly circulated beyond their initial recipients—or at least Ennodius intimated or instructed that they should. Quite a few of Ennodius' works, however, were intended for public performance and broad distribution. His hymns and prose prayers, including two blessings of the Paschal candle, presumably had a liturgical function, or Ennodius hoped that they would. Some of his nearly 200 poems, especially those commemorating the material renovation of Milanese churches, were likely epigraphic. We could imagine Ennodius' poetry being sprinkled around that city as it was rebuilt through the efforts of Laurentius. Many of his declamations treat mythological subjects that were standard in the exercises of secular education, albeit filtered through a decisively Christian moral framework. Several of these were designed to commemorate the entrance or graduation of noble friends. Other works targeted a wider public, including Ennodius' longest and earliest surviving work, which celebrated Epiphanius' thirteenth year as bishop in 496 CE (#2), and another that praises Laurentius on his consecration as bishop of Milan (1V). Ennodius' most substantial works were a pamphlet in support of Pope Symmachus (49V), a concise polemic against the Acacian schismatics (458V), a panegyric for king Theodoric (263V), and hagiographic texts on two saints' lives (80V, 240V). At the climax of the Symmachan controversy (c. 497–503), Ennodius penned a lengthy pamphlet or *Libellus Pro Synodo* (49V) that savaged critics of the fourth and final synod that sought to resolve the crisis surrounding the legitimacy of Pope Symmachus. In an attack that focuses as much on his opponents' rhetorical ineptness as on their theological failings, Ennodius refutes the charges circulating against Symmachus and the synod that refused to judge him. It was in support of the synod's pronouncement that it was incompetent to judge the heir of Peter—thereby laying the foundation for the doctrine of papal infallibility—that Ennodius declared the bishop of Rome uniquely worthy of the title *papa* or pope. Nearly a decade later, Ennodius crafted a polemic letter against the supporters of the Acacian Schism (*In Christi Signo*, 458V).

Ennodius' vision of Christian piety emerges most clearly in his *Lives* of two quite different saints: the hermetic Antonius of Lérins (240V) and the civilized, political operator, Epiphanius of Pavia (80V). In his longest work, Ennodius presents Epiphanius as an ideal bishop, whose life of service demonstrates how appropriately calibrated social obligations could elevate the pious in the political world of Ostrogothic Italy. Antonius, in contrast, spent his life fleeing political attachment, only to discover spiritual allies in the island monastery of Lérins—a development that highlights the sublimation of individual saintly charisma into the community of the religious. Throughout his letters one finds this tension working on

Ennodius—between aggressive engagement with the world in service of the community (and ambition) and the call towards a simpler piety. Still, it would be wrong to imagine that the secular and sacred were at war within Ennodius. There were anxieties about activities that fell outside traditional Christian piety, to be sure. For example, we find Ennodius chastising a cousin for wishing that her son resume his secular education after he had already begun his religious training (431V). In this, Ennodius was very much a man of his time.[63] But the most productive approach is to give Ennodius the same deference that we would hope for ourselves, as multifaceted creatures, whose contradictions are the inevitable result of wresting with difficult, often intractable demands within a flawed human vessel.[64] Ennodius, after all, was only sainted after his death.[65]

Evidence of Ennodius' early legacy is sparse. Opicinus de Canistris (1296–1353) claimed that Ennodius established antiphonal offices in Greek and Latin in Pavia's church of St. Victor, but this lacks corroboration and seems doubtful. Ennodius' vehement defense of the true faith was praised in a letter by the sixth-century abbot Florianus to Nicetius of Trier ("that bolt against Nestorianism, slayer of Eutychianism!"). In the same century, the bishop and poet Venatius Fortunatus seems to have read and circulated Ennodius' works, but it was only in the eighth century that Paul the Deacon gave Ennodius' legacy a definitive boost by introducing his writings to the court of Charlemagne, where he influenced trends in metrical composition and epistolary style, and served as a textual quarry for canonists.[66] Thereafter, one finds manifold quotations among medieval poets. If he was not an author who merited deep engagement, he was one who was often read by those who appreciated his vertiginous rhetoric, his uncompromising pro-papal viewpoint, and the not infrequent fine turns of phrase in his poetry. Despite his zealous defense of the papacy, it is only in the tenth century that we find Ennodius cited by a pope, Nicolaus I. As his fame grew, so too did his critics. In a letter of 1160, Arnulf, the erudite bishop of Lisieux, upon copying Ennodius for Henry of Pisa, bestowed on Ennodius the derisive sobriquet of "Innodius" or "The Tangled One," a criticism that continues to shape opinion about the author.[67] By the turn of the recent millennium, Ennodius' stock had fallen far indeed, with scholars focused, with a few exceptions, largely on what information they could extract about Theodoric from his *Panegyric* or the consolidation of papal authority from his *Libellus*. But 2000 was an *annus mirabilis* within the small world of Ennodian studies, seeing the publication of Kennell's indispensable monograph, which sought to reintegrate Ennodius' diverse writings into a single figure (a "Gentleman of the Church") and the first of several international conferences on the author that have led to, if not a veritable resurgence, a

growing network of sympathetic readers and scholars who have illuminated innumerable aspects of Ennodius' life and writings.[68]

4 The style of Ennodius

Ennodius' reputation as a difficult and obscure author owes much to the exuberant, abstract, alternatingly prolix and laconic, radically unclassical style of his private letters, which were decisively rooted in particular occasions and a distinctive idiom.[69] These stylistic extremes can be contrasted with the simpler (if not to say simple) style of his verse. But since his aesthetic practice in prose and verse is more a matter of degree than kind, some additional remarks on his prose are warranted. In his letters, Ennodius yokes an exquisitely mannered style that strives for continual display of virtuosity with a bracing flexibility of morphology, semantics, and syntax in ways that place considerable demands on the reader.[70] For example, Ennodius has a predilection for radical hyperbaton, and it is not uncommon for five or more words to fall between a preposition and its object or a noun and a modifying adjective in service of introducing a paraphrase, elaborating a metaphor, or crafting a more elegant rhythm in the clausula.[71] Ennodius was aware of the challenge that his ambiguities and novel abstractions could pose for his readers. Yet, as he claims, in a letter to Firminus, it is not ambiguity per se that renders a text clumsy but involuntary ambiguity. Intentional ambiguity, in contrast, reveals the skill of the author and his attention to his text. From his perspective, Ennodius labors to avoid the "haziness" and "disorder" that cause "blind ambiguity" in a text, striving instead for the "simple refinement" of well-crafted communication.[72] Indeed, throughout Ennodius' works we find him commenting on the care he put into revision and his attention to detail in a quest for language that both manifests his skill and honors his addressees.[73] Thus, those moments of ambiguity, frustrating as they may be for a modern reader, are hardly haphazard but an essential and intentional feature of Ennodius' style. They seem intended as a signal of the author's attention to his craft and a mark of respect to his readers, who are trusted to hold the multiple registers and meanings generated by the author's "skillful negligence" (*artifex incuria*) in their minds simultaneously.[74] As Ennodius says in his defense: "I compose for educated men something that can be read without anxiety."[75]

Thus, it is not that Ennodius' style is *sui generis*; rather the features and tendencies found throughout the mélange of late antique authors are present in enthusiastic or unrestrained abundance. Gioanni has termed this Ennodius' "aesthetic of the labyrinth": a "vertiginous quest for preciosity," whose confounding effect rests less on this or that deviation from

the norm—almost all of which can be found in other authors—but for the relentless and oft bewildering accumulation of these deviations.[76] Ennodius' "verbal overload," however, strives not for intentional obscurity, nor is it thoughtless or careless; but instead it aims to imbue the communication of the epistolary exchange with value by making the language manifest the time and effort involved in its construction.[77] It does, however, require a reader sympathetic to the product created by the author's labor.

Some of Ennodius' obscurity can be credited to the peculiarities of the circumstances and relationships that are now lost to us. But even granting this, the strained meanings, the absence of regular parallelisms, the near obsessive avoidance of lexical repetition would seem to make Ennodius scarcely a breezy read for even an intimate correspondent.[78] Nevertheless, these effects are ratcheted down in those prose works that were intended for more general, less intimate audiences—for example his panegyric for Theodoric, his hagiographic texts on Epiphanius and Antonius, and his theological works. While still displaying Ennodius' distinctive imprint, we see that his more florid effects are given more space to breathe, his concessions to perspicacity are greater, and the overall effect is more in line with the stylistic tendencies of his contemporaries. His poetry is more regular still, molded by rigidly conservative training in verse composition, the narrower framework of the metrical line, his frequent references and quotations of earlier authors, and his conventional metrical practice.[79]

In a poetic corpus as diverse as that composed by Ennodius, generalizations about style must concede the regular exception. Still, much of Ennodius' verse will seem familiar to readers acquainted with the stylistic expectations of late antique verse, which prioritized the part over the whole; sought visual splendor over narrative momentum; and reveled in paradox, variation, asyndeton, the catalogue, and massed sonic effects.[80] Even his rare narrative ventures, like his poems that recount his travel over the Alps (#4) or across the flooded Po (#5), dissolve into a series of vivacious, detailed tableaux. As he says in his didactic instruction to two young students: "The most remarkable garlands are assembled from the innumerable spoils of the fields; a diadem is typically constructed from various jewels" (#179 §8). He exhibits a keen interest in the visual, not only in his many ekphrastic poems but even in his descriptions of individuals, as in his poems on the Milanese bishops. Ennodius displays a self-evident delight in contrast, antithesis, and paradox.[81] This interest is especially prominent in his sacred poetry, which is heavily invested in the mysteries of Christ and the squared-circle of lived Christian ethics (e.g., the chaste parent), but it permeates his writings. He is passionately devoted to variation, which finds realization on the macro-level in his numerous series on single themes or

unique objects and on the micro-level in his compulsive deployment of synonyms.[82] His lexical variability, however, often emerges in texts that repeat and revisit the same theme and idea again and again with a pleonastic "abundance of speech" (*abundantia sermonis*).[83] Ennodius' quest towards dazzling richness also emerges in the deployment of metaphor, especially when he takes a standard image—e.g., "apostolic milk"—and recharges it with shocking vividness ("his own right hand brims with the Gospel's teat," #2.122). Ennodius accumulates the favored devices of late antique poetics into what he styles "a rich language, a chastened style, a perfectly Latin character, well-structured eloquence."[84] Reflecting on the temptations posed by secular poetry after his recovery from a long illness, Ennodius confessed that he:

> delighted in poems constructed from well-arranged pieces, resting on a foundation of a well-arranged variety of meters. A supple or soft poem transported me among the choir of angels, and if it happened that I assembled some beautiful verse that respected the laws of meter, then I saw under my feet everything that is covered by the vault of heaven.[85]

5 Translator's remarks

> "*Then three, four times, his verses he rechecks*."
>
> (#6.16, "To Faustus")

Ennodius' rambling corpus contains untold riches, but it is not only Ennodius' challenging Latinity that will cause the reader confusion. Even the arrangement of Ennodius' works occasions disagreement. While there are signs that Ennodius planned an authorial edition for at least some of his poems, we possess them as part of a heterogenous archive that contained Ennodius' letters and other prose writings.[86] The modern editorial tradition divides neatly in two with Hartel's *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* edition of 1882 and Vogel's *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* edition of 1885.[87] Hartel deemed any original organization lost to time and so grudgingly followed the arrangement of one of the first competent modern editions, that of Sirmond in 1611, believing that "to indulge in new conjectures would be more of a hindrance than a help to readers."[88] Since letters occupy the bulk of Ennodius' corpus, Sirmond modelled his edition on the nine-book collection of Sidonius Apollinaris, dividing Ennodius' letters into as many books and appending miscellaneous *opuscula*, 28 declamations

(*dictiones*), and two books of poetry, one of which contained 21 hymns and the longer works and the other the remaining poems. Vogel, however, adhered closely to the order of texts found in the best manuscripts, which Vogel believed—and recent scholarship has confirmed—follow, in broad outline and with greater and lesser exceptions, a chronological archive.[89]

If this present edition were an omnibus endeavor, the choice of which editorial path to follow would be obvious. While Vogel's schema may not represent *the* truth, it seems closer to the collection that existed at the death of Ennodius, while the wholesale reordering and segregation of the Sirmond-Hartel axis introduces sense where there is (generative) confusion and isolation in place of provocative juxtaposition, causing additional woe for an author who hardly needs another weight placed on the scale.[90] But since our task is the presentation of the poetry, alongside a smattering of contextualizing prose, I found neither existing approach satisfactory.[91] Thus, the benefits of a hybrid approach recommend themselves, despite the apparent folly of introducing yet another numbering scheme. To provide the greatest context for the English reader, it seemed best to group Ennodius' works into the broad, generic categories outlined earlier: *Longer Poems*, *Hymns, Bishops of Milan, Epitaphs, Epigraphs, Ekphrastic Epigrams, Skoptic Epigrams*, and *Poems on Literary and Other Matters* (see the description of these categories in §1.3).[92] Within these categories, poems on similar themes have been drawn together (e.g., on horses or lawyers), but the overall sequence otherwise follows that in Vogel, and so the better manuscripts, and, perhaps, something like the original chronology. These works are referred to using their new numeration (e.g., #43), allowing the reader to quickly recognize and locate pieces translated in this volume, while other works by Ennodius maintain their Vogel numeration (see §1.8 for a collation of this volume's numeration with those in Vogel and Hartel). This attempt at categorization comes with a caveat. Some poems—the hymns, the portraits of the Milanese bishops, the epitaphs, many of the skoptic epigrams—will reside quite neatly within their categories. A few of the others, however, could easily find themselves differently situated. For example, the "Pedagogical exhortation" (#179) is one of Ennodius' longer poems; yet its content drew it into *Poems on Literary and Other Matters*. Conversely, two long poems to Faustus (#6) and Olybrius (#7) touch heavily on literary matters, yet they sit happily among the other *Longer Poems*. While most of the poems in *Epigraphs* seem to have been explicitly intended to be inscribed on buildings and objects, some could be fantastic and thus placed instead among the *Ekphrastic Epigrams*—some of which in turn might well have been inscribed. The categories, therefore, are porous, a proffered lens of interpretation but not necessarily an iron-clad declaration of genre.

Ennodius' poetry deserves a verse translation, the only mode that can capture some qualities of a style that contains nice touches—and occasionally strains language to (and sometimes past) the breaking point. Creating a readable, accessible, and metrical translation of Ennodius was a perplexing, exhilarating challenge. I first roughed out a literal line-by-line translation of the entire corpus. After I recast these verses in the requisite meters (see §1.6, "The meters of Ennodius"), I revised them with an eye towards producing effective poetry that remained as close as possible to the sense of Ennodius' lines. In this task I was guided by the following principals. First, every effort was made to convey the sense of Ennodius' lines within the confines of strict, analogous English meter. I attempted, whenever possible, to preserve the structure of Ennodius' verse, matching end-stop with end-stop, enjambment with enjambment. Whenever sense, meter, and my (in)ability confounded this goal—for example, when a particularly dense line required enjambment—I tried to compensate in a subsequent line, so that the overall sense of the poem's flow (or the opposite) endured. Within the individual line, however, Ennodius' word order necessarily yielded to the need for clarity and sense in English. Nevertheless, when possible, poetic effects, like assonance or internal rhyme, were gestured to in the translation, if not in the line proper then at the next possible instance, so that the overall tenor of the poem might more closely match its model. Except *in extremis*, meaning was never shifted more than a line away from its original seat (these are indicated in the notes); even the shifting of a line was rare and deployed as a last resort. One general exception is the skoptic epigrams, in which the effort to capture the wordplay and twists that animate such poems trumped the strict recapitulation of the exact structure in the translation.

Aligning the diction of the translated text with that found in Ennodius offered additional challenges. I attempted to capture the variation and repetition of terminology for which Ennodius strove. For example, I varied terms for death or wind in poems where these concepts appear in diverse multiples, unless foiled by the paucity of English (e.g., non-strange or hypertechnical words for 'clear water,' which Latin has in abundance). In marked contrast to the effusive obscurity of his prose, the usage in much of Ennodius' poetry will only occasionally flummox a reader familiar with classical and late antique verse. Yet Ennodius is not an author to shun a word because of its inconcinnity or because it was thought prosaic. A few of these jolts, noted in the text, arise from the slippage of meaning as Latin emerges into the early medieval period (e.g., the separation of *viscera* from its bodily connotations); but in other moments Ennodius will flip registers in a manner that would stagger a reader of Vergil (although perhaps less so Ovid or Lucan). So, all attempts were made to match the dictional level

found in Ennodius, avoiding *recherché*—if metrically convenient—English vocabulary unless it aligned with Ennodius' practice. But where Ennodius used unusual vocabulary, this was indulged. Thus, while a snake might be 'squamous,' I left it "scaly" since the adjective, while not overly common in Latin, was well-rooted within Latin poetic diction after Vergil. Ennodius is more partial to metaphor, especially innovative metaphor, than even your typical Latin poet.[93] If the metaphor were standard in the poetic tradition (e.g., 'oarage' for 'ship') I erred in offering the more intelligible rendering. But where Ennodius delved into the novel, inapt, or bizarre, his strangeness was preserved. At all moments I resisted the impulse to 'improve' the text as we have it, either through emendation, less faithful translation, or personal preference.

More broadly, I strove to maintain the clarity—and obscurity—of Ennodius' language. If a passage is straightforward, I attempt to render it thus; if, as often, the metaphors of his prose strain comprehension, I tried to convey the complexity, confusion, and obscurity of his text. Punctuation, however, was a concession made to intelligibility: in general, I preserved the length of sentences in poetry (excepting the *Hymns*), while I was more inclined to split his bafflingly long prose periods into packets more digestible by an English reader, lest Ennodius' massive periods or running lines introduce more confusion than was present in the Latin.

The notes first aim to orient readers to the important figures, events, places, and customs necessary for understanding and appreciating the poems. Except where it would be utterly jejune, poems receive a brief introduction that provides salient context, points the reader towards relevant bibliography, and identifies the poem's meter. By necessity, such information will be more robust when dealing with historical figures and places, as in the *Bishops of Milan*, the *Epigraphs*, and some of the *Long* or *Literary* poems, than in the more impressionistic, obscure, or fanciful *Ekphrastic* and *Skoptic* poems. It would be impossible in a work of this scale to do full justice to Ennodius' dense weft of allusions to classical and biblical predecessors. The notes, therefore, seek only to highlight the most interesting and to explain the most confounding of these. To assist with the quick identification of the shared language that anchors these references, words found in Ennodius and the other author are underlined, while analogous words are given in bold. So, for example, when Ennodius grounds a valedictory image of Ambrose (in #21.14) with a reference to Vergil's description of the deadly Calabrian serpent that threatens the shepherd in the *Georgics* (3.426, ***anguis/***<u>*squamea*</u> *convolvens sublato pectore* <u>*terga*</u>), *squamea* and *terga* are held in common by both texts, while Ennodius replaces Vergil's *anguis* with *serpens*. In general, the notes highlight shared language, but the

interpretation of these points of contact is left to the reader, unless interpretation of an allusion is integral to the basal understanding of the passage.[94] Yet the notes on poetic borrowings and analogies, while making no claim to comprehensiveness, are more robust than they might be for a more familiar author, given the dearth of commentaries and readily accessible scholarship on these poems, especially in English.[95] Likewise, I aim to offer the inquisitive reader copious direction to relevant scholarship, especially the rich and expanding work by sympathetic franco- and italophone scholars, but without fully summarizing their arguments or litigating their disputes. On occasion, the notes also allow a peek behind the translation, or a gloss to aid intelligibility, in those passages where Ennodius' sense is uncertain. Treatment of textual matters is kept to a minimum, addressing only those lines that seem irredeemably corrupt or the few places where I followed another editor over Vogel (see §1.7). A new critical edition of Ennodius' poetry—indeed the entire corpus—remains a desideratum.[96]

A brief note on titles: the reader will find titles that are unadorned and those enclosed by square brackets. The manuscript tradition preserves titles for most, although not all, of the poems and the general consensus is that many of these titles are either from Ennodius' own hand or that of the compiler of the collection, since they preserve information essential for motivating or disambiguating many of the poems: e.g., #35 (*Epitafium Habundanti V. I.*), #83 (*Versus De Cauco Cuiusdam Habente Pasiphae Et Taurum. Ex Tempore*), #88 (*Epigrammata De Murena Inl. F. Firminae Quae In Pistacio Clauditur, Ita Tenuis Est*).[97] For titles that preserve autograph or near-contemporary information, simple titles appear: e.g., "#59. On a baptistery, in which the angels offered to Christ the son of Armenius, who made penance." But titles are enclosed by square brackets if they seem likely to have been added by a later copyist or were added or augmented by me: e.g., "#68. [In front of the kitchen]."

6 The meters of Ennodius

Ennodius' diverse collection of poetry sports a matching range of meters. He composed (in descending order of frequency by number of lines): elegiac couplets, dactylic hexameters, iambic dimeters, Sapphics, Alcaic hendecasyllables, trochaic tetrameter catalectics, Phalaecean hendecasyllables, and adonics. All of Ennodius' meters follow the rules of classical prosody, which were based on the regular alternation of long and short syllables. Indeed, Ennodius' metrical practice is more than competent, even elegant, if rigid and not always flawless.[98] His metrics are, in general, decidedly conservative, hewing closely to the standards of well-regarded metricians of late antiquity,

while also revealing a rather dogmatic approach to the construction of individual lines.

Representing these aspects of Ennodius' poetic practice spoke to a need to render his poetry into traditional English meters that were as constrained as possible towards their standard or ideal form. To recreate Ennodius' poetry with any fidelity, analogous English meters based on the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables needed to be identified and adhered to with a studied tenacity, admitting even allowable deviations from the standard as rarely as possible. Next I will review the Latin form of each of Ennodius' meters and how I sought to approximate the form of each in accentual English prosody.

Symbols in Latin prosody		***Symbols in English prosody***	
—	long syllable	_	unstressed syllable
˘	short syllable	/	stressed syllable
x	anceps = long or short	|	caesura or weak break
/	metrical feet		
//	caesura or metrical break		

A. Elegiac couplets — ˘˘ / — ˘˘ /— // ˘˘ / — ˘˘ /— ˘˘ / — **x (first line)**
— ˘˘ / — ˘˘ / **x** // — ˘˘ / — ˘˘ / **x (second line)**

Elegiac couplets are, by a considerable margin, the most common Ennodian meter, appearing in the majority of poems (121 poems and 6 sections of polymetric works) and just more than half of his total lines (1,048 of 2,083).[99] Elegiac couplets were a flexible meter that appeared in numerous genres, from elegy to epigram, and this meter can be found in every primary genre of Ennodius' poetry with the exception of the hymns. The elegiac couplet consists of a line of dactylic hexameter followed by two half-hexameters (or *hemiepes*). This second line is often called a pentameter to characterize its abbreviated form compared to the opening hexameter, but this misstates its nature. A spondee (— —) can substitute for the dactylic feet (— ˘ ˘) in the hexameter and *hemiepes*, although typically only in the first four feet of the dactylic hexameter and the first *hemiepes*. There is a caesura (//) around the middle of the line, most typically after the long of the third foot in the hexameter and between the two *hemiepes*.

Identifying a suitable English meter that accurately modeled Ennodius' prosody while functioning analogously in English posed a challenge. It has been common—for centuries—to translate Latin hexameters into English blank verse, or unrhymed iambic pentameter. While the ten beats of an iambic pentameter would have been adequate in scope for transferring the sense

of Ennodius' Latin lines and has the happy benefit of enjoying a weighty tradition in English verse that matches the authority and endurance of Latin hexameter, it would also have necessitated an untenable compression of the couplet's hemiepic line into a mere eight beats. I found it impossible to render Ennodius' dense, often florid verse with even marginal fidelity within that restricted scope. Fortunately, a lesser used, but still storied, candidate was available for the hexameters: the Alexandrine, a 12-beat iambic line that was adapted into English from French heroic verse and that, like the Latin hexameter, possesses a strong mid-verse caesura:[100]

__ / __ / __ / | __ / __ / __ /

Most poets composing Alexandrines will vary verse-end by allowing occasional "feminine" or unstressed endings and will even expand or contract the length of the line by one or more syllables. With an eye to conveying the steady regularity of the Latin hexameter—and the near monotony of Ennodius' formulation of verse-end—I indulged the former very rarely and avoided the latter entirely, unless to represent a significant metrical lapse made by Ennodius.[101] I similarly regulated the opening of verse more than is typical in English poetry, although on very rare occasions I do admit an opening trochee (/ __) in place of the expected iamb (__ /); e.g. #21.2, "Ámbrose our bíshop, wíth wise cháractér." This, I felt, helped align my translation with Ennodius' conservative metrics, whose adherence to classical models distinguished his literary practice from the soundscape of his vernacular.[102] In keeping with standard English practice, I did, however, vary the position of the mid-verse break, which, while frequently in its canonical position, was shifted forward or back as needed for sense and meter.[103] The tendency of the Alexandrine to fall into halves, however, did assist in matching Ennodius' frequent enjambments, as well as his occasional internal rhyme.

With the hexameter managed, a line of iambic pentameter proved imminently suitable for the hemiepetic (or pentameter) line:

__ /__ / __ /__ / __ /

For example: "Boethius armed with a sword," #152.1–2:

— — — ◡ ◡—//— — — — ◡◡ — x
Languescit rigidi tecum substantia ferri,

— ◡◡ — ◡ ◡ — // — ◡ ◡—◡ ◡ x
Solvitur atque chalybs more fluentis aquae.

— / — / — / | — / — / — /
In your hand iron's hard material droops down,

— / — / — / — / — /
steel melts away just like a flowing stream.

Notable elegiac compositions include the preface to a poetic collection (#1), two itinerary poems (#3 and 4), his cycle on the bishops of Milan (#21–32), most of the epitaphs, skoptic poems, epigraphs, and ekphrases, in particular two epigrammatic *longa*: the 20-verse description of Faustus' library (#71); and the 22-verse portrait of the king's garden (#99).

B. Dactylic hexameter — ⏑⏑ / — ⏑⏑ / — // ⏑⏑ / — ⏑⏑ / — ⏑⏑ / — x

Ennodius used hexameters in 43 poems and 4 sections of polymetric compositions for a total of 526 lines, or just over a quarter of the corpus, although a significant chunk of these come in a single poem: the 170-verse celebration of Bishop Epiphanius (#2). Other notable hexametric poems are one of his itinerary poems (#5), two versified declamations (#166 and #180), and Ennodius' dreamlike account of a nighttime ride (#103). On the basic form and English analogue, see earlier text under "A. Elegiac couplets":

— / — / — / | — / — / — /

For example: "On the Church of Saint Xystus, restored by Bishop Laurentius," #46.5:

— ⏑⏑———//———— ⏑ ⏑ — —
Sed veteris facti vivit lex aucta per aevum

— / — / — / | — / — / — /
"The ancient covenant, increased through time, still lives"

C. Iambic dimeter x — ⏑ — / x — ⏑ —

Iambic dimeter was the quintessential meter for hymnody in late antiquity (e.g., Ambrose; Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2 and 5). Ennodius deploys it for all but one of his formal hymns (#9–15, 17–20). Each line consists of eight syllables in two, four-syllable feet, each containing two iambs (⏑—), with a long capable of substituting for the first short of most feet. In hymns, these are routinely grouped into four-line stanzas, although Ennodius (unlike e.g., Ambrose) frequently carries sense over from one stanza into the next.

English offered a ready analogue, by substituting stressed beats for the metrical longs and eliminating the metrical flexibility offered by substitutions. The result is a simple, eight-beat iambic line that was true to the Latin while matching the natural rhythm of English:

— / — / — / — /

For example: "Hymn for Ascension," #15.1:

— — ˘ — — — ˘ —
Iam Christus ascendit polum,

— / — / — / — /
"Today to heaven Christ ascends,"

D. Sapphics [— ˘ — x — ˘˘ — ˘ — —]^3 + — ˘˘ — x

Sapphics are a lyric stanza named after the great early Greek poet, Sappho of Lesbos. The Saphhic stanza consists of three lines in which a cretic (— ˘ —) introduces an acephalous hipponactean (x — ˘˘ — ˘ — —) followed by a fourth line containing a single adonic (— ˘˘ — x; on adonics, see section H, following). The meter was popularized in Latin by Catullus (11 and 51) and Horace (e.g., *Odes* 1.2, *Carmen Saeculare*), and Ennodius uses it in most of his polymetric compositions (#6.49–68, 8.29–52, 170.1–4, 179.29–44). The meter can be effectively converted into English by replacing longs with stressed syllables (e.g., Ginsberg's "hug me naked laughing & telling girl friends/gossip til autumn"). Thus:

[/ — / — / — — / — / —]^3 + / ——— / —

For example: "Epithalamium for Maximus," #8.35–36:

—˘ — — — ˘˘ — ˘ — —
Ditior cultu stetit effugato

— ˘ ˘ — x
Sparsa capillos

/ — / — / — — / — / —
She stood there more opulent, raiment banished,

/ — — / —
her fine hair tousled

E. Alcaic hendecasyllables **x — / ⏑ — / — // — ⏑⏑ / — ⏑ x**

Alcaic hendecasyllables, also known as the Greater Alcaic, contains lines of 11 syllables (hence its name) joined into four-verse stanzas—although, since each line in the stanza has the same meter, it is in effect a stichic meter. Ennodius used the Alcaic in a single poem, his "Hymn for Saint Euphemia" (#16), following both Ambrose and Prudentius, who had used the same meter in hymns for Saint Agnes.

For example: "Hymn for Saint Euphemia," #16.6:

— — ⏑ ——// — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ x
Quae lingua possit, quis valeat stilus?

/ / — / — / — — / — —
Can virtue ever reach a fixed boundary?

F. Trochaic tetrameter (catalectic) **— ⏑ — x / — ⏑ — x // — ⏑ — x / — ⏑ —**

Also known as trochaic septenarii, each line of trochaic tetrameter catalectic contains 15 syllables, assembled into four feet of two trochees (—⏑), although the final syllable of each foot is flexible and can be a long or short (x) and most long syllables can resolve into two short syllables as needed. The final foot is truncated by a syllable (i.e., catalectic, 'left off') producing the 15-syllable line. Trochaic tetrameter catalectic was the standard meter for dialogue in Latin drama, but it did appear outside the theater in riddles, popular songs, and slanderous ditties. In late antiquity, we find it in the beautiful spring poem, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, as well as hymns, including some by Hilary of Poitiers (3.4) and Fortunatus' famous *Pange lingua*. Ennodius deployed it in a single poem (#175) and in several sections of polymetric compositions. As with iambic dimeter, English had on hand a ready analogue through substituting stressed beats for the metrical longs, eliminating the metrical flexibility of substitutions and resolutions, and relaxing the caesurae, leaving only a lightly felt mid-verse break. The result:

/ — / — / — / — | / — / — / — /

For example: "Pedagogical exhortation," #179.45:

— ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — // — ⏑ – – — ⏑ —
Mentibus damus saporem, dum polimus fabulas.

/ — / — / — / — | / — / — / — /
We endow your minds with flavor while we polish our small tales.

G. Phalaecean hendecasyllables x x / — ⏑⏑ / — ⏑ / — ⏑ / — x

Phalaecean hendecasyllables sport an 11-syllable line (as its name suggests) that was popular with Catullus, Martial, and subsequent epigrammatists. It had a reputation for being applied to feisty social commentary and saucy personal attacks, although epigrammatists used it in a wide range of topic and tones. While Ennodius does compose some epigrams in the spirit of Martial, he confines his hendecasyllables to three, largely inoffensive, polymetric compositions: the opening poem in the "Pedagogical exhortation" (#179.1–12), the conclusion of his epithalamium for Maximus (#8.124–128), and his second epitaph for Cynegia (#38.5–7). In English, it is common to create hendecasyllables by simply adding an unstressed eleventh syllable to an iambic pentameter (e.g., Keats' "Endymion": "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"). But there have been a few attempts to match the ancient meter, like Swinburne in "Hendecasyllabics" ("In the month of the long decline of roses"), while others, employed a variation that sits more naturally with English rhythm, like Frost in "For Once, Then Something" ("Others taunt me with having knelt at well-curbs"). Frost's model seemed an effective compromise for translating the three Ennodian hendecasyllabic poems:

/ ‿ / ‿ ‿ / ‿ / ‿ / ‿

For example: "Epitaph for Cynegia (II)," #38.5:

— — —⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ – ⏑ — x
Disiecit lacrimas medela cordis.

/ ‿ / ‿ ‿ / ‿ / ‿ / ‿
Medicine of the soul dispels all my tears.

H. Adonics — ⏑⏑ — x

The adonic is a simple meter comprised of a single dactyl and spondee (i.e., the final two feet of the standard dactylic hexameter). It typically appears at the end of a lyric stanza, but Ennodius deployed the line to conclude two complex polymetric compositions (#6 and #179).[104] To create slightly more space than would be afforded by using a Latin iamb for the English dactyl, used for the dactylic hexameter and elegiac couplets, these are rendered in English as an accentual dactyl followed by a trochee:

/ ‿ ‿ / ‿
Example: "To Faustus," #6.69:

— ◡◡ — x
Lux mea, Fauste,

/ — — / —
My light, O Faustus

7 Deviations from Vogel's text

Poem	*Vogel*	*Reading in this volume*	*Vogel (1885) reading*
#2.86	43.86	*saecli* (Hartel)	*Saeclis*
#2.163	43.163	*quae* (*CPb*)	*quem*
#10.16	342.16	*vates* (Hartel et al.)	*vatis*
#11.24	343.24	*schemate* (Sirmond)	*schemata*
#14.1	346.1	*haec* (*B*)	[omits]
#14.7	346.7	*regit* (Hartel)	*egit*
#15.14	347.14	*propulit* (Hartel)	*pertulit*
#17.26	349.26	*Mediolanum* (Hartel)	*Mediolanium*
#18.22	350.22	*adcepit* (*B*)	*adcipit*
#18.30	350.30	*Quae sede* (Dreves)	**** de*
#20.9	352.9	*dat* (Hartel)	*dic*
#71.20	70.20	*laudis* (Hartel)	*ludus*
#77.13	164.13	*frontem* (Hartel)	*frondem*
#164.2	373.2	*certet* (Mulligan)	*certat*

8 Collation between this and other editions

LLP	*Vogel*	*Hartel*	*LLP*	*Vogel*	*Hartel*	*LLP*	*Vogel*	*Hartel*
1	187	2.66	**15**	347	1.16	**31**	205	2.87
2	43	1.9	**16**	348	1.17	**32**	206	2.88
3	2	1.6	**17**	349	1.18	**33**	207	2.89
4	245	1.1	**18**	350	1.19	**34**	46	2.1
5	423	1.5	**19**	351	1.20	**35**	50	2.2
6	26	1.7	**20**	352	1.21	**36**	215	2.95
7	27	1.8	**21**	195	2.77	**37**	219	*Epist*. 5.7
8	386	*Epist*. 8.10	**22**	196	2.78	**38**	361	*Epist*. 7.28
8	387	*Epist*. 8.11	**23**	197	2.79	**38**	362	*Epist*. 7.29
8	388	1.4	**24**	198	2.80	**39**	230	2.99
9	341	1.10	**25**	199	2.81	**40**	325	2.117
10	342	1.11	**26**	200	2.82	**41**	333	2.130
11	343	1.12	**27**	201	2.83	**42**	354	2.135
12	344	1.13	**28**	202	2.84	**43**	375	2.148
13	345	1.14	**29**	203	2.85	**44**	462	2.5
14	346	1.15	**30**	204	2.86	**45**	465	2.6

LLP	*Vogel*	*Hartel*
46	96	2.8
47	97	2.9
48	100	2.11
49	101	2.12
50	102	2.13
51	103	2.14
52	104	2.15
53	105	2.16
54	112	2.17
55	179	2.51
56	183	2.60
57	453	2.151
58	128	2.20
59	147	2.34
60	181	2.56
61	379	2.149
62	99	2.10
63	162	2.37
64	162a	2.38
65	162b	2.39
66	162c	2.40
67	162d	2.41
68	162e	2.42
69	162f	2.43
70	260	2.110
71	70	2.3
72	469	2.4
73	156	2.36
74	127	2.19
75	470	2.7
76	163	2.44
77	164	2.45
78	210	2.92
79	211	2.93
80	126	2.18
81	129	2.21
82	130	2.22
83	133	2.25
84	136	2.29
85	136a	2.30
86	136b	2.31
87	233	2.103
88	165	2.46
89	165a	2.47
90	165b	2.48
91	165c	2.49
92	229	2.98
93	209	2.91
94	224	*Epist*. 5.8
95	231	2.100
96	232	2.101
97	232a	2.102
98	264	2.111
99	267	2.114
100	267a	2.115
101	267b	2.116
102	266	2.113
103	330	2.128
104	212	2.94
105	355	2.136
106	328	2.124
107	329	2.125
108	329a	2.126
109	329b	2.127a
110	329c	2.127b
111	332	2.129
112	338	2.131
113	353	2.134
114	131	2.23
115	132	2.24
116	134	2.26
117	134a	2.27
118	134b	2.28
119	148	2.35
120	191	2.73
121	169	2.50
122	180	2.52
123	180a	2.53
124	180b	2.54
125	180c	2.55
126	182	2.57
127	182a	2.58
128	182b	2.59
129	184	2.61
130	184a	2.62
131	184b	2.63
132	185	2.64
133	189	2.68
134	186	2.65
135	194	2.76
136	143	2.33
137	190	2.69
138	190a	2.70
139	190b	2.71
140	190c	2.72
141	192	2.74
142	193	2.75
143	216	2.96
144	217	2.97
145	238	2.106
146	265	2.112
147	326	2.118
148	326a	2.119
149	326b	2.120
150	326c	2.121
151	326d	2.122
152	339	2.132
153	340	2.133
154	364	2.137
155	364a	2.138
156	364b	2.139
157	364c	2.140
158	365	2.141
159	367	2.143
160	374	2.147
161	140	2.32
162	371	2.144
163	372	2.145
164	373	2.146
165	188	2.67
166	208	*Dict*. 24
166	208	2.90
167	213	1.2
168	234	2.104
169	237	2.105
170	256	2.107
171	257	2.108
172	257	2.109
173	262	1.3
174	320	*Dict*. 12
175	327	2.123
176	335	*Epist*. 7.21
177	366	2.142
178	451	2.150
178	451	*Dict*. 13
179	452	*Opusc*. 6
180	466	*Dict*. 28

Notes

1 Kennell has suggested that Ennodius' family emigrated from Colophon in Asia Minor, which might explain his unusual name (there was a cult of Ennodia in Colophon) and the tendency for his female relatives to have suspiciously Greek names (e.g., his sister, Eutrepia; Archotamia; etc.).

2 Figure 1 presents one possible configuration of his immediate family. The precise details of Ennodius' paternity are less important than the broad outlines of his early life and familial connections. But, briefly, in 69.4V he writes to his nephew Lupicinus as he embarks to study with Deuterius of Milan that he should honor his grandparents Firminus and Licerius. Ennodius also writes to a certain Firminus (12V, 40V); perhaps the correspondent of Sidon. *Epist.* 9.1), who was a relative of Ennodius but not his father, which has called into question whether the other Firminus was indeed Ennodius' father. Sirmond suggested that Camillus, who reached a high but uncertain political position and even attended a banquet with the Emperor Majorian, was Ennodius' father (Sidon. *Epist.* 1.11, *CIL* 8.1358, 158V); but the significance of *parentes* and other terms of (blood) kinship are notoriously unstable in Ennodius' time (Kennell 2000, 140 n. 64). The most extensive recent accounts of Ennodius' life and works are: Kennell 2000, esp. 128–167; Gioanni 2006, I.viii–xxxiv; see also *PCBE* II.620–632; Vogel 1885, i–xxviii; Gastaldelli 1973; Fertig 1855.

3 Ennodius' sprawling cousin-network has been documented by Marconi 2013, 13–20, 137–141; Knox 2019.

4 Cf. Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus (*PLRE* 2.192–193); Ennodius Messala (*PLRE* 2.759–760).

5 It is not necessary (although also not impossible) to imagine that Ennodius attended school in Milan, still less with Deuterius, the famed grammarian of the city, with whom Ennodius would later forge a close connection; but see Marconi 2013, 8–9 on 69V.13–15.

6 Arnold 2014, 12; cf. Marconi 2013, 87–92.

7 It has been suggested that the *filola* to whom Ennodius was betrothed (438V.22) was Speciosa (35V, 36V, 48V.6), although his rests on very thin evidence; see Kennell 2000, 148–149; Marconi 2013, 5.

8 For Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior Niger (*PLRE* 2.454), see #6; for Bishop Epiphanius, see #2. Kennell (2000, 7, 148–149) argues that Ennodius was briefly married; Ferrai, on the basis of a novel emendation, argued for a much longer, consummated marriage (1893, 955); Vogel had categorically rejected this possibility (1885, vi).

9 On the embassy, see Moorhead 1992, 52–54.

10 Poems translated in this volume will be referenced by their number to facilitate consultation by the reader.

11 On the question of Ennodius' pedagogical role during this time, see "Poems," n. 1056; Marconi 2013.

12 See Marconi 2017, 534–541; Urlacher 2008, 258.

13 Ennodius did not disguise his disappointment, writing to Avienus that "no consolation for my miseries is possible, and when the things that I deserved are placed before my eyes, the less worthy the chosen man is and the faults of the man passed over are revealed" (314V.1). A bitter Ennodius even suggests that money played a decisive role in the election of the wealthy Eustorgius (Kennell 2000, 144).

14 In a letter to Olybrius Ennodius declares that they should abandon "the fabrications of old women and poets and reject antiquity's fables" immediately before conceding that, if mythological exemplars remain pleasing, then virtuous examples should be put to "novel use" (13V.4, *nobis, si placet in novellum usum maiorum exempla revocare . . .*).
15 It is possible, perhaps even probable, that these documents were collected, as had been his works in Milan, but that the vicissitudes of history proved less fortuitous for his works in Pavia, which endured sacks by the Lombards, Franks, and most decisively the Magyars in 924.
16 Gillett 2003, 227–230; Moorhead 1992, 195–196; for contemporary accounts of the embassies, see Avitus, *Epist.* 41–42; Hormisdas, *Epist.* 7, 8, 10, 27, 33, 34, 37.
17 *LP* 54.2–4; *Collectio Avellana*, *ad loc*.
18 The Gibbonic symbolism of 476 as the terminus of the western empire emerged early—it can be found in sixth-century historians in the East like Marcellinus Comes and Procopius—and still has force, e.g., the title of Kruse 2019: *The Politics of Roman Memory. From the Fall of the Western Empire to the Age of Justinian*. For a pithy summary of the lingering thrall cast by the rhetoric of decline and decadence on scholars of this period, see Formisano 2007, 277–281.
19 As Bjornlie observes, the dawn of Ostrogothic Italy was "a setting where not only discontinuity, rupture, and transition but also continuity were the norm" (2020, 3); see also Arnold 2020.
20 E.g., Sidon. *Epist*. 7.7 (c. 474/5); in that or following year, Odovacer (or Julius Nepos) abandoned southern France to the Visigothic king Euric.
21 Arnold aptly characterized this perspective on the later fifth century as "catastrophic continuity" (2014, 15); on contemporary assessments of Odovacer, see Moorhead 1992, 27–30.
22 Ennod. 80V.54, 58.
23 Ennod. 80V.82–84.
24 Ennodius would, significantly, refer to Odovacer's political entity as a "kingdom" (*regnum Odovacris*, 80V.101); but this was to differentiate his rule from Rome's glorious return under Theodoric; on Ennodius' vision of Rome's republican past, see Marconi 2017, 530–534.
25 Ennod. 80V.97–98.
26 Ennod. 80V.109.
27 Ennod. 80V.109; see Moorhead 1992, 46–47. Ennodius' perspective on Theodoric has been well documented, note esp. Rota 2002, 2001 ("Teoderico . . ."), 1998 ("Su un passo . . ."); Rohr 2006, 2002, 2001, 1999, 1995; Russo 2008; Schröder 2005; Delle Donne 2001, 1998.
28 Ennod. 80V.119–120. For a succinct account of the coming of Theodoric and his reign, see Heydemann 2016.
29 Ennod. 263V.80, 458V.7.
30 Ennod. 80V.186–187 (*boni principis . . . boni imperatoris . . .*); see also Arnold 2014, 180; on the *quies generalis,* see Arnold 2014, 127–141, 179–230.
31 Ennod. 80V.141–144.
32 Ennod. 263V.58; Cassiod. *Var.* 2.16.4.
33 Ennod. 263V.56; Cassiod. *Var.* 7.15.1.
34 49V.120 (*mundi caput Romam*); cf. *orbis parentem urbem* (49V.128), *orbis domina* (263V.30); on Rome as a center of culture and especially liberal education, see #179 §18–25; 290V.1 ("friend to liberal education"); 282V.2 ("the birthplace

of learning"). For Ennodius' almost exclusive use of *papa* ('pope') for the bishop of Rome, see Sirmond 1611, 18; but cf. two instances in which Epiphanius is so called: 43V (only in the title) and 80V.91.

35 On the Laurentian Schism, see "Appendix I," #190.11–12; Moorhead 1978; Sardella 1996; Llewellyn 1976; Moorhead 1992, 114–139; Knox 2019, 216–222; Gioanni 2006 II.vii–xiv.

36 *LP* 45–46; Moorhead 1992, 114–139; Moorhead 1978, 134–135.

37 The anti-Symmachan pamphlet was titled *Adversus synodum absolutionis incongruae*. Although lost, its particulars can be reconstructed by analysis of Ennodius' retort (Kennell 2000, 188–201).

38 Ennod. 49V. On Ennodius' relationship with Boethius, see Shanzer 1983; Urlacher-Becht 2012, 214–219, 225; Kennell 2000, 195–197; Knox 2019.

39 *LP* 54.

40 Several churches never rejoined the unified church, including Antioch, which after 512 was led by the staunchly anti-Chalcedonian Severus.

41 The combinatory nature of some of Ennodius' works explains the caginess about the exact count of Ennodius' poems. Does one count a polymetric epitaph as one poem or two? Do we consider a prosimetric work with eight poetic sections one work or several? For simplicity's sake, this edition combines presentation whenever sensible, yielding 180 pieces, all but two of which are by Ennodius (#159, 162).

42 See §1.5 for information about the corpus in the manuscript tradition and the rationale for divvying up Ennodius' poetry in the manner described.

43 On Ennodius' participation in extended networks of patronage and *amicitia,* see Marconi 2013; Knox 2019; Gioanni 2006, I.lxvii–lxxvi; Riché 1976, 24–32; Lozovsky 2016, 325; Kennell 2000, 128–167.

44 Pavlovskis, surveying the use of prose prefaces to poetic works, observes that "among the Latin writers of the Fourth and Fifth centuries none combines prose and verse more frequently and more strikingly than does Ennodius" (1967, 559).

45 Sundwall suggested that all of the hymns were composed in the winter of 508/9 (1919, 7–8); but Bartlett has cautioned that this is unlikely (2003, 60). Four additional hymns in the Mozarabic Liturgy have been misattributed to Ennodius but Urlacher-Becht has shown decisively how they were mistakenly appended to earlier editions of Ennodius' hymns (2014, 269).

46 Urlacher-Becht has observed that the order of the hymns in the manuscripts falls in the reverse order of the liturgical calendar (2014, 271)—such are the pleasures of working with Ennodius.

47 Urlacher-Becht 2014, 311–316.

48 Urlacher-Becht 2014, 279, 284–310; Di Rienzo 2005 ("L'Hymnus Vespertinus . . .").

49 Urlacher-Becht has observed that Ennodius' hymns do have a repeated structure, but one more subtle than that in Ambrose, with a mirroring of the first and last sections embedding narrative and perhaps a central ekphrastic panel (2014, 282); see also Di Rienzo 2007.

50 Urlacher-Becht 2014, 410, 429–438.

51 It is interesting that the number of bishops coincides with the that of Christ and the Apostles, pictorial depictions of which may had provided an iconographical model for this series of portraits (Urlacher-Becht 2014, 231).

52 On the various hypotheses for the location of the portraits (now lost), see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 233–327. Several of these inscriptions (#23–34, 26–27, 31) survived to be transcribed (and 'corrected') in the sixteenth century by Alciat, but are now lost (Urlacher-Becht 2011, 175–176).
53 For other late antique catalogues of apostles, saints, or martyrs, cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm*. 19.76–84; Prudent. *Perist*. 4.17–60; Fortun. *Carm*. 8.3.137–176.
54 On Christian epitaphs, see Roberts 2009, 10–36; Trout 2019; Consolino 1976.
55 Ennodius, of course, did visit Rome as the supporter of Pope Symmachus.
56 On the epigraphic context for these epigrammatic series, see Cugusi 2009–2010.
57 As Goldhill observes, ekphrastic epigrams "are directive . . . . The viewing subject is an articulate, educated chap, and these poems . . . set out to make you a viewer *like this*. Epigrams are brief, but they are both agonistic and normative" (2007, 19). The categorization of such poems as "ekphrastic" is not without controversy (see e.g., Zanker 2003) but as Squire notes, such poems "offered readers a *different* sort of "visualization" from the visual arts, writers actively interrogated what it means to view, and indeed to represent viewing through the verbal medium of language" (2010, 592 n.15).
58 On replicative epigrammatic series in late antique epigram, see Mulligan 2016; Squire 2010.
59 On Ennodius' declamations or *dictiones*, see esp. Navarra 1972; Fini 1982–1984.
60 Although Cassiodorus and Ennodius are (just) contemporaries, no communication between the two survives. The Gallo-Italian Ennodius and the Calabrian Cassiodorus moved in different social networks, and there was, apparently, no cause for Ennodius, when he was still in Milan, to write to the young Cassiodorus. And once Ennodius returned to the increasingly peripheral Pavia, there would be little cause for Cassiodorus to communicate with him (Vogel 1885, xvi).
61 Knox 2019; Kennell 2000, *passim* and esp. 141–144.
62 On Ennodius as an epistolographer, see Kennell 2017; Gioanni 2006, I.xxxiv–lxxxi; on the nature of the corpora of Sidonius and Cassiodorus, see Mratschek 2016 and Bjornlie 2016, respectively.
63 On this tension and animating paradox in Christian rhetoric, see Cameron 1994, 155–188.
64 On the dynamic nature of identity in late antiquity, see Rebillard 2020; as Rebillard observes, apropos of Ausonius, there is "no reason to expect a full congruence between his literary work and his religious identity" (2020, 27). Earlier assessments tended to be more dismissive of Ennodius' relationship with his faith, drawing facile connections with Ausonius and Sidonius (comparisons that no doubt would have otherwise pleased Ennodius): e.g., Raby 1953, 117: "perhaps the last representative of the futile attempt to reconcile a radically pagan culture with the profession of Christian religion"); Simonetti 1986, 72–73: "we cannot, however, call him a Christian man of letters. We only rarely find him engaged with the ecclesiastical, since being a Christian does not imprint on himself the whole of life and work"); for more sympathetic and nuanced portraits, see esp. Kennell 2000; Urlacher-Becht 2014; Vandone 2001.

65 Kennell's assessment is well taken: "Ennodius was not a great man for all time, intellectually and ethically speaking, but a man of his time; then we should consider him both a clergyman and an above-average rhetorician" (2000, 17).
66 Urlacher-Becht 2014, 428; Gioanni 2006, I.cxli–cxliv; Rohr 1995, 170. On the influence of Ennodius' composition of poetry in the adonic meter, see Lapidge 1977, 256–257.
67 Arnulf, *Epist*. 27 (to Henry of Pisa); Arnulf's criticism, that Ennodius' style "batters any attempt to understand it" (*intelligentiam potius sermo tenebrosus obtundit*) would be a fair representation of the general reaction of modern scholars who have heard of, but not engaged deeply with, Ennodius—and even many who have! (e.g., Mondin 2019, 588: "a convoluted style verging on obscurity, which is typical of Ennodius' writing as a whole").
68 Kennell 2000; Gasti 2001; on earlier scholarship, see esp. Carini 1987.
69 Arnulf, *Epist.* 27.4 (*facie difficilis et obscurus*); Dubois 1903, 489 ("Quelle différence entre le style d'Ennodius et celui de ses maîtres classiques!").
70 Dubois 1903 remains the standard treatment of Ennodius' style; but see also Vogel 1885, "Index rerum et vocabularum"; Trahey 1905; López Kindler 2012, 32–36; the full treatment in Gioanni 2006, I.xcvi–cxxxiii; Polara 1993 for a fair meditation; and Rota 2002, 99–117 on Ennodius' idiosyncrasies in morphology, syntax, and semantics.
71 Dubois 1903, 509–510; Gioanni 2006, I.cxiii–cxvi; on his construction of clausulae, see Fougnies 1951, I.ciii–cvii.
72 Ennod. 12V.2 (*ubi scaber sermo angustiam pauperis signat ingenii nec conceptum suum in ordinem digerendo noctem studio elocutionis interserit et nebulosae narrationis ambiguo quandam generat de ipsa explanatione caecitatem*); 48V.1 (*diademata simplex conloquii cultus abiurat: epistularis communio si quando affectatum decorem fugit, obtinuit*); cf. Gioanni 2006, I.cvii–cxii.
73 On revision, see e.g., Ennod. 12V.1–2, 39V.3, 48V.3.
74 Ennod. 12V.2, 48V.1; Gioanni 2006, I.cvii–cviii.
75 Ennod. #176 §3.
76 Gioanni 2006, I.ciii; cf. Alfonsi's characterization of Ennodian Latinity as "precious to the point of hermeticism" (1975, 305). Schröder, in asking "why is reading Ennodius so difficult?", highlights how Ennodius' style almost seems to intentionally invert Quintilian's advice for avoiding obscurity in *Instit.* 8.1–2 (2007, 53).
77 Roberts 2009, 6; cf. Ennodius' identification of writing as "the exercise of style" (*stili exercitium*, Ennod. 49V.2).
78 Gioanni 2005, 172 ("The impression of superficiality which arises today from these letters results mainly from our difficulty in understanding their codes of epistolary exchange, in extracting the different degrees of meaning, and in reconstructing their intrinsic ambiguity"); Kennell 2003, 115 ("Ennodius' topicality is often our obscurity; I doubt his correspondents experienced the difficulties we do").
79 López Kindler 2012, 32.
80 Roberts 1989, 41; Lozovsky 2016, 317.
81 Dubois 1903, 495–497.

82 For example, we find seven synonyms for water in eight lines of #61; in #83, the first of five epigrams on a goblet inscribed with the scene of Pasiphae and the bull, contains three synonyms for bull in six lines; cf. Schröder's exhaustive list of Ennodius' synonyms for "letter" (2007, 59); Gioanni 2006, I.cxiv. I intend to examine Ennodius' series as a particular manifestation of late antique epigrammatic practice in a subsequent work.

83 Ennod. 313V.3 (*o si suppeteret sermonis abundantia ad ea quae cupit animus exponenda aut illa, ad quae lingua sufficit, non pudor eriperet*); Dubois 1903, 499–500, 521–523.

84 Ennod. 40V.3 (*ubertas linguae, castigatus sermo, Latiaris ductus, quadrata constat elocutio*).

85 Ennod. 438V.5–6 (*delectabant carmina quadratis fabricata particulis et ordinata pedum varietate solidata. angelorum choris me fluxum aut tenerum poema miscebat, et si evenisset, ut essem clarorum versuum servata lege formator, sub pedibus meis subiectum quicquid caeli tegitur axe cernebam*); cf. Sen. *Epist.* 114.20 (*haec ergo et eiusmodi vitia . . . iracundi hominis iracunda oratio est, commoti nimis incitata, delicati tenera et fluxa*); see also Vandone 2001.

86 See #1 in this volume; Wasyl 2018, 608; Mondin 2014–2015, 159–160; Urlacher-Becht 2014, 98; Gioanni 2006, 62 ("Nouvelles hypotheses . . ."); Gioanni 2006, I.cxxxiv–cliii.

87 The Latin text of both editions represented substantial improvements over what had come before, and I have drawn on Hartel's often prudent emendations in finding my way through Vogel's text (see §1.7); on the history of the text, see Kennell 2000 ("Ennodius and His Editors"); Di Rienzo 2005, 9–19; Gioanni 2006, I.cxxxiv–clxxxi. The Latin texts of Sirmond, Hartel, and Vogel are all available on Google Books; a lemmatization of Ennodius' poems is available at github.com/GitClassical/Ennodius.

88 Hartel 1882, xv.

89 Vogel 1885, liv, clarified by Vogel 1898. Ennodius' collection, therefore, bucks the tendency of most ancient epistolographic collections to be grouped by theme, addressee, etc. (Gibson 2012). After many decades of debate following Vogel, the view that the manuscripts contain a (roughly) chronological archive holds the field thanks to the work of Sundwall, who opined that only four pieces were misfiled (1919). Bartlett 2003, however, has since questioned the validity of Sundwall's chronology for Ennodius' poems and Gioanni has further cast doubt on the entire idea of a contemporary compilation, instead seeing the collection as the product of Carolingian interest in the author (Gioanni 2006 ("Nouvelles hypotheses . . .")). As a result, I mention, with caution, dates of composition only when they are certain or relevant. Since the now canonical dates seem likely to be at least directionally correct, unless otherwise indicated the chronology in this volume follows that of Sundwall, tempered by the caveats of Bartlett 2003, see n. 91.

90 For a rich account of the early editorial tradition and its relationship with the manuscript evidence, see Kennell 2000 ("Ennodius and His Editors"); see also Gioanni 2006, I.cliv–clxxxi; Urlacher-Becht 2010 ("La tradition . . ."); Fini 2000.

91 Although the transmitted order may preserve a rough chronology for his prose works, it is doubtful that the same chronological coherency prevails for

Ennodius' poems, most of which can only be dated tentatively through their proximity to datable prose works, and many of which appear in groups that would suggest, improbably, that Ennodius at regular intervals exclusively wrote poetry for extended periods of time (Bartlett 2003). Bartlett instead suggests that the poems may derive from an inchoate poetic collection of the kind promised by #1 that was then distributed throughout the archive on principals known only to the compiler, although, as with so much about Ennodius, this too comes with caveats and exceptions (2003, 68).

92 This scheme has a back-to-the-future quality. Schott's edition, which like Sirmond's appeared in 1611, also clustered the hymns, epigrams, epitaphs, and other poems. Di Rienzo's treatment of all the shorter poems (2005) likewise contained sections for the epitaphs, bishops of Milan, epigraphs, descriptive epigrams, satiric epigrams, and literary epigrams.

93 Dubois 1903, 489–495; on his epistolary metaphors, see Gioanni 2006, I.cxvii–cxxiii.

94 The language used to identify these points of linguistic contact is, intentionally, varied to avoid imputing interpretation where there is only observation, although I do tend to reserve "allusion" for seemingly intentional references that have interpretative significance; on the referential continuum in late antique poetry and the increasing frequency of formal citation without, necessarily, deep thematic engagement, see the account by Kaufmann (2017).

95 My notes on Ennodius' borrowings in prose are somewhat sparer, in large part because of this volume's focus on poetry; there remains much profitable work to be done in this area.

96 Urlacher-Becht 2014, 439 n. 641.

97 On the authenticity of these titles, see Di Rienzo 2005, 219–231; Lausberg 1982, 473, 505–506. The addition of *versus* or *epigrammata* to these titles seems likely to have occurred at a later point, but even where the bulk of the title is ancient, I hew to a simpler presentation of the title.

98 Quantified studies confirm the intuitive sense when reading Ennodius that his metrical practice is studiously classicizing (Rasi 1902, 1902, 1904; Condorelli 2003). Vogel documented fewer than 70 instances of incorrect or questionable scansion in Ennodius' verse (cf. Hartel 1882, 652, 697–698), although many of these (mostly minor) foibles find precedent in classical models (Rasi 1902, 111; 1904, 196; 1904 ("Saggio..."), 959–971) or are themselves quotations from classical poets (Condorelli 2003, 81). On Ennodius' prose rhythms, see esp. Gioanni 2006, I.ciii–cvii; Fougnies 1951.

99 The analysis by Rasi confirms the metical elegance of Ennodius' elegiacs (1902, 140).

100 This meter is sometimes called iambic trimeter or English short meter.

101 On Ennodius' metrical regularity, see Rasi 1904; Condorelli 2003, 88. All but two of Ennodius' hexameters end with a dactyl in the fifth foot and 99% of his hexameters end with either a trisyllable and disyllable or a disyllable and trisyllable (Condorelli 2003, 88).

102 Condorelli 2003, 80.

103 Ennodius deploys a strong or weak mid-verse caesura in nearly 95% of his hexameters (Rasi 1904, 167).

104 Precedents for continuous adonics can be found in *AL* 322, 357 R and Martianus Capella (2.125), who likely inspired Boethius to conclude the first book of the *PC* with adonics (*Metrum* 7).

9 Bibliography

Alfonsi, L. “Ennodio letterato (Nel XV centenario della nascita).” *Studi romani* 23 (1975): 303–310.

Alfonsi, L. “Ambrogio in Ennodio, II.” In: *Ambrosius Episcopus. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel 16. centenario della elevazione di Sant’Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale, Milano 2–7 dicembre 1974*, Vol. 2, G. Lazzati (ed.). Milan, 1976, 125–129.

Amherdt, D. “Le *Protrepticus ad nepotem* d’Ausone: rhétorique et humour, ou Ausone est-il sérieux?” *Mnemosyne* 63.1 (2010): 43–60.

Arnold, J. J. *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration*. Cambridge, 2014.

Arnold, J. J. “Hagiography, Memory, and the Fall of Rome in Ostrogothic Italy.” In: *Leadership and Community in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Raymond Van Dam*, Y. R. Kim and A. T. McLaughlin (eds.). Turnhout, 2020, 281–300.

Barnish, S. B. “Liberty and Advocacy in Ennodius of Pavia: The Significance of Rhetorical Education in Late Antique Italy.” In: *Hommages à Carl Deroux, Vol. 5: Christianisme et Moyen Age Néo-latin et survivance de la latinité*, P. Defosse (ed.). Brussels, 2003, 20–28.

Bartlett, R. “The Dating of Ennodius’ Writings.” In: *Atti della seconda Giornata Ennodiana*, E. d’Angelo (ed.). Naples, 2003, 55–74.

Bernstein, N. W. “*Nec tibi sufficiat transmissae gloria vitae*: *Otium* and Ambition from Statius to Ennodius.” *Classical Journal* 115.1 (2019): 63–85.

Bernt, G. *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter*. Munich, 1968.

Bjornlie, S. “The Letter Collection of Cassiodorus.” In: *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, C. Sogno, B. K. Storin, and E. J. Watts (eds.). Berkeley, 2016, 433–448.

Bjornlie, S. *The Selected Letters of Cassiodorus: A Sixth-Century Sourcebook*. Oakland, 2020.

Bloomer, W. M. “Schooling in Persona: Imagination and Subordination in Roman Education.” *Classical Antiquity* 16.1 (1997): 57–78.

Bordone, F. “Ennodio e la conversione dell’eloquenza: *l’hymnus sancti Cypriani* (*carm*. 1.12H=343V).” *Athenaeum* 100 (2013): 621–667.

Braidotti, C. “*Prefazioni in distici elegiaci*.” In: *La Poesia cristiana latina in distici elegiaci. Atti del convegno internazionale, Assisi, 20–22 marzo 1992*, F. Santucci and G. Catanzaro (eds.). Assisi, 1993, 57–83.

Brocca, N. “Ennodio e il ‘caso’ dei due epitaffi per Cinegia.” In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 10–11 novembre 2004)*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 123–142.

Bruno, E. “Lettura degli *Itineraria* di Magno Felice Ennodio.” *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 54.2 (2012): 301–315.

Cameron, A. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley, 1994.

Carini, M. “Recenti contributi alla critica Ennodiana (1960–1983).” *Quaderni Catanesi* 9 (1987): 327–342.

Carini, M. “*L’itinerarium Brigantionis Castelli* di Ennodio: Una nota preliminare.” *Atene e Roma* 5 (1988): 158–165.

Carini, M. "Due città per un poeta. Saggi su Magno Felice Ennodio." Catania, 1989.
Carp, T. C. "*Puer senex* in Roman and Medieval Thought." *Latomus* 39.3 (1980): 736–739.
Cesa, M. *Ennodio. Vita del beatissimo Epifanio vescovo della chiesa Pavese.* Pavia, 1988.
Condorelli, S. "L'esametro di Ennodio: alcune osservazioni prosodiche e metriche." In: *Atti della seconda Giornata Ennodiana*, E. d'Angelo (ed.). Naples, 2003, 75–89.
Condorelli, S. "Sidonio maestro di Ennodio?" In: *Quarta Giornata Ennodiana: Atti della sessione ennodiana del Convegno 'Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi litteris' (Benevento, 12 novembre 2010)*, S. Condorelli and D. Di Rienzo (eds.). Cesana, 2011, 61–98.
Consolino, F. E. "L'appello al lettore nell'epitaffio della tarda latinità." *Maia* 28 (1976): 129–143.
Consolino, F. E. "L'eredità dei classici nella poesia del VI secolo." In: *Prospettive sul tardoantico. Atti del convegno di Pavia*, G. Mazzoli and F. Gasti (eds.). Como, 1999, 69–90.
Consolino, F. E. "Prosa e poesia in Ennodio: la *dictio* per Epifanio." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 93–122.
Consolino, F. E. "Un riferimento a Giobbe? I classici e la bibbia in Ennodio, *carm*. 1, 9 (43 V.), 21–24." *Rivista di Filologia e di istruzione classica* 134 (2006): 197–213.
Consolino, F. E. "Les indications implicites dans l'épithalame d'Ennode pour Maximus (388 V = *Carm*. 1, 4 H)." In: *Manifestes littéraires dans la latinité tardive: poétique et rhétorique: Actes du colloque international de Paris, 23–24 mars 2007*, P. Galand-Hallyn and V. Zarini (eds.). Paris, 2009, 163–184.
Consolino, F. E. "Echi pagani e cristiani nell'epitafio de vescovo Vittore. Per un'esegesi di Ennodio *carm*. 2, 95 (215 V)." In: *Venuste noster. Scritti offerti a Leopoldo Gamberale*, M. Passalacqua, M. De Nonno, and A. M. Morelli (eds.). Hildesheim, 2012, 419–441.
Consolino, F. E. "Ennodio e i due epitafi per Cinegia. Qualche riflessione su una *vexata quaestio*." In: *Il miglior fabbro: Studi offerti a Giovanni Polara*, A. De Vivo and R. Perrelli (eds.). Amsterdam, 2014, 261–271.
Consolino, F. E. "Polymetry in Late Latin Poems: Some Observations on Its Meaning and Functions." In: *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, J. Elsner and J. Hernández Lobato (eds.). Oxford, 2017, 100–124.
Conte, G. B. *Latin Literature: A History*. Baltimore, 1994.
Contreni, J. "What Was Emperor Augustus Doing at a Carolingian Banquet (*Anth. Lat*.^{2} 719)?" In: *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis, and Manuscripts*, J. Contreni (ed.). Farnham, 2011, 372–394.
Cook, G. M. *The Life of Saint Epiphanius by Ennodius: A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*. Washington, 1942.
Cugusi, P. "'Cicli' di carmi epigrafici cristiani: Mediolanum, Roma (Lateran., Vatican.), Nola, Spoletium, Hispalis." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archelogia. Rendiconti* 82 (2009–2010): 373–405.
Cuscito, G. *Regio XI: Mediolanum I: introduzione, edizione e commento*. Bari, 2009.
Cuscito, G. *Regio XI: Mediolanum II: Basicila dei Santi Apostoli e Nazaro Maggiore: introduzione, edizione e commento*. Bari, 2013.

Daly, W. “An Adverse Consensus Questioned: Does Sidonius’s ‘Euchariston’ (*Carmen* XVI) Show That He Was Scripturally Naïve?” *Traditio* 55 (2000): 19–71.

D’Angelo, E. “Tematiche omosessuali nella letteratura di età teodericiana. Il caso Ennodio.” In: *Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d’Italia. Atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, Milano 2–6 novembre 1992*. Spoleto, 1993, 645–654.

D’Angelo, E. “Enigmistica ennodiana: il carme 2,51 (= 179 Vogel).” In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana, Pavia, 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 101–108.

Delle Donne, F. “Teoderico *rex genitus*: il concetto della nobiltà di stirpe nel panegirico di Ennodio.” *Invigilata Lucernis* 20 (1998): 73–84.

Delle Donne, F. “Il ruolo storico e politico di Ennodio.” In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana, Pavia, 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 7–19.

De Lucia, M. “Claudiano, le aquile e la prova del sole in Ennodio, *carm*. 2, 150 = 451 Vogel.” *Invigilata Lucernis* 28 (2006): 43–59.

Di Giovine, C. “L’invito a Galla. Presenza di un topos in Auson. *Epigr*. 34, 2 Peip.” *Rivista di Filologia e di istruzione classica* 118 (1990): 57–63.

Di Rienzo, D. “Uomo Buono O Omobono? (Su Ennod. *Carm*. 2, 1 = 46 Vogel).” *Vichiana, rassegna di studi classici* 4a.12 (1999): 171–179.

Di Rienzo, D. “Tema e variazioni in Ennodio: il ciclo di Pasifae e il toro (*carm*. 2, 25; 29–31; 103).” In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana, Pavia, 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 109–118.

Di Rienzo, D. “Intertestualità biblica nel II libro dei *carmina* di Ennodio.” In: *Atti della seconda Giornata Ennodiana*. E. d’Angelo (ed.). Naples, 2003, 93–107.

Di Rienzo, D. “Ennodius.” In: *La trasmissione dei testi Latini del Medioevo*, P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (eds.). Florence, 2004, 65–73.

Di Rienzo, D. *Gli epigrammi di Magno Felice Ennodio. Con una prefazione di Antonio V. Nazzaro*. Naples, 2005.

Di Rienzo, D. “*L’Hymnus vespertinus* di Ennodio tra ascendenze classiche e tradizione ambrosiana.” *Bollettino Di Studi Latini* 35.2 (2005): 626–644.

Di Rienzo, D. “Annotazioni sull’ *Hymnus in tempore tristitiae* di Ennodio di Pavia: (*carm*. 1, 11 = 342 Vogel).” *Rendiconti dell’Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 74 (2006–2007): 21–35.

Di Rienzo, D. “Inni senza pubblico: la produzione di Ennodio di Pavia.” In: *L’hymne antique et son public*, Y. Lehmann (ed.). Turnout, 2007, 623–636.

Di Rienzo, D. “*Epigramma longum* tra tardoantico e altomedioevo: il caso di Ennodio di Pavia.” In: *Epigramma longum: Da Marziale alla tarda antichità/From Martial to Late Antiquity. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino, 29–31 maggio 2006)*, A. M. Morelli (ed.). Cassino, 2008, 539–555.

Di Rienzo, D. “Angoscia esistenziale e tempo liturgico in un inno di Ennodio di Pavia: (*carm*. 1, 11 = 342 Vogel).” *Paideia* 65 (2010): 465–481.

Di Rienzo, D. “Formazione scolastica e sperimentalismo poetico: i cicli epigrammaticidi Ennodio di Pavia.” In: *La renaissance de l’épigramme dans la latinité tardive*. M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste and C. Urlacher-Becht (eds.). Paris, 2013, 303–326.

Dubois, A. *La Latinité d'Ennodius: Contribution a l'étude du Latin littéraire à la fin de l'Empire Romain d'Occident*. Paris, 1903.
Ferrai, L. A. "Il matrimonio di Ennodio." *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 10 (1893): 948–957.
Ferrua, A. "Antichità cristiane. San Glicerio, vescovo di Milano." *La Civiltà Cattolica* 115 (1964): 30–37.
Fertig, M. *Magnus Felix Ennodius und Seine Zeit*. Passau, 1855.
Filosini, S. "L'*Hymnus de Ascensione Domini* di Ennodio." *Paideia* 65 (2010): 483–510.
Fini, C. "Le fonti delle dictiones di Ennodio." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 30 (1982–1984): 387–393.
Fini, C. *Il censimento dei codici di Ennodio*. Pisa, 2000.
Fontaine, J. "Ennodius." In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, V. Stuttgart, 1962, c. 398–422.
Formisano, M. "Towards an Aesthetic Paradigm of Late Antiquity." *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007): 277–284.
Fougnies, A. A. *Een Studie over de Clausulen bij Ennodius*. Brussels, 1951.
Gastaldelli, F. F. *Ennodio di Pavia*. Roma, 1973.
Gasti, F. (ed.). *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana, Pavia, 29–30 marzo 2000*. Pisa, 2001.
Gasti, F. "Il giardino del re (Ennod. *carm*. 2.111)." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 169–188.
Gasti, F. "Ennodio, *carm*. 264,5 Vogel." *Athenaeum* 94.1 (2006): 299–301.
Gasti, F. "Sull'imitazione claudianea in due carmi di Ennodio (*carm*. 1, 1 e 1, 5)." In: *Studi Offerti ad Alessandro Perutelli*, P. Arduini, S. Audano, A. Borghini, A. Cavarzere, G. Mazzoli, G. Paduano, and A. Russo (eds.). Rome, 2008, 15–21.
Gasti, F. "Aspetti della presenza di Ovidio in Ennodio." *Paideia* 73 (2018): 431–449.
Gasti, F. "Le insidiose matrone di Ennodio." *Revue des Études Tardo-Antiques* 9 (2019–2020): 137–149.
Gasti, F. *La Piena del Po (carm. 1, 5 H.)*. Milan, 2020.
Gibson, R. K. "On the Nature of Ancient Letter Collections." *Journal of Roman Studies* (2012): 56–78.
Gillett, A. *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533*. Cambridge, 2003.
Gioanni, S. "Les ambiguïtés de la 'religion épistolaire' dans l'œuvre d'Ennode de Pavie." In: *Les jeux et les ruses de l'ambiguïté volontaire dans les textes grecs et latins. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2 (23–24 novembre 2000)*, J. Pouilloux (ed.). Lyon, 2005, 171–186.
Gioanni, S. *Ennodie de Pavie. Lettres*. 2 vol. Paris, 2006.
Gioanni, S. "Nouvelles hypothèses sur la collection des oeuvres d'Ennode." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 59–76.
Gioseffi, M. "*Dissona murmura*. Claud. *carm. min*. XVIII.3." *Acme* 52.2 (1999): 189–199.
Gnilka, C. "Zum Grabepigramm auf Ennodius, zu den ambrosianischen Tituli und zu *vates* gleich *episcopus*." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 16 (2009): 79–83.

Goldhill, S. "What Is Ekphrasis For?" *Classical Philology* 102.1 (2007): 1–19.
Grynaeus, J. J. *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa. Pars altera, 269–480*. Basel, 1569.
Gusso, M. "Sull'imperatore Glycerio (473–474 d.C.)." *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 58 (1992): 168–193.
Hardie, P. *Classicism and Christianity in Late Antique Latin Poetry*. Berkeley, 2019.
Hartel, G. (ed.). *Magni Felicis Ennodii Opera Omnia*. Vienna, 1882.
Heinzelmann, M. *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien*. Munich, 1976.
Hernández Lobato, J. "To Speak or Not to Speak: The Birth of a 'Poetics of Silence' in Late Antique Literature." In: *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, J. Elsner and J. Hernández Lobato (eds.). New York, 2017, 278–310.
Heydemann, G. "The Ostrogothic Kingdom: Ideologies and Transitions." In: *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy*, J. J. Arnold, M. S. Bjornlie, and K. Sessa (eds.). Boston, 2016, 15–46.
Horstmann, S. *Das Epithalamium in der lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike*. Munich, 2004.
Izdebski, A. "Bishops in Late Antique Italy: Social Importance vs. Political Power." *Phoenix* 66.1–2 (2012): 158–175.
Kaster, R. A. *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, 1988.
Kaufmann, H. "Intertextuality in Late Latin Poetry." In: *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, J. Elsner and J. Hernández Lobato (eds.). New York, 2017, 149–175.
Kennell, S. A. H. "Ennodius and His Editors." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 51 (2000): 251–270.
Kennell, S. A. H. *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church*. Ann Arbor, 2000.
Kennell, S. A. H. "Aponus' Admirers: Omen and Abdomens from Tiberius to Theoderic." In: *In Altum: Seventy-Five Years of Classical Studies in Newfoundland*, M. Joyal (ed.). St. John's, 2001, 197–216.
Kennell, S. A. H. "Ennodius the Epistolographer." In: *Atti della seconda Giornata Ennodiana*, E. d'Angelo (ed.). Naples, 2003, 111–126.
Kennell, S. A. H. "The Letter Collection of Ennodius of Pavia." In: *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, C. Sogno, B. K. Storin, and E. J. Watts (eds.). Berkeley, 2017, 369–383.
Knox, D. "The Impact of the Laurentian Schism on Ennodius of Pavia's Participation in Episcopal Networks." In: *Episcopal Networks in Late Antiquity: Connection and Communication Across Boundaries*, C. A. Cvetković and P. Gemeinhardt (eds.). Berlin, 2019, 207–226.
Kruse, M. *The Politics of Roman Memory: From the Fall of the Western Empire to the Age of Justinian*. Philadelphia, 2019.
Lapidge, M. "The Authorship of the Adonic Verses '*ad Fidolium*' Attributed to Columbanus." *Studi Medievali* 18.2 (1977): 249–314.
Lausberg, M. *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm*. Munich, 1982.
Léglise, S. "Saint Ennodius et la haute education littéraire dans le monde romain au commencement du VIe siècle." *L'université catholique* 5 (1890): 209–228.
Léglise, S. (ed.). *Oeuvres completes de Saint Ennodius éveque de Pavie. Vol. 1, Lettres*. Paris, 1906.

Llewellyn, P. A. B. "The Roman Church During the Laurentian Schism: Priests and Senators." *ChH* 45.4 (1976): 417–427.

López Kindler, A. *Magno Félix Ennodio, Obra Miscelánea. Declamaciones. Introducción, Traducción y Notas*. Madrid, 2007.

López Kindler, A. *Ennodio: Poemas. Epístolas. Introducción, Traducción y Notas*. Madrid, 2012.

Lozovsky, N. "Intellectual Culture and Literary Practices." In: *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy*, J. J. Arnold, M. S. Bjornlie, and K. Sessa (eds.). Boston, 2016, 316–359.

Magani, F. (ed.). *Ennodio*. Pavia, 1886.

Majani, C. "*Fons Aponi* in Claudiano, Cassiodoro ed Ennodio: per un'analisi intertestuale." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 207–218.

Marconi, G. "Instruzione laica ed educazione religiosa nell'Italia del VI secolo. Considerazioni su Ennodio et Cassiodoro." *Annali dell'Instituto italiano per gli studi storici* 27 (2012–2013): 3–48.

Marconi, G. *Ennodio e la nobilità gallo-romano nell'Italia ostrogota*. Spoleto, 2013.

Marconi G. "Ennodio, tra *res publica* e *curia*, nell'Italia ostrogota." *Koinonia* 41 (2017): 529–543.

Marconi, G. "L'insegnamento della cultura cristiana nell'Italia ostrogota: l'apporto di Ennodio, diacono della chiesa di Milano." *Koinonia* 44.2 (2020): 973–1001.

McGill, S. "Ausonius at Night." *AJP* 135.1 (2014): 123–148.

Merkel, C. "L'epitafio di Ennodio e la basilica di S. Michele in Pavia." *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 5.3 (1895): 83–219.

Mitchell, K. "Acrostics and Telestichs in Augustan Poetry: Ovid's Edgy and Subversive Sideswipes." *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 66 (2020): 165–181.

Mondin, L. "La misura epigrammatica nella tarda latinità." In: *Epigramma longum: Da Marziale alla tarda antichità/From Martial to late antiquity. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino, 29–31 maggio 2006)*, A. M. Morelli (ed.). Cassino, 2008, 397–494.

Mondin, L. "La poesia nel tempo della vendemmia: Ennodio, *carm*. II 67 = 188 V." *Incontri di filologia classica* 14 (2014–2015): 135–165.

Mondin, L. "Sullo scrittoio di Ennodio: la trama allusiva della *Paraenesis didascalica* (*opusc*. 6 = 452 Vogel)." *Il calamo della memoria* 7 (2017): 147–182.

Mondin, L. "The Late Latin Literary Epigram (Third to Fifth Centuries CE)." In: *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, C. Henriksén (ed.). Hoboken, NJ, 2019, 577–595.

Moorhead, J. "The Laurentian Schism: East and West in the Roman Church." *Church History* 47.2 (1978): 125–136.

Moorhead, J. *Theodoric in Italy*. Oxford, 1992.

Morabito, S. P. *Paganesimo e cristianesimo nella poesia di Ennodio*. Catania, 1947.

Moretti, G. "L'Epistula didascalica di Ennodio fra Marziano Capella e Boezio." In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana: Pavia 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 69–78.

Moretti, G. "Ennodio all'incrocio fra allegoria morale e allegoria dottrinale." In: *Nuovo e antico nella cultura greco-latina di IV-VI secolo*, I. Gualandri, F. Conca, and R. Passarella (eds.). Milan, 2005, 307–328.

Mratschek, S. "The Letter Collection of Sidonius Apollinaris." In: *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, C. Sogno, B. K. Storin, and E. J. Watts (eds.). Berkeley, 2016, 309–336.

Mulligan, B. "Translation and the Poetics of Replication in the Late Antique Latin Epigram." In: *Classics Renewed: Reception and Innovation in the Latin Poetry of Late Antiquity*, S. McGill and J. Pucci (eds.). Heidelberg, 2016, 133–170.

Navarra, L. "Le componenti letterarie e concettuali delle '*Dictiones*' di Ennodio." *Augustinianum* 12 (1972): 465–478.

Navarra, L. "A proposito del *De navigio suo* di Venanzio Fortunato in rapporto alla *Mosella* di Ausonio e agli '*Itinerari*' di Ennodio." *Studi storico religiosi* 3.1 (1979): 79–131.

Pavlovskis, Z. "Statius and the Late Latin Epithalamia." *Classical Philology* 60.3 (1965): 164–177.

Pavlovskis, Z. "From Statius to Ennodius: A Brief History of Prose Prefaces to Poems." *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di scienze e lettere, classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* 101 (1967): 535–567.

Perini, E. "Considerazioni sulla poesia 'odeporica' di Ennodio." In: *Quarta Giornata Ennodiana. Atti della sessione ennodiana del Convegno 'Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris' (Benevento, 12 novembre 2010)*, S. Condorelli and D. Di Rienzo (eds.). Cesena, 2011, 99–145.

Pipino, G. "L'oro della Val Padana." *Boll. Ass. Min. Subalpina* 19.1–2 (1982): 101–117.

Pirovano L. "La 'Dictio' 28 di Ennodio: un'etopea parafrastica." In: *Uso, riuso e abuso dei testi classici. Colloquium*, M. Gioseffi (ed.). Milan, 2010, 15–52.

Polara, G. "I distici di Ennodio." In: *La poesia cristiana latina in distici elegiaci. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 20–22 marzo 1992*, G. Catanzaro and F. Santucci (eds.). Assisi, 1993, 217–239.

Polara, G. "Ennodio fra chiesa, politica et letteratura." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 10–11 novembre 2004)*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 19–41.

Polara, G. "L'enciclopedia di Ennodio: genesi e finalità della '*Parenesi didascalica*' (*Concinnatio didascalica*)." In: *L'enciclopedismo dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*, C. Fossati (ed.). Genova, 2011, 95–114.

Polara, G. "Miti pagani e poeti cristiani nell'Italia ostrogotica." In: *Forme di accesso al sapere in età tardoantica e altomedievale. 6, Raccolta delle relazioni discusse nell'incontro internazionale di Trieste, Biblioteca statale, 24–25 settembre 2015*, L. Cristante and V. Vanni (eds.). Trieste, 2016, 39–58.

Prontera, A. "La *Laus litterarum* di Ennodio (*dict*. 12 = 320 V.): appunti per un commento." *Incontri di filologia classica* 17 (2017–2018): 293–325.

Quasten, J. "*Sobria ebrietas* in Ambrosius, *De Sacramentis*." In: *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. C. Mohlberg*. Rome, 1948, 117–125.

Raby, F. J. E. *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (2nd edn). Oxford, 1953.

Rallo Freni, R. A. "Le concezioni pedagogiche nella *Paraenesis didascalica* di Magno Felice Ennodio." In: *Umanità e Storia. Scritti in onore di Adelchi Attisani, 2, Letteratura e storia*, R. Franchini (ed.). Messina, 1971, 109–126.

Rallo Freni, R. A. "Atteggiamenti topici nel programma poetico di Magno Felice Ennodio." In: *Scritti in onore di Salvatore Pugliatti, 5: Scritti vari*. Milan, 1978, 833–858.
Rallo Freni, R. A. "La metafora *scribere agros* in Magno Felice Ennodio." *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, E. Livrea and A. Privitera (eds.), Roma, 1978, 749–758.
Rallo Freni, R. A. *La Paraenesis Didascalica di Magno Felice Ennodio con il testo latino e la traduzione*. Florence, 1981.
Rasi, P. "Dell'arte metrico di Magno Felice Ennodio, vescovo di Pavia." *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria* 2 (1902): 87–140.
Rasi, P. "Saggio di alcune particolarità nei distici di S. Ennodio." In: *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, N. S.* 35 (1902): 335–353.
Rasi, P. "Dell'arte metrica di Magno Felice Ennodio, vescovo di Pavia (Parte II: metro eroico e lirico)." *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria* 4 (1904): 153–197.
Rasi, P. "Saggio di alcune particolarità nei versi eroici e lirici di S. Ennodio." *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche*, N. S. 37 (1904): 957–979.
Rebillard, E. "Approaching 'Religious Identity' in Late Antiquity." In: *Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity*, R. Flower and M. Ludlow (eds.). New York, 2020, 15–27.
Relihan, J. *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore, 1993.
Riché, P. *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*. New York, 1976.
Richlin, A. *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. New York, 1992.
Roberts, M. "The Use of Myth in Latin Epithalamia from Statius to Venantius Fortunatus." *TAPhA* 119 (1989): 321–348.
Roberts, M. *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity*. Ithaca, NY, 1989.
Roberts, M. *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus*. Ann Arbor, 2009.
Rohr, C. *Der Theoderich-Panegyricus des Ennodius*. Hannover, 1995.
Rohr, C. "La tradizione culturale tardo-romana nel regno degli Ostrogoti: il panegirico di Ennodio a Teoderico." *Romanobarbarica* 16 (1999): 261–284.
Rohr, C. "Ennodio panegirista di Teoderico e il conflitto tra Ostrogoti e Franchi." In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana: Pavia 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 21–29.
Rohr, C. "Das Streben des Ostgotenkönigs Theoderich nach Legitimität und Kontinuität im Spiegel seiner Kulturpolitik: Beobachtungen zu imperialen Elementen im *Theoderich-Panegyricus* des Ennodius." In: *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (eds.). Vienna, 2002, 227–231.
Rohr, C. "Von redegewandten Männern für heldenhafte Männer? Der Geschlechterdiskurs im Spiegel der lateinischen Panegyrik von Plinius bis Ennodius." In: *Frauen und Geschlechter*, R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.). Vienna, 2006, 405–420.
Rota, S. "Quid Ennodius de Gothis ceterisque Barbaris Senserit." *Romanobarbarica* 15 (1998): 189–199.

Rota, S. "Su un passo del panegirico a Teoderico di Ennodio di Pavia: il tema del '*princeps et sacerdos*' (§ 80)." In: *Incontri di popoli e di culture tra V e IX secolo. Atti delle V Giornate di studio sull'età romanobarbarica. Benevento, 9–11 giugno 1997*, M. Rotili (ed.). Naples, 1998, 139–146.

Rota, S. "Motivi mitologici e antichità romane in Ennodio." In: *Memoria del passato, urgenza del futuro: Il mondo romano fra 5. e 7. secolo. Atti delle 6. Giornate di studio sull'età romanobarbarica, Benevento, 18–20 giugno 1998*, M. Rotili (ed.). Naples, 1999, 125–134.

Rota, S. "Ennodio anti-Lucano: i modelli epici del *Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico*." In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana: Pavia 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 31–55.

Rota, S. "Teoderico il Grande fra *Graecia* e *Ausonia*: la rappresentazione del re ostrogotico nel *Panegyricus* di Ennodio." *Mélanges de L'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes* 113.1 (2001): 203–243.

Rota, S. (ed.). *Magno Felici Ennodio. Panegirico del clementissimo re Teoderico (opusc. 1)*. Roma, 2002.

Rota, S. "*Antiquum credit adesse chaos*: ein Deutungsversuch der *Itineraria* des Ennodius." *Rheinisches Museum* 147.3–4 (2004): 355–389.

Russo, A. "La prosopopea di Roma in Ennodio: *Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico* (a. 507)." In: *Debita Dona. Studi in onore di Isabella Gualandri*, P. F. Moretti, C. Torre, and G. Zanetto (eds.). Naples, 2008, 461–470.

Santorelli, P. "Su Ennodio 1, 6, 26." *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* 43 (1994): 365–369.

Sardella, T. *Società chiesa e stato nell'età di Teoderico: Papa Simmaco e lo scisma laurenziano*. Messina, 1996.

Schaller, D. *Der alkäische Hendekasyllabus im frühen Mittelalter*. Stuttgart, 1984.

Schetter, W. "Zu Ennodius *Carm*. 2, 1 Hartel." *Hermes* 114.4 (1986): 500–502.

Schott, A. (ed.). *Beati Ennodii Ticinensis Episcopi Opera*. Tournai, 1611.

Schröder, B.-J. *Charakteristika der 'Dictiones Ethicae' und der 'Controversiae' des Ennodius*. In: *Studium declamatorium. Untersuchungen zu Schulübungen und Prunkreden von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, B.-J. Schröder and J.-P. Schröder (eds.). Munich, 2003, 251–274.

Schröder, B.-J. "'*Divitias facundiae . . . ostentare*': osservazioni sulla lettera 1,6 Hartel (=10 Vogel) di Ennodio." In: *Atti della seconda Giornata Ennodiana*, E. d'Angelo (ed.). Naples, 2003, 128–135.

Schröder, B.-J. "Ein falsches Argument in der Diskussion über den Anlaß von Ennodius' *Theoderich-Panegyricus* (zu Ennod., *opusc*. 1 [263 Vogel], § 22)." *Historia* 54.4 (2005): 499–500.

Schröder, B.-J. *Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jahrhundert: Studien zum Mailänder Diakon Magnus Felix Ennodius*. Berlin, 2007.

Shanzer, D. "Ennodius, Boethius, and the Date and Interpretation of Maximianus' *Elegia* III." *Rivista di Filologia e di Instruzione Classica* 111 (1983): 183–195.

Shaw, B. "Response to Christopher Jones: The Historicity of the Neronian Persecution." *New Testament Studies* 64.2 (2018): 231–242.

Simonetti, M. *La produzione letteraria latina fra romani e barbari (sec. V–VIII)*. Rome, 1986.

Sirmond, J. (ed.). *Ennodi Opera*. Paris, 1611.

Smolak, K. "Considerazioni sull'epitalamio di Ennodio (*Carm*. 1, 4)." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 10–11 novembre 2004)*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 155–168.

Squire, M. "Making Myron's Cow Moo? Ecphrastic Epigram and the Poetics of Simulation." *AJP* 131.4 (2010): 589–634.

Sundwall, J. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Ausgehenden Römertums*. Helsinki, 1919.

Trahey, J. J. "The Latinity of Ennodius." *Catholic University Bulletin* 11 (1905): 327–337.

Trout, D. *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry*. Oxford, 2015.

Trout, D. "Damasus and the Christian Epigram in the West." In: *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, C. Henriksén (ed.). Hoboken, NJ, 2019, 615–631.

Urlacher, C. "L'influence de Paulin de Nole sur les carmina d'Ennode." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 201–214.

Urlacher, C. "L'attitude des chrétiens face à la culture classique: l'exemple d'Ennode de Pavie (473/4–521)." In: *Éducation, culture, littérature*, A. Bandry-Scubbi (ed.). Paris, 2008, 243–259.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "L'éloge des belles lettres dans les épigrammes religieuses d'Ennode de Pavie." In: *Seuils et rites: littérature et culture*, T. Collani and P. Schnyder (eds.). Paris, 2008, 315–325.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Les hymnes d'Ennode de Pavie: un 'nœud inextricable'?" In: *La traduction du langage religieux (I). Actes du Colloque international 'La Traduction du langage religieux en tant que dialogue interculturel et interconfessionnel' 11–13 juillet 2008, Suceava*, M. Constantinescu, E.-B. Steiciuc, and C. Drahta (eds.). Paris, 2008, 125–136.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "La tradition manuscrite des hymnes d'Ennode de Pavie (473/4–521)." *Paideia* 65 (2010): 511–531.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Une poétique de l'espace sacré dans les épigrammes d'Ennode de Pavie." In: *La construction de l'espace européen: entre tensions et passions*, E. Lysøe and T. Collani (eds.). Strasbourg, 2010, 305–317.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Les épigrammes d'Ennode de Pavie dans les sylloges chrétiennes de Milan." In: *Quarta Giornata Ennodiana. Atti della sessione ennodiana del Convegno 'Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris' (Benevento, 12 novembre 2010)*, S. Condorelli and D. Di Rienzo (eds.). Cesena, 2011, 169–196.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Trois témoins privilégiés de l'état de la culture dans l'Italie de Théodoric: Ennode, Boèce et Cassiodore." *Vita latina* 185–186 (2012): 203–236.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Ennode de Pavie, diacre et auteur d'épigrammes profanes." In: *La renaissance de l'épigramme dans la latinité tardive*. M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste and C. Urlacher-Becht (eds.). Paris, 2013, 283–301.

Urlacher-Becht, C. "Les jeux érudits inspirés à Ennode de Pavie par la source d'Apone (*Epist*. 5, 8 = 224 Vogel, *carm. insert*.)." In: *Le lierre et la statue. La*

nature et son espace littéraire dans l'épigramme gréco-latine tardive, F. Garambois-Vasquez and D. Vallat (eds.). Saint-Étienne, 2013, 157–176.

Urlacher-Becht, C. *Ennode de Pavie, chantre officiel de l'Église de Milan*. Paris, 2014.

Vandone, G. "Status ecclesiastico e attività letteraria in Ennodio: tra tensione e conciliazione." In: *Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana: Pavia 29–30 marzo 2000*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2001, 89–99.

Vandone, G. *Appunti su una poetica tardoantica: Ennodio, carm.* 1, 7–8 = 26–27V. Pisa, 2004.

Vandone, G. "*Nec proles nascenti sufficit aevo*: il discorso di Cupido nell'epitalamio a Massimo (*carm*. 1, 4, 54–72 = 388, 54–72 Vogel)." In: *Atti della terza Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 10–11 novembre 2004)*, F. Gasti (ed.). Pisa, 2006, 143–153.

Vogel, F. (ed.). *Magni Felicis Ennodi Opera*. Berlin, 1885.

Vogel, F. "Chronologische Untersuchungen zu Ennodius." *NA* 23 (1898): 51–74.

Walpole, A. S. *Early Latin Hymns*. Cambridge, 1922.

Wasyl, A. M. *Genres Rediscovered: Studies in Latin Miniature Epic, Love Elegy, and Epigram of the Romano-Barbaric Age*. Krakow, 2011.

Wasyl, A. M. "The Future Bishop and Pasiphae. Asceticism, Corporeality, and the Secular in Ennodius's Poetry." *Athenaeum* 106.2 (2018): 607–618.

Watson, P. A. "Martial's Fascination with *Lusci*." *Greece and Rome* 29.1 (1982): 71–76.

Watts, E. "Education: Speaking, Thinking, and Socializing." In: *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, S. F. Johnson (ed.). Oxford, 2012, 467–486.

Zanker, G. "New Light on the Literary Category of 'Ecphrastic Epigram' in Antiquity: The New Posidippus (Col. X 7–XI 19 p. Mil. vogl. VIII 309)." *ZPE* 143 (2003): 59–62.

Zarini, V. "Ennode et Arator: une relation pédagogique et son intérêt littéraire." In: *Manifestes littéraires dans la latinité tardive: poétique et rhétorique. Actes du colloque international de Paris, 23–24 mars 2007*, P. Galand-Hallyn and V. Zarini (eds.). Paris, 2009, 325–342.

Zarini, V. "Allégorie et 'Dissidence' dans la *Paraenesis didascalica* d'Ennode de Pavie." In: *Allégorie et symbole: voies de dissidence? De L'antiquité à la Renaissance. Interférences*, A. Rolet (ed.). Rennes, 2012, 227–240.

Zarini, V. "Ennode entre Prudence, Ambroise et le 'Monde': à propos de deux poèmes de la *Paraenesis didascalica*." In: *Studium in libris. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Louis Charlet*, G. Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard and A. Stoehr-Monjou (eds.). Paris, 2016, 157–168.

2

THE POEMS

1 GENERAL PREFACE

1. [Preface for the collected poetic works][1]

(187 V = 2.66 H)

While my uneasy soul endures repeated swells,[2]
and I'm enslaved again to glassy seas,[3]
and stormy winds, that ferryman of swirling waves[4]
from Africa, whirl me like wreckage tossed,[5]
my soul, which craved the wreath, the fervent Muse did pierce,[6]
Apollo's laurel soon my temples crowned;[7]
the verdant ivy berries ripened on my brow,[8]
I drank Castalia's sweet murmurings.[9]
At once abandoning my heart's enfeebling pangs,
praise, poetry, enjoyment I embrace.[10]

DOI: 10.4324/9781003119982-2

2 LONGER POEMS

2. Declamation for the anniversary of the holy and most blessed Bishop Epiphanius in his 30th year as bishop of Pavia[11]

(43 V = 1.9 H)

[1] I sense what most of you, though silent, are saying in your minds and, with my ear placed near your chest, I understand your heart's voice. For your silence proclaims: "what benefit does a man from a different profession seek from this subject?" and "why does a man decorated with the insignia of humility expect those shouts of applause that are the crowd's custom in the resounding auditorium, kindled by popular favor from surging pockets of partisan supporters?"

[2] They say that he should have composed such a speech long ago, when the languid bloom of youth and the springtime of boyish, worldly ecstasy still smiled on him, when it was proper for him to be carried away by resounding applause, back when he could still be enthralled by the mirage of deceptive pleasure.[12] Why recite in public now, when public acclaim is neither proper nor offers him a source of delight?[13]

[3] May they remember that I deal with a matter appropriate to my service, and it is my duty, in my role as one who praises a priest, to feel as I ought. Although I will render modest praise to him now, since fulsome praise is inappropriate at this time, nevertheless in the future I will owe him the greatest praise, since I must not spare any expense whatsoever in his service.[14] At the same time I have become aware that, if one must offer an account for an ineffectual speech, he must do so no less for ineffectual silence.

[4] For my silence would have been ineffectual indeed, if I alone, surrounded by joyful minds of every sort, refused a speech, although I could give one—especially since it is fitting to compose hymns of celestial praise and we believe that the Lord, although having no share of humanity, is pleased by the authentic praise of men and demands this as though by special edict from those to whom he has granted the gift of a fluent tongue. What should a prelate do, who by his personal entreaties has acquired what I am capable of? As it is written, "the Lord has given me a tongue for instruction."[15]

[5] When would it be suitable to deliver a speech? In my judgment, it is suitable now and the door of my heart opens to this occasion for speaking. But now my mouth will not gape with poetical praise. Let the bilgewater of song be far away from me, which, just as it does not praise the truth, is not deservedly praised.[16] Now favor with your mind

one who is about to speak irrefutable things. In this work, although the meagerness of my ingenuity may cause me to miss some minor acts, for the purpose of boasting I will not invent grandiose deeds.

For olden bards this was their great ability[17]
in speech: they recognized how clever words deceive.
Their praise came from composing guileful songs of praise.
Deception answered their work: poet's etiquette
by ancient modesty refrained to speak the truth
about impiety; faith everywhere scorned song.
What suited sin pleased art; for, skillful trespasses
extracted dreadful poems from knowledgeable tongues.
Law trained their lawless speech and art excused[18]
whatever righteousness forbade. Despicable
fiends altered customary bonds through lying song.[19]
They spoke of Phoebus and the sisters thrice times three,[20]
Minerva's varied skills, and spring Castalian.[21]
Of laurel, tripod, cauldron, timbrel, and the lyre[22]
they used to tell. Their sense fled from the narrow path
of truth. And phantom visions mocked their faulty sight.[23]
The lute's own language, which the thumb gives voice to sing,
now spurn, O faithful lyre! May that good spirit come,[24]
which always, when the year's exhausted, will revive
whatever earth makes, sea produces, sky begets,[25]
who spreads the seas and who solidifies the fields,[26]
removes the stones with words, whom bristling Caucasus
feared, when he tamed with passion servants' dauntless hearts,[27]
who glimpses everything, before whom all things quake:[28]
font, path, right hand, stone, lion, lamb, calf, morning star,[29]
word, gateway, virtue, wisdom, prophet, hopefulness[30]
dove, shepherd, mountaintop, net, thicket, offering[31]
colossus, vulture, husband, patience, fire, and worm,[32]
exalted Son and Lord and God in all things Christ.
I pray He aid my speech; the ancient prophet's heart,[33]
when regal Pharaoh once ruled Egypt, He inspired.[34]
His prophet He did help to speak with graceful voice,[35]
then he was stunned, I think, and mindful that his mouth
with its accustomed growl filled up the ruler's ears[36]
with gravity, voice, sound, sense, goodness, modesty.
O Holy One, your servant teach! And grant that one
repays thanks joyfully. Now all embrace (behold!)[37]

that holy day, when radiance enfolds the earth
in splendor, resurrecting souls with serried rays,
the world now celebrates, though not at worldly joys.[38]
See how the honored bishop bows his timid face
in reverence? Such anniversaries perceive[39]
and don't despise this joyous time like downcast youth.
This day gave us salvation, it became the source
of life, dissolving bondage born from ancient guilt.[40]
Christ honored and protected the Ausonian[41]
fields through this man, whose just mind guides us all and rules
men piously, for whom the Lord Olympian,
a king of such great goodness, promised and prepared,
whom God himself from his celestial throne empowered.
This man, always respecting virtue, will be close
to heaven; justice deems him fit, with world as judge
the people chose him; I swear, he gained victory
by many votes, so that he'd have a See unbought.
A sovereign crowd made you its eternal lord,
their service shows their praise. Oh! Everywhere how great
their zeal! The world's most holy din showed its applause,
their spirit unified, the whole throng's voice was one.[42]
They even strive to best each other with their vows,
as if attacking savage enemies in close[43]
combat, the crowd then conquers, promising
to suffer dangers even at the cost of blood.
Like the Caucasian tigress, sending off her brood
around Niphates, teaching her cubs how to hunt;[44]
she raves against strange men, she bites their mortal limbs
ferociously, and seeks their death with bloodstained maw.
His wisdom one admires, despite his tender years,
one boasts about his parents' ancient lineage,[45]
another, who's unsatisfied with heritage,
a garland of this bishop's virtues myriad
recounts. With how much praise then does his fame endure?
How often topped? His character's acclaim begets,
for all the vanquished, triumph through the centuries.[46]
His chastity—with which his gorgeous body blooms[47]
more gorgeously—a figure shining with chaste light
bears him to heaven with great praise. Indeed, his face
bestows renown (though often causing jeopardy
for other men); chaste gorgeousness for him sufficed.

Such boons are granted from Olympus' grand peak.
Whenever beauty's benefits appear or grow[48]
in holy souls, men strive to win this inner fight:
strong souls suffuse the world with dignity and gifts,[49]
one living for himself, another dies for Him.
All this the people spoke from their abundant mouths,[50]
a single thought took hold of all within that crowd:
the priestly host, the council honored by this age[51]
elected, wished, desired, loved, accepted him.
But look! Another miracle, before unsaid,
that I passed by, astounding everywhere it's told:
he was a boy, when first he stepped in to the light[52]
with trembling feet, when for those snatched from mother's breast[53]
that pleasant juice is drawn from gentle suckling mouths.
A clever mother might anoint her breast with false[54]
tastes, giving herbal bitterness to mewling lips
so that her child can't recognize his mother's taste[55]
and so, since she denies her milk, the proffered drug[56]
he sucks, a genial fraud for his bewildered mouth.[57]
The miracle occurred when he had reached this age:
his cradle, they report, flared with magnificent,
refulgent rays, such radiance then mixed in him
as heaven could provide in its obedience.
As when, Olympus' swift fire, assigned to chase
a man, by its fall stimulates his mortal limbs,
which nimbly imitate a cloven horse's charge,[58]
then this auspicious flame around this boy did rove:
it rings, embraces, brightens, venerates, admires.
His father casts his stunned eyes skyward, crying out:[59]
"Sublime God, holy guardian, in heaven's heights[60]
you forge propitious omens which you contemplate,
to you this child, though young and in his crawling years,[61]
O Holy One, I vow. Not yet with artful snares[62]
have flesh's dangers snared him into worldly sin.
Let them not, God Sublime! He'll be your splendid gift."
He says this, shedding tears produced by happiness.[63]
Then he sought Crispin cheerfully, whom one cannot[64]
with adequate words praise, unless Avernus yields
the one who led the tall woods from the Apennine
crags towards his lyre, as flowing rivers stopped their course.[65]
Miraculous! For who else but Elijah left[66]

Elisha his robe's twofold gift upon the earth?
He nursed him with the pious milk that from the breast[67]
Paul squeezed; his own right hand brims with the Gospel's teat.[68]
Hail, O most holy father! Crispin's ashes, hail[69]
forevermore! To whose authority redounds[70]
all parts of Christ's instruction that we praise in him.[71]
You hold his legacy as heir, bequeathed with joy,
no small endowment, by your talents grown threefold.
This proves the case: he rescued from the western land
the captive peoples, whom submissive Gaul sent home.[72]
When they saw you, ferocious hearts did learn to yield,
by your prayers, great one, you defeated that armed king:
the scourging by your martial tongue made dull their swords;[73]
thus your words' iron overcame their mighty steel.
For if they speak the truth, those who link great with small:[74]
just as in well-tilled fields the steward serves his lord,
when he inscribes the land tilled by the curved hoe's tooth,[75]
he combs the soil's facade precisely with the plough
so that the harvest overflows its brimming edge;[76]
he introduces strange plants into foreign soil,[77]
exotic trees are grafted with joints tightly-drawn;[78]
he prunes back their thick trunks and then transplants offshoots
trimmed with the scythe, the wood nipped by a gentle cut,
from humble seed grows forth a new nobility;[79]
this sapling grows more strong, blessed with an unknown gift,
while moistened scion's joined onto the newfound bark.
He also ornaments the ridge with Paestan rose,[80]
bucolic purple clothes the whole majestic field,[81]
in front of gleaming limestone lilies tumble forth,
then he paints on thyme, violets, taro, marigold,[82]
narcissus, thistle, balsam, clover, cinnamon;
then he sows seeds the resurrected Phoenix bore.[83]
The master, when he comes, bids this man to recline,[84]
while he serves plates from his own table with his hands.[85]
O cultivator of our souls, for thrice ten years,
your lands were fragrant with the rose, nor did your soil,
by frost marred, waste away. The teacher safeguards this
by virtue's fragrant turf throughout eternal spring.[86]
These tender bushes wither when your dew's removed,[87]
you water them with tears and also you mound up
dung-laden baskets; verdant branches skyward soar,

creation's fertile mandates then prevail through God.
Benignly welcome now, our golden light of life,[88]
Enjoyments that my modest poem conveys to you,[89]
Now God has granted all my prayers and all is right;[90]
Naive vine coruscates, sown by your strong right hand,
Owed benefits a hundred years hence I'll repay.
Dare did I, father, to inscribe this little poem
In meter under knotty rules, a punishing[91]
Umpire—behold! I wove in these divergent modes,
So that false syllables don't limp: I've spoken thus.[92]

3. Declamation by Ennodius the deacon when he returned from Rome[93]

(2 V = 1.6 H)

[1] When a man returns to his native land, bliss is ever his companion, since his confidence grows that he has evaded the fears his anxious mind bore while he was traveling, even if they seem to have been destined and ordained by an angered heaven. A serene word of delight, therefore, is required, lest his silent joy produce an appearance of sadness. And so, how can the secret of a rejoicing soul be revealed, if not by unlocking one's mouth? The Mantuan claims that even swans celebrate their return by beating their wings.[94]

[2] But as I'm on the edge of the abyss, what should I do, since I must give a faithful report about my journey home but my condition requires me to keep silent.[95] Let the strictness due my serious office withdraw, I pray, for the moment, since you never found it appropriate to mingle with festivities. The most distinguished prophets, rendering their words according to the laws of verse, sang their desires and prayers. Hearts dedicated to communicating divine matters have spread ecclesiastical law among the people through the lyre.

[3] Why should I, although a mere babe in rank and merit, not attempt to emulate great men's deeds?[96] Especially when the retelling of a story emboldens the altar's host to take on those battles that arise against the faith. And I will not hesitate to say what is consistent with the current situation. We already learned in which whirlwind the spear must be cast for the love of our faith, and a conflict of no middling scope elevated our profile by the subject matter and the virtue it required.[97]

[4] Therefore, I will speak of my joys, willingly and in a metrical style. I intend to announce this display with God's support and the greatest

clarion of eloquence. The mischievous poison of carping tongues will assail me. And to the exertions caused by my office and meager ingenuity I will add whatever the slanderer heaps on, despite the merits of the accused. It is normal to combine the bites of rivals with the profit won from a luminous reputation born by good conscience and for the gains of fame to be ensnared by the envious.

[5] Hush, fickle tooth of envy, which seeks to exact kindling for slander from a glorious situation. Tell us, where will merit's reward come from, if you consider it braggadocio when we please through the sweat of our brow? Work is the friend of discipline and, by a certain kind of kinship, the ally of religion. Just as fresh cuttings grafted into foreign wood produce on the branch remarkable fruits, which the young trees, although about to bud, do not yet know, so too one gifted with the liberal arts engages his mind with exquisite attention to the fertile hope of a better crop.

[6] Whenever our intellect submits to this type of endeavor, poisonous plans, which prepare slaughter for humanity, are expelled from our minds, and ill humor, with its lethal flux, is sloughed off. To those progressing to more illuminating studies, the secrets of the divine books are laid open. When study unlocks the door to these books for the one who knocks, it serves as a guide and opens a path previously unknown to the common people: disagreeable men are led forward by the splendor of eloquence, the ignorant by well-constructed Latinity or, as they say, "crafted rusticity."[98] Who would not love such a guide to salvation? Who would not follow someone who, by mixing sweetness with necessity, and serious with the sweet, compels even the reluctant to *want* to love the doctrines of life? But more about this another time. Let us fulfil the honorable desires offered by the task we have already begun.

[7] We speak among those who already know this state of affairs: it is the role of virtue to contain joy; it is the role of prosperous affection to reveal itself through the intricate path of brilliant declamation. Especially today—although only a small part of me has stepped beyond rhetoric's threshold—the subject grants what nature had not provided. It offers to someone indulging in exultation the eloquence that his own imagination denies him.

[8] Bravo, youth who possess the most remarkable virtues! You display an abundance of fruits in mature bloom! You allow me to crack the tormenting ice and you welcome me into the springtime of declamation! You see, I think we both profit when I expend my delight on what you owe your studies. Indeed, it is the same to instill an affection for declamation in a novice and to restore it in one who has neglected its pursuit.

Past snow-bound winters and the doom of icy seas,[99]
  when sailors on calm journeys venture forth,
expecting no prosperity upon the faithless deep,
  they think its briny surface holds deceit.
While breezes whistle, they foresee ferocious storms[100]
  with massive swells (and think such threats are mild!).
If Zephyrs stretch the sails that droop down from their yards,[101]
  and air cavorts with sweet obedience,
he swears that nature has abandoned law, with gusts
  confused, convinced old chaos now returns.[102]
So hazards steal delights from halcyon affairs,
  no faith endures in blessed or doubtful times.
Just so the fears Rome held with dangers manifold,
  as when the sailor gained safe shore's embrace.[103]
He soothes the ocean's hallowed spirit with his song,[104]
  when into sea floor crescent anchor bites.[105]
But winds, which craft sweet slumber for exhausted souls,
  disturb the minds of seaborne warriors:[106]
he hones his ship's defense, he readies oars and sails;
  his mind suspects the ship's about to wreck.
Let Him come, whose dry feet trod over dark-blue waves,[107]
  (He gave salvation's harbor to the vexed)
who conquered stone by pouring liquid into cups,[108]
  who softened rock, who hardened streams,[109]
unsown, his mother bore Him for eternity
  and joined with motherhood virginity,[110]
who by the gift of his own death defeated death:
  He gave the world a life born from his tomb;
If He from steep Olympus kindly watches me,
  then I'll reach my land, then my joyful home.
Though gusts unleashed may batter cloud-enveloped seas,[111]
  they rush our leaky bark, devoid of harm.
Then I shall shake sweet drums and strings harmonious,[112]
  and with new flowers I shall paint my songs.[113]
As I confess: the wise know joyful men sing well,
  grim hearts grasp naught of how to versify.[114]
But let springtime return, let winter's fear depart;[115]
  bind tight our hair that woven wreaths entwine.
Let me sing gorgeous songs like Ambrose used to chant,[116]
  when he sustained the people through his words.

4. Journey from Briançon[117]

(245 V = 1.1 H)

Still higher Titan climbed, up into starry skies,[118]
and shed his fulsome rays upon the earth.[119]
Beneath hot, scorching Cancer he, inflamed, parched streams.[120]
When mowers' sickles dominate sowed grain,
when the world gasps and fount can't quench the drinker's thirst,
I had no fear when ordered to seek wilds[121]
in Gaul, whose pastures burn more torrid than Syene;[122]
flame, dust, thirst paid back my obedience.
Why, Muse, do you recall that strong heat's blazing glare?
More apt's my conquering of ice-strewn paths.
Whatever flatlands scald, whatever high peaks freeze,[123]
tell all I suffered far from heaven's law.[124]
Discordant seasons generated nature's strife:[125]
one day brought summer and midwinter's freeze.
To overcome the hoary frosts, enwrapped in mist,
my bishop with great fervor guided me.
Cloak pressed against my skin under the summer heat,
dressed in light clothing, there I was exposed.[126]
Time marched on, when the daylight vanished from our sight,[127]
then Phoebus' lamp led us towards the ice,[128]
a shaking dread gripped those who prayed for wintertime;
we had no hint of any warmth we sought.
"The Matrons" I won't mention, crags impassable,[129]
their entrance gentle but thereafter harsh:
their guileful countenance teased wretched travelers,
once trod upon they soon brought forth cruel death.[130]
(Revered antiquity erred not, when, with apt words[131]
it wished to label doom's divergent forms!)
Before my sundered heels that rocky way inclined,[132]
nor could one see (trust me!) the path with ease.
Ancestral memories, why hidden labyrinths[133]
did you obscure, dread banished from our tongues?
The architect's meandering was highly praised,
when clever Daedalus intwined the straight.[134]
Onto Olympus' crest nature carried men,
where agile doves can plunge through liquid mist.[135]
My silence, Muses, on the flooded bed forgive

lest speech recover what good luck dismissed.
For Dora, Stura, Orgus, raging Sessites,[136]
surpass the merciless Ionian.[137]
When pleasant sweetness follows after threats diverse,[138]
successful outcomes tend to comfort hearts:
forgetting danger does not clear despondency—
I bear a breast drunk on Lethean streams![139]
Far better: I crossed sainted thresholds shuddering,
and to the martyrs I displayed my tears.[140]
Look! Saturninus, Crispin, Maurus, Daria[141]
Eusebius and Quintus comfort me!
Octavius, Adventor, O Solutor, help,[142]
lest dark stains cause the loss of my pure life!
May my soul in its righteousness cleave hostile snares.[143]
May doing what's upright forever please.

5. Journey [across the flooded Po River][144]

(423 V = 1.5 H)

May verbal opulence, which sows speech, wit's clear font,
Castalia's stream, come, where Thracian Orpheus,[145]
with fluid emanations kindled shipwrecked hearts.[146]
May it assist me, mending all my parched heart's cracks![147]
If I should sing of Eridanan streams, unless[148]
I flood my limbs that lack a drop of Hippocrene,[149]
scarcely will shriveled words drip out a meager tale.[150]
Remind me, clear spring, how to tell of rolling waves,[151]
how wide the waters spread and gentle river roared!
It was that time of year when with sweet grapes vine-sprigs[152]
bloom, offering the rich earth autumn's splendid gifts,
Lyaeus, his clothes drenched by rainstorms from afar,[153]
swells grape-skins for the vintage's captivity.[154]
Because of lavish rains, banks' order overwhelmed,[155]
the Padus then by chance submerged imprisoned fields,[156]
with baleful foam the swollen river's crest grew white,[157]
as farmsteads' pinnacles raced through unmoving waves.[158]
But sea preserved this roof, abducted from its shore,[159]
the home's possessions, though they changed their place, survived.
You could see forests that abandoned their ground, forced
by Padus' decree to rush towards hungry flames.[160]

For my dear sister I, led by my fervid love—[161]
the Fates had harvested her son with their cruel hands,
snatched him away; though husband lives, a widowed home[162]
they made, which for Avernus ever bore a crowd—[163]
to give her comfort, I resolved to risk my life.
The sovereign supreme of flows Ligurian,[164]
first in submission did groan under my bark's weight,[165]
then swelled again and launched anew his blasting threats,[166]
compelled to yield to me, though he subdued the poles.[167]
Thus, piety tames elements; he masters all[168]
whose soul, delighting God, is in compassion's thrall.
Behold! The sky, again concealed by rain-soaked clouds,
draws water in that falling will submerge the fields.
The shipwrecked land could not distinguish heaven's face,
bereft of stars, the shadows flicker dreadful sights:[169]
a fish at liberty roams through an edifice;[170]
the river's denizens lick food from tabletops;[171]
within mankind's secluded chambers the sea spewed;[172]
mud from the saturated plains obstructs the fields.
First risks endured, I saw my jeopardy renewed,
a conqueror, still new to fighting Nereus,
my sangfroid I preserved within those flowing streams,
though I beheld that angry surface with wet eyes. . . .
Just then an old inhabitant beheld the sea
drained off, he chuckled at my signs of abject dread.[173]
Luxuriant fields gleamed enriched by precious ore;[174]
the Eridanus shone, adorned with brilliant sand.
At once the happy boatman raised me from the keel,[175]
a lucky package that gave him a lucky sign.[176]
My burden now secure, instinctively he steered,
with Christ our guide, he carried me to festive shores.[177]

6. To Faustus[178]

(26 V = 1.7 H)

[1] I would have construed the fulsomeness of your eloquence as hostility, had I not already learned that the simplicity of your conscience has forsworn the affliction of such evil.[179] May anything that implies such treachery retire far from good deeds! Nevertheless, I give notice that your circumspection has wounded me. Up to now, you have cut off

the nourishing downpour of your fruits from the aridity of my meager wit.[180]

[2] Good God! How many exotic facilities of rhetoric do I now understand because I acquired them from the riches of your speech? This lies among that wealth of sayings (if I remember correctly): "rusty tongues and dull wits are improved when they are put to the file of experience."[181] Between you and the Creator of men there is this fellowship: he created from nothing; you improve for the better. I render thanks for the poem I received, although the gift's delay did cause me anguish.

[3] Nevertheless, to the shame of the Muses, who never lack their Gluvidinus, I have added a few verses and, being profligate, I did not "spare these pages now destined to perish."[182] Read these poems designed to move you to laughter and suppress, as they say, the "stupefying glory" of me, your wicked friend.[183]

Amidst the flood, O Faustus, you inflame my heart,[184]
whose thirst your poetry's wave nourishes.
Who can endure the water's heat, and swallow down
the river's flame, with sips from his parched mouth?
Your words, like hot springs, have produced a steamy heat,
they seek out goblets that make livers burn.[185]
Whoever hastily grabs for your flow of wit
has no doubt: if he drinks more, he thirsts more.
Your famed stream furnishes spice with strange piquancy;[186]
it seems a total loss to miss a part.
In Cecrops' buskin you are bold, your fluent tongue[187]
dismays not that antique nobility.
Our Faustus fabricates new songs in ancient modes,
with skill he hones his verses piece by piece.[188]
He learned when his words must return onto the forge,[189]
then three, four times, his verses he rechecks.
Antiquity relates how Myron's hand gave life[190]
to work forged by his animating hand.
You grant a face through words, its limbs through harmony,
what nature gave God, study gave to you.
If you turned plectrum kindly towards decrepit corpse,[191]
you would rejuvenate him through your lyre.
If making flowers 'neath Boötes frigid wain,[192]
soon spring-like breezes would sooth Helice.[193]
For you ice would pour wine, snow-covered woods the rose,
for blazing heaven Pallas would grant gifts.[194]

The fish you bear would swim across celestial air,
if you command with verse, stag loves the sea.[195]
From midst the mighty maw of famished lion you[196]
snatch prey's soft entrails with your potent mouth.
Castalian love, I now know where you drew me,[197]
your offerings contribute to my guilt.

Through raging storms my stitched-together craft is sped[198]
enduring winter's southern winds; this leaky ship[199]
a wretched sailor fashioned out of fragile bark,
assembled, he named it a bean-boat modestly.[200]
It knows not Phryxian coasts, nor Aegean waves,[201]
nor oceans that ferocious Aeolus whips down
to seafloor, but instead sails in the placid bays[202]
of deeper waters prudently, where Auster serves;[203]
it seeks no new realms, often with a sluggish oar,
as veering breezes whistle on the trembling boat;
while its sails, knotted to the lofty yard-arms, wave,[204]
gusts, bringing death to others, offer me repose.

Here I'll steer my small ship and trust my canvas sails[205]
to steady winds, my art and skill's true course.
O Phoebus, turn my sails' path, turn my helm towards shore;[206]
let anchor's hook bite into cleaved seabed.[207]

Muse, you fountainhead of amazing sayings,[208]
weaving verdant diadems out of ivy,
which you grant as gifts to your chosen poets,
fasten your hair up.

As my bark plows through a tremendous ocean,[209]
my hand on the tiller knows not how to be
borne where through waves suitable channels summon,[210]
artistry's ally.

You reach Faustus, arbiter of locution,
whose mouth is as powerful as the deep sea,
whom the world reveres, sees as more propitious
than the bright sunlight.

Holding rhythm's scale, judge among the Muses,[211]
slashing every wound with his sword, he cuts out
everything unhealthy in ailing verses,
deep in their marrow.

Should he welcome my modest dithryambics
with the spirit by which he rules the wide world,
even counting them as an infant's babble,
I would be honored.[212]

My light, O Faustus,[213]
hope and salvation,
this gift worth nothing,
small whisp of letters,[214]
take with great pleasure.
May our Lord God Christ
your luminescent
offspring thus safeguard.
Send forth the favor
of your benign name.
Stalks of the pious[215]
please he who thunders.

7. To Olybrius[216]

(27 V = 1.8 H)

[1] The country shepherd does not lay aside his pipe whenever he inspects his rustic flock.[217] Silent forests beget a terrifying solitude and everywhere there is dread when no sound is heard, that balm for isolation. But if the whisperings of wind and the leaves of the trees feign the appearance of human speech and their pleasing vibration calls to a man with the playful motion of their branches, one will think that a crowd has surrounded him on both sides and he'll no longer bemoan this predicament, since nature herself, through whatever substances she has at hand, calls out to him in the midst of his seclusion.

[2] Then he is happy to move the pipe to his lips, a companion for his elation, and, as his breathing flows over the holes of his instrument, he composes a certain melody with his air and breath. Then, his unpolished, spontaneous speech herds his own Palaemon;[218] then, he counts out the watches needed to guard the sheepfolds; then, he sighs at the ambushes planned by wolves, goaded by imperious hunger; then, whatever his chest breathes is converted into language; in his own company, he tries to find solace, he tries to sooth himself.

[3] Such a man—if some learned fellow offered him a cithara that converses through its chords or some mocking urbanite produced loquacious

strings—would be at a loss at what his stark simplicity should choose, while the touch of the lyre renders (albeit with clumsy fingers) sweet sounds that subdue his soul.

[4] Nevertheless, that man thinks it a sin, if, attracted by the elegance of strange designs, he learns to despise the skills of his ancestors. And as long as his reckless ambition has not yet meted out an end to his rustic knowledge, he might realize out of affection for his ancestors that he is about to lose those capabilities. But when he no longer remembers what he learned in those huts, he will detest his father's modest culture as though it belonged to someone else.

[5] In the same way—o most distinguished man, who's reckoned among the Curia's greatest stars, fluency's ray of light, ingenuity's flame, eloquence's glory, declamation's elite—I am delighted when things are told simply, as though by a shepherd's pipe in the trackless forests.[219] I fear your lute but honor the plectrum that you, an urbane man, have placed (as I explained above) in my rustic fingers.[220]

[6] Cease, I beg, to apply the enticements of finely-wrought speech in your efforts to attract me. Remove the bonds of conversation that you use among more experienced men.[221] Arrest your verbal fingers, with which you are accustomed to bend the spirits of the reluctant to your desires. Allow me either to mask my ignorance with silence or to offer my trite song on a shrill reed.[222] To converse with you is a matter of long-established value and new pleasure.

[7] If I forget myself and make this attempt, grasping hold of the sun's chariot in contravention of my own advantage, I justifiably will follow Phaethon's example.[223] And since our discussion has touched on that man and his cautionary example, the following poem shows why this is necessary.

Tradition, which cannot forget the deeds of old,[224]
  always tells what has happened in the world:[225]
when Titan spreads his seeds of light throughout the sky,[226]
  enriching this world with his noble rays,
when dewy bridle checks his smoking chariot[227]
  and tempest casts the gleaming day on all,
Sun bent his billowing reins with an expert hand,[228]
  and famous light bore its creator lord.[229]
But once he did, at Phaethon's appeal, resolve
  to tender his realm onto hands untrained,
the star, at first command, perceived a counterfeit

driver and ran amok with steeds unleashed.
The horses blasting from their nostrils sweeping light[230]
no longer held their fixed and steady pace.
A glow gave way to fire and then burst into flame,
what gives the earth life brought catastrophe.
His lantern devastates Hyperborean crusts;[231]
parched Tanais, its stream drained, disappeared;[232]
ice melted while the river's course began to blaze:
the Eridanus shrunk by what melts stone.[233]
So I, attempting rhetoric's unsure footpath,
approach the solar carriage's domain.
I know not how I should allot the day's full hours,
nor what to keep in check: heat conquers all.
The honored Curia trained you in fine detail,[234]
enjoining light be brought to senators.
You give them Phoebus, sacrifices burn for you,[235]
for these celestials cease their lightning strikes.[236]
But paltry garden plots scarcely produce for me,[237]
my terracotta pots refuse plain herbs.
I am (I do confess) one whose words trickle out,[238]
they prove the gauntness of my meager wit.
I sing no songs, if I pluck beats Camenian,[239]
no great applause attends my fingers' voice.
What I once chanted to Apollo's lyre, I left—
forgetting all the words those strings gave me.
Uncouth right hand now wanders over gentle chords,
my savage plectrum breaks sweet harmonies.[240]
How often (ah!) in silver grass flowed Helicon's[241]
wave smiling, making thirst form on my lips.
How often (ah!) with ivy I adorned my head,[242]
I charmed Aonian throngs with my song![243]
But now through forests, near the dens of savage beasts,[244]
secure, I joined that rustic fighting force,[245]
entrusting fertile furrows with my heavy seeds[246]
so that my tares establish their life's seed.[247]
May these my milky words expose no slackened mind,
and for my words and wit I be called soft;
nor with my tongue I maunder though broad-spreading plains
or speak bold words to deep-resounding horns;[248]
nor those bombastic boots inflame my weary heart,[249]
and pompous I be deemed in cast and words.

What port for me? While lectors seek fame everywhere,[250]
if I stay silent, modesty's intact.
While you may reach the sky, leave me at peace on earth,
who only know this: I've learned nothing well.

8. Epithalamium for Maximus[251]

(386–388 V = *Epist*. 8.10–11 H, 1.4 H)

ENNODIUS TO MAXIMUS, VIR SPECTABILIS *(386 V)*[252]

[1] May your wishes be fulfilled with joy by divine Providence! May that man attend your wedding, who indulged in the gift of blessing from his father, when he still rejoiced with his native immortality.[253] May our Christ ensure that neither the fruit won by preserving your virginity nor the gift of your marriage perish. May your virginity help you produce a child, just as your fecundity not damage your chastity. And, by some secret, mysterious dispensation, may you not perish for a hundred years, since you are a father, nor from God's grace, since you remain chaste.

[2] May that which Isaac, led by his piety, wished for his younger son come upon you.[254] May your wife enter the house of her mother-in-law with the same auspices as those enjoyed by the daughter-in-law invited into the inner home of Tobias.[255] May the virginity you guarded for yourself be the source of your wife's perfect love for you. May you know only she who has been destined for you, as you were destined for her, since you did not come from the dregs of the earth. Behold! Although I am not able to attend, my speech is not absent.

[3] My lord, I hope that, after you have accepted the gift of this greeting, you receive kindly these things I composed.[256]

ENNODIUS TO ARATOR (387 V)[257]

[1] I am amazed that you mar with a shameful silence the benefits of communication that you have refined in yourself according to Roman tastes and that you waste the wealth you acquired through such sweat because your unresponsiveness prevents you from distributing it. Whatever has been bestowed on worthy men adorns its author, as long as it is used, while whoever shuts away the elegance of his ingenuity diminishes it. It is the same mistake to reveal oneself as an uneducated man and to hide from sight one who deserves the honor of praise.

[2] Surely, it's not that you have nothing worth recounting? Or do I not seem to need cultivation through eloquence? Was there ever a theme

that ought to be celebrated more by the tongues and letters of all than when a man is led into marital union? This man had great visibility because of the prominence of his birth and his personal resources. Good training and modesty? He excels in both. He swears off the sins of the flesh, rejecting as an uncouth frivolity whatever the laws offered as a remedy. And not wishing to assign his body into the service of a wife, he thought he would—if serve he must—devote himself to the world through his willing chastity.

[3] Even if you do not like this topic, still you ought to praise it as a means to display your ingenuity. We can believe that you are good, if we hear you proclaiming things that are righteous. Now I, conveying as generous a greeting as possible, advise you to write and not to reckon my worth from my letter, which—God as my witness—I dictated in the time it took to return from church.

EPITHALAMIUM DELIVERED TO MAXIMUS, A VIR SPECTABILIS

The year, its sun renewed, forms tender stalks of grain,[258]
the ground warms, Nature in her chamber sits,[259]
the world paints great varieties of flower buds,
lands have a single face: care, love, goodwill.
Fresh shrubbery gains strength from its life-giving warmth,[260]
their sap grows thick and fosters woody seed.
The earth becomes aroused in full fertility,
tumescent trees leaf frisky foliage.[261]
Lactescent grass is pressed down into knotty turf,
jeweled fingers start to burgeon from the branch.
In Nature's image, marriage law joins wedding torch.[262]
Sky's breath, just like a spouse, conceives all things.[263]
With shared intent the sun, sky, river, Nereus,
wild creatures, mountains, meadows bring forth joys.[264]
From you the world gains, Maximus, what makes it bloom,
your talent fosters Nature's benefits;
yet this your family, rank, mind, spirit, prayers surpass,
supported ever by the leading Muse.
Our age bestowed you, as a monument of faith,
virginal in your body and your soul.[265]
Your pure life brings a wife whose virtues vanquish yours,
because she conquers you, she is your palm.[266]
A mutual flame shines across your snowy lips,
on your white face spread hints of modesty.[267]

Source of eloquence, I beg, assist me now in mind, voice, lyre.[268]
O my Muse, Apollo, nature, skill which increase rhetoric
no base sound is suitable for *maximum* men's praise;[269]
often undistinguished words have worn away a lofty peak.

Gentle Venus, holding the world, releases[270]
floral gifts; she frolics in gentle meadows,
while her precious star brings on renewed springtime,[271]
shimmering beauty.

She spurned every splendor of golden garments,
she refused strange jewelry's ostentation,
she stood there more opulent, raiment banished,
her fine hair tousled.

Just as when by artifice noble wool drinks[272]
dye, more fair through counterfeit color's action,
just so Venus naked surpasses every
pearl in chill ocean.

Under the loose mesh of her chest's sheer fabric
precious gemstones glittered on rosy nipples.[273]
She shone like the sun by denying her limbs
envious clothing.

Then her body, laid bare without a cloud, laughs,
scintillates, serene with her prison sundered,[274]
all uncovered artfully, with her clothing
barely concealing.

Winged Cupid wandered with his bow slackened,[275]
cursing how his leisure enfeebled his bow.
Sluggish, he was carrying wounding arrows
moistened with no blood.

Thus he harangues his mother, brandishing his arms:[276]
"Creator, we have lost our power's benefits!
'Cytherea!' now sounds nowhere! The tale of love
is mocked! Our offspring match no more this nascent age.
Consuming, passionless virginity subdues
the limbs of many; these sublime and novel vows
defeat the flesh. Though order stands, its voice is weak.
In life's prime youths behave like shaking, broken men;
consider too, across this age's spacious fields,

the meager nuptial harvest, which now only aids
old age, gaunt, ashen with its flowers withered, white.
The only faith is this: be bent by no sweet charms,
and if our tender mores do somehow propagate,
they're crushed by vile precepts, our business everywhere
banned, talk of marriage beds is sin for modest men!
You lie relaxed and unaware of your great rights,
unclothed, you scrutinize your limbs 'neath tumbling hair.
Rise! Quickly shake off this debilitating sleep[277]
lest chastity's commands, those laws ill-counseling,
be thought to bind you (shame!), another captive god!"
The Ocean's depths at such words would have burned red-hot.
A golden light collects her soft hair into braids,[278]
enfolding her unvarnished splendor in a gown,
she changed her form. Then just like jasper brightly shines
or verdant pasture's green is matched by emeralds,
(to better guard within the poison it conceals)[279]
she comes in white, her body streams a snow-like light.
Her glimmering robe shimmies up her covered thighs,
her rigid girdle squeezes tight her tender breasts.
She asks her son, "At whom, my hope, do you take aim?
Whom do we chase? Where am I sent? Now after rest
this greater flame will teach all that a goddess grows
who lies neglected. Sleep takes nothing from the gods
as these rebuilt bonfires and their twinned cares reveal.[280]
Look! Maximus, his noble house's only hope,[281]
lays down forgetfulness to play with my sweet torch:[282]
he hunts a mother, one who's purer than the sky,[283]
a wife whose own soul conquers that of womankind.
He tamed his childhood, sharing his ancestor's mores.
Alas! How shameful that we did not know him then!
Let this man's deepest fibers come to know my lamp,
let him begin to sigh, desire, careen, burn, beg."
She spoke, embracing her child with her kindly warmth
against his delicate mouth she pressed honeyed lips.
He takes flight, passing through the clouds upon swift winds,
combining every element through maddened lust.
He stood, considering the youth's resplendent form:[284]
"Do you in your pride shun the Dionaenan cult?[285]
"Come here," he said, "and worship Venus! Blazes burn
more hot when they're lit late; whatever wood from pyre

was snatched will soon revive these swiftly growing sparks."
He drew the arrow, by which he smote all the gods,
and his exquisite bow withstood his steady pull,
his arms drew back the dart along its curving path,
the winged boy's right hand then foresaw his impact's wound,
then swift he struck and with a joyous shout he cheered:[286]
"Why tremble? I am he, long scorned by you, who sticks[287]
in your heart, fugitive! This offering I pledge[288]
to my own mother, whom for so long you despised."
Behold! He scours large families again for chalk[289]
that joins the wedding beds; he spies the most sublime
and stellar girl; towards mother, stunned, he turns his eyes[290]
believing them kin; he commends his noble trick.
While Cupid strikes the gentle girl with lighter dart,[291]
with force against the man all his blows he exhausts.
Then he withdraws, caressing their hearts with these words: [292]
"O youth, may these our wounds rejuvenate your strength,[293]
for everyone struck by my darts grows prosperous.
If you believe, these wars make numerous grandsons.
May you be blessed and always bear my gifts with you."[294]

Now me, aided by Pierian affection,[295]
place within the glad circle, noble princes.
May they steady my weakness through this whole poem,
with their kindness they make me educated.
When a cold frost suppresses inspiration,
may the warmth of the swelling spring revive it.

3 HYMNS

9. Evening hymn[296]

(341 V = 1.10 H)

Now earth receives the evening time
concealed by cloaks that dim the light
so that our living bodies might[297]
by sweet death their full strength regain.

This form of death more graceful still
conveys us sleep as in the tomb,
exhausted by the heat of day[298]
our mind in leisure simmers down.[299]

O Christ, our light, our life, our truth,[300]
let not the gloomy time of sleep,[301]
prepared in shadows terrible,
now summon us within its gloom.

Let no night ever vanquish us[302]
beneath the veil of pitch-black night,[303]
nor stain with febrile drunkenness
our bodies in deceitful sleep,

imposing on the innocent
true penance for a fictive sin.
You, through the benefits of rest
assist us, ever watchful guard.

Let our sly foe be far away;
let that which ails us also sleep.
Whoever strives with savage fangs
to gnaw those sleeping in their beds;[304]

let this one bound tight limb to limb,[305]
regret he struck those whom you love;
let not our spirit be destroyed,
shipwrecked by wine-soaked mortal flesh.

Let chastity, which first among
the virtues shines, adorn our bed.[306]
Let our hearts be alive with faith,
which blooms in everlasting light.[307]

10. Hymn for a time of weariness[308]

(342 V = 1.11 H)

O God, eternal joyfulness,
O Christ, peace for a troubled heart
and harbor for the storm-distressed,
whom tempests, when they sweep the depths[309]

with maelstroms in confusion stirred,
cannot exile far from my heart.
You lift up what the sea submerged
and what its burden has weighed down;

you were the shipwrecked prophet's guide,[310]
he lived, yet dinner for the beast,
the sea knows not what it holds fast,
you, his redeemer, rescued him[311]

from savage maw: he's food yet safe,[312]
restored then from that dreadful ship,[313]
and from accursed captor saved,
as God pronounced he was his seer.

With courage then he did what's bid,[314]
he brought us prudence from a tomb,[315]
from waters foul and sickening,
still living he endured a grave,[316]

live vessel held him as a meal,
a terrifying witness, he
revealed the whale's dark mysteries.
O God our King, to you we pray,

destroyed by grief, just like that feast,
remove us from the gut of care.[317]
What kills us lives down in our bones;
our deepest hearts are tempest-tossed.

This passion in our flesh resides,
which overwhelms, burns, and afflicts:
but if, serene, you look on us,[318]
distress will bring forth joyfulness.[319]

11. Hymn for Saint Cyprian[320]

(343 V = 1.12 H)

Of priest and martyr Cyprian[321]
the heart, compassion, tongue, and grace[322]
his martyrdom makes glorious:
his slaughter gave him life in death,[323]

light shines forth, gleaming from the axe.[324]
Outshining all with dazzling words,
enriched by a distinctive voice
that flowed just like a roaring stream,[325]

his words like arrows from the bow,[326]
he conquered through his timely speech,
these gifts of a respectful soul,
he credited in truth to Christ.

Now he fulfills his former task
the speaker speaks and so prevails,[327]
orations soften cruelty.
He renders blissful the condemned[328]

by shattering their sins through song.
Not prison, fire, nor cruel restraints
can harm whomever he supports.
Commanded to make sacrifice,[329]

he mocked the hapless magistrates
as this ordeal loomed over him
by death he fled from jeopardy.[330]
Through little patterns of deft speech[331]

he won reprieve from those cruel blows,
more cheerfully he called their swords,[332]
though death was swift, more quick he raced.[333]
Than that proconsul Maximus[334]

no one ruled more ferociously,
yet what he threatens is a gift,
and ebbing anger does not slow[335]
those wishing to behold the Christ.[336]

12. Hymn for Pentecost[337]

(344 V = 1.13 H)

This too is a celestial gift,
when tongue contends with other tongues.
Who will not praise our God's rewards
when he amazes through such gifts?[338]

By speaking prudent God affects
those who deserve to speak of him.
Behold, his spirit flows abroad[339]
and educates our mouths again.

He enters into hearts that have[340]
by ancient gloom been ripped apart.
On this, an apostolic day,
when words are scattered by the Word,

all-powerful in worldly speech,
he brings together worldly hearts.
Let it be said in highest praise:
man has the tongues of all the world!

Gaul, Thracian, Indian are one;[341]
what graceful Greece sings tunefully,
what harsh barbarian roars loud,[342]
the murmuring Canopic din,[343]

what Parthian tongues growl and bark,
have filled hearts foreign to the brim.
Salvation runs through all the world
by many paths, with world averse.

Why? Now redemption's imminent,
the sacred boon of Easter's grace,
when it adorns the mystic crown[344]
with offerings made sevenfold.

A supplement of plenitude
this wealth provides to wealthy men.
Now sing in praise with soul and voice:
our spirits owe this gift to God.

13. Hymn for Saint Stephen[345]

(345 V = 1.14 H)

Than Stephen what's more powerful?
"The crown," you say? His martyrdom.[346]
This man is that which is the prize:
the name reveals the fruit of toil.

This brief praise speaks abundantly,
in this way men become renowned.
You, slaughter's agent, now take heed,
bestowing endless life from death,

salvation's gained by life denied.
Exultant underneath those blows,
eternal he becomes through death.
Through bloodshed he prepares for light,

his tomb the gift of heaven's gate,
in victory he routs his foe:
in this way victory arrives.
This man first entered on the path[347]

untrod as yet by others' steps.
He travelled through celestial rooms,
encompassed still by mortal flesh
then he exclaimed: "Behold, the Son

is seated at the Lord's right hand."[348]
While wicked men let fly their stones,[349]
those countless implements of death,
aware of justice, he alone

through faith spoke and began to pray
that those who sinned in ignorance
not be destroyed by heaven's wrath:[350]
may their insanity lack sin.

Their fury raised up the condemned,
his torment answering his prayers;
the torturer laments his cross,
which Stephen conquered as pain swelled.

14. Hymn for Saint Ambrose[351]

(346 V = 1.15 H)

To heaven these words bear Ambrose,[352]
his office, name, accomplishments;
with nothing owed to eloquence,
all gifts flowed from his character.[353]

He bravely spurs a helping hand[354]
protected by his righteous shield.
Within his flesh, flesh has no force,
within his body soul rules all,

temptations are completely smashed.
He lived not for himself alone
but wholly for our Father, God.
When the Apostles placed him here,

at once our exiled faith returned.[355]
He hymns triumphant martyrdoms[356]
with laurel crowning verdant tongue.
The prey he rescued with his mouth[357]

out of the savage serpent's maw.[358]
He soldiered in the wars of Christ,
swords feared him, though he was unarmed.
Now buried yet he lives and helps.

This bishop holds the Church's helm.
Justina's venom was for naught,[359]
her punishment was his reward.
Remember now, O light, your home.

Grant grace, O saint, to these your heirs,
whom your authority supports,
lest, cloaked by calm celestial clouds,
their captain have new cause for fear.

He shepherds every bishopric,
dispelling anything that lies,
he guides the flock of ruling men,
while teaching those who tutor us.

15. Hymn for Ascension[360]

(347 V = 1.16 H)

Today to heaven Christ ascends,[361]
but first he slaughtered funerals,
entombed he drove out suffering:
death fell to ruin by death's own blow.

O generations, sing of this:
a funeral defeated Hell,
by being slain he conquered death,
from this time pallid fate laments,

from then delight was imminent.[362]
The swallower of all's held fast,
the hunter has become the prey,
restricted by a net, he's led,

around him hard chains tightly coil;
the serpent puts aside his bane,[363]
the meek treads on the arrogant,[364]
the lamb eviscerates the lion.

Your power rules more widely, Christ,
when you assume our mortal state,[365]
and hidden in a servant's garb
you lead us into victory,

whenever from your lustrous throne
with lightning you transfix the damned.
Our God extends through everything,
coterminous with heaven's vault.

To elevate exhausted men,
consenting to be just like us,
his justice he himself redeemed.
The lost sheep he delivered back

into the shepherd's watchful care.[366]
Raise up the gates, angelic host:[367]
the awesome magistrate arrives,
now greater through his victory.[368]

16. Hymn for Saint Euphemia[369]

(348 V = 1.17 H)

What language would be able, what pen have strength[370]
to sing in praise a virgin's triumphant deeds?
Learn now, you men with weak and unmanly hearts:
she offers pure examples to indolence.

When this courageous maiden surpasses men,
can virtue ever reach a fixed boundary?[371]
Her mind was never broken, nor gender's rules,
once she conceived sublime Christ within her heart.

They liberate their bodies from mortal chains
those who deposit God deep within their souls.
She twisted greater suffering on herself:[372]
love for the Cross grew strong as her pangs diminished.

If you knew how this martyr could be subdued,
O mad tormentor, you would learn clemency.[373]
The flame and executioners, scourge and wheel:[374]
whoever heeds the Cross has no fear of these.

And when the order came that she must be thrown[375]
into the furnace crackling with fire, headfirst,
(if poison's deadly, Priscus was deadlier:
for by that name this criminal era called

the holy virgin's merciless arbiter)
with that man's servants burning beyond all bounds
to hand the martyr over as furnace fuel,
a light, more pure than shines from Olympus, then

stopped those intending to do such savagery.
At once they show their swords and with common voice:
"now send us straight down into Hell's depths, we pray
our hands will never violate this pure girl."

Then that man's liver burns and swells up with bile,[376]
he readies stoning, whipping, and vicious blows,[377]
fierce beasts, and worse than poison, seductive speech:
that warlike woman bravely resists them all.

17. Hymn for Saint Nazarius[378]

(349 V = 1.18 H)

His narrow interval of life,
confined within a shortened span,
his holy death allows to grow:
eternity provides its bound.

He comes here from misfortune's fruit[379]
so that humanity may rise:
Nazarius of noble birth,
he was in death more brilliant still.

Most fortunate in Nero's reign[380]
to have endured so many wrongs,
his heart not chilled by somber dread,
he purified the world through death.

That ordinary men might know
the path that mounts to heaven's gate[381]
he gave examples through great deeds,
a true instructor, not mere words.

Courageous is the general
who teaches warfare with his hands.
What soldier can bare maxims draw,
if his own leader fails to act?

A sermon that is blustery[382]
will not succeed despite its flair.
But after he has fertilized[383]
abundant seeds in the best soil,

where farmer's hoe inscribed the earth,
he quickly seeks our fair Milan,[384]
where, after being grandly met,[385]
he cast corruption from his flesh.[386]

He, buried in a modest grave,
alerts the bishop with great force[387]
so that he might again pour forth
his brilliant gifts for all the world.

18. Hymn for Saint Mary[388]

(350 V = 1.19 H)

If I'm to speak of virgin birth,
what praise does Mary not deserve?
Let her Son grant, adorn, fulfill.[389]
That which the open gate demands

the closed gate offers willingly.[390]
Let my words match her miracle;[391]
my soul, what would you seek to know?
When nature's lost its whole routine,[392]

we find salvation in defeat.
When she the Virgin lived alone[393]
through her ear she conceived her Son,[394]
her body baffled by the deed:

her belly with the Spirit swells.[395]
That seed was sown by holy tongue,
her flesh encompasses the Word.[396]
His mother makes Him wholly ours,

his father makes him just like God:
one offspring unified from two**,**
he who begot, she who conceived;
the Son no greater than a slave

was nonetheless no less than God.
The well enclosed received the Word,
the well enclosed produced His limbs.[397]
The narrowed fissure did not yield[398]

and her true progeny shines forth.[399]
Speak, mother virgin, I beseech,
did someone leaving close the door?
Did childbirth your womb compress?

Your son your bond of chastity,
O Mary, dearer than Christ's throne,[400]
whose godly womb must be believed,[401]
most powerful, remember us.

19. Hymn for Saint Martin[402]

(351 V = 1.20 H)

When I describe Saint Martin's deeds,
I pass by nothing worth my praise:
the virtues parceled out to all
extol him, all combined in one.

He was a martyr through great works,[403]
his spirit mastering his flesh.
This closest comes to victory:
when men trod under inner strife.

Although the body loses strength,
this act endures for champions:
he trumps the enemy of souls,
when making vows with his own limbs.[404]

Not blessed yet by the liquid flame,[405]
with God's affection he grew warm,[406]
once he was healed by steaming waves,[407]
devoted by his acts to Christ.

When Martin clothed a naked man,[408]
the King of Heaven shone in it.[409]
So by a worthless rag he earns
the glowing orb of shining stars.[410]

How righteous is this fair exchange![411]
With purple he was recompensed,[412]
a beggar issues heaven's realm.
Then he began a holy life;

he cheated a demonic mob;[413]
he bade to rise from pyre's flames[414]
the dead who lived by his mere touch;
he willingly endured the blows

by which he wove his martyr's crown.[415]
Compelled onto the bishop's seat,[416]
unwillingly he took his vow,
which holy faith did then fulfill.[417]

20. Hymn for Saint Dionysius[418]

(352 V = 1.21 H)

To Dionysius Christ gave
a victory in every fight.
Exiled once, now a citizen[419]
with all the saints in heaven's realm.

Constantius the tyrant once
expelled the bishop from his See.[420]
He did not yield to anarchy,
among cruel dangers his faith grew.

Professing faith grants this reward:
your punishment yields happiness,
by woe you purchase your desire.
Continue, helpful torturer,

this light is lost if your force fails.
How blessed is your adversity,
if holy exiles triumph thus!
Confessor saints stand not apart

from saints who suffered martyrdom;[421]
men whom exilic death afflicts[422]
in haste, fly toward appeals for death;
no flavor's lost by cooking slow,[423]

it seeps within the hidden nooks.
Our living death brings only grief,[424]
swift passage is its only cure.[425]
The prince's rage caused him to jeer,[426]

he rushed away, his faith intact,
resolved, he wandered through the world
where harsher still the sun burns down,[427]
denying the sweet balm of drink.

O awesome one, we take from you[428]
as ours the benefits you grant.
You send your saint here to request
what you yourself bestow on us.

4 BISHOPS OF MILAN

21. On the acts and life of Bishop Ambrose[429]

(195 V = 2.77 H)

He practiced what he preached, by honored acts he lives,[430]
Ambrose our bishop, with wise character.[431]
Majestic purple flashed across his dewy tongue.[432]
he painted springtime blossoms as he wished.
He wore resplendent garlands bound around his brow,[433]
his mouth spoke homilies adorned with jewels.[434]
Uprightness, modesty, and mien direct his flock[435]
a piercing gaze condemns, supports, and warns.
As mortal dangers order him to use his voice,
his silence censures pardonable sins.
Protected by his weighty shield, equipped with swords,[436]
he guards his chest with interwoven steel.
His blade has force, a ruthless enemy of vice:[437]
no scaly viper touches this man's back.[438]

22. On his successor, the sainted Bishop Simplician[439]

(196 V = 2.78 H)

As Ambrose died, he passed care for his widowed flock
to your protection, O Simplician.
By his successor's drive, a plundered kingdom's strength[440]
revived, by virtue of another's age,
just as the aged ash, when spared by western winds,[441]
is strengthened by long peace and dreads no war.
The blessed novice, called to hoary discipline,[442]
did not, corrupted, lessen past prestige.
There was no fear, his marrow icy, soul enflamed,[443]
the bishop's virtue had a flower's span.[444]
He covered earthly fields with roofs that spread out wide,[445]
while touching with his character the stars.

23. On the blessed Venerius[446]

(197 V = 2.79 H)

Venerius, who models noble chastity,[447]
came, youthful but not bound onto his name.[448]
Robust limbs grew sedate beneath that hoary judge,[449]
old age removed the child still close at hand.[450]
Once he climbed up the steps and gained the lofty See,[451]
though young, he taught his people ancient creeds.[452]
Resplendent verbal tropes flowed from his fertile tongue,
the light of life made eloquence glow bright.[453]
So that the Word's seed might make swell the Church's womb[454]
he gave a feast of apostolic milk.[455]

24. On the succession of the venerable Marolus[456]

(198 V = 2.80 H)

Marolus, who imbibed the Tigris' far stream,[457]
who from damp chambers saw that blazing star,[458]
whom toil had strengthened under Syria's own sky,[459]
embarks as bishop bearing boundless gifts:
observant, focused, fervent, prudent, abstinent,[460]
his character fulfilled his ministry.
Whenever candor's morsel touched his gentle mouth,
he transforms orders into sympathy.
That mighty land once forged by blessed patriarchs
Illuminates the world with noble sons.[461]

25. On Bishop Martinian, worshipper of God[462]

(199 V = 2.81 H)

You have a milk-white soul, a dove's exquisiteness,[463]
O *most* clever snake, Martinian, farewell![464]
Just as the doubtful crowd calls out with fickle words,
they find you doubting your own excellence.
The world stood as your judge, against you one man spoke,[465]
unqualified to win and seize your realm.

At once, led to the threshold of this noble post,[466]
a holy exile joins our citizens.
With great finesse he built twinned houses for the saints,[467]
enjoined to hold the day with captive light.

26. On the venerable Bishop Glycerius[468]

(200 V = 2.82 H)

Imbued with cinnabar and blushing with great deeds,[469]
Glycerius is here with virgin face.
When his complexion was dyed with deep scarlet dew,
his painted cheeks pleased by simplicity.
He bore a forehead gleaming with a golden sheen
and dyed his happy face with modesty.
His scepter matched the testimony of his face,[470]
the purple rendered him the spirit's realm.
He went away: the people were but briefly blessed,
again, bestowed onto a great man's care.

27. On the sainted prelate Lazarus[471]

(201 V = 2.83 H)

To trample all the cruel world's hubris, Lazarus[472]
came forward, fearsome, summoned by our voice.
His furrowed brow depicted him as vices' foe,[473]
upbraiding wicked deeds with silent eyes.[474]
Beholding sin, he cleared away the gloom of life,[475]
and often cured a wound through piety.
Whoever sinned in shrouded rooms could never hide,[476]
though absent he was there, the scourge of crime.
For innocents, he radiates a gentle light,
his countenance reflected every sin.

28. On Pontiff Eusebius, friend of God[477]

(202 V = 2.84 H)

Eusebius, unknown, approached Liguria,
drawn by the friendship of a foreign crowd.[478]
A friendly Titan once observed this Greek at dawn,[479]
when shaking waters from his flaming crown.

Untainted, gentle, generous, calm, pious, bold:[480]
eternal condemnation he disdained.[481]
He wept in pity with the poor, laughed with the rich,[482]
all joys and sorrows were his equal care.
Let fame, his work's sure proof, announce him to the world
and say he led his flock from place to place.[483]

29. On Bishop Gerontius, a simple man[484]

(203 V = 2.85 H)

Once you obtained the bishop's seat, Gerontius,
your predecessor did not fear his tomb.[485]
Pale fate endures death, he returns restored by you,[486]
past death he lives on in his student's worth.
You, like a farmer, cultivate the seeds of life,[487]
no creeping ryegrass suffocates your grain.
If he did share his food, as noble law commands,
he earned his holy seat by worldly fruits.
Suppressing spirit's error through the law of works[488]
rejecting sloth, your virtues ferry you.

30. On the venerable Bishop Benignus[489]

(204 V = 2.86 H)

Reveal the soul, Benignus, that in truth named you.[490]
Whoever calls you witnesses its truth.
When hoary faith selects a man, his deeds emerge,[491]
his father was astonished by his fate.
His parent's prescient prayers were not pronounced in vain,[492]
transforming into truth mere flattery.
The elders' council cheered his judgment as he sat[493]
and raised his head above these holy men.
But clipped by cruel fate, like a flower by the plough,[494]
hope, elegance, and wit fell from our doors.

31. On the most blessed Bishop Senator[495]

(205 V = 2.87 H)

He trumps the Gabine toga, throne, and consul's robes,[496]
excelling every consul, Senator.

Orations finely crafted, swift intelligence,
a treasure-trove of virtues, lovely modesty,
enigmas, books, the prophet's hidden mysteries[497]
he brought to light with faithful turns of phrase.
Dispatched to distant palaces, with reverent[498]
devotion healing what was torn apart.
The East confessed its loss to pilgrimage's light,
stunned by its sighting of a second sun.[499]

32. On Bishop Theodorus, a man with every virtue[500]

(206 V = 2.88 H)

You, sure light for your people, you, most constant hope,[501]
you, Theodorus, power of the Pope,[502]
truth's dazzling essence, virtue's lofty pinnacle,
revealed by your uncountable travails.
Perceptive, armed, courageous, amicable, calm,
complex yet simple, you were good and wise,
prophetic: your heart always knows what lies ahead;[503]
when you reveal a wrong, it flows away.
Fierce men who trampled worldy peaks feared you,
and loved you, spurning pride's brutality.

33. [On Bishop Laurentius][504]

(207 V = 2.89 H)

That man remains, whom long the famous king protects.[505]

5 EPITAPHS

34. Epitaph for a good man[506]

(46 V = 2.1 H)

Does this good, noble, bright enricher of his name
here lie confined (speak, sorrow!) by this mound?
A modest tomb conceals a mighty house's hope,[507]
its pinnacle now grassy turf confines.
What can life's threshold show? Can children be renowned?
This poor child's death came unexpectedly.
Did quick maturity assist his tender years?[508]
He added many funerals to his.
He died—alas! This youth had cleansed the sins of life—[509]
when youths err, our life-giving God took him.
Behold! You who perhaps dread life's precocious years![510]
Age did not limit this triumphant boy.
Abducted to the stars, his lesson rests on earth,
he shows the straight path to all who have faith![511]
Through twice ten harvest times and winters he survived,
whom sudden hostile fate took from our sight.[512]

35. Epitaph for Abundantius, *Vir Inlustris*[513]

(50 V = 2.2 H)

He never died but gained a life beyond the grave,
his noble soul's not held by any tomb.
Ancestry, honor, wit, rank, rectitude, resolve[514]
annihilate death through their many gifts.
A good and civic man does not feel the crypt's doom;[515]
the Fates collect our wretched mortal threads.[516]
Precarious warps strain beneath the heavy load,
the weft holds fast in true nobility.
His honored character renewed this wizened age,[517]
he bore a pure heart like a temple true.

36. Epitaph for Saint Victor, bishop of Novara[518]

(215 V = 2.95 H)

In name, intention, merit, toil: *victor*ious![519]
You see a land crushed by a tainted race;[520]

you have a body but you lack the carnal sins,
by limbs subdued you tamed this falling age.
A moral teacher, strict yet patient, wise, and calm,[521]
your ashes rest in earth, but called aloft,
your brilliant soul exults in heaven's citadel.
On high Olympus you ache for our pyres,[522]
you'll see the swift destruction of the world you tamed,[523]
and grant the prize to bodies freed from chains.[524]

37. To Eutrepeia [Epitaph for Cynegia][525]

(219 V = *Epist*. 5.7 H)

ENNODIUS TO EUTREPEIA

I regularly acknowledged the attenuation of my wit, yet you wished, through your brisk demand, to put to the test the meagerness of my voice (long ago proven). But I will not refuse to obey someone fond of me, and, should the value of my eloquence falter, the charm of my compliance might offer some support. There are various kinds of divine gifts, even if they proceed from a single Creator. Perfection graces one; another is recommended by his eagerness to obey without delay. This epitaph for my lady Cynegia I composed in less than an hour—this was the time I had available—and this haste leaves it unpolished. You see how I was compelled to detail this woman's great virtues using verbal somersaults.[526] May her respected soul spare my sterility and accept this speaker's transparent enthusiasm, if not his manner of speech. You, my lady, embrace this letter in lieu of my presence and pray that her spirit be in no way wounded by such rough courtesies as these.

Neither the tomb nor gender harm her, nor the threads[527]
too short trimmed by the Sisters' untrue hands.
A woman joined with God, she lives beyond the grave;[528]
her deeds are manly, feminine her mode.[529]
Ancestry, honor, wit, mien, rectitude, resolve:[530]
her precious virtues vanquish death's demise.
Her character asserted her great family,
her brilliant soul evinced her lineage.
She trained her sons to safeguard lives of blissful calm,
while her example taught them to love God.

38. [Epitaph for Cynegia (II)][531]

(361–362 V = *Epist*. 7.28–29 H)

ENNODIUS TO ADEODATUS THE PRESBYTER (361V)[532]

[1] It matches my wish that I have a suitable occasion to write to you. For exchanging words is pleasant in itself when people cannot be together, and declarations on the page permit accurate communication, because those perfect men, just as they believe that the evidence of affection among previous generations diminishes their own excellence, consider it a source of disgrace if they ignore their good example.[533] But among holy men there is so strong a communion that their separation in this world causes no diminution of insight into the innermost man.

[2] It is fair, my lord, that you heed my wish and its form.[534] And so, after the preliminaries of greeting, I beseech that you remember me, so that what I have lost through my negligence, might, by your efforts, be conveyed to me by the intercession of divine grace. Therefore, I disclose (without holding anything back) that on the third night after my departure, my blessed lady Cynegia appeared to me at the crack of dawn, in an unhappy condition. She sternly rebuked me for the haste of my journey. Why, she complained (without any mildness in her words), had her tomb not been adorned with even a few verses?

[3] Indeed, I did not receive this like a vision of prophetic truth, nor have I made an offering to any nocturnal phantom through my sweat.[535] But since those who love another are easily persuaded, she did not have to work hard in admonishing me to extract the work that I owed her. My respect for the lady is secure. I ask that you swear that the verses I have composed will be inscribed on the wall before her feet. You should know that this would be most welcome to your son.[536] For, he wishes that her merits be celebrated by the mouths of many and in the manner that you find below.

[4] Greet my lady Stefania and Sabiana, and especially Fadilla for me.[537] If there are letters for me, write immediately. If you would, please speak to my lord the Pope, so that he might arrange something for my case through the deacon Dioscorus.[538] Greet especially my lord and brother Hormisdas for me and tell him that he should send me the key.[539]

ENNODIUS TO BEATUS (362 V)[540]

[1] I do not enclose a letter within narrow bounds, minding the Spartan mode of composition, nor am I mocking your style with its enthusiasm

for compressed speech: I lack the ability to speak concisely with modest words.[541] It is typical of sophisticates to whittle down what they have written to almost nothing and, unnecessarily, to compose their pages within the limits that men demand. Whatever you think is subtle in what I just said about these matters emerges from luck and haste, which is not always a friend to art. It means a great deal to me if life's accidents produce something you admire.

[2] So, I introduce the reason for my letter, which I entrust to you after I have presented my greeting. When I was away at Rome, my lady Cynegia appeared and reproached me: she asked why I had not honored her tomb with eloquent praise crafted into verse.[542] Although I would have done this out of my respect for her husband, I mulled it over, since what shines from the light of her virtues must be celebrated in luxuriant style. But God does not reject the service of an inexperienced man and he himself, content with what he has bestowed, does not request a jeweled crown of words from countryfolk.

[3] Therefore, I fixed my resolve to write an epitaph in verse. About this you should indicate simply and honestly what you think—at least in those matters that especially pertain to her, since your father yet lives and Rome has not made you her own—and not flatter my ears or my feelings with the mist of false grace.[543] Don't be ashamed if my page is judged by others, even lady Barbara (especially her and with good reason), since she is staying with you.[544]

[4] Still, I hope that the flavor of my tablet matches your hopes, which are already in mature bloom beyond my prayers and those of your parents (even if we are greedy for more). Greet lord Cethegus and his sister Blessila for me.[545]

[5] Greet Fidelis, Marcellus, Georgius, Solatius, and Simplicanus for me.[546] Tell them this: "if your heart possesses the same conduct as lady Barbara, visit her husband, parents, and brothers, since she is modest and lacks all extravagance.[547] Whoever acts otherwise should not hope to visit me in the future."[548]

The bounty for my prayers from Christ's grace I obtained:[549]
what was my life, the Cross gave to the tomb,
discharging flesh's wares without a wound to soul,[550]
before my husband Faustus I died blessed.[551]

Medicine of the soul dispels all my tears.
Every matron who guards her bed with virtue[552]
hopes that she will enjoy a similar fate too.[553]

39. [Epitaph for Albinus][554]

(230 V = 2.99 H)

You see Albinus, who gave titles after death;[555]
his lively virtues slay the funeral.[556]
You, gloried prince, while yielding to the Master's laws,
this place of burial does rightly touch.

40. Epitaph for Lady Mellesa, *Femina Inlustris*[557]

(325 V = 2.117 H)

In lineage, soul, wealth, form, virtue, modesty,
which every woman wants, I was unique.
My body practiced only what the law requires:
chaste children decorate my chastity.[558]
As champion, I held my strong spouse by my charms
my honey, Severus, eased your control.[559]
My children I wed into noble families.
Before my spouse I die—the faithful's wish.
I lack naught: I endure, alive beyond the grave,
for harmful death cannot attack the blessed.
My name is sweet, I'm called Mellesa for my deeds:
a just name, flowing from my character.

41. Epitaph for Eufemia[560]

(333 V = 2.130 H)

The crypt she shatters: she lives after death through works,[561]
her character contained no mortal sin.[562]
Eufemia! The earth embraces your limbs now
but your pure soul has joined the holy choir![563]
Death perishes. That cruelest fate is now enslaved,[564]
when innocent life triumphs over fate.
Her marriage bed was fertile, when a widow, chaste:[565]
she modeled to her daughter love for God.

42. On the grave of the emperor Majorian[566]

(354 V = 2.135 H)

When hostile, wrathful Fortune offered you a grave,[567]
it clashed, Majorian, with your remains.[568]

Behold those men who don't deserve huge pyramids;
let pious princes have their humble tombs.

43. Epitaph for Lady Dalmatia[569]

(375 V = 2.148 H)

Death dies whenever virgins to the grave are borne,
sin's service is the one true path to death.
Rebellious nature fell beneath Dalmatia's sway;[570]
her noble kin erred yet she holds the sky.[571]
This is sufficient: scorn the world while in the world,[572]
though pressed by sin, she did not yield to sin.
Her solar modesty excels her family's light,[573]
her conduct was an ally for her soul.

44. Epitaph for Rustica[574]

(462 V = 2.5 H)

Your endless life has not been stolen, Rustica,
by pale death, lost to chill oblivion.[575]
Your pure soul freed from flesh ascends to blessed spheres.
Thus death ennobles this chaste woman's life.
A wonder! Life continued in your widowhood,
transferring love from husband to your son.[576]

45. Epitaph for Melissa[577]

(465 V = 2.6 H)

By conquering the body those who die live on:
our sins bestow the fatal law of death.
You, virgin, do not die: your soul restores your flesh,
which did not live within the world's control.
Let funerals, tombs, pyres, these wages of sin yield,[578]
rejoice in passing from this life to life.

6 EPIGRAPHS

46. On the Church of Saint Xystus, restored by Bishop Laurentius[579]

(96 V = 2.8 H)

The prelate, rich in talent, honor, modesty,[580]
adorned this righteous gift and, joining his life's light
with the work's merit, he secured this holy place,[581]
its hidden depths once crumbling (fallow lay its fame).[582]
The ancient covenant, increased through time, still lives
because blessed Xystus gains Laurentius' gift.[583]
The duty, thus, that once fell to the saints endures:
he made a temple consecrated by that man.[584]

47. On the rebuilt Church of the Saints, after the previous building burned[585]

(97 V = 2.9 H)

These ancient, humble buildings fell to blessed torch:[586]
if splendor comes from loss, if pinnacles from flame
surge forth to harbor God, if what was lost gains strength
from harmless firestorms, if worship gains from loss,[587]
who, while ruins crackle still, will mend all that has burned?[588]
Laurentius, wage your campaign and vanquish fire!
This foul land would have hid in withering decay,[589]
if these vaults had their obsolete appearance kept.
But once the heavens sent their providential flames,
the cinders drew these walls towards the light we revere.
Here turn your pious eyes, O Father, who foretold[590]
what flame must cleanse, instructing those who must be taught
through deeds, lest crooked minds at mere words vacillate.[591]

48. [On the Basilica of the Apostles of Novara][592]

(100 V = 2.11 H)

Behold, this temple gleams, which once neglected lay,
its old facade a new light renovates.[593]
What pagan ceremonies ruined this ancient shrine,
which, gods expelled, now hosts the one true God![594]
O gods, who know this, leave the seats you occupied.

What victor made, now Victor holds complete.[595]
His heir through virtuous deeds reinforced this cult:
you, Honoratus, wielding an apt name.[596]
A man, whose heart is clouded with vile serpent's bane,[597]
is not allowed to build God splendid homes.

49. [On a building restored by Laurentius][598]

(101 V = 2.12 H)

Now hear about the flowing stream this small house drinks,[599]
surpassing great halls with its small arcade.
It radiates, built through a splendid pontiff's drive,
possessing great Laurentius' glow.
Through great expense these gleaming walls make rubble rise,[600]
what comes from this lord will know no sunset.[601]
Old age's mate, decay, will not debilitate
what this creator's glory has well built.
Fame, never silent on majestic men, preserves
his name, eternal, leading to the stars.

50. [On a building restored by Laurentius (II)][602]

(102 V = 2.13 H)

Always that man safeguarded stringent righteousness,[603]
severe towards sin, but supplicants he served.
Vice never tempted him, compassion always did;
his face, resolved, gave judgements everywhere.
Guilt chastened with a glance, he fostered true remorse,
confessionals he bore away through prayer.[604]
His mother brought him forth for the celestial court,[605]
from her breast she gave him to fertile fields.
This august bishop stupefied this wizened age,[606]
once through behavior, now through ministry.

51. [On a building restored by Laurentius (III)][607]

(103 V = 2.14 H)

Who happily forsook this dwelling long possessed?[608]
Which house increased when widowed of its lord?[609]
Abducted while he steered the courtly helm, unbought,[610]
he gained what we sought as his spirit's prize.

This place possesses now a quenching draught imbibed,[611]
protecting goods once tasted on the lips.
Whoever next succeeds as resident and heir,[612]
it gives this entrant an inviting step.[613]
Learn how a partner shows to lead a sacred life,
if consecrated roofs make holy men.[614]

52. [On a building restored by Laurentius (IV)][615]

(104 V = 2.15 H)

Almighty Father, grant, we pray, for centuries[616]
that sure hope may attend our pious guests.
Let my pure garments not be blackened by our sins,[617]
nor crown prepared lost at the finish line.
Let rise all who, caressed in their own mother's womb,[618]
arrive to taste life through your many gifts.[619]
You permeate my soul with a taste delicate,[620]
you make my tongue a witness to your blood.
The lofty trees put forth their leaves with luscious shade,[621]
which farmer with his sickle never pruned.

53. [On a building restored by Laurentius (V)][622]

(105 V = 2.16 H)

One's eloquence provides sure proof of character;
pursue perfection's font, whoever thirsts.
By studies virtuous is liberty unlocked;
in shadow's pall hides native excellence.[623]
The earth would have preserved ore captive in her veins
unless inventors found what calls it forth.
As pallid mineworker extracts his tawny gold,[624]
so who refines his mind makes it his own.
Now plying with meek oar the sea Ionian,
O Thalia, steer my small bark to port.[625]

54. Above the door to the bishop's dining room[626]

(112 V = 2.17 H)

The sailor hangs the ocean's gifts from his door-posts,
he bears the river's produce to his doors.

The hunter's iron spear is leaned against his gate,[627]
an iron helm adorns the soldier's hall.
From entryway you learn name, trade, worth, lineage;
a forehead's sign shows we profess God's creed.[628]
O letters, righteous guide, our studies open wide,
lest this house hide away it's lord's own skill.
Now you, who wield a heart, assuaged with Latin dew,
behold the streams of winding Helicon.[629]

55. [The martyrdom of Laurentius][630]

(179 V = 2.51 H)

Memphitic documents contain all centuries:[631]
to Nero never did Laurentius submit,[632]
nor fear the powerful flames vanquished by his flesh.

56. On the Church of Saint Calimerus, after its restoration[633]

(183 V = 2.60 H)

These unimpeded heights deserve their captured light,[634]
facade gleams absent any gloominess.
Of late the gift of luminous Olympus came,[635]
led by Laurentius' ministry,
whose buildings and his life now share a single form,
in shape and color equal to the sun.[636]
Bravo! Restorer of the old—press on!—the new[637]
you fabricate, with brilliant look and soul.
Your patronage makes buildings shun their old decay,
their tottering your unknown genius saves.[638]

57. [On a Church in two buildings][639]

(453 V = 2.151 H)

A single house is formed from two divided halls,[640]
and splits the structure which its use combines.
Within roofs doubled, pure, devoted glory shines,
and honor's joined from its divided parts.
Lest one's proximity confuse the sacrament,
design abundant ordered unchanged place.

58. On a baptistery where are depicted the martyrs whose remains are therein[641]

(128 V = 2.20 H)

Arminius the founder, worth celestial praise,[642]
begot a font with life-providing flows.[643]
Let us our insides fill with salutary stream:[644]
this wave, once drunk, forbids we thirst again.[645]
The painter gives new life to bodies snatched from tombs,[646]
let death who sees dead living seek its grave.[647]
Yet even so this place contains the limbs of those
whose face and soul this wall and our faith keeps.

59. On a baptistery, in which the angels offered to Christ the son of Armenius, who made penance[648]

(147 V = 2.34 H)

The offered one, whom Jesus saved, has been received,
God's sacrifice comes after our soul's sins.[649]
Go, child! Surpassing tender years in mindfulness,[650]
your pure life earned you pious carriers.[651]

60. On a baptistery of Milan[652]

(181 V = 2.56 H)

Let him blaze forth more pure than molten metal's light,[653]
whoever grants his worthy gifts to God.[654]
Laurentius before the smoking furnaces[655]
resolved to glorify this charming work.
Mosaics, marble, frescos, vaults magnificent
he gave this temple, shining righteously.[656]
To building's worth the founder adds his character,
like wearing silk robes steeped in purple dye.[657]
Just as external light makes gleam embedded gems
when snow-white stones glow fairer, red through art.[658]

61. On the baptismal font in Saint Stephen's and the water that comes from its fountains[659]

(379 V = 2.149 H)

Indoors without a cloud pours this serene deluge,[660]
and heaven's pure facade supplies the flow.[661]
From marbles sanctified abundant rivers flow,[662]
and once again (behold!) rock brings forth dew.[663]
For this dry pergola pours forth pellucid streams,
and heavenly waves come to those reborn.
From distant aether holy water emanates,[664]
led by Eustorgius' ministry.[665]

62. [On a house in Milan][666]

(99 V = 2.10 H)

Two things concede eternal glory to a house:
gleaming mosaics and its owner's worth.[667]
Grass-colored stones that imitate grass-covered fields
may wheedle eyes with their refined deceits;[668]
a work deceives through art, yet nature rules the form,[669]
while images reveal stone's inner truth.
She may with skill infuse clear white with rosy red,[670]
and paint concordant limbs with strokes precise.
Gold, tables, ivory, gems, paneled ceilings, domes:
these can't outshine the virtues good men hold.
Perhaps you jest about the value such works have?[671]
Trust me, it's hard to be of steady cast.[672]

63. [In front of the house's oratory][673]

(162 V = 2.37 H)

You garner happiness from loss, joy in lament,[674]
if your belief in Christ is absolute.[675]

64. [In front of the oil storeroom]

(162a V = 2.38 H)

This chamber's been well-stocked with gleaming olive oil:[676]
there's nothing more apt for our sacred gates.[677]

65. [In front of the granary]

(162b V = 2.39 H)

Although this room is small, the soul's more copious;[678]
not sparing treasure, I acquired wealth.[679]

66. [In front of the stairs]

(162c V = 2.40 H)

Let them come, if a candid face unlocks his soul:
by this sign one's intentions are revealed.

67. [In front of the storeroom]

(162d V = 2.41 H)

No pressure from an evil mind depletes these stores;
what's stashed out in the open flows away.

68. [In front of the kitchen]

(162e V = 2.42 H)

This massive kitchen yields me no expensive meals,
nor does my belly vex too many cooks.
We offer frugal plates (their size is topped by care);
this table's glory will not damage health.[680]

69. [In front of the wine cellar]

(162f V = 2.43 H)

This sober cellar stores wine in full-laden jugs,[681]
it strengthens bodies moved by their own steps.
Cups may infuse the flames of anger into some;[682]
my vintage, though unmixed, tames warlike hearts.

70. On the citadel of Bishop Honoratus[683]

(260 V = 2.110 H)

The bishop's citadel is life's securest hope:
can evil harm one guarded by a saint?

His prayer provides a shield: Bellona, now retreat![684]
No battles burden what on virtues rests.
The Founder builds high walls, the Maker strengthens keep,
one hastening in fear here fears no more.

71. Concerning the epigrams on Faustus' library[685]

(70 V = 2.3 H)

You crafted poems appropriate for varied books:[686]
may joyful letters gain what they bestowed.[687]
Who, Faustus, does not celebrate your decency,
when you repay what reading gave to you!
Deposits are by crooked minds always misplaced,[688]
your lessons bring us back to honest ways.[689]
But I admit, if kindly you receive my words,
predominant men rightly flee the small.[690]
Let them be praised, the bards you paint in polished verse,[691]
let rhetoric's modes sound from virile tongues,
just as when Paul explained that Christ was man *and* God.[692]
Let most distinguished eloquence rejoice,
let Attic doctrines be enriched by Greek affect,
and Latin elegance stun cultured Greece.
Teach ethics with precise words, physics with exact;
by telling stories history instructs.
Judge comedies by polish, epics by applause,[693]
these luminous words with your works align.
No other can do so; there's great acclaim always,
when Faustus speaks. I say what's known to all.[694]

72. [On a cart given by the bishop][695]

(469 V = 2.4 H)

The greatest prelate gave you, fine cart, as a gift;
it paves the way for great things and good signs.

73. A subscription[696]

(156 V = 2.36 H)

The scion, friend, that nature's law has given you,
may I gain from this font's life-giving flow.[697]

74. On the marble lion that carried water into a house[698]

(127 V = 2.19 H)

Behold, a charming lion, fierceness laid aside,[699]
from mouth and docile heart streams now cascade.
A wave from muzzle flows, his deathly fang gnaws cups;[700]
the beast, its nature lost, does quench our thirst.
While wild and savage throat pours forth a glassy spring,[701]
life-granting waters cleanse ferocious hearts.[702]

75. [On a serpent statue][703]

(470 V = 2.7 H)

Death's slayer, principal of life, salvation's branch!
Behold! This venom routs the serpent! Look![704]
What once had symbolized abuse for wretched men,
death's image, gives to me eternal life.

76. At a garden's entrance[705]

(163 V = 2.44 H)

Look here, as you meander through this charming park,[706]
to learn how one should value brilliance over crops.[707]
When painted by a purple tongue, buds flash a smile,[708]
with flowers made through song, in winter man has spring,
his very words exhale warm zephyrs through the ice.[709]
Effulgent murex dyes intoxicated texts;[710]
in every matter oratory's purple reigns.
The voice's power triumphs over noisome snakes,[711]
hearts frozen are revitalized by rosy blood,
while literature shows the young with ice-cold limbs.
The scholar places in his service nature's gifts:[712]
appearance, spectacle, proportion, season, age.

77. On the threshold in a garden[713]

(164 V = 2.45 H)

Let him extol a spacious garden's benefits,
whose hunger tended acres satisfy.[714]
This precious, fertile gift surpasses fields stretched wide:

its majesty is real, despite its humbleness.
Neglecting broader plains, Grace came within these walls
to show devotion's feat in a small space.
On entering, the colonnade a lush shade blooms,[715]
on which the god of wine poured out his soul.
This pergola adorned with clustered foliage
adds to the benefit of summer's chill.
Now lilies, laurel, olive all intwined with rose[716]
through cultivation each receives their day.
A victor's crown and those that show a friendly face,[717]
such bounty does this golden land produce.
Let spendthrift men seek profits with their greater hopes:[718]
this is enough: to please without deceit.

78. On a plate with Ennodius' image[719]

(210 V = 2.92 H)

Ennodius' image: worth its weight in ore.

79. On his conch shell[720]

(211 V = 2.93 H)

This splendid shell attends to thirst conceived by waves.[721]

80. On a dish that depicts an armored youth on horseback holding a victory in his hand[722]

(126 V = 2.18 H)

Look! A winged deity held in triumphant hand;[723]
he came without supplies for his return.
His steed rears up, its warrior atop its back:
a terror—but the good guest smiles at art.[724]
Let him, the scion famed in northern pastures, learn
his inborn talent from this effigy.

81. On seven plates depicting animals and Diana[725]

(129 V = 2.21 H)

Diana, stag, boar, tiger, lion, leopard, cow:
dear scholar, set your table with these plates.[726]

82. On a tray holding seven platters[727]

(130 V = 2.22 H)

This object guards distinctive meals in tight array:
in different ways it can hold many plates.
What these connected ranks place in fixed boundaries,
how well a single (silver) hollow holds.[728]

7 EKPHRASTIC EPIGRAMS

83. A goblet engraved with Pasiphae and the bull. *Ex tempore*.[729]

(133 V = 2.25 H)

In art you, Pasiphae, won't leave the snow-white bull:[730]
though fictional, your greater beauty mocks real girls.
You beg for kisses, arms entwined around his neck;
this gleaming bullock conquers silver in its hue;[731]
without real bodies, woman, bull, and love all live.[732]

84. A goblet engraved with Pasiphae and the bull (II)[733]

(136 V = 2.29 H)

The woman flirts, the bull responds, limbs start to move.
Who has infused souls in the mold art made?

85. Another [on Pasiphae and the bull (III)]

(136a V = 2.30 H)

This artwork bull, O naughty Venus, keeps his fixed
intent to nuzzle snout beneath approaching lips.[734]

86. Another [on Pasiphae and the bull (IV)][735]

(136b V = 2.31 H)

If, artist, you control those souls sown into art,[736]
I pray, may you bestow one tender on the bull,[737]
unless you grant this wretched girl a sterner heart.

87. [Another on Pasiphae and the bull (V)]

(233 V = 2.103 H)

It was no harm to Venus: nature's bonds remain.
The lying heifer fails, that work by Daedalus,[738]
the twofold cow, alive by craft, no longer lows,[739]
its counterfeit wood can't grant bullocks intercourse.
The woman like a wife sinks (look!) below the bull,
these human flames cause that beast's heart to start to heave.

How does the nape of its vast neck withstand the yoke?
The sweat! Oh, how exhausted by the leather strap![740]

88. Firmina's necklace, so delicate it can rest within a pistachio nut[741]

(165 V = 2.46 H)

The spun-out gold exudes an evanescent breath,[742]
depleted metal nuzzles her exquisite skin.[743]
The price it paid the gasping furnace stole its weight.

89. Another [on Firmina's necklace (II)][744]

(165a V = 2.47 H)

In clouds of steam the craftsman melts the golden threads;[745]
and golden air's confined by expert hands.

90. Another [on Firmina's necklace (III)][746]

(165b V = 2.48 H)

This wind collected pieces made of precious ore:
what eyes have touched they doubt and cannot grasp.[747]

91. Another [on Firmina's necklace (IV)][748]

(165c V = 2.49 H)

I grasp it—yet it's nothing. Right hand conquers sight.
My fingers' tightened grip compresses only air.

92. The ring of Firmina, *Femina Inlustris*[749]

(229 V = 2.98 H)

The copy's perfect: what the hand contrived is true:
by art a motionless hare flees a stock-still hound.[750]
Its golden fury glints, inlaid on savage bears,[751]
a lion, hand-borne, raves, more charming by its ire.
The likeness knows its mistress (ore acts as a slave).[752]
She tames these beasts, while she feeds needy multitudes.[753]

93. A mosaic inlaid with marble[754]

(209 V = 2.91 H)

Arranging stony marrow by a patchwork law,[755]
the artist's talent makes reality.
The marble, its limbs broken, resolidifies;[756]
from pieces, likenesses form on the slab.
Whoever crafts an image from assorted shards
can make the very stones obedient.[757]

94. To Petrus [on Aponus][758]

(224 V = *Epist*. 5.8 H)

ENNODIUS TO PETRUS

[1] Our revered prince, in his justice and in recognition of the abundant harvest of your virtues, rewarded you with budding honors for the proven habits of your greatness. But you, nurturing an impious silence through the holiday you gave your tongue, sinned against your eloquence and my love. One's elocution, fortified on lofty peaks, ripens whenever it attends to a sign of prosperity. Fluency grows more abundant when enlisted in the service of increased honor. Nor do the mouths of experienced speakers indicate their advancement with words unequal to their success.

[2] Look, this reticence is unattractive: it has deprived you of your rhetorical talent and begrudged me a feeling of pleasure. Perhaps you might respond: "Would you blame me, friend, for my ignorance, if popular rumor, devoted as it is to spreading news far and wide, failed to provide you with a bit of news about my promotion?" But learning of the achievements of my dear friends through rumor does not cause me to suffer nor do I do so when I gather evidence of their joy, even from fickle public conjecture.

[3] I once knew how the mere intimation of being a scholar produced the hope of a cordial entanglement. I once believed (in vain) that I had entrusted my mind in this respect to calm winds. Yet, you did not bid me to be happy. I used to calculate that with my feet I could surpass the thousand wings fashioned from the blades of your writing lest someone else, prematurely snatching away the benefit, repeat to you the good news one expects to hear from a loved one.[759]

[4] Now, my lord, since you have received this, the honor of my greeting, do not refuse prompt remedies for the acknowledged causes of my

grief. Your loyalty, I imagine, lacks nothing in attentiveness nor your finely polished communication in style.

[5] Not content, however, to annoy you in one genre, I have added a poem, so that, after your banquets near Antenor's eddies have been remedied by the baths of Aponus—after order has been drawn into the joints of your body, while its waters pare away turgid, aqueous growths[760]—I too, who never touched Helicon's flow, might be joined to the ranks of the new poets.[761]

Receive, therefore, these poems designed to make you smile. Being content that you alone know your Glovidenus, keep me away from the overly-critical public.[762] For, if any of this happens to please you, your opinion will be enough for me; but if there is anything worthy of criticism, I think that you will keep secret what you've learned about your friend's foibles.

[6] Also, forgive me if, because of my vexatious eye condition, I have perhaps composed lame poems.[763] Indeed, verse that has been deprived of sight cannot walk steadily.[764] Read, therefore, about the hot springs that you intend to visit:

Earth rises up, supported by a swelling slope,
against a steep ridge it leans gracefully;[765]
her haughty head is not forced into lofty peaks,
nor seeks the depths in deeply-rooted vales.
Aponus flows forth, streaming through wide rivulets:[766]
serene fire pants from waters eddying,[767]
wave tends its hearth, but flame does not consume the stream,
the sacred spring cracks like a pyre when drenched.
Intoxicating heat supplies a cure to all,
their bodies parched by its smoke-bearing mist.[768]
Here, embers swirl in whirlpools, moisture in the spark;
in this, death's cycling partnership, there's life.[769]

Within the Nymph's deep Vulcan plunges lest he die:[770]
combative harmony has broken nature's law.

95. [A clever Cretan . . .][771]

(231 V = 2.100 H)

We call this well-known clever Cretan "Little Man,"[772]
with skilled nose, fleet of foot, his jaws formidable,
intrepid; his snout, pressed to ground, reveals the trail.[773]

Wherever roam horned-stag, he-goat, bear, wolf, or hare,
he finds it: cautious beast is seized in its warm bed.
Those battles fought, he's then teased by a dashing lamb:
slight, gentle beast outstrips the swift Molossian.[774]

96. A platter[775]

(232 V = 2.101 H)

Jove's false affairs, and many vivid, wanton forms
are well portrayed: the smith's right hand is full of sin,
the silver's value rests in guarding ancient crimes.
Let Jupiter's deceits not vanquish chastity;
don't yield to age, when sinful relics reappear.[776]
Examples this man crafts warn us of ancient wrongs.

97. [A platter (II)][777]

(232a V = 2.102 H)

If that adulterous "god" mimicked diverse shapes,[778]
by each false image he first tricked himself.
What would this "god" not desecrate with his false form,
whose body basks in such adultery?

98. The garden of the king[779]

(264 V = 2.111 H)

O war-strong right hand, laden with triumphant fame,[780]
that slaughtered all the disobedient!,[781]
securing your exalted fame by shedding blood,
to which the meek and warriors bear praise.[782]
Once battlefield's abundant claret crimsoned you,[783]
you tend your fields and paint with scarlet seeds,
dispensing fruit to shrubs from your own purple stock,
awarding berries by your majesty.
Behold! The common bush now flaunts its leafy branch,
while grafted wood produces splendid seeds.[784]
Steel-sheared, another scion flourishes for you:
a simple gift shines out from grafted trees.
The saplings know their tender; silent, they still speak.
Wherever the prince touched, spring bloomed from ice:

the potent earth vaunts, trees reveal for whom they grew,
by fruit and skill their master's now declared.
O watchful snake, you guard Hesperides' fields,[785]
which grant such golden gifts for simple feasts.
Who steals a forest's issue from a lethal guard?
No one (trust me) nears this wood safe from death.
Here, piety, you share what you yourself prepared,
despite full stomachs, hunger yet abides.

99. Young Arator's whip[786]

(267 V = 2.114 H)

A well-taught mind joined this whip to what rules the world,[787]
adorning lashes with ennobling wealth.

100. Another [on Arator's whip (II)]

(267a V = 2.115 H)

Whoever's flogged by precious silver and pure gold,[788]
he mingles greedy pleasures with his tears.

101. Another [on Arator's whip (III)]

(267b V = 2.116 H)

Pure gold has been embedded into silvered tines:[789]
no man despises lashes exquisite.

102. Ennodius' old horse[790]

(266 V = 2.113 H)

Despite his aged gait, my steed's quite firm of foot;
now his kind deference supports a youth.[791]
For his companion, this old guy stoops his soft back,
but his age makes him steady in his steps.

103. A summer night's ride[792]

(330 V = 2.128 H)

The crowded stars had not, before the morning light[793]
lost their refulgent glow, but from mature night's womb,[794]

poured forth a scattered dew of reddish-golden rays.
Then Cynthia shone from her saffron chariot,[795]
milk-white, effacing traces of her brother's path.[796]
A soundless majesty bloomed though night's offering,[797]
the hold of Cancer's scorching heat smashed by its chill.[798]
As I desired to avoid my weighty cares,
the landscape's decorated face invited me.[799]
I mounted my steed—Cyllarus could not best us—[800]
whose gentle gallop vanquished all the airy winds.
He runs through trackless fields, his rider motionless,
at rest, yet flying fast in perfect equipoise.

104. A Hunnic horse received as a gift[801]

(212 V = 2.94 H)

O warlike steed, raised underneath a frost-chilled sky,[802]
you bear your dry chest through deep Tanais,[803]
devouring hoary grasses strewn in rime-swathed fields,
your courage fostered true to polar law.[804]
There once were peoples conquered, once such floods of gore,
another master now, but work remains.
Please leave behind the bugle (you'll hear blessed songs),
you're sent, tamed, into peace's service now:
you'll have no share of war whose trumpets signal death—
why does familiar slaughter still please you?

105. A dappled bay horse[805]

(355 V = 2.136 H)

O stallions, who were sired in regions bellicose,[806]
whose bloodstained muscles are cleansed by the waves,
you, who subdued deep Tanais' frozen back,[807]
whose hooves stampeded overpowering streams:
behold, this mount is Padane! If the judge is fair,[808]
steeds raised in Thessaly's breeze would concede.[809]
That horse, who chews on blades of grass in frost-strewn fields,[810]
falls short in beauty and its quality.
Our horse advances gracefully on handsome legs,
good-natured, tame, a mere glimpse will delight.
Let tales extol no longer Phasian offspring;[811]
let foreign names not raise their heads up high.

106. After Claudian's "Gallic mules"[812]

(328 V = 2.124 H)

Consider now the rushing Rhône's swift-footed child,[813]
who heeds your verbal reins upon her neck.
Commanded by a word she flies, by word she rests,[814]
her ears hold her own judgement prisoner;
her chains she would ignore, unless yoked by sharp voice,[815]
her ear erased her breed's intemperance.
Whenever a shout feigns the whip, a shout the reins,
unchained limbs pay the tongue obedience.
You have no need of bridle; solid knots of words
constrain the muzzle of the shackled beast.

107. A donkey and a mare[816]

(329 V = 2.125 H)

From her own loins she's been compelled to generate
strange progeny and nurse a feral race's brood.
Let nature's conflicts be far down a distant road.[817]

108. Another [on a donkey and a mare (II)][818]

(329a V = 2.126 H)

A mother ignorant produced an unknown child:
a fraud on nature through a famous trick.

109. Another [on a donkey and a mare (III)]

(329b V = 2.127a H)

A treaty closed the gap between their progeny;[819]
confused law regulates this sorry lineage.[820]

110. Another [on a mule][821]

(329c V = 2.127b H)

This mule's a doubled beast, but in a single form.

111. The sedan chair of Viola, the wife of Bassus[822]

(332 V = 2.129 H)

O how these wandering roofs keep their elegance!
But value's owed most to its patroness.
Its tawny metal blushes from Viola's light,[823]
the owner pours forth her rays far and wide.[824]

112. A blade in a staff[825]

(338 V = 2.131 H)

This cane of mine's a trick, for it conceals a blade:
how well death lurks, hid by its wooden sheath.
Because you carry, all consider you a fright.[826]
What proves my freedom more? My "peacemaker"![827]

113. A bird sitting on foam and crossing the Po River[828]

(353 V = 2.134 H)

Across the bank's reins, nature's check, the Padus floods,[829]
chaotic in a turbulent cascade,
compelling limpid tides to harden into foam,
its forceful waters bearing scaly backs.[830]
A bird alights onto that fickle disk; to waves
a burden, yet secure, her wings at rest.[831]
The sea supplies a bark for its light passenger,[832]
the dry bird's carried by a soggy raft.

8 SKOPTIC EPIGRAMS

114. A man who stole to reunite a son with his mother[833]

(131 V = 2.23 H)

I ask: whoever staunched a crime by villainy?
I welcome—if they yield a good crop—righteous lies[834]
that by their skillful ploys halt furious disputes.
This man's misdeed regained a son his mother's love;
by hateful acts this man will sow the seeds of peace.
When order snaps, false harmony becomes a brawl;
but warlike faces, when deceptive, can grant peace.

115. Son of a prostitute and a donkey-driver[835]

(132 V = 2.24 H)

Avert those portents, gods! This awful birth foretells[836]
a spawn conceived from filthy donkey and she-wolf.[837]
His sustenance supplied his mate's womb with an heir,
and she, unchecked by law, gave to the herd a son.
What freak of nature has discordant union wrought?[838]
Where will this child find its role models? Who can say!
From father's side a dunce, on mother's side a thief.
From those two crossed—oh!—what exalted heights he reached!
Your parents recognize you, trust me, from your sins:
you're nervous, arrogant, ferocious, treacherous,
your massive gullet, here, there, scoffing everything;
you open jaws that know the taste of human blood
and now your snout no longer turns towards only calves.

116. A man who never invited Ennodius to dine except during his son's funeral[839]

(134 V = 2.26 H)

May he who offers guests such lavish, tearful meals
host yet more funerals year after sobbing year.

117. Another [on a man who never invited Ennodius to dine except during his son's funeral (II)]

(134a V = 2.27 H)

Trust me: while all was well he never fed a crowd;[840]
but now he fills friends' plates along with children's tombs.

118. Another [on a man who never invited Ennodius to dine except during his son's funeral (III)]

(134b V = 2.28 H)

Demand, poor party-goers, still more funerals:[841]
then will your brunches match his burials.

119. A Venetian who insulted Gauls in the presence of a Gaul[842]

(148 V = 2.35 H)

Do you, you blotchy spawn of Venice, mock the Gauls?
Have you no candor? Your race forms your mind.
You mock the flawless, O house slave from tainted land;
the Rhône's sons are as pure as driven snow.[843]

120. A bird that loved to eat swans, although his parents were chickens[844]

(191 V = 2.73 H)

A battle of the birds, and goose is slain by cock:[845]
goose answers for ancestral treachery.
Once slaughtered, you exact atonement for that cry;
he, who gave life to Romans, perishes.[846]

121. [A man who sent a gift of figs and a card at the same time][847]

(169 V = 2.50 H)

Your card accompanied a cursed tree's wicked fruit:
this vicious food that once despoiled primeval man,[848]
Deceitful snake, you threaten death to fallen men.[849]
Spare us such gifts and keep damnation to yourself!
Don't you think fruit like this will damn our blameless souls?[850] 5

The fertile tree already banished death's grim fate,
when life was hung high, nailed onto triumphant branch.[851]

122. A soft adulterous man[852]

(180 V = 2.52 H)

A gal's gait, manly face—between the legs? You're both.
You've solved the battle of the sexes all in one.[853]
A bunny, yet you stomp the mighty lion's neck.[854]

123. Another [on a soft adulterous man (II)]

(180a V = 2.53 H)

Shave off your lying beard, lil' wife to everyone,
or else your manly lips might cost you precious coin.

124. Another [on a soft adulterous man (III)]

(180b V = 2.54 H)

Behold a prodigy born from confounded law,
it's "gender-neutral" . . . rather, "all of the above."[855]

125. Another [on a soft adulterous man (IV)]

(180c V = 2.55 H)

A constant falseness plays in your uncertain sex:
you take it like a woman; when you thrust . . . a "male."[856]

126. Jovinian, who has a Gothic beard but walks around wearing a Roman cloak. *Ex tempore*.[857]

(182 V = 2.57 H)

That his barbarian face puts on Roman dress[858]
amazes me: these giants stand out in a crowd.[859]

127. Another [on Jovinian (II)]

(182a V = 2.58 H)

The night of his face clouds his Romulean cloak:
his shadow-casting countenance defeats his clothes.[860]

128. Another [on Jovinian (III)]

(182b V = 2.59 H)

You strip the essence, ill-dressed man, from noble cloaks,[861]
when mixing hostile folks in poorly-fitting pacts.[862]

129. A gluttonous, inimical, old fool[863]

(184 V = 2.61 H)

You may set rich spreads but your filthy tongue disgusts,
if you're a lax host doling out the meal.[864]
Excessive hunger, spendthrift with your squandered wealth,[865]
prods you with horns—and still your lord's tight-lipped.[866]

130. A man who devours the property of the poor (II)

(184a V = 2.62 H)

You bloat with men's impoverished guts and wretches' blood:[867]
why do so many deaths comprise your meals?
Sea-urchin, truffles, partridge, turtle-dove, crane, thrush,
a thousand carcasses can't fill your paunch.
Unfortunate for them, auspicious for yourself,
because, you wretch, your stomach's your true heir.[868]

131. [A man who devours the property of the poor (III)]

(184b V = 2.63 H)

Once Polyphemus lived on human flesh, and gorged[869]
on black blood: he ate his delectables.
When you restage the scene, your mania's the same,
since penniless ranks offer you your meals.

132. A man who gives banquets to attract friends[870]

(185 V = 2.64 H)

The snake, who sought to plunge men godlike into death,[871]
gave food and by this wicked gift stole life.
Just so, that man, who in my springtime paradise
once eased my cares but now the feast ensnares.

Once entertained by friendly hearts, now off he goes:
the party has become his gullet's lord.

133. On a certain incompetent glutton who criticizes my work[872]

(189 V = 2.68 H)

Why can't you leave, you dolt, my sacred work alone?
You keep your custom, striking out with fangs.
You gnaw on me, but still your gut knows no relief,
with empty images you squeeze the air.
For you, besides the din of ruptured cheeks, this storm
produces no gains and you heave in vain.
With Phasian fowl, fish, or udder of a sow,[873]
you cram rank fodder into your drenched maw.
While I compose my fasting poems without a belch,
those dishes sate you with their regal pomp.[874]

134. A clever lawyer[875]

(186 V = 2.65 H)

Your wishes are unknown; within your dark heart you
withdraw from sight; opaque when face to face,
through your obscurity, you seem invisible,
dispatching poison from your honeyed lips.[876]
I want what you don't (I swear, what you do you don't!);[877]
your vacillations aggravate hard hearts.
You learned to beat Prometheus in forms; in heads,[878]
the Hydra: myth no longer means the past.
Defender, causing wars, you gain from looted spoils,[879]
O haughty man, your prey bolts from your name.

135. A clever man said to be a lawyer[880]

(194 V = 2.76 H)

His false goodwill may catch the asp with hidden craft,[881]
behind a playful guise, a grim mien lurks.
His clever shadow weaves his frenzied pestilence,
and from a flattering start, war is waged.
Trust me, in this way Justin prosecutes his fights;[882]
a smile indicts, he slaughters with great calm.

136. An ill-speaking advocate[883]

(143 V = 2.33 H)

Why, rogue, confound plain matters with your broken words?
Obscure tongues well portray your character.
You disapprove, assume, presume, blaze, importune,
you make the joyful weep and fearless flee;
submission, madness, anger, dread—all coincide.
How many faces in your empty heart!

137. A wandering eunuch named Tribune[884]

(190 V = 2.69 H)

This testimony, Tribune, proves race, class, lifestyle,[885]
whenever we depart an old abode.
A lapse dispatched you here, after you trod the world;[886]
a large house cannot hold you all day long.
You wish to be called "noble," "handsome," "rich," "a friend";
yet you're shipped over unknown ocean waves.
Your words fly, but in vain, no guardian arrives;[887]
no pledge expunges your homeland or sex.
"Bewildered," "craven," "doddering," "belabored," "poor":
make use of such names, casting yours aside.[888]

138. Another [on Tribune (II)]

(190a V = 2.70 H)

You, Tribune, lack all attestation for your lies;[889]
the wind can boast tongues worth their weight in air.

139. Another [on Tribune] because he never stands still (III)

(190b V = 2.71 H)

His damaged nature renders Tribune insecure:
he'll fly again unless chains hold him down.
Wretch, weigh your little anchor when the Zephyr comes,[890]
no roots can offer you convenient help.

140. Another [on Tribune (IV)][891]

(190c V = 2.72 H)

This eunuch at the crossroads earns his foul upkeep,
but has no seed to sow onto the ground.
The countryside protects large buds in furrowed fields,
its youthful harvest pays back manyfold.
In vain this gelding cleaves the earth's back with his plow,
unless he tills and strews about wheat seeds.

141. The fickleness of the clergy[892]

(192 V = 2.74 H)

This man who knows the sea, and counts the grains of sand,[893]
who's not deceived by any woman's oath,[894]
who ponders lovers' paths and the celestial crowd,
for whom, with bright horns, Cynthia appears,[895]
cannot maintain his mien, his name, his character:
changed in an instant, though he is a priest.

142. A bad man who loved horses[896]

(193 V = 2.75 H)

Steeds please that man, a careless foe of righteous deeds.[897]
Spurred by an ardent zeal, he strikes off proper names
for mares and places holy words on horses' rumps.
In no way does he deem them brutes of wicked mien:
his family's plan, set by his elders, still endures.

143. A Roman who wished to be a teacher[898]

(216 V = 2.96 H)

Your character reveals no hint of intellect:[899]
true culture has no commerce with a brutish style.[900]
No student . . . so how then an intellectual?

144. An old woman[901]

(217 V = 2.97 H)

While frigid blood dies in a body living still,
when years of frost have desiccated her womb's field,

and blood, the seed's efficient guard, has fled her groin,[902]
why, wizened Galla, do you marry this young man?[903]
The groom's hope for an heir will perish in your bed;
a phony offspring lives within your wrinkled skin.
It's food you're pregnant with: the sewer gets your kid.
This made your belly: what your husband fed your mouth!

145. A man with a fickle, shameful lifestyle[904]

(238 V = 2.106 H)

Why twitter, two-tone magpie, such great falsities,[905]
you half-man, who excites vile deeds with twitching loins?[906]
What's your objective, if your gender never holds?
What's not a lie, man-woman, you unholy saint?[907]

146. A blind, degenerate, old man[908]

(265 V = 2.112 H)

From your eye's gouged out socket seeps your putrid wound;
contagious, you bear—flaunt!—a corpse's mien.
Your blinded face is borne from friend to friend to friend,
who glimpse you and with reason grow eye-sick.
With rancid rivers you adorn your drunken chin,
outlining squalid lips with clotted filth.
Give me no kisses! Check your dank mephitic breath!
Near you, I'd rather wish to lose my sight.
Who would think noxious flames take root within the eyes?[909]
He can see nothing, yet aims straight at vice.

147. An idiot who happened to be named Vergil[910]

(326 V = 2.118)

The fall of Maro's fame is so precipitous
that our age made a Vergil of out you.

148. Another [on Vergil (II)]

(326a V = 2.119)

If this insipid dwarf receives so blessed a name,
ancestral fame collapses in disgrace.

149. Another [on Vergil (III)]

(326b V = 2.120)

This dolt boasts that he's snatched the bard's heredity:
although no Vergil, still that's what he's called.

150. Another [on Vergil (IV)]

(326c V = 2.121)

Whenever, madman, you're called by another's name,
don't even answer, if you've any sense.

151. Another [on Vergil (V)]

(326d V = 2.122)

Do you pretend to be our Vergil? Villain, why?
You can't be Maro . . . "Moron" you can be.[911]

152. Boethius armed with a sword[912]

(339 V = 2.132 H)

In your hand iron's hard material droops down,[913]
steel melts away just like a flowing stream.
Boethius' placid right hand softens blades:
although sword once, trust me, a distaff now!
If you, rogue, wield a spear, a thyrsus it becomes.[914]
Steadfast in Venus, cast off Mars' tools.[915]

153. An ivory Ostomachion[916]

(340 V = 2.133 H)

Men's anxious hearts grow feeble through a trivial[917]
machine of torture: maidens learned to game.
They spall the elephant's Marmarican largess:[918]
the work, cleaved into tiles, is soon rejoined.[919]
From this false act naive girls learn to joke and cheat,[920]
it's woman's work to laugh at fatal gifts.
They know how tiny boxes hold a thousand things;
your heart is ivory, woman, like this chest.

154. A drunken chief pretorian prefect with a vine in his hand[921]

(364 V = 2.137 H)

High office means a vine-wood staff; but that same staff[922]
can't give the vine's gifts to the magistrate.

155. Another [on a drunken chief pretorian prefect (II)]

(364a V = 2.138 H)

As chief wields scepter, just so your right hand the vine;
a holy crown of skins adorns your head.[923]

156. Another [on a drunken chief pretorian prefect (III)][924]

(364b V = 2.139 H)

I hug my mother; I'm my master's withered vine;
yet I'm denied wine as I squeeze her breasts.

157. Another [on a drunken chief pretorian prefect (IV)]

(364c V = 2.140 H)

Alas! O how this fruitless vine mocks my parched lips
again! It warms me with its name alone.

158. To chief Honoratus[925]

(365 V = 2.141 H)

You, drunkard, with terroir's defects obscure your vice:[926]
Ligurian spew cannot get you drunk.[927]
When sodden Bacchus satiates our throbbing chests,
our cups expose our overwhelming thirst.

159. Verses by Faustus[928]

(367 V = 2.143 H)

If some Ligurian claims to be drunk, he's wrong:[929]
Ligurian can't count as honest wine.

160. About Honoratus[930]

(374 V = 2.147 H)

Flask's wife, my dowry rich in casks Falernian,[931]
my chest with bottomless Lyaeus always filled,[932]
which I, revering Bacchus, worship with moist lips
and burped up must, while charming proud divinities,[933]
I'm stoppered by a dry tomb's lid (I'm well aware).
In heaven still resides my noble spouse (Euhoe!),[934]
whom blessed goblets never could leave overlooked.
If fate protects my spouse, we'll serve you while we live.[935]

9 POEMS ON LITERARY AND OTHER MATTERS

161. For the consul Messala who has the cognomen Ennodius[936]

(140 V = 2.32 H)

I've joined a consul's name to noble lineage:[937]
I light the lists, your toga betters me.[938]
Why, tunic sown with palms, bloom only with the shell?[939]
Our purple gave you more than that dark dye.[940]

162. By Messala[941]

(371 V = 2.144 H)

Receive my little verses, dear Ennodius,
so you remember to return my book*let*.[942]
My greatest friend, don't make faux pas, by holding on[943]
to what you promised me repeatedly.[944]

163. By Ennodius [to Messala][945]

(372 V = 2.145 H)

Messa*lah*, if your studies should show your true self,
my sweet, I could share many books with you.
Minds most unjust steal from a lover what they loathe,[946]
what genius shuns is an unwelcome gift.

164. By Ennodius [to Messala][947]

(373 V = 2.146 H)

If someone with a broken poem a grammar book[948]
demands, let him strive to have steady feet.
O would the Muses, child, someday experience
about you confident joys from our gift![949]
Let them, unless I blunder, not forge limping verse,[950]
not even those whom studies catch asleep.

165. On a man who wrote during the vintage[951]

(188 V = 2.67 H)

While faithful servants store our vintage in large jugs[952]
and frolic in the press with stomping feet,

and while the blood of ruddy Bacchus stains their soles,[953]
the grapes' soft garments torn and rent apart,
unable to endure a rest, I scratched my songs[954]
onto papyrus, lest the tomb hold me.[955]
Declaring Thalia's wine-soaked and stumbling words,[956]
I'm innocent if she slips on her feet.[957]
Beat, syllable, art's rules befit teetotalers:[958]
no Latin Muse is joined to Bromius.[959]

166. Extemporaneous declamation requested by Deuterius[960]

(208 V = *Dict*. 24 H, 2.90 H)

Though Diomede survived the sea, safe in his fields,[961]
a shipwreck absent water he bewails,[962]
because his wife, who fought to master divers swells,[963]
had travelled to another man's embrace.
Though names are feigned, the cause of this dispute rings true,
his words, I pray, please gently now attend!

ADDRESS[964]

[1] O gods, if nothing happens unless you arrange it—either because your power is divided or you are the agents of misfortune—and if concern for human affairs troubles any of you, grant me the happiness of one who returns or the completion of the wandering that you unwillingly brought to an end. If heaven must be called the possession of the pious, if prayers grant mortals moments of happiness, don't add vengeance to my reward.

[2] Why have we proffered our pleas only to bring it to pass that the gods willingly prepare to turn my prosperity into adversity? Be gracious, please! And take back the misfortunes which you gave. Return me to the sea, lest my glory perish in a terrestrial shipwreck. To lack knowledge of any sort of misfortune is a close second to good fortune. The ignominy, which has slapped me in the face, would not have touched me if I were still absent.

[3] My wife—oh, the shame of it! I would not have believed I had lost her, if I had not returned to her. The foresworn calamity still changed my situation for the worse.[965] My wanderings through the watery elements were more stable. In my native soil, I lost my home port, which I finally reached after the frequent swells of the vast and swirling sea. Is *this* the home I hoped for? The desire for it promised that dangers would

be forgotten, although the current shape of my misfortunes renders me unacquainted with the hope of future joy!

[4] For whom does the end of miseries produce a fresh start? Who is supplied a new beginning by enduring misfortune? Is it ever the case that what we hoped for is not loved? When has it come to pass that escaping a crisis harmed a man? Terrible misfortune continually strikes me with new blows. If my fortune changes for the worse, let it maintain the appearance of simple harm, lest it grow arrogant in success.

[5] I had a wife, my companion in woe, whom I entrusted to chastity in keeping with nature's light. The brilliance of her lineage grew under my instruction, so that, by this twinned defense, there was no reason to suspect that she would be waylaid by the trivial attacks of vice nor that the rigor of her chastity would be softened by the debilitation of lust.

[6] She never sought the decoration of tawny metal nor augmented the snowy whiteness of her body with the gleam of precious stones. She had no artificial support for her beauty (at least while she sought to please me). She knew that the bonds of holy matrimony were not helped by tawdry pursuits. Nor did she cling to her wedded spouse when, after she was married, she sought splendor beyond that which flows from a good character. The freeborn duty of rearing our children awaited her, while she behaved in such a way that she deserved to be longed for and yet never thought her husband was absent.

[7] She hardened her sex with the firmness of her mind, until her womanish weakness seized the kernel of a new plan in the absence of virile authority. Still, she resisted the fall of her commandments (my instruction proved potent medicine). She applied herself to other activities and enjoyed her feminine diversions. But in the end, she succumbed just like all who cause tears for their husbands. Circe's cup,[966] as they say, she pushed away and she broke our vows because of an adulterer's wish.[967]

[8] But what should I do, trapped between anxiety and uncertainty? I'd welcome a hateful voyage as though it were a cure and let my hands, mangled by the sheets of my boat, again contemplate flaxen cables.[968] Let my right hand grip the tiller to steer with the helm the bridled stern. May the star-dappled sky again return my gaze. May nocturnal journeys be arranged by the signs of my commands. May this be a balm for my eyes, as long as this land and its defiled marriage not be seen. Let me flee my homeland, in which my marriage makes it so that I am ashamed even by its loss and my prayers are ignored.

O empire's guardian, inspiring rhythmic strands[969]
with my loquacious thumb, I force strings speaking songs[970]

to serve you, O my teacher, by my plectrum's blows.[971]
Like Cyrrha, charged with Phoebus, pious stream's calm swirl,[972]
you'll always be for me, implanting distant tasks[973]
in closed-off hearts, imbuing these with godlike force.[974]
Receive, I pray, this polished speech and then applaud,
rewarding by your judgement words you wrest from me.

167. Declamation given to Deuterius, grammarian and *Vir Spectabilis*, to be sent in his own name to Eugenes, *Vir Inlustris*[975]

(213 V = 1.2 H)

My joys surpass my strength, my cheerful voice exults,
prosperity fears not wit's meagerness.
To fortunate times strands mellifluous attend:[976]
a blessed man deserves this noble poem.[977]
Our voice will quest for justice, essence of the law,[978]
if timbrel, plectrum, lyre Apollo lends.[979]
Let the wise, pious crowd of Muses congregate,[980]
who grant all that's said through loquacious thumbs.[981]
The bard's inspired heart, which swells with prophecy
could scarcely catalogue your virtues' forms.
You, grace of Italy, firm hope of righteousness,[982]
courts' trumpet, torch, our majesty, be well!
Palatial incandescent Rome called you her sun,
welcoming you in Quirinus' lap.[983]
Your voice tames lions, your magniloquence the lynx,
your honey stifles snake's envenomed throat,
deprived of their cubs, tigresses would grant you gifts,[984]
which savage pain produced as ears quaked.
While you, a flower nearly plucked, are by Fate's hand[985]
harassed, our Christ has triumphed over death:
a holy man's life conquers, better and restored,
and to his acts are joined what heaven sends.
Thus bolstered, summon forth no agents with obscure[986]
arts, nor ingenious, supplicating words.
So I, with words my meager Thalia imparts,
I beg that, just like God, you give this gift:
a little garden, joined with my own, still delays
my firm hope that I ought to be its liege.
O light of honors, don't despise to grant me this,

or foster willingly such circumstance.[987]
The king's sublime authority lifts you on high:
may golden outcomes hasten from your worth.
Dircaen Amphion sang first about his life,[988]
since then, inspired actions cannot die.
For many years, the Muses' blessings never flowed,
win these for me by this sign of your care.[989]

168. [On Deuterius][990]

(234 V = 2.104 H)

In head, face, mien: a teacher is Deuterius,
instructor famed for talents infinite.[991]
Let genius, perfect in all fields, excuse his tongue:
vile men detest his ignorance of speech.
They taunt: "a teacher ignorant of grammar's art!"
But simple men instruct through character.[992]
The speaker's craft, the flinty heights of Cicero,[993]
he doesn't reach; all loath such rhetoric![994]
His silent face and his revered bald head suffice
for students: they see Phoebe's fulsome glow.[995]

169. An extemporaneous birthday epigram for Arator, a young *Vir Inlustris*[996]

(237 V = 2.105 H)

Arator dear, you rightly tend (to) your birthday.
If you did not, could you a plowman stay?

170. Extemporaneous verses sent to Agnellus, a *Vir Sublimis*[997]

(256 V = 2.107 H)

He who stains by tainting deception all my
luminous devotion, let him bear henceforth
his tongue seared by Christ the Great Judge's torches,[998]
buried in his mouth.

Pressing with incessant fraud he sunders every living pact,[999]
scarcely offering what his sublime position stipulates.
Cease, friend, this behavior, I beg, more apt to the basest mob,
following the narrow path of noble blood, now keep your pledge.

171. To Agnellus [on his own poetry][1000]

(257 V = 2.108 H)

Before your attention's command, the attached pieces conserved their strength.[1001] You see, forewarned lest they be given to someone who would read or copy them, I showed an opposing hand to those who asked. But now, overcome by my affection for you, I pass them along. If you read them more than once, my modesty will stand; if you make copies, it will fall to ruin.[1002]

Love separates the bonds which once another wove:[1003]
an old law yields to its successor law alone.

172. [On his own poetry][1004]

(257 V = 2.109 H)

Through all my winding life, with fruitful dithyrambs[1005]
Castalia's boon never flowed for me.
I hammer out my doleful songs with thirsty lips:[1006]
why do you spur new hope of Aon's pool?[1007]
But if a change in my Fates' spindle gladdens you,
now offer Pegasus as my new steed,[1008]
who bears his wing-born body over dew-soaked fields,[1009]
not bending fragile grain-stalks with his tracks.
Sublime, strong, beautiful, with an exquisite gait,
if he arrives, Muse, you at once will please.[1010]
Dispatched with slight request for a rich, giving man,
if you come with bad news, Muse, say farewell![1011]

173. Preface delivered to the grandchildren of Proculus on April 17th[1012]

(262 V = 1.3 H)

The fruitful earth condenses her buds into grain,[1013]
replete with milk, her turf is fertilized.[1014]
Sap sprinkled through the grass compresses into fruit;
from these drops her whole progeny is made.
The branches cloaked in gemstones now stretch forth their arms;
trees' bosoms with green tendrils (look!) now bloom!
New vines, commanded to be shorn of wood for gain,
accept their wounds to flourish with new fruit.[1015]

This infancy draws forth with joy and seeks the world's
nurse, which the gentle, tepid breeze bestows.[1016]
O'er comely meadow's surface gambol rustic youths[1017]
as they remark at hard work's pleasant cares.
Triumphant years creep on, drawn by spring's whisperings,
with honey borne to lips about to speak.
For nature our emotions stammer out these songs,[1018]
to this start let fate's golden hand bear aid.[1019]
The reaper gathers grain more gently to his scythe
when he rakes weeds from crops without a pause.[1020]
O teacher, grant them spring; take Proculus' sons,[1021]
lest passion for their studies drain these youths.[1022]
Let law endure: so that instruction matches rank.
The pair's Pindaric elder conquered streams,[1023]
composing with Camenian lyre learned songs,[1024]
no hush checked his choir Apollonian.
May Phoebus soon revisit him with potent force:[1025]
art's true distinction, if Marsyas comes.

174. A declamation delivered to Arator when he received an honor, written on that day[1026]

(320 V = *Dict.* 12 H)

May literature splendid in itself be praised![1027]
Exotic trimmings grant a text no wit.
Since dyed wool coruscates much more than Chinese silks,[1028]
the gleaming neckline merits sparkling gems.[1029]
Adorning limbs with foreign shine gives no delight;
intrinsic light improves celestial stars.

NARRATIVE

[1] Praise must be offered in accordance with one's rhetorical skill to everything deemed worthy of public commendation. What is owed must be rendered with words that radiate with the gift of eloquence, because, just as gifts and resources that are voluntarily given reveal the spirit of their giver, so too denying what one has received reveals the greed and shamelessness of one who withholds rightful appreciation.[1030] Let us honor this divine spirit with libations that have flowed from her own altar.

[2] Therefore, let this subject be honored with as much an abundance of public praise as you wish. Let it flow with as much rhetorical richness as possible. Let praise be satisfied, fed with the fruits of her own estates.[1031] For, in the midst of the green spaces she has planted, she attracts one's gaze with her own delightfulness. Indeed, she enjoys her own pastures but such harvests of ingenuity produce even greater bounties through her, its mistress.[1032] And so, whoever pays off a debt through literature grows richer when the flowing waters that have been directed to them are led back though hidden meanders and great rivers. What you have spilled drop by drop you will possess as if you had the rights to the Ionian Sea at flood. Who would deny a deposit paid by experience, except someone who desires to become impoverished, even while he saves?[1033]

[3] The fruit of this approach—this is incredible to say—is that it overflows into renewed abundance, while making hungry those who brood. Therefore, O revered art, servant of those who use you, because of your celestial power, because of the assistance of your divine favor, rejoice in what has been sown by you in this public commendation and the goods that come from your creativity! Embrace what has arisen from you in the service of praise!

[4] In this situation, nothing remains for us that is worthy of punishment or reward. If we, through our mouth's loyal service, have plied anything in the elevation of your merits, you granted this. We are an aqueduct for your rivers and we have drunk almost nothing from the abundant fluids you provide. You glide on—like the Aegean Sea or Pegasus' font—so that you might match your own merits through us.[1034]

[5] Before your eyes are the examples of our character (if you hold them in your memory). Whatever jewels we pressed into use from your holdings are safe. Behold! A diadem glittering with your light glorifies my head and grows, naturally, from the variegated brilliance of its precious stones, when it is properly displayed. From you the practice of wisdom puts down roots; informed by you it is produced; without you its heart lacks flavor, eloquence lacks freedom.

[6] You offer proof of noble heritage. You are the substance of modesty. Through you the tongue pronounces whatever the heart dictates. You reveal your faithful pursuit of justice. You clear the paths that lead to divine matters, when beset by thickets. You produce wheaten crops from darnel, fertile soil from sterile ingenuity. You carry laden ears of grain to the granaries of knowledge lest that hunger, bred from eloquence's absence, prevail.[1035]

[7] You, by protecting the splendor of a pure family, also steep an indecent race in an exotic light. What you infuse with your service is almost a god, since you make possible, through the process of passing down diligent toil and preserving the truth of lineages, that the best do not decline while the bad do decline. Through you the deeds accomplished by virtuous actions, which are suitable for the education of subsequent generations, do not perish. As though dragged into public view by your chains, deeds reemerge; those that have been buried revive. You are an instrument of memory. You are the motivation for piety.

[8] By your plows the ground of the human heart, readied for fertility, is furrowed.[1036] You foster religion. You are hostile to crime. Under your leadership, those sins that creep in through habit are unlearned. Through you the good is learned.[1037] Either you allow men to attain their intended purpose or you alter their crooked intentions. Exiles are soothed by your gestures and you join with heaven those cut off from the heights of the world.

[9] You either disdain to enter bad consciences or, if you do enter, you consecrate them as a shrine. Literature has no part in changing what is worthy or not changing what is harmful. There is no instruction that can preserve one from your wounds, not even if he is clothed in steel; you reach the core, even of those sheathed in iron.[1038] The shafts fired by your enemies are repelled by your aegis; nor can any formation of shields resist the darts of your experience.

[10] You fortify those beset by affliction. You soothe those plunged in bodily torment.[1039] You offer such increase for joy that joyfulness and preference guard due limit.[1040] If flattery comes from you, it grows sweet. Against your orders it is not permitted to weep for the deceased, even those whom you cherished. You are appropriate for weddings and funerals. The study of your discipline keeps divergent matters in harmony and, embracing both sides, it rejoices.[1041]

[11] Would that it were permissible for you to be honored in lengthier speeches and that brevity were not required by your laws, by which our abundant wishes are supplied! A voice about to embark on a lengthy journey through literature's various genres emerges safely and is strengthened without acquiring any weakness of its own. Before you arrived, humanity, ignorant of orderly arrangement, its chests belching forth acorns, vomited forth words in excess.[1042] You produce distinctions between men with the same nature. While awareness of you makes men like heavenly beings, ignorance of you makes others like beasts.

[12] The abandoned race of mortals is as exposed as it was before the fatal fruit. Therefore, through your discernment there is no single condition of wisdom for those with whom we share an arrival into the light. Farewell, adornment of a greater age! Bestowed by God, take possession of the world that you have educated to remedy the wrongs of this age.

175. Books arranged in his bedroom[1043]

(327 V = 2.123 H)

This slim path can ready you for paramount authority,[1044]
modesty's light, food for spirit, medicine, torch, radiance.[1045]
Ignorant men stained by worldly scum cannot lay hold of it;[1046]
all excel in freedom who have fitted their necks to these reins.
Here's the mattock that tends to the vein of splendid noble blood.[1047] 5

176. To Maximus[1048]

(335 V = *Epist*. 7.21 H)

[1] Where is that faith matched with a brilliant conscience that never, even in childish years, abandoned wise reverence, that the observance of honesty makes shine beyond the precedent of age, that glides on, maturing, even as it enters childhood, with actions fit for the time of young adulthood. Surely it wasn't fair to compensate the pages of one who loves you with such brusque commands, or do the compositions of a free man and a family slave merit equal sincerity?

[2] Surely you do not judge it worthy of your proven character to disobey one who calls you to a sacred duty—or did you think it unjust to answer a letter that you failed even to pick up in the midst of your transgressions? Is this how you act? If so, it reveals that you no longer maintain the goodness you once displayed. Nevertheless, with the eloquence for which I am known, I am struggling to alter your entrenched silence. Surely your speech is inconsistent with your lineage. Or do you not proclaim the evidence of your birth with florid speech? Surely your soul's fertile dictation has not abandoned the splendor of your speech.[1049] A man reveals only malice who, although he can speak, does not grant words to one who requests them.

[3] Behold! I, like a second Silenus, compose these words among the burps I owe to Lyaeus.[1050] You should understand that your name must be written according to the majesty of my mind and added to

my own booklets, so that even if you grant me nothing in response, I will maintain this defense: I compose for educated men something that can be read without anxiety. My lord, receive the considerations of my greeting and send the letters that you owe.

May your virginity eternally remain,
nor what your blessed life bestowed expire,
may girls who bring pollution not defile your limbs,
nor Tartarean faces cause your fall,
so that your writings soothe one wanting holy words[1051]
and for your brother water flows from font.[1052]

177. Epigram written about Ambrose's letter against Symmachus in the matter of the Altar of Victory, when Symmachus, seeking support for this cult, was defeated. Extemporaneous verses sent to Faustus, the Pretorian Prefect[1053]

(366 V = 2.142 H)

From her friend, Victory withdraws persuasion's palm,[1054]
awarding Ambrose: her wrath favors more.[1055]

178. [Education of noble youths][1056]

(451 V = 2.150 H, *Dict*. 13 H)

Whoever is surprised that I have overstepped my duty in praising my friends should reflect on how imperious affection is and how the power of love never obeys the laws of convenience. And certainly, if someone should seek out the reason for my behavior, whatever he had falsely considered excessive, he will recognize as piety.

When eagles hatch their offspring ready to be born,
a vital inner warmth breaks open their frail eggs.
Devoted, careful father breaks the compact home,
to birth again through zeal those born once in the womb.
The same judge soon calls Phoebus, witness of his race,[1057]
with piercing gaze discovering their inner light.
Just so, those children sprung from lofty lineage,
parental care exposes good instruction's rays.
How well and steadfast (look!) the youths endure the flames'
intense assault, its brilliance conquered by their gaze.[1058]

ADDRESS[1059]

[1] If ever a sailor crosses the course of his liquid path happily in a straight line with favorable winds, if a successful outcome leads a warrior to a triumph, if a soldier of letters becomes more exalted in the fields of rhetoric by the judge's favor, on this day it is our task, we who are experiencing a similar event, to rejoice in our theme. How does this concern me, with my ignoble and well-known poverty of wit? Behold! By a happy coincidence, we are enriched by the good fortune of the fertile harvest of declamation we have begun, since the merit of this narration aggrandizes the narrator and its subject graces the performer.

[2] Where is the fear that subdued us because we were conscious of our incompetence? Where is the nervousness of my mind, grown more brittle through use and practice? We forget our own merit when we speak of the magnificence of someone else. Now we learn to be potent and different than before, because noble fame offers us this great gift: to be the crier of good news. I have no doubts at all. Its splendor illuminates those who join in praise and its sun shines on those who would be immersed in shadow, if they called to mind another topic. Pleasure is joined again with fear and nervousness becomes the ally of exultation.

[3] When does one who is unequal for the middling suffice for the ultimate? You see, whoever commends brilliance with a murky style overshadows it. Just as middling affairs are augmented by the ingenuity of the eloquent, so the fullest are marred by their barrenness. Unless you approach a burden after first estimating the forces involved, you will succumb to its load.

[4] Behold! Paterius and Severus, ornament of the magisterial class, heirs to names steeped in purple![1060] They are ready, at the very beginning of their lives, for their ancestral instruction, hardly scorning to drink deep the love for their studies with a taste for the light of truth. Nature simultaneously bestowed on them light and letters. Why should I, a narrator with a new-formed mind, introduce these two to their ancestral honors or their ancient marks of distinction?

[5] O listener, I will free myself from this burden, if you would only consult the *fasti* for me.[1061] Along with me the Centuries, with me the solemn uproar of the Field, with me the Courts and Senate, all honor Severus and Paterius.[1062] Nevertheless, putting aside for the moment the endowment of their blood—although their family has earned scepters and magisterial robes—their characters have guaranteed that they will not know sunset, even in the tomb.[1063]

[6] I would be lying if I said Paterius did not live in the memory of the learned. His statue, molded in eternal bronze, displays eloquence's noble palm among the experts.[1064] His progeny, although now still small, are already great, offering faces bejeweled with youthful bloom. They implore protection from his voice, asking now for a private speech, which they will, in time, reveal:[1065]

[7] "Help the youth, whom you will soon have as the fathers of this country. Arrange protection for your future defenders and fight for them when they are young, lest when we are older we succumb, battling on behalf of the community.[1066] You know which house has labored in the face of the general calamity, for which we should offer sacrifice in thanks for our communal security, from what source flows the fact that our civilization does not falter among such adversities. Our race owes you this tribute so that you always, without interruption, nurture guardians for our homeland.

[8] Therefore, if the benefits of our stock are well-known to you, supply new grafts so that the crop improves what already glistens in its seed, so that the shoot, obedient to its roots, might have fruit to offer. What we request is neither strange nor fleeting. Just as a young horse, already esteemed because of his breeding, is prepared for the competitions in Elis and Olympia, let us strengthen these two through the successful examples offered by their ancestors.[1067] You have been offered only favorable situations to emulate, since your future matures through the efforts of your champions and you do not lack tutelage by your father and grandfather."[1068]

[9] Therefore, O esteemed teacher, receive one who has been spurred by these goads and who conveys the voices of all, and offer a kindly disposition to those speaking on behalf of their ancestral homeland.[1069] Consider our judgements about you and, raised higher by the consideration of what you deserve, mold yourself to the opinion of the many. Work so that our defense is strengthened by your instruction and so that the hostile assault of battering rams not triumph. Join the weapons of your studies to the fortifications of the homeland.

[10] We know whose progeny is entrusted to you.[1070] See to it that their natural strength is fortified by your efforts. If one born to a succession of brave men takes fright during battle, blame falls to that man's commander, not his paternity. It is enough for you to help them grow through the hard labor of your instruction so that, because of your efforts, these boys obtain the likeness of their elders.

[11] But perhaps you will say, although your quite holy profession spurs you on, that, ultimately, I am not concerned with their care. I am the

one to whom his virginal mother, womb of a sacred spring, bore my son Paterius.[1071] I am the sire of the second birth of his soul—or its recreation. Therefore, I, who am called his father in heaven, am especially concerned for his education.

179. [Pedagogical exhortation][1072]

(452 V = *Opusc*. 6 H)

ENNODIUS TO AMBROSE AND BEATUS[1073]

[1] We obey God, when we enjoin what is harmonious with his commandments.[1074] Therefore, mystical precepts (and a desire for your affection) cause me to grant your request. Indeed, you have demanded through repeated entreaties that I craft for you pages devoted to the instruction of literary composition. I now willingly submit myself to the judgment of others—I have foreseen the kind of examination that will be applied to my words—because it is enough for me if you commend me in your prayers. Nevertheless, at the entrance to my composition, I will not stay silent on that which gives life.[1075]

[2] Hold on to God with a pure heart and the full intention of your mind. Conciliate him towards you by the frequency of your prayers. Don't alienate him through any fornication of the spirit or devotion to sin. Love too thy neighbors, with whom one forges natural unions, and don't rejoice if you have done anything that would be a source of anguish were it done to you. Whatever else one hopes for is the fruit of this benevolence.

[3] Yet uncertainty in my deliberations has held me in a state of anxiety about whether I should publish these words to you in the form of a poem or in accordance with the regulations of the epistle. I decided that my affection towards you is open to both avenues of conversation: a powerful delivery befits an instructor, while the attention of a softer style relieves spirits oppressed by instruction.[1076] And so, receive what you requested with kindness.

PRAISE OF POETRY[1077]

"Though whatever the great Camenan mother[1078]
thunders, delicate, soaked with honeyed dew are
poems, well fashioned with elegant resplendence,
making captive our docile heart's own movements;

yet not always are poems suffused with virtue,
since her ordinance dictates flowing rhythms[1079]
whose commanding zeal weakens bravery's hold.
Still we follow the Muses' way of speaking
at least so far as, when our care advises,
truth's great strength and our ingenuity grant.
But the discipline held by Christian soldiers[1080]
we entrust to avoid enfeebling meters."[1081]

[4] And so, let us shun the pleasantries of words and celebrate a sturdy subject with appropriate language, lest this work's virility suffer damage from impotent speech.[1082] An instructor's duties do not recoil from my profession, for delivering correction is appropriate for elders. And just as it is right for the torch of innocence to be passed to those one leaves behind, reason demands that you reveal with words the path that should be followed. This agrees with the voice of divine exhortation: "rebuke a wise man and he will love you;" and a secular witness affirms that:

"They wished the teacher stand in sacred parent's place."[1083]

[5] Indeed, he is rightly placed at the pinnacle of affection whose claim derives from correction's kindness instead of nature. For procreation shows proof of enjoyment, instruction, of devotion.[1084]

Therefore, as you near the bastion of education, love MODESTY as the mother of all good works. She, as a fecund virgin, gives birth to a great variety of virtues, just as wanton, dissolute immodesty does for vice. She encourages you to attend to her with the following words:

MODESTY[1085]

"Imbue with purple your complexion radiant,[1086]
display your character's faith from your mien.
A snow-white face just blemished makes one handsomer,[1087]
exuding kindness from a dewy neck.
Don't grant more by the tongue than by your face's crown:[1088]
attract whatever it suits you to love."

[6] It is abominable to wave off holy advice, when even the virtue that speaks, crowned with the gift of such profitable dignity, increases or

(at least) fosters the benefits of a noble character.[1089] Therefore, the acquired calm of stewardship mixes wise MODERATION—which is always decency's relative and ally and which tempers the disadvantages of age—into years swollen with passion.[1090] This stewardship, after our appetite for sin has been checked, seduces our flesh with the spice of holy behavior and makes it so that you seem to have an enthusiastic and unforced desire for righteousness.

[7] Nevertheless, this is obtained by disciplining the stomach, while its enemy is nourished by the error of closely-packed meals. For uncontrolled feasts demand massive outlays and the loss of our good virtues.[1091] Damage to our character and our wealth arrive by the same path. If she extends her step towards you, it would be fitting for her to thunder with declarations like this:

MODERATION[1092]

"I don't delay to show my stricken countenance,[1093]
when monuments of chaste forms blaze in front of me.
Fat bodies strangle tender sensibilities,
their minds are trampled by their bowels overstuffed.
The cross serves as my buckler, breastplate, and my spear,[1094]
with this I'm safe, with this I strike, with this make peace.
This is my general, by which risks horrible
I crush, denouncing honeyed, poisonous desires.
Now, hasten here, through your deeds lay aside the child,
from my example, youths, imagine wizened lives."

[8] After you admit this virtue, decorate it with the fellowship of FAITH. Just as the former occupies the first position in correcting character, she does not hold firm when she is robbed of her gifts. Nor is it right to employ as one thing something that consists of many. The most remarkable garlands are assembled from the innumerable spoils of the fields; a diadem is typically constructed from various jewels.[1095] Numerous metallic elements produce wonderous electrum's mass.[1096]

[9] Accordingly, since there is nothing that precedes faith, nurture it and let it take such deep root through your diligent cultivation that the milk-white stalk of its rich nourishment does not perish, reaped by an untimely scythe. Therefore, let every stumbling promise be removed from your instruction and through practical experience let what is truly

favorable become second nature. But imagine that Faith meets you with an address as follows:

FAITH[1097]

"He who seeks to couple the earth with heaven
and avoid the vices of fallen parents[1098]
let him seek me, splendid adornment, the crowned
gift of the highest.

That man has no fear of the dread tribunal,
nor before the rulers of cities flutters,
minding his own righteousness, he sails through waves,
seas of salvation.

Though Geloni rouse the barbarian hordes[1099]
and Morini bark in the Parthian way,[1100]
he rejects, contemning whatever whispers
in this insane world.

He can enter lofty kings' inner sanctums,[1101]
he's safe midst the ruin of powerful men,
he will suffer neither sepulcher's cruel laws
nor this life's evils."

[10] Banish any notion that the aforementioned virtues fail to love the liberal arts, through which the benefits of divine concerns are elevated further, like the gleam from a precious necklace. Imperfect beauty is not far removed from ugliness and whoever does not sufficiently tend to the heights of important matters will scarcely avoid the depths of misery.

[11] Those arts, however, place GRAMMAR before their doors, as though she were the nurse of the other arts. She seduces youthful minds with a taste for simple, artful speech and enflames them from mere sparks of nascent ardor into a full Tullian blaze.[1102] The fields of Mars welcome soldiers who have already been trained, who were excited by mock battles, who—in the gentle pleasures of peacetime—did not turn heel at the sound of the trumpet, nor quake at the horns' blare, nor dodge martial service.[1103]

[12] Virtue, therefore, grows when nourished by experience; the tolerance of risk is born of instruction. The origins of this strength, although now well-established, once beheld weak, fearful men. It is good when

the liberating right hand of the professor of rhetoric receives a sword forged in the furnace of the grammarian, who frequently offered the simulation of a strike, but resisted indulging in open blows.

[13] With such prudent behavior it is necessary that the love of art grow even beyond the natural license given to immaturity and that one's spontaneous desire for glorious works emerges from the continual and enforced compulsion exerted by his teacher. Still, whoever assents to be compelled reveals that he is inclined to goodwill. Whoever is not offended by his teacher's attentions already has integrity towards his studies. She, however, speaks in this way to her followers:

GRAMMAR[1104]

"We endow your minds with flavor while we polish our small tales.[1105]
We provide impartial critics when a youth makes his mistakes.
I spare striking with the hand but pound in shame through voice and ear.[1106]
Every terror art entails, the art of speaking moderates,[1107]
sporting with the little ones amidst our famous tutelage,
even stern instructors order that you not fear everywhere.
We are recognized as perfect parents after boys have grown,[1108]
since it's counted in our favor that it was our progeny
whom the belly swelling with the seed of literature sowed**,**
nor has lustful pleasure overwhelmed the noble heart's commands."

[14] That Mars of eloquence summons you, who are already departing my instruction, to RHETORIC's trumpeting battles.[1109] Like a chain-mail breastplate, it composes the defense in legal cases from interconnected parts. For it paints discursive portraits from the intricate sections of a speech drawn into a single, simple, compact form, in which the different components are joined by such regular measures that its *divisions* in no way detract from the unity and its *sub-headings* once grouped together could not be parceled out separately, if the need arose.[1110]

[15] After first the taste for praise has been established, virile performance and that Latin pinnacle of humane speech encourage you as follows: "After the supreme divinity, I am the one who causes things to happen and changes those that have happened.[1111] The light that I bring by speaking is enough to envelop events regardless of the great shadows in which they were cast. I am the one whom men expect will prove

them guilty of their sins and innocent because of their gentleness. Through me a dark conscience is covered with light, and it shines with its own light despite the arrival of night, as though it even were innocent of the shadows. There is no moral purity that can fully trust me, no guilt that cannot exhale at my sight.

[16] Every Roman, wherever he is, keeps vigil with my handbooks. Unless I adorn them, consulships, wealth, honors are despised. I rule realms and prescribe what is healthy for rulers. And what about this: the pleasure of our declamations conquers all forms of wisdom and the reputation that we secure is eternal. The dignity of rhetoric is greater than that of scepters and magisterial robes.[1112] If I wish it, the deeds of brave men are believed; no one values deeds on which I'm silent. Noble seeds sown by me illuminate the entire globe with the brilliant light of clear perfection.

[17] Poetics, jurisprudence, dialectic, mathematics: because they make use of me like a mother, they are valued—if I say it, it is so. Still, listen to this song, which our play with a strange craft brings to mind:"[1113]

RHETORIC

"If he's mine then no crime will ever waylay him:[1114]
we cleanse the stains of life through our art's aid.
If someone's vouched for by the Senate, pure as snow,
we can make everyone say he's Night-born.[1115]
Our mouth creates the saint and makes the sinner too,
as long as we speak, judgement's held in thrall.
Tarentine wool, a city's praise, jewels, majesty—[1116]
what's not subordinated to our will?
Whoever serves our doctrines, soon will rule the world:
that art that fears no vagueness gave me realms."

[18] Therefore, sweetest friends, strive to obtain these virtues and, once you have acquired them, protect them.[1117] But you might reply: "What teachers, what instructors will we use to obtain these? By whose example will we be inspired, since good fortune detains Faustus and Avienus, the blessing on our age and river of Latin eloquence, occupied in advising the court of the King?"[1118] It's unknown to the general populace how long those responsibilities will rest on them. Any attempt to proclaim their virtues is like wishing to add light to the sun or power to divinity.

[19] But while these two are exerting themselves for the public good, the patricians Festus and Symmachus, who excel in the substance of every discipline and the form of enduring wisdom, are still present in the most sacred of cities.[1119] They hold preeminence in the noble Curia; to have seen them is to be trained by them. In their homes there is no trivial conversation: the mere mention of pantomime would scarcely be forgiven.[1120] They do not grasp at fickle popularity at the cost of their modesty. Happy to please the righteous more than the majority, they obtain their reputation from their innocent behavior. Although their commands must be followed in all matters, nevertheless, their taciturnity is itself a teacher and a model of erudite silence.[1121]

[20] There is also the patrician Probinus, the famed and tested scion of the Placidi, on whom the perfectly refined habits of his family of learned men have been bestowed and who has drunk all that is pure from the font of his father and father-in-law.[1122] There is Probinus' son, the patrician Cethegus, a man who has been consul and who, although still young, surpasses wizened prudence and, without any prejudice against his age, has the flavor of his ancestors and the sweetness of gentle youth.

[21] There is the patrician Boethius, in whom you scarcely detect his years of learning and understand that he already has sufficient experience in teaching, as is indicated by the judgment of the correctors.[1123] There is the patrician Agapitus, rich in decency and in knowledge.[1124] There is Probus, a *Vir Inlustris*; if you follow him, you will have in your presence Faustus and Avienus, of whom you spoke before, even though they are absent.[1125]

[22] I leave in silence all the other famous men, whose great reputations have reached me. Learn from these, once your heart attains maturity, or those whom I already mentioned. For the friend of the good is revealed by clear indications and no one embraces the habits found in another unless he has formed them in himself.

[23] If the addition of matrons pleases, you have lady Barbara, that flower of Roman wit, who reveals through the testimony of her appearance the light of her lineage and her intelligence. In her you will discover modest assurance and modesty confident in the goodness of its actions, a discourse flavored with masterful, natural simplicity. The result is that the charm of her conversation is in no way marred nor its splendor numbed by that harsh way of speaking that is typical of women.[1126] Her love of decency has become so ingrained that even if she wished to deceive, she could not pass into error.

[24] Her language resounds with a chaste sweetness and her calm manner of speech conceals no mental cloudiness: she says what's in her heart. May she forgive me for imposing on her the jeweled crown of women, since I begrudge her peace. I would like to offer her as a model for imitation to every part of Italy so that women who do not receive her advice might be shaped by her example.

[25] Finally, there is Stefania, that most radiant light of the orthodox church, whose birthday dazzles with a greater light the more you appreciate her character, and only the sun, the light of the world, overshadows her torch, and, if you set aside the brilliance of her ingenious conversation, nothing shines more than her lineage.[1127] May heavenly Providence unite you with the service of those of whom I have mentioned.

[26] Behold you have, as a hostage of my friendship, these pages, which you may follow as though they were your pedagogue. May God grant you always do and desire what is right. And so, if I was not able to deliver a rhetorical oration, mindful of my profession, I helped you with an orison.[1128]

Through you and through your parents, who have made
you great,[1129] 65
my tablet need not meet a cruel fate, Symmachus.[1130]
Give me your hand and bear my lightness *through the waves*.[1131]
Deceiving one who trusts him does not suit the saint.[1132]
I come without delay; forgive my humble prayers,[1133]
commending to a wealthy patron worthless texts.[1134] 70

Scions resplendent,[1135]
gain from the withered[1136]
words of your elder.[1137]
That speech is noble,
offering good news. 75

180. "Your mother was not Venus . . ."[1138]

(466 V = *Dict*. 28 H)

[1] Your mercilessness shows how much you have abandoned your people's reputation, which you cheat by your behavior. I firmly believe that one who doesn't love is no son of Venus.[1139] This is the way of things: behavior announces one's breeding and one's deeds reveal the father who bore him into the light of the world. The Idalian goddess does not

recognize one who doesn't know how to respond to her gifts.[1140] It is not reputation that reveals children but the equanimity of their conduct.

[2] Instead, the crevices of the frigid Caucasus bore you. Conceived in mountain caves, you were birthed from its rocky bowels. So that nourishment would not soften your cruel nature, Hyrcanian tigresses stole the food from their own cubs and fed you.[1141] You were nursed by the kind of savageness that causes slaughter. But what do I gain by dissimulation?[1142] Or why does my hope for something better hold me in suspense? She did not offer tears at the lamentations I poured forth when I was tormented by love.[1143] Her blood-stained soul did not sigh and console my groans. In my pain, she did not show herself to be my companion in pain—this is the only remedy for my situation, since finding a comrade for one's pain is practically the only way to limit one's anguish.

[3] But I don't know what I should say or what I've neglected. The kindly eye of Juno will not tolerate this, nor the gaze of the High Thunderer.[1144] In return for my great expenditure, may I be consumed by this separation and provoke no pious response except that I deserve not to be loved. Alas! Such fidelity that would be repudiated by any mortal! Everything that previously bound gods and men has been rejected! I deserve pity because I welcomed a castaway and I submitted myself—although I was a queen!—to his command, and, while this portion of happiness endured, I was his captive. I brought it to pass that I turned a fugitive into a ruler's master![1145]

[4] Now, enflamed with fury, I am viciously tormented and I bemoan that my owner has abandoned me.[1146] And so, do you sneak away, summoned by Apollo's auguries, and you place the chances of Lycian fate before the realm that you already possess?[1147] I'm sure that his cruelty is administered by celestial powers and the interpreter of the gods compels this man to such excesses that he flees from his beloved's shore as though from hostile territory, that he entrusts his safety to the tempests as he flees from a land he was given!

[5] Go! I'll not delay you any longer! The very path for which I am abandoned holds my avenger. The sea in its fury will pronounce judgement. From afar I will listen to the roaring blasts of the surging storms. Among these dangers, you will call out the name of Dido, who was—and offered you—your harbor.[1148] Or (and this is what I most fear) you may not die while I live and am avenged. And I will learn of the success of your completed journey after I have used my allotment of days. Consider the undeserved cost of your crimes: I wish to die, though innocent, before the one who deserves it.

He, cruel and savage, boasts he's born from Venus'[1149]
seed; he extols and shuns his godly lineage.
Thus, Venus bore a man who flees the name of love:[1150]
his "mercy" pours forth, poison from a maddened heart.

Notes

1 This poem seems destined to introduce a collection of Ennodius' poetry, although the exact nature and scope of that collection, which was never assembled, remains a mystery. It is unlikely that it would have included all of his poetry, but perhaps only his secular light verse. Ennodius imbues this brief poem with references to previous poets to establish his bona fides for such an endeavor (see later text, ad loc.). The poem appears in the manuscripts before poems of identical length on literary themes: a poem on a man (Ennodius?) who composes during the vintage (#165), which Mondin (2014–2015) has argued may have concluded the mooted collection, and an invective against a flawed critic of his poetry (#133). On the collection, see Urlacher-Becht 2013 ("Ennode . . .") and 2014, 98; Wasyl 2011, 608; Mondin 2014–2015, 159–160; Mondin 2008, 421; Gioanni 2006 ("Nouvelles hypotheses . . ."), 62. On the poem, see Mondin 2014–2015; Urlacher-Becht 2014, 71. Meter: elegiac couplets.

2 "Uneasy soul" (*mens anxia*) appears in various forms in many authors, but this same form appears in a passage that would be rich with allusive potential: the opening of Catullus 68 (8, *oblectant, cum mens anxia pervigilat*), when Catullus observes Manlius is storm-tossed (by love) yet receives no solace from verse. But it may be more likely that Ennodius encountered the phrase in Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 20.326, *mens anxia nutat in anceps*).

3 Ennodius is metaphorically adrift at sea, buffeted by the circumstances of his life and the challenge of composition; on the motif, see Braidotti 1993.

4 Ennodius reinforces the dire situation through an allusion to Erichtho's invocation of Charon (Luc. 6.704 *flagrantis portitor undae*), while also drawing on Vergilian language: e.g., *G.* 4.262, *refluentibus undis*; *Aen.* 8.87, *refluens ita substitit unda*; and especially his description of the winds that strike Aeneas in the opening scene of the *Aeneid* (1.85–86, *una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis / Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*; cf. Val. Flacc. 2.506).

5 The vivid image of *exuviae* alludes to Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2.62 (*suspende exuvias armis et sanguine captas*); but while Prudentius' phrase evokes a standard sense of *spolia*, Ennodius' image is specifically of a discarded garment, captured by the raging sea.

6 Ennodius quotes from Statius' invocation of the Muse in the *Thebaid* (1.3–4, *Pierius menti calor incidit. unde iubetis / ire, deae?*); cf. #7.24 (*calor,* of the poetic power of Olybrius).

7 Laurel was sacred to Apollo, and so symbolic of poetic inspiration; since they were also worn my victorious generals, they convey a sense of triumph as well. *Laurus Apollinea* continues Ennodius' engagement with Horace's declaration in *Carm.* 4.2 that Augustus requires a Pindaric poet (9, *laurea donandus Apollinari*; cf. e.g., 3–4, *vitreo daturus / nomina* ***ponto***; Di Rienzo 2005, 21).

8 Ennodius alludes to Silius' account of the origin of Falernian wine, and so of Bacchic inspiration (7.195, *lumine purpureo frontem cinxere corymbi*).

9 An effective moment of synesthesia, as Ennodius drinks in the sounds of the Castalian spring on Mt. Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and so a source of poetic inspiration.

10 The last couplet is rife with alliteration, esp. of c's, p's, and m's (*continuo ponens marcentes pectore curas / conplector laudem carmina laetitiam*); my translation attempts to capture its flavor but cannot fully reproduce the intricateness of the couplet (see Polara 1993, 219–220): both lines begin with the same sound ('*con*'); the syntax of the hexameter is chiastic (ABAB) while the hemiepes resolves in an asyndetic list of nouns, much favored by Ennodius; the tense shifts to the present tense after the perfects in vv. 5–8.

11 Ennodius' earliest and longest poem celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of Epiphanius assuming the bishopric of Pavia in c. 496 CE. Given Epiphanius' standing within the ecclesiastical community of northern Italy—and the geriatric nature of the upper reaches of the Church hierarchy—a thirtieth anniversary celebration was doubtless an unusual event and it seems to have attracted considerable attention. Epiphanius (b. c. 438/9) became bishop c. 466/7 at a very young age, the chosen successor of the previous bishop, Crispinus. Epiphanius would die within a year of the celebration marked by Ennodius' poem. The composition and delivery of this poem were likely the first large-scale public tasks given to Ennodius, who would have been in his early twenties at the time. The prose preface seeks to capture the goodwill of his severe, elderly audience by explaining why so young a person was selected to deliver such a prestigious address and why an ecclesiastical celebration was being marked with a poem. The poem itself, in 170 hexameters, is divided into five sections: ingratiating preface (1–35); episcopal election (36–87); childhood and entrance into the Church (88–122); work as a bishop (123–161); and conclusion (162–170). Ennodius would mine this material eight years later for his much more extensive prose *Life of Epiphanius* (80V), our best early source for the socio-political importance of Italian bishops (Izdebski 2012). On the poem, see Kennell 2000, 16–17, 175–181; Consolino 2006 ("Prosa . . ."); Cesa 1988; Cook 1942. It features more intense and extensive textual borrowing than many of Ennodius' later compositions (see Condorelli 2011).

12 Ennodius deftly flips what he supposes will be the primary criticism lodged by his senior audience by imagining that they wonder why the youthful Ennodius had not composed such a speech when he was *even younger*. He will perform a similar inversion in §4: it is not speaking that is inappropriate but silence. This reverses a deeply held valorization of silence as a response to ineffectual speech during this period (see Hernández-Lobato 2017).

13 Ennodius manipulates an aphorism of Cato the Elder, preserved in Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 66: "the great and preeminent should exert their intellects as much in their relaxation as in their toil."

14 Ennodius would make good on this promise eight years later when he published his prose *Life of Epiphanius* (80V). Ennodius also composed a second work of hagiography on the hermit saint, Antonius of Lérins (240V).

15 Ennodius quotes *Isa* 50:4.

16 "Bilgewater of song" (*sentina carminum*)—i.e., the worst of the worst, the dregs—is a striking phrase.

17 The first word of the poem, *vatibus*, establishes a thread that runs throughout the poem. Here it refers to deceitful pagan poets. But the word is then applied to Jesus (25) and Joseph (31)—in essence, it is purified through reference to biblical exemplars—before being applied to Epiphanius (42). On Ennodius' use of *vates*, see Merkel 1895, 115–116.

18 The phrase 'the law taught' (*lex docuit*) was a favorite of Ambrose (e.g., *De Noe* 17.59, *De Iacob* 1.2.8, *Expl. Psalm.* 1.7.1, 1.31.5, etc.). "Art excused" (*vindicate arte*) may allude to Propert. 3.9.12 (*Parrhasius parva vindicat arte locum*).

19 Cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.331 (*invida iura negant. gentes tamen esse feruntur*).

20 Ennodius quotes the opening line of Sidonius' *Eucharistion* for Bishop Faustus (*Carm.* 16.1, *Phoebum et ter ternas decima cum Pallade* ***Musas***), the first of several allusions to that poem that will be sprinkled through Ennodius' praise of Epiphanius. *Carm.* 16 was Sidonius' most explicitly religious composition, composed c. 465 to thank Bishop Faustus of Riez for agreeing to baptize him; on Sidonius' poem, see Daly 2000.

21 Castalia was a fountain on Mt. Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and so a source of poetic inspiration. Ennodius may draw on Claudian (e.g., *Ruf.* 2.7, *nullus Castalios latices*; cf. Luc. 5.125).

22 Cf. Sidon. *Epist.* 8.9.5 v. 9 (*cortinam, tripodas,* ***chelyn****, pharetras*).

23 Ennodius may refer to a notable moment in the *Aeneid* when Aeneas upbraids Venus for appearing in a false disguise (*Aen.* 1.407–408, *crudelis tu quoque, falsis / ludis imaginibus?*).

24 Following the quotation in v. 12, Ennodius again quotes, even more extensively, from Sidon. *Carm.* 16 (5, *sperne, fidis; magis ille veni nunc spiritus, oro*). As in Sidonius, Ennodius' phrase introduces a series of relative clauses that characterize the power of the Holy Spirit in the material world. In Sidonius, the series then continues with four additional relative clauses on the power of Christ. Ennodius will likewise glorify Christ but substitutes five asyndetic verses of symbolic nouns in vv. 25–28 for Sidonius' relative clauses. The second word of Ennodius' line contains an untranslatable pun, as *fides* can mean both 'lyre' and 'faith.' Sidonius had written *fidis*, the rarer singular of *fides* ('string' → 'lyre') but Ennodius, by replacing that form with *fides*, fully activates the ambiguity, which I have sought to capture by "faithful lyre."

25 Ennodius alludes to the opening of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* (1.12, *Quidquid terra creat, quidquid ad astra volat*).

26 This and the following line draw on Vergil's *Aeneid*: 1.110 (*saxa ciet, scatebris que arentia temperat arva*); 4.366–367 (*perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens / Caucasus*).

27 Another, fainter echo of Sidon. *Carm.* 16 appears in vv. 22–23 (3–4, *quae saxa sequacia flectens / cantibus auritos*).

28 Cf. Cypr. Gall. *Exod.* 1014 (*quem cuncta tremescunt*).

29 This remarkable five-verse asyndetic list—a device known as an *articulus*, which was favored by many late antique poets, especially Sidonius and Dracontius (Roberts 1989, 59)—contains symbols of Jesus in the Bible and culminates in a phrase, *omnia Christus est*, familiar from biblical exegesis (e.g., Ambr. *Expl. Psalm.* 36.16.5). The immediate model for Ennodius' catalog was Sidonius' asyndetic list of the exploits of Hercules (*Carm.* 9.95–100); cf. *De*

cognomentis Salvatoris (*AL* 689a R), which includes seven asyndetic verses describing Jesus, also culminating in *omnia Christus*. The "font" (*fons*) is the living water of eternal life (*Jo* 4:10–14). The "path" (*via*) leads to salvation through Christ (*Jo* 14:16). The "right hand" (*dextra*) is the power of God for creation, punishment, and grace, as well as the position of Christ enthroned in heaven (*Ma* 16:19, *Acts* 2:33; *Ps* 118:16; *Exod* 15:6). The "stone" (*lapis*) is the foundation of the universal Church (*Acts* 4:11; *Ma* 21:42; cf. *Ps* 118:22; *Isa* 28:16). The "calf" (*vitulus*) is Christ sacrificed to atone for humanity's sins (*Lk* 15:23–30; *Ma* 22:4). The "lamb" (*agnus*) of God is Christ willingly shorn to remove the sinfulness of the world (*Jo* 1:29, 36; *1 Cor* 15:3; *1 Pet* 1:19; cf. *Isa* 53:7). The "lion" (*leo*) is the tribe of Judah that triumphs at the end of days (*Rev* 5:5). The "morning star" (*lucifer*) is Christ's truth shining light into the darkness (*2 Pet* 1:19; *Rev* 22:16; cf. *Ps* 119:105).

30 The "word" (*verbum*) is the truth of God's omnipresence (*Jo* 1:1, 14; *Rev* 19:13). The "gateway" (*ianua*) is the entrance for God's elect (*Ma* 24:33; *Mk* 13:29; *Jas* 5:9; *Rev* 3:20). The "virtue" (*virtus*) is God's power (*Ma* 22:29; *Mk* 12:24). The "wisdom" (*sapientia*) is found throughout the Bible, but take special note of references to the wisdom Jesus acquired on Earth and God's eternal wisdom (e.g., *Lk* 2:40, 52). The "prophet" (*vates*) could also be translated as "bishop," connecting Jesus' revelation of God with the ecclesiastical work done by Epiphanius, as well as the members of Ennodius' audience (*Lk* 7:26). "Hopefulness" (*spes*) is the possibility of eternal life through Christ (e.g., *Rom* 8:24, 15:13; *Col* 1:5; *1 Cor* 15:19).

31 The "dove" (*columba*) is the Holy Spirit (*Jo* 1:32; *Lk* 3:22; *Ma* 3:16; *Mk* 1:10). The "shepherd" (*pastor*) is the good caretaker who sacrifices his life for his wards (*Jo* 10:11, 15; *Isa* 40:11; *1 Pet* 2:25; *1 Pet* 5:4). The "mountaintop" (*mons*) is the site of Jesus' temptation by Satan (*Ma* 4:8; *Lk* 4:5) and the City of God (*Ma* 5:14). The "net" (*rete*) is the Kingdom of Heaven (*Ma* 13:47). The "thicket" (*virgultum*) is the thorn-bush in which God appeared to Moses (*Exod* 3; *Mk* 12:26; *Lk* 20:37). The "offering" (*hostia*) is the sacrifice for God (*Lk* 2:24).

32 The "colossus" (*gigans*) is the sin of the world, personified through Goliath (*1 Sam* 17:4). The "vulture," or perhaps eagle, (*aquila*) announces the Kingdom of Heaven (*Lk* 17:37; *Ma* 24:28; *Rev* 8:13). The "husband" (*sponsus*) is Christ, who will come with joy (*Jo* 3:29; *Ma* 9:15; cf. *Ps* 19:5). "Patience" (*patientia*) is God's grace (*Ma* 18:26; *2 Cor* 6:6). The "fire" (*flamma*) is the punishment of the wicked (*Lk* 16:24). The "worm" (*vermis*) is the eternal punishment of the wicked (*Mk* 9:44, 46, 48; *Isa* 66:24).

33 "I pray" (*nunc precor*) echoes Tibull. 2.5.4; Ov. *Tr.* 1.7.25, 4.4a.49. The ancient prophet is Moses.

34 Joseph interpreted Pharaoh's dreams (*Gen* 41:14–36) and so became the ruler of Egypt.

35 Ennodius seems to draw on Juvencus (1.169, *iam licet inplentem gracili praesepia voce*).

36 Cf. Juv. 10.341 (*principis aures*).

37 Ennodius again draws from Sidon. *Carm.* 16 (68–69, *da Faustum laudare tuum, da solvere grates, / quas et post debere iuvat*), which also serves to close the lengthy list of requests that highlight the successful intervention of the Holy Spirit and Christ in the lives of men.

38 An allusion to Prudentius' *Hamartigenia* (375, *mille alia stolidi bacchantia gaudia mundi*) reinforces the negative connotation of "worldly joys."
39 Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.13.2 (*ad sua natalis tempora noster adest*).
40 Ennodius alludes to Claudian's praise of Faith in his panegyric to Stilicho (*Stil.* 2.40, *parvae strepitu nec vincula noxae*).
41 The adjective "Ausonian" was regularly used by Latin poets to refer to Italy and hence the West.
42 Ennodius combines two Vergilian half-lines: the first half-line alludes to the unanimity of the people in *Aen.* 3.60 (*omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra*; cf. Val. Flacc. 4.193), a passage in which the Trojans elders agree to leave the land profaned by the murder of Polydorus; the second half-line alludes to *Aen.* 5.616 (*vox omnibus una*), the cry of the Trojan women when they refuse to sail further.
43 Ennodius alludes Lucan's simile of the maddened lion (1.206, *viso leo comminus hoste*).
44 Ennodius may draw on language from Verg. *G.* 3.163 (*tu quos ad studium atque usum formabis agrestem*). Niphates was a snow-capped mountain in the Taurus range in Anatolia (modern Armenia); cf. (Verg. *G.* 3.30; Luc. 3.245; Juv. 6.409).
45 Cf. Sil. 3.100 (*atque* ***ex*** *sacrata repetebat stirpe parentes*).
46 The sense is that Epiphanius' virtue is widely praised and so great that even those who fall short of his lofty standard are glorified by the comparison with his excellence.
47 Polyptoton in vv. 74–78 highlights the paradox of Epiphanius' "gorgeousness" (*pulchro*, 74; *pulchrior*, 75; *pulchrum,* 78), which is harmonious with his "chastity" (*pudicitiam* 74; *pudicum*, 78).
48 Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 27.38 (*et semper celebranda piis, quia commoda sanctis*). The following line has parallels with another of Paulinus' poems (15.134, *competitur Felix; hunc omnes vincere certant*).
49 Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.6.5 (*quid censes munera terrae*); cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19.76. On Ennodius' interaction with the poetry of Paulinus, see esp. Urlacher 2006.
50 Ennodius draws on Vergilian language: *Aen.* 4.189 (*haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat*); *Aen.* 4.79 (*exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore*); cf. Paul. Petr. *VSM* 4.365 (*pendens sanctifico semper narrantis ab ore*).
51 The textual status and meaning of *saecli* at the end of the line (here, "by this age") remains unclear, despite editorial efforts.
52 Ennodius alludes again to Claudian's panegyric for Stilicho (*Stil.* 1.51, *vix primaeuus eras, pacis cum mitteris auctor*).
53 Again, Ennodius draws from Vergil: *Aen.* 6.428 (*quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos*); *Aen*. 7.484 (*matris ab ubere raptum*); *G.* 3.187 (*depulsus ab ubere matris*); cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21.67 (*matris ab ubere raptam*). In the prose *Life of Epiphanius*, Ennodius mentions that the mother's name was Focaria (80V.7).
54 The first of a series of echoes in this section to Statius' *Achilleid* (2.35, *callida femineo genetrix violavit amictu*).
55 Ennodius describes the process of weaning infants from their mother's milk by making the child associate the breast with a bitter taste. It is difficult not to

connect this line to Verg. *Ecl.* 4.60 (*incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem*; cf. Lucr. 2.349).

56 An effective allusion to Lucan's description of the Pompeians desperately attempting to find any source of water (4.314–315, *lacte negato / sordidus exhausto sorbetur ab ubere sangui*s).

57 Cf. Prudent. *Ditt*. 1.2 (*facta per anguinum malesuada fraude venenum*); Claud. Mar. Vict. 86.

58 Ennodius draws on Verg. *Aen.* 6.591 (*aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum*).

59 In his prose *Life of Epiphanius*, Ennodius names Maurus as Epiphanius' father (80V.7). The phrase "casts . . . eyes skyward" may draw on Hilarius, *De martyrio Maccabaeorum* 159 (*summisso lumine*, in the same position).

60 Ennodius' line combines two expressions that appear in several poets: *summe deum* (e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 11.785; Ov. *Met.* 2.280, 13.599; Sil. 15.362; Stat. *Theb.* 11.210) and *culmine caeli* (Manil. 2.810; Cypr. Gall. *Gen.* 572; Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 4.94).

61 A second allusion to Achilles' account of his infancy in Statius' *Achilleid* (2.96, *dicor et in teneris et adhuc reptantibus annis*).

62 Cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 2.145 (*quaerere, deprensas modo claudere cassibus artis*).

63 Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 27.143 (*comparibus votis hodie pia gaudia fundant*).

64 At age eight, Epiphanius joined the household of Crispinus, his predecessor as bishop of Pavia. This and the following line quote Sidon. *Carm.* 2.69–70 (*quem dicere digno / non datur eloquio, nec si modo surgat Averno*).

65 This line and the preceding again quote fully from Sidon. *Carm.* 2: a quotation of 2.319 in v. 117 (*vidit ut aerei de rupibus Appennini*) introduces a pastiche of quotations from *Carm.* 2.72–74 in v. 118 (*compulit auritas ad plectrum currere silvas / cum starent Hebri latices cursuque ligato / fulminis*).

66 When the prophet Elijah was taken to heaven, he left behind the robe that he had previously used to designate his successor, Elisha (*Kings* 2:1–15). Ennodius draws on Sidonius' reference to the story (*Carm.* 18.31, *quique duplex quondam venisti in pectus Helisei*).

67 Ennodius returns to describing Crispinus' care for Epiphanius; cf. Dracont. *Laud*. 1.386 (*et sine lacte pio fit mox infantia pubes*).

68 A striking metaphor that heightens one found in the Gospels, in which the revelation of Christ's salvation is likened to milk given to newborns: e.g., *1 Cor* 3:2 ("I fed you milk, not meat: for before you were not ready, nor are you now"); *1 Pet* 2:2 ("Just like newborn babes, crave pure spiritual milk, so that you grow into your salvation."); cf. August. *Epist*. 94.4.

69 Ennodius quotes Aeneas' prayer at the tomb of his father Anchises (*Aen.* 5.80–81, *salve, sancte parens: iterum salvete, recepti / nequiquam cineres*).

70 Another allusion to Sidon. *Carm.* 16 (77, *nam quod nec potuit, totum ad te iure redundant*).

71 "In him" (*in hoc*) refers again to Epiphanius.

72 In 494 CE, Theodoric had dispatched Epiphanius and Victor of Turin to the court of the Burgundian King Gundobad to plead for the release of hostages that the Burgundians had seized during raids on Liguria four years before. The mission was successful and thousands of Ligurians were returned (80V. 171–172).

73 Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.12.3 (*verbera linguae*); Prudent. *Apoth*. 404 (*verbera linguae*).
74 Ennodius introduces an extended simile of the diligent estate-steward, drawn from *Lk* 12:36–38, which will conclude in v. 153; see n. 84.
75 Ennodius combines references to Sidon. *Carm.* 16.80 (*flexibus rimis sitientes scriberet agros*) and Verg. *G.* 1.494 (*agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro*); on the "inscription" (i.e., furrowing) of the earth, cf. #174 §8, with Rallo Freni 1978.
76 Ennodius again alludes to Vergil's *Georgics* and his praise of the vineyard in bloom (*G.* 2.6, *floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris*); cf. Claud. *App.* 6.5.
77 A clever allusion to the use of cement to reclaim land from sea in Sidonius' *Panegyric for Anthemius* (*Carm.* 2.61, *sustinet advectos peregrino in gurgite campos*); the identical metrical shape of the line, including the rare, for Ennodius, elision in the quoted phrase, helps signal the reference.
78 Cf. the Parable of the Grafted Tree (*Rom* 11:17–24).
79 Ennodius may refer to the opening of Prudentius' praise of the martyr Eulalia (*Perist.* 3.1, *germine nobilis Eulalia*).
80 Paestum, a town in southern Italy, was famed for its roses (e.g., Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.28; Mart. 4.42.10, 6.80.6, 9.60.1; Claud. *Epith.* 10.247).
81 "Purple clothes" draws on Sidonian language: *Carm.* 2.481 (*quem petii; patrio vestiri murice natam*); *Carm.* 7.542 (*et vitia ac solitam vestiri murice gentem*).
82 Such flowerscapes appear in many Latin poems (e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 2.45–50, *G.* 4.181–183; Claud. *DRP* 2.101–111), but Ennodius' list draws especially from a longer list in Sidonius' description of an Edenic garden (*Carm.* 2. 413–416; cf. 23.60–62). References to this Sidonian poem ripple through the rest of Ennodius' simile.
83 The Phoenix was said to require spices, especially cinnamon, for his resurrection; cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 2.417 (*hinc rediviva petit vicinus cinnama Phoenix*). This is the second of a series of references to Sidonius' panegyric for Anthemius; cf. n. 77).
84 Ennodius alludes to the Parable of the Good Servant in *Lk* 12:37 ("Blessed are the servants whom the master finds on watch when he comes. Truly I say, he will dress as a servant, and have them recline at a table, and he will come and wait upon them").
85 "Plates from his own table": cf. Paul. Petr. *VSM* 3.68, 3.90 (*fercula mensae/s*); Auson. *Epist.* 16.17.
86 Ennodius adopts two additional lines from Sidon. *Carm.* 2.410–412 (*frigoribus pallescit humus, sed flore perenni* / . . . / *halant rura rosis*); cf. Dracont. *Laud*. 1.185 (*vere perenni*).
87 Ennodius returns to the simile of the mother's milk from vv. 90f. (esp. v. 96).
88 Ennodius draws on Juvencus (3.15, *secretis que piis veniet lux aurea uitae*).
89 Cf. Sidon. *Epist*. 9.16.3 v. 60 (*promere carmen*). The final four lines of Ennodius' poem contain a sphragic acrostic, in which two letters of the poet's name appear at the start of each successive line (EN-NO-DI-US). To carry this into English, the translated acrostic stretches over the poem's final eight lines. Acrostics seem to be a regular feature of many Latin poets (see Mitchell 2020) and sphragic acrostics, in which the poet embedded his name in the poem, can be found in e.g., Verg. *G.* 429–433, *Aen.* 12.587–588; Ov. *Met.* 142–149;

Ilias Latina 1–8; cf. the telestichs in *AL* 492 R (Bellesarius) and 493 R (Liberatus)—two epigrams on Sedulius and his *Carmen Paschale*—that spell out SEDVLIVS ANTISTES.

90 Ennodius quotes nearly a complete line from Sidonius (*Carm.* 2.542, *si mea vota deus produxerit, ordine recto*); cf. Claud. Mar. Vict. 3.216, 584 (*ordine coepto*).

91 Within the culminating acrostic, Ennodius embeds a further reference to himself through the adjective he uses to describe the regulations of poetry (*NODoso,* "knotty").

92 Ennodius' final apologetic statement alludes to Claudian's own sphragic retort to an incompetent critic (*carm. min.* 13.3, *"CLAUDIcat hic versus, haec," inquis, "syllaba nutat"*).

93 This *dictio* in prose and verse (c. early 503 CE), which dates to the earliest years of Ennodius' time as deacon in Milan, commemorates his safe return from the Synod of Rome (502 CE), which had failed to resolve the Laurentian Schism that had split the papacy since 498 CE (see "Introduction," p. 10). The prose preface works to justify Ennodius' verse composition that follows. While, he says, his position as deacon enjoins him to silence, the Bible offers evidence of those who sang to promulgate Christian morality; and, if he receives any criticism, it will help improve his rhetorical abilities. In the fifth paragraph, he introduces a point that appears in many of his works: the study of the liberal arts is not orthogonal to piety but central to it, as it allows for the dissemination of Christian virtue and the proper interpretation of Christian texts (see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 307). On the theme of nature in the poem, see Rota 2004, 378–385. Meter: elegiac couplets.

94 "The Mantuan" is Vergil, who describes this behavior of swans in *Aen.* 1.393–398.

95 Ennodius' "condition" is his status as deacon, which discouraged him from ostentatious performance in general and poetic composition in particular.

96 "Mere babe": Ennodius puns on *infantia* in the sense of 'a young child' and its more literal sense of *in-fantia* or 'inability to speak.'

97 Ennodius draws on Verg. *Aen.* 11.284 (*in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam*), in which Diomedes rejects an alliance with the Italians and entreats them to make peace with Aeneas. The "conflict of no middling scope" refers to the Laurentian Schism that the Synod had attempted to resolve.

98 Ennodius' source for this phrase is unknown; Quintilian speaks disparagingly of rusticity (*rusticitas*), e.g., 6.1.38 ("Sometimes his ignorance, lack of sophistication (*rusticitas*), stiffness, and offensiveness make his entire speech off-putting"), 6.3.17 ("the opposite [of the unaffected usage of the educated elite] is 'rusticity'"), etc.

99 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 18.89 (*frigora ne possim gelidi sentire profundi*).

100 *Aura levis* ("breezes") and *timet ille* ('he fears') are Ovidian phrases, appearing only in *Her.* 5.53 (*aura levis rigido pendentia lintea malo*, in same position; cf. *Ars* 3.100) and *Her.* 19.42 (*an vigilant omnes, et timet ille suos*), respectively.

101 The Zephyr was the gentle western breeze, but it could refer to any favorable wind. Ennodius draws again on Ov. *Her.* 5.53 (***aura levis*** *rigido pendentia lintea malo*).

102 The phrase "old chaos" (*antiquum . . . chaos*) alludes to Earth's complaint when she was seared by Phaethon's erratic piloting of the sun's chariot (Ov.

Met. 2.299, *in chaos antiquum confundimur*). Ennodius may also draw on the language of Ov. *Fast.* 2.468 (*pallet, et hostiles credit adesse manus*). On the cluster of Ovidian references in this passage, see Gasti 2018, 435–436.

103 In this and v. 16, Ennodius alludes to two key moments in the journey of the Trojans towards Italy, linking the predestined migration of Rome's ancestors with his own trip to and from the city (Perini 2011, 112). This line recalls the moment the Trojans arrive in Africa (Verg. *Aen.* 3.509, *sternimur optatae gremio* ***telluris*** *ad* ***undam***).

104 Ennodius draws inspiration from a similar scene in Paulinus of Nola's propemptikon for Bishop Nicetas of Remesiana, in which Paulinus hopes Nicetas will enjoy calm seas with a gentle breeze (*Carm*. 17.103f.; Perini 2011, 112). Paulinus also seems to be the inspiration for the line's concluding phrase (cf. *Carm.* 6.23, 6.39).

105 The line completes the doubled allusion to Vergil begun in v. 14 with a reference to the arrival of the Trojans in Italy (*Aen.* 1.169, *ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu*).

106 The reference to the soldier (*militis*) draws to mind the image of the soldier of Christ and prepares for the decisive shift to spiritual optimism under Christ's guidance that launches the poem's second half.

107 In the next four couplets, Ennodius mentions a series of Christ's miracles; such a miraculous series can be found in e.g., Sidon. *Carm.* 16; Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 1.60f.; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 1.119f. Ennodius first mentions Jesus' walk across the Sea of Galilee (*Mt* 14:25–33).

108 This reference is obscure but could refer to Jesus' first miracle, the conversion of water into wine in Cana (*Jo* 2:1–11). Alternatively, the "stone" could be the tombstone, and so a reference to the sharing of wine at the Last Supper and his sacrifice for humanity commemorated by communion (Schröder 2007, 57).

109 Jesus "hardened streams" when he walked on water (*Ma* 14:25–33, *Mk* 6:48–50; *Jo* 6:16–20).

110 Compare Ennodius' *Hymn for Saint Mary* (#18). Ennodius must intend *onus* in the phrase *virginitatis onus* to be positive (cf. Dracont. *Romul.* 10.325); see Santorelli 1994.

111 The language in this line was especially favored by Lucretius (e.g., 1.279, 5.266 5.388, 6.624), but it was adopted by a number of later authors (e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 788).

112 Ennodius seems to recall the moment in Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* when David announces the coming of Christ (9.5, *concinebat voce, chorda et tympano*).

113 This line (*floribus . . . carmina nostra novis*) resonates with the praise of holy songs in the *Psalms* (e.g., 32:2, 39:4, etc.).

114 Ennodius seems to allude to Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.15 (*pectore* ***concipio*** *nil nisi triste meo*). *Versiloqui* ('versifying, speaking in verse') may be an Ennodian coinage; at any rate, this is the only appearance of the word.

115 By happy coincidence, Ennodius' three itinerary poems are set in each of the four seasons; in addition to his springtime return from Rome, he braved the flooded Po in autumn (#5), and while he journeyed from Briançon in summer, he experienced the frigid chill of winter during his crossing of the Alps (#4).

116 The poem's final couplet demonstrates Ennodius' fusion of classical reference and Christian message. His declaration of his intent to compose hymns (see #9–20) in the manner of those that Ambrose had used to nourish the spirits

of the faithful during their occupation of the Arian basilicas incorporates language from Vergil's *Eclogues* (2.23, *canto, quae solitus*). Ambrose is called a *vates*, Ennodius' standard word for 'bishop,' but here charged with its older sense of 'bard' or 'prophet;' note the reference to the songs of "distinguished prophets" in §2.

117 The title of this lengthy poem reveals that Ennodius travelled from Brigantium (modern Briançon) and arrived—according to the martyrs mentioned in v. 49—in Augusta Taurinorum (modern Turin), a journey of approximately 70, apparently harrowing, miles. The poem, likely composed in the second half of 506 CE (Carini 1988, 165; cf. 502 CE, Bruno 2012, 301), plays with the contrasting heat and cold that Ennodius experienced during a summertime journey over the Cottian Alps. These contrasts introduce a series of other dichotomies (high/low, nature/civilization, pagan/Christian cult, etc.) that contribute to our ability to read the hardships of the journey as an allegory for temptation and redemptive renewal through faith (Rota 2004, 370; Perini 2011, 127–130; cf. *Eph* 4:22–24; *Col* 3:9–10). Ennodius' safe arrival at a martyrs' shrine brings the poem to a suitably moralizing conclusion. Ennodius mentions a difficult journey though the Cottian Alps in a letter to Firmina (305V). On the poem, see also Perini 2011; Gasti 2019–2020, 139–143 and 2008; Kennell 2000, 89; Navarra 1979, 122. Meter: elegiac couplets.

118 "Titan" is Helios, the sun, so called because he was the son of the Titan Hyperion. Gasti (2008, 19–20) observed that the opening of this poem alludes at several points to Claudian's description of the Nile (*carm. min.* 28), which itself is allusively engaged with key passages in Lucan (see later text).

119 Cf. Claud. *carm. min.* 28.35 (*compescit* ***radiis****que* ***potentibus*** *aestuat axis*).

120 The constellation of Cancer or the Crab was associated in antiquity with the path of the sun on the summer solstice (thus the Tropic of Cancer) and so the day with the brightest and longest daylight. Ennodius alludes to Claudian's description of the aestival flooding of the Nile (*carm. min.* 28.9, *flammiferae patiens zonae Cancrique* ***calentis***), a passage that itself draws on Lucan's meditation on the mysterious workings of the natural world (1.415, *Flammiger an Titan, ut alentes* ***hauriat undas***). Other echoes of the same book in Lucan appear later in this poem: e.g., in v. 6 (1.283, *bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris*); but the language can also be found in other poets; see n. 121.

121 Ennodius does not name the bishop (*vates* in v. 16) who sent him on official business to Gallia Narbonensis (approximately southern France) but it was almost certainly Laurentius (Carini 1988, 162–164; Carini 1989, 109–111); scholars once advocated that it was Epiphanius, as part of the mission to free the Burgundians in 494 CE (e.g., Magani 1886, 322). As Ennodius returned to Italy, he stopped at Brigantium to join a party for the crossing of the Alps. With "Gallic wilds" (*Gallica lustra*), Ennodius again seems to draw inspiration from Claudian's panegyric for Stilicho (*Stil*. 3.303–304, *tu Gallica cingis / lustra*).

122 Syene was a town in upper Egypt; cf. Lucan 8.851 (*nam quis ad exustam Cancro torrente Syenen*); 10.234 (*ora tumet Cancroque suam torrente Syenen*) and Claud. *carm. min.* 28.19 (*per Meroen Blemyasque feros atramque Syenen*).

123 The change in elevation causes Ennodius to experience the summer's heat and winter's chill in a single day.

124 Cf. Claud. *DRP* 3.273 (*quo leges* ***cecidere*** *poli?*).

125 The phrase *bellum natura* appears several times in Manilius (1.896, 2.422, 4.663).

126 Brigantium sits about five miles from and 1,800 feet below the closest pass: the Col de Montgenèvre (elev. 6083 ft).

127 Ennodius may draw a polyptoton from Manilius (3.558 *aut redit atque alio mutatur tempore tempus*); but the same phrase also appears in a relevant passage of Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 2.99–100, *ergo fides innixa Deo trepidantia firmet / pectora et in maesto securum tempore tempus*).

128 The party continues the ascent after dark, guided by the moon ("Phoebus' lamp").

129 The exact location of "the Matrons" is uncertain but from Ennodius' likely path, it seems very likely that he is referring to the summit pass of Mount Genèvre; cf. Amm. Marc. 15.10.6: "a higher slope that can only be summited with difficulty, stretched towards the Matron; after that the route, easier but still steep, extends to the citadel (*castellum*) of Briançon" (cf. v. 24; see Gasti 2019–2020, 141 n. 14); and also a reference to the pass in the *Itinerarium Burgidalense*, a description of pilgrimage from Bordeaux to the Holy Land (556.1, *inde ascendis Matronam*; with Gasti 2019–2020, 141). A triad of Celtic goddesses was worshipped at this pass (Kennell 2000, 89; Gasti 2019–2020, 141), and so it provided Ennodius with a symbol of grave spiritual risk.

130 Ennodius continues the *matrona* metaphor from v. 23 with an allusion to Prudentius' lament on how the serpent striped humanity of its immortality through sin (*Cath.* 3.183, *a! miseram peperere necem*). Gasti (2019–2020, 144–145) suggests that the poem specifically treats the dangers and temptations posed by women.

131 Ennodius draws on Ovid's invocation of the Muses when he requests true insight on the coming of Aesculapius to Rome (*Met.* 15.623, *scitis enim, nec vos fallit spatiosa vetustas*).

132 A carefully crafted golden line (abVAB), complemented by alliteration of the elements (*scrupea descissis pendebat semita plantis*). *Scrupea* ("rocky") is an unusual word, perhaps recalling the Sibyl's cave (Verg. *Aen.* 6.238, *scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris*) and so inverting Vergil's mountain peak into an infernal cavern.

133 Ennodius alludes to Sedulius' condemnation of the folly of pagan literature (*Carm. Pasch.* 1.43–44, *Quid labyrintheo, Thesidae, erratis in antro / caeca que Daedalei lustratis limina tecti?*).

134 Ennodius draws on a phrase from Ovid (*Met.* 8.159, *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis*). Daedalus constructed the labyrinth to contain the Minotaur under the palace of Minos in Crete.

135 The clouds are so dense that birds, rather than flying, are said to swim. The aqueous nature of the environment and the reference to the dove bring to mind Noah's deliverance from the Flood (*Gen* 8:9–11).

136 Following the emendation of Sirmond, Ennodius names four Alpine tributaries of the Po: the Duria (modern Dora Riparia), Sessis or Sessites (modern Sesia), Stura (the region has several rivers with this name), and the Orgus (modern Orco).

137 The Ionian Sea lay between Italy and Greece and was the ultimate destination of the rivers Ennodius just mentioned.

138 Cf. Claud. *Gild*. 211–212 (*sic mihi tunc maior Stilicho, cum laeta periclis / metior atque illi redeunt in corda tumultus*).

139 Ennodius continues to mention rivers, now Lethe, the river in the underworld that expunged souls of all their earthly memories (e.g., Verg. *G.* 1.78).

140 On tears as a signal of penitence, see Perini 2011, 129.

141 A joyful Ennodius thanks a remarkable series of martyr saints for his deliverance from the Alps. Most of these figures were missionaries martyred in Gaul. Saturninus, a missionary to Gaul, became the first bishop of Toulouse (d. c. 257 CE). Crispinus was another missionary, who with his brother was martyred c. 285/86. Daria was a pagan priestess sent to persuade Chrysanthus to renounce Christianity; the two instead entered a celibate marriage and were martyred c. 283. Maurus was also martyred in the late third century. Eusebius was likely martyred with Concordia and Hippolytus c. 258 (rather than the fourth-century confessor saint, who would be out of place in this list). Ennodius completes the list with another martyred Gallic missionary, Quintinus, c. 287. For other late antique catalogues of apostles, saints, or martyrs, cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm*. 19.76–84; Prudent. *Perist*. 4.17–60; Fortun. *Carm*. 8.3.137–176.

142 Octavius, Adventus, and Solutor were martyrs and the patron saints of Turin. They were said to belong to the "Theban Legion," which converted en masse and were martyred together in 286; the three escaped the initial massacre but were pursued and martyred near Turin.

143 Ennodius also uses the phrase *mens conscia recti* in #2.51 (in a different order); the phrase traces back to Vergil (*Aen.* 1.604; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.311), with which this passage shares thematic analogues but the phrase, in the same metrical position, appears also in Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 4.152.

144 The second of Ennodius' itinerary poems recounts a dramatic crossing of the Po River during an autumn flood (c. 510 CE). One of Ennodius' later poems, likely dating to early 511 (Kennell 2000, 91 n. 26), Ennodius says that he braved the raging river to console his "sister" (*germanae,* 22), who was mourning the loss of a son. After a lengthy prologue seeking inspiration (1–9) and identifying the season (10–13), the poem describes the flooding of the river (14–21), Ennodius' reason for attempting the crossing (22–36), adynata of the river in flood (37–41), his rescue by an experienced sailor and epilogue (42–52). As with Ennodius' other odeporic works, the poem serves as a metaphor for temptation and salvation. Two hypotexts reinforce this metaphor: Aeneas' katabasis in *Aeneid* 6 and the biblical story of Jonah in the whale (see below for specific references); Paulinus of Nola's account of Saint Martin's shipwreck (*Carm.* 24) also influences Ennodius' account. Rota (2004, 370–378) has traced how Ennodius' poem engages previous poetic descriptions of the flooding of the Po in Vergil (*G.* 1.481–483) and Lucan (2.408–410, 6.272–278), a river in flood in Lucretius (1.277–297), and the universal flood in Ovid (*Met.* 1.291–303) and Avitus (4.429–435). On the poem, see also Gasti 2008 (on the influence of Claudian's description of the Nile in *carm. min.* 28); Navarra 1979, 122–126. Meter: hexameter. Ennodius also composed a short ekphrastic epigram on a bird landing on the flooding Po (#113).

145 Castalia was a fountain on Mt. Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and so a source of poetic inspiration. Orpheus was the mythic singer of Thrace, son of the Muse Calliope, who nearly resurrected his wife Eurydice through the power of his song, which was so enchanting that animals and even trees and rocks moved to hear it.

146 The first of numerous references to Paulinus of Nola in this poem (*Carm*. 17.84, *iungat hiatus*). Unlike Paulinus, who rejects classical mythology in his Christian verse (e.g., *Carm*. 22.13–16), Ennodius is usually at ease employing it (e.g., Orpheus, Castalia, etc.), although he will, like most late antique Christian poets, express more anxiety later in his career about the continued presence of classical references (Riché 1976, 86–97); see also Polara 2016; Urlacher 2008; Gioanni 2006, I.lx–lxiv; Vandone 2001; Rota 1999; Morabito 1947.

147 The subject refers back to Castalia's stream, as the metaphor makes clear.

148 The Eridanus (modern Po) was originally a semi-mythical river thought to flow to the Northern Sea, but it had become associated with the Po before the time of Polybius (c. 2nd century BCE). Ennodius will refer to the river as the Eridanus (v. 48) and Po (*Padus*, v. 15 and 21).

149 The Hippocrene was a fountain (*liquore*) on Mt. Helicon, sacred to the Muses and so a source of poetic inspiration. It was said to have sprung up under the strike of Pegasus' hoof (*Pegaseo*). These lines required some compression in translation; a fuller rendering would run: "unless I, as I embark on speaking about the waters of the Eridanus, with a broad river / infuse my limbs that are dry without Pegasus' liquid. . . ."

150 These lines draw on Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21.691f.; e.g., 700 (*gutta meum stillavit in os de flumine verbi*; cf. n. 238). The connection between the theme of fasting—e.g., "fasting words" (*ieiuno . . . relatu*)—and the story of Jonah is also found in #10.9f.

151 Unusually, if appropriately for the context, Ennodius prays to a rural water goddess for inspiration (cf. Var. *Rust*. 1.1.6)—or the water itself (*lympha*); cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1.5.97.

152 It was fall, the traditional time of the grape harvest; the Po tends to flood in the spring (due to Alpine snowmelt) and the autumn (due to rains). An allusion to Paulinus of Nola further identifies the time and advances Ennodius' interweaving of himself, Jonah, and St. Martin: *Anni tempus erat* . . . recalls *Carm.* 24 and the story of Jonah that Paulinus embeds within his account of St. Martin's shipwreck (259, *licet esset anni tempus* ***autumnus***).

153 Lyaeus ('the relaxer') was an epithet for Bacchus, the god of wine.

154 *Tunicas uvarum* ('grape-skins,' or lit. 'grapes' tunics') was an Ennodian coinage, which he used elsewhere (#165.4; 334V.20).

155 "Vintage's captivity" (*carcere musti*) is a striking phrase, and the first of a texture of legal vocabulary in the poem (e.g., *lege, captivos, captivus*). Gasti (2020, 18) connects Ennodius' "order overwhelmed" (*lex subacta*) with Claudian's description of the Nile in flood (*carm. min.* 28.29, ***mutatum ius***).

156 At last, the river is identified as the Padus (modern Po), the major riverine system in northern Italy.

157 The line's first word, *canebat,* may offer an ambiguity. Meter requires a long first syllable, *cānebat,* and so *cāneō –ēre*, 'to be white;' but since the waters have already been vocalizing (*murmurat,* v. 9), perhaps there is a suggestion of singing (*cāneō –ēre*). Ennodius describes the "foam" (*spumam*) with similar language in his epigram on the bird alighting on the Po's flood (#113.3).

158 Another line that admits an ambiguity: are the waves (*fluctus*) upright (*stantes*) or do the farmsteads (*villae*) remain firm (*stantes*) in respect to their roofs (*culmina*)? I translate the former, since it produces a more balanced line,

a more striking image, and accords better with the following lines, in which the houses are moved by the flood. Ennodius' line draws on Ovid's description of the Flood (*Met.* 1.295, *ille supra segetes aut* ***mersae*** *culmina villae*); cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.82 (*villarum culmina fumant*).

159 My translation attempts to capture yet another ambiguity: is it the sea (*pelagus*) or the roof (*tectum*) that has been stolen (*raptum*) from its shore (*litore*)? The former chimes with the flood scene, the latter with context. Ennodius will repeatedly characterize the flooded river as a sea (*pelagus*, 18, 39; *marmor*, 44; *pontus*, 45).

160 A proleptic image, as the uprooted trees, now swamped, will in the future become firewood before their time. But on the metaphorical level, the image evokes the fires of Hell (Perini 2011, 137).

161 The identity of this "sister" (*germana*) has occasioned considerable debate. Since Ennodius otherwise only mentions two sisters, neither of whom seem a suitable match for this *germana* (see "Introduction" p. 2), it seems reasonable that the *germana* may be a more distant relation (e.g., his cousin Agnella) or a spiritual sibling (Pirelli 2011, 131).

162 For "widowed home," cf. Ov. *Her.* 9.35 (Hercules), Stat. *Achil.* 2.28 (Achilles).

163 The sense is that Ennodius' sister has already lost several children. Avernus is the Underworld.

164 Ennodius alludes to a Vergilian phrase, *fluviorum* ***rex*** *Eridanus* (*G.* 1.481; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.323–324).

165 Ennodius quotes the moment Aeneas, another god-protected traveler, stepped into Charon's boat (*Aen.* 6.413, *gemuit sub pondere cumba*).

166 Immediately after the evocation of Aeneas, Ennodius signals a return to Jonah through the verb *intumuit*: cf. *Jon* 1:11 (*quia mare ibat, et intumescebat*), 1:13 (*mare ibat et intumescebat super eos*).

167 Ennodius alludes to Prudentius' retelling of the Jonah story in *Cath.* 7 (111–112, *iussus perire solus e cunctis reus, / cuius*).

168 Having already established the intertext with *Aeneid* 6 (see n. 165), Ennodius may refer to Aeneas' arrival in the Elysian Fields (6.688, ***vicit*** *iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri*).

169 "Bereft" (*viduae*) picks up on the description of his 'sister's' house (v. 24).

170 Ennodius neatly reverses Prudentius' imagery of Jonah in the *Cathemerinon* (7.123, *errabat illic per latebras viscerum*): while in Prudentius the man wandered within the fish, now fish wander within the haunts of men. Ennodius picks up this reference in v. 38, where Prudentius' image of the young in Nineveh leaving their feast hungry (7.162) is supplanted by Ennodius' fish nibbling at the farmer's submerged table.

171 "Lick," cf. Ambrose *Hex.* 5.1.3 (*lambent terram pisces* ***aquarum***).

172 "Spewed" (*evomuit*) completes the sequence of images drawn from Jonah's plight in the whale (cf. *Jon* 2:11, *et dixit Dominus pisci, et evomuit Jonam in aridam*; Sidon. *Carm.* 16.30, *esuriens vomuit suspenso belua morsu*).

173 Ennodius, despite his protestations of stoic resolve (vv. 42–44), is saved by an experienced local sailor in a larger boat. Ennodius alludes to Horace's condemnation of sea-born travel (*Carm.* 1.3.18, *qui siccis oculis monstra natantia*).

174 Ennodius mentions *metallum* ('metal' or "ore"); the Orco, a tributary of the Po, was known for its gold-bearing sand (Pipino 1982). Both this and the next line are golden in their arrangement (abVAB and AbVaB, respectively; cf. v. 6).

175 This line draws on Vergil's description of Charon taking souls onto his boat (*Aen.* 6.315; cf. n. 165), with Vergil's grim boatman (*navita . . . tristis*) replaced by a smiling savior (*navita . . . laetus*).

176 My translation reproduces the ambiguity about which word is modified by *felix* ("lucky"). "Lucky package" (*sarcina . . . felix*) may refer to the formulation of Augustine (*Epist*. 126.3, *clericatus sarcinam nolenti nullus imponeret*). But, of course, since *Felix* was also part of Ennodius' name, he is literally a *lucky* package.

177 The closing image of Christ leading Ennodius' boat to the rejoicing shores (*Christo duce*) replaces the infernal imagery found in the poem's central panel (cf. *Pado ducente*, 21).

178 Ennodius sends a lengthy polymetric composition to Faustus in reply to correspondence from him that included a poem. Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior Niger (*PLRE* 2.454) was a frequent correspondent of Ennodius between 501 and 512 (see Kennell 2000, 166–167). A prominent figure in Ostrogothic Italy, Faustus served in a number of posts, including consul in 490 and Pretorian Prefect of Italy from at least 509 to 512 (see Kennell 2000, 141–146). Ennodius' poem, one of his more complex polymetric compositions, contains four meters. It opens with 32 lines of elegiacs that respond directly to Faustus' gift of a poem, praising his abilities and thanking him for inspiring Ennodius to compose his own poem. The use of elegiacs to praise an addressee is somewhat unusual and Ennodius uses hexameters (the expected meter for praise) in the next section, which is directed towards Ennodius himself, whose poetic attempt is characterized by an extended nautical metaphor (vv. 33–44). Only then does Ennodius deliver the anticipated prefatory elegiacs (45–48), which introduce his new composition in Sapphic stanzas (49–68). The poem closes with a short dedication to Faustus in adonics (69–80). For the association of polymetry with late antique Gallic poets, see Consolino 2017.

179 "I would have construed . . .": on the different interpretations of this sentence, see Vandone 2004, 57–59.

180 Ennodius genially rebukes Faustus for his delay in writing.

181 "Put to the file" (*lima conponere*): i.e., when they are exercised or subjected to expert criticism. The phrase alludes to Sidonius' complaint that Euodius, who asked Sidonius for an epigram that could be inscribed on a silver basin for Queen Ragnahilda, gave him less time than he had given the silversmith, despite the fact that poetry must be "polished with a strong, rough file" (*forti et asprata lima poliri*, *Epist.* 4.8.5); cf. 39V (*lima poliret*); 172V.3 (*nulla praecedentium studiorum lima*). For the image of "rusty tongues," cf. 155V.1 (*rubiginem rusticantis eloquii*).

182 Gluvidinus has been thought to be a reference to a certain Cluvienus mentioned by Juvenal as another poet whose art is spurred by indignation (1.80). If so, the character is a poetaster—but one Juvenal mentions to assert slyly his skill through calibrated self-mockery; cf. #94 §5. "Pages destined to perish" (*cartae . . . perituraе*): Ennodius quotes another line in Juvenal, *Satire* 1 (18, *perituraе parcere chartae*); cf. Auson. *Praef.* 1.

183 "Stupefying glory": I believe Ennodius references the exegetical tradition of the *Song of Songs* 3:11; cf. e.g., Apponius *ad loc*.

184 The polymetric poem begins with elegiac couplets.

185 The liver was the seat of affection and passion. The oxymoronic juxtaposition at the end of this line (*unda sitim*) may draw on Ovid (*Her.* 4.174, *Rem.* 632; cf. Tibull. 1.3.78).

186 Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.397 (*et salis occultum referunt in lacte saporem*).

187 Cecrops was an early king of Athens. The "buskin" (*cothurno*) was the distinctive high-heeled boot worn by Athenian tragic actors and so representative of tragedy and other high-style genres of literature. Ennodius may draw on Horace's praise of Pollio in *Carm.* 2.1.12 (*Cecropio repetes cothurno*).

188 Cf. a palindromic phrase by Sidonius (*Epist.* 9.14.4, *sole medere pede ede perede melos*).

189 Ennodius' reference to the "forge" (lit. 'anvil,' *incudem*) of poetic composition traces back to Hor. *AP* 441 (*et male tornatos incudi reddere versus*) and creates another reference to an expression for finely revised verse favored by Sidonius: e.g., *Epist.* 4.8.5 (*carminis si quid incus metrica produxerit*; see n. 181; 8.4.2 (*meditationis incude*); 9.13.2 (*Horatiana incude formatos*), with Condorelli 2011, 79–80; cf. 85V.10, 177V.3, 249V.1 (*incude formatus/um*).

190 Myron was a famed Athenian sculptor who lived in the fifth century BCE; interestingly, Pliny the Elder criticizes Myron precisely because his well-proportioned statues failed to possess "an inner life" (*animi sensus*, *HN* 34.57–58); but Ennodius was likely most familiar not with Myron's actual work but the remarkable, diachronic series of epigrams that extol his preternaturally lifelike heifer (see Squire 2010).

191 A plectrum was a device, often made of tortoise shell, used to pluck the strings of e.g., a lyre. Verses 21–26 present a series of adynata that Faustus could accomplish with his verse.

192 Boötes ('the plowman') was a constellation in the northern sky.

193 Helice (modern Big Dipper) is another northern constellation, the plow driven by Boötes.

194 I.e., Pallas (Minerva, the goddess of wise artistry) would grant Faustus the knowledge to sing about heaven.

195 Ennodius reverses the vivid adynaton in Verg. *Ecl.* 1.59–60, in which the stag would graze in the sky and the fish would leave the sea (*ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi / et* ***freta*** *destituent nudos in litore pisces*).

196 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.339 (*impastus ceu plena leo*).

197 The Castalian spring on Mt. Parnassus was sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and so a source of poetic inspiration.

198 Ennodius switches to 12 hexameters with more elevated diction and a more expansive mythological apparatus. The first hexameter (*sutilis ad tumidas rapitur mea cumba procellas*) combines two lines in Sidonius' iambic poem for Gelasius in *Epist.* 9.16.3: v. 2 (*egit audacem mea cymba cursum*) and v. 18 (*nil* ***tumescentes*** *veriti procellas*); cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.16. Into this Sidonian pastiche, Ennodius introduces a formative allusion to Vergil's famous description of Charon's ship (*Aen.* 6.413–414, *cumba / sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem*; cf. v. 35, *rimosam*). Ennodius' reference is apt, since this work is "stitched-together" (*sutilis*) from several meters; note *composuit* in v. 36.

199 "Winter's southern winds" (*Hibernos . . . Notos*) were not the prevailing winds during winter but did produce occasional, violent thunderstorms; cf. Propert. 2.9.34, Mart. 8.14.3.

200 A *phaselus* was a small craft, often made from papyrus or wicker, whose shape resembled that of its eponymous kidney-bean; cf. Catul. 4.
201 "Phryxian coasts," i.e., the Hellespont or Phryxian Colchis on the Black Sea, either of which would be impossible voyages for the wee, Italian *phaselus*.
202 Aeolus was the god of winds; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.52f.
203 Auster was a southern wind (the sirocco) that brings stormy weather during European summers. Ennodius means that he sails in bays sheltered from the Auster's gales.
204 "Yard-arms" (*ceruchis*) is a rare word, used twice by Lucan (8.177, 10.495); cf. Val. Flacc. 1.469; Dracont. *Romul.* 8.389. The previous line possibly also draws from Lucan (2.621, *ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae*).
205 Ennodius resumes with two more elegiac couplets. The first line may draw on language in Luc. 5.592–596 (*huc puppem . . . Phoebum videat seu cornua lunae, / semper venturis conponere carbasa ventis*), although the later phrase appears also in Ovid (*Her.* 7.171) and elsewhere in Lucan.
206 Ennodius invokes Phoebus (i.e., Apollo) in his guise as god of poetry. The line is a pastiche from Verg. *Aen.* 5 (28, *flecte viam velis*; 177, *clavumque ad litora torquet*).
207 The line may draw on Verg. *Aen.* 1.169 (*ulla tenent, unco non alligat anchora morsu*).
208 Ennodius continues with five Sapphic stanzas. This choice of meter associates the poem with one by Sidonius, in which he reflected on his previous political and poetic successes after he had joined the Church (*Epist.* 9.16.3.1–20; see Vandone 2004, 44–45).
209 Ennodius draws on Vergilian phrases (5.158, *frontibus et longa sulcant* ***vada salsa*** *carina*; 10.197, *arduus, et longa sulcat* ***maria alta*** *carina*).
210 Cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.593 (*addidici regimen dextra moderante carinae*).
211 With the striking phrase *aurium libram* (lit. 'the scale of the ears') Ennodius implies that Faustus is a good judge of proper (i.e., classical) rhythm and meter. Ennodius elsewhere expresses anxiety about his sense of vowel quantity and so classical prosody (e.g., #2.170, 94 §6, and the contretemps over his epitaph for Cynegia (#38); see "Appendix II," #1–3). Because of changes in vernacular pronunciation, classical vowel quantities were no longer instinctual for late antique authors but had to be learned (cf. August. *Mus.* 2.1.1, *ac primum responde, utrum bene didiceris eam quam grammatici docent, syllabarum brevium longarumque distantiam*).
212 Ennodius returns to the metaphor of weighing (*pendere*) verse on the scale of poetic worth introduced in the previous stanza.
213 Ennodius concludes the poem with a selection of adonics (a dactyl and a trochee or spondee), as he also does in #179.71–75. His choice of this meter may be been inspired by Euterpe's praise of philology in Mart. Cap. 2.125 (Consolino 2017, 123).
214 To produce better sense in English, I have reversed the order of v. 72 with 73, and v. 79 with 80.
215 Ennodius refers to *farra*, or ears of wheat that could be offered as a bloodless sacrifice to Jupiter (i.e., God).
216 Ennodius introduces his poem to Olybrius with a lengthy prose preface, in which he justifies his production of song (1–2) in a familiar and simple mode (3–5) instead of a speech of the sort in which Olybrius excels (6). He

concludes the introduction with a *captatio benevolentiae* that references the myth of Phaethon, who will provide the primary subject matter for the following poem (vv. 2–20). The reference to myth is interesting, since Ennodius elsewhere admonishes Olybrius for mentioning such figures in letters (13V.4). Olybrius was a leading figure in the Senate (vv. 25–26) and an important figure in Ostrogothic Italy at the turn of the sixth century CE. He rose to a high official position, likely the Pretorian Prefect of Italy c. 503 CE, but he seems to have died in office, spurring a letter of consolation from Ennodius to Olybrius' brother, Eugenes (67V). Part of an older generation, Olybrius received six letters from Ennodius c. 502–503, in which he was praised for his eloquence (13V, 37V, 42V, 48V; and §5; cf. Cassiod. *Var.* 8.19), as well as a joint letter with his brother Eugenes (32V). Meter: elegiac couplets.

217 Elsewhere in Ennodius, the shepherd (*pastor*) appears in ecclesiastical (1V.18, 8V.6, 49V.8, etc.) or Christological contexts (#14.29, 15.29).

218 Palaemon was a shepherd character who judged the rustic song competition in Vergil, *Eclogue* 3; *compellat* extends the herding metaphor (cf. Var. *Rust.* 2.2.18).

219 Ennodius finally turns his attention to Olybrius ("most distinguished man," *vir amplissime*).

220 On plectrum, see n. 191.

221 Ennodius praises the pleasure produced by Olybrius' finely wrought and carefully polished compositions and declamations; *elucubrati* ('toiled over at night' → "finely-wrought") is symbolic of dedication to one's literary craft; see McGill 2014.

222 In §2, Ennodius had drawn a connection between his poetry and criticism through a reference to Vergil, *Eclogue* 3. Here, he alludes again to the same poem (27, *stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?*).

223 The myth of Phaethon is introduced (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.747–2.328). The son of Helios, Phaethon demanded that his father prove his paternity by allowing him to drive the chariot of the sun. When the chariot careened out of control in Phaethon's inexperienced hands, Jupiter was forced to kill the boy before he incinerated the earth.

224 Ennodius' poem tackles the risk and necessity of composing verse, characterized through the extended retelling of Ovid's myth of Phaethon (vv. 2–20; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.150–171). Claudian had twice deployed the Phaethon myth as a political allegory (Hardie 2019, 80): e.g., in *4Hon*. 62–69 he equates Theodosius resuming control after the disaster at Adrianople with Phoebus after Phaethon's destruction; Claudian compares Alaric's behavior with Phaethon's ride and downfall, which are depicted on the cloak of the god Eridanus (*6Hon.* 178–192; with Hardie 2019, 214).

225 The opening couplet evokes Ovidian diction. The first phrase, *fama refert*, is used four times by Ovid and then mimicked by many subsequent authors (e.g., Val. Flacc. 1.47; Mart. 1.29.1; Prudent. *Perist*. 13.76; Claud. *carm. min.* 26.25). The couplet ends with another Ovidian tag (*Ars* 1.56, *quicquid in orbe fuit*; *Fast.* 1.284) that was adopted by several late antique poets favored by Ennodius (e.g., Claud. *4Hon.* 579; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 31.562; Sedul. *Carm. Pasch*. 4.304).

226 "Titan" or Helios, the sun, so called because it was the son of the Titan Hyperion.

227 Ennodius is fond of this juxtaposition of water and smoke (cf. e.g., #8.5; 133.8)
228 Ennodius draws on a Vergilian phrase (*Aen*. 12.471, *ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas*).
229 Ennodius seems to allude to a phrase Prudentius used in reference to God (*Ham*. 266, *artificis Domini manus*).
230 Ennodius draws on a Vergilian phrase for dawn (*Aen*. 12.115, *Solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant*).
231 "Hyperborean crusts" (i.e., ice): Ennodius refers to the frozen lands of the extreme north.
232 The Tanais River (modern Don) flows from central Russia into the Sea of Azov northeast of the Black Sea; Ovid mentions it in his account of Phaethon (*Met.* 2.242).
233 Phaethon was said to have fallen into the Po after he was struck by Jupiter (Ov. *Met*. 4.246). Ennodius, drawing on Ovid, means that the sun's heat has dried out even so large a river (the third largest by volume in western Europe). The reference to Eridanus reinforces the allegorical potential of the passage; see n. 148.
234 The Curia was the meeting hall of the Roman Senate. Ennodius uses it as part of a metaphor for refinement, *ad unguem* ('to the fingernail'), introduced into literary criticism by Horace (*AP* 294, *praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem*; cf. *Serm.* 1.5.3).
235 Phoebus or Apollo, the god of light and poetic inspiration. With "you" Ennodius at last addresses Olybrius in the poem.
236 I.e., if the pagan gods received such a sacrifice, they would be forever content.
237 Ennodius alludes to the conclusion of Sedulius' *recusatio* from traditional (pagan) verse (1.15–16, *at nos exiguum de paupere carpsimus horto / rubra quod adpositum testa ministrat, holus*).
238 Ennodius may underscore his supposed verbal incompetence through a contrasting allusion to Paulinus of Nola's divinely inspired speech (*Carm.* 21.489, *gutta meum stillavit in os de flumine Verbi*; cf. n. 150).
239 The Camenae were prophetic Italian nymphs that came to be associated with the Muses of Latin literature. Ennodius alludes to Meliboeus' renunciation of song (Verg. *Ecl.* 1.77, *carmina nulla canam*) but this couplet and the next may also to invert the sentiment of Claudian's declaration of poetic necessity (*carm. min.* 3, *quidquid Castalio de gurgite Phoebus anhelat / . . . / . . . carmina sola loquor: sic me meus implet Apollo*).
240 On plectrum, see n. 191. Ennodius alludes to Sidonius' account of the suppression of classicizing verse in Burgundian-held Lyon (*Carm.* 12.8–9, *quid poema frangat? / ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris*).
241 Helicon was a mountain sacred to the Muses in Boeotia; its streams were metonymic for poetic inspiration. The energy of this section of the poem is augmented by alliteration of 'a' at the beginning of six successive verses (*ah, adridens, ah, Aonium, at, agrestem*).
242 Ennodius incorporates a phrase (*redimitus tempora*) favored by Vergil (*Aen.* 3.81, 10.538; *G.* 1.349) and adopted by later poets.
243 Aon, a son of Poseidon, gave his name to Aonia, the ancient name of Boeotia, which was the site of Helicon, the mountain sacred to the Muses. Ennodius

may allude to Ovid's dismissive introduction to the story of Myrrha (*Met.* 10.301, *mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes*).

244 Ennodius alludes to Gallus' rejection of elegy and embrace of pastoral in Verg. *Ecl.* 10.52 (*certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum*).

245 Ennodius returns to the image of the tuneful shepherd protecting his flock with which he opened his letter.

246 Silius Italicus is not a frequent source of inspiration for Ennodius, but here Ennodius draws on 15.539 (*commendet semina sulcis*), with a trace of Vergil (*Ecl.* 5.36, *grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis*).

247 *Lolium* ('darnel' or "tare") was a weed that damaged fields; Vergil twice called it *infelix lolium* (*Ecl.* 5.37; *G.* 1.154), perhaps creating an allusive pun on Ennodius' name; see n. 551 and 943.

248 I.e., Ennodius excuses himself from composing grandiose, martial epic.

249 "Bombastic boot" refers to the cothurnus, a high boot worn by tragic actors, and so metonymic for the genre and for its grand style; cf. #2.11 and n. 187. Ennodius seems to draw inspiration for the phrase from Sedulius (*Carm. Pasch.* 1.18, *grandisonis pompare modis, tragico que boatu*).

250 Ennodius plays with two senses of *lector*: 'reader' (and so 'performer') and 'reader' (a minor ecclesiastical office).

251 Two brief letters, dated to spring 510 CE, announce the extensive, polymetric wedding song, or epithalamium, that follows. The epithalamium comprises five different meters. An open praise of Maximus in elegiacs (1–24) is followed by four trochaic tetrameter catalectics (25–28), six Sapphic stanzas (29–52), and 70 hexameters (53–122) before the poem concludes with six Phalaecean hendecasyllables. Maximus (*PLRE* 2.747) was a young, aristocratic (see n. 252) friend of Ennodius, and perhaps a relation (see later text on v. 122). Maximus received several letters from Ennodius on the subjects of chastity and marriage (334V, 335V = #176, 337V, 356V, 386V; see 387V), including one following his wedding. On the poem, see Bernstein 2019, 78–83; Vandone 2006; Smolak 2006; Schröder 2007, 50–52, Consolino 2009; Consolino 1999; on late antique epithalamia in general, see Roberts 1989 ("The Use of Myth . . ."); Horstmann 2004; Pavlovskis 1965 ("Statius . . .").

252 The title *Vir Spectabilis* ('Admirable Man') was the second highest of the titles that distinguished the upper echelons of the Roman aristocracy; see n. 513.

253 Ennodius refers to the marriage blessing that Isaac, in his old age, bestowed on Jacob (*Gen* 28:1–4; cf. *iuniore filio*, 2).

254 See n. 253.

255 In the *Book of Tobit*, Sarah was beset by the demon Asmodeus, who had seven times killed her bridegrooms on their wedding night. Tobias drives out the demon and brings Sarah back to his house in Nineveh, where she was blessed (11:17).

256 The poem follows the letter to Arator (387V), which intervenes in the manuscripts.

257 Ennodius uses Maximus' marriage to goad Arator—his friend, frequent correspondent, and recipient of his verse (e.g., #99–101, 169)—into writing. After chastising Arator for his failure to write, Ennodius proposes a theme in §2: the

unexpected marriage of the chaste Maximus. Arator (*PLRE* 2.126–127) was, like Ennodius, a member of the Ligurian nobility who was orphaned as a boy. He studied with Deuterius in Milan (see #174) and would eventually gain fame for his versification of *Acts* (*Historia Apostolica*). On their relationship, see Zarini 2009.

258 Ennodius begins the polymetric composition with 12 elegiac couplets that describe the idyllic spring produced by Maximus' virtues. "Its sun renewed": i.e., the seasons have changed and days are growing longer. The length is similar to elegiac prefaces in the epithalamia by Claudian (*Epith*. and *carm. min.* 25) and Sidonius (*Carm.* 10), although Ennodius subverts expectations by moving directly into the praise of the bridegroom; cf. his parallel usage of elegiacs in #6.

259 "Her chamber" could refer to a bridal or birthing chamber.

260 Ennodius mentions the *arbustum*, or wild strawberry, much favored by Latin poets. Ennodius reuses the ending of the line (*uda vapore*) at #133.8; cf. #7.5.

261 An orotund line; Ennodius refers to the foliage as *spoliis*, i.e., that which will be taken off or shed. For the phrase *lactans caespitibus*, cf. #173.2, #2.9.

262 Ennodius may allude to Claud. *4Hon.* 644 (*nox pronuba taedas*).

263 "Sky's breath" (*aura poli*) is pollen; cf. Dracont. *Laud.* 2.189 (*sic fit mater humus, qua germina cuncta creantur*).

264 The god Nereus is metonymic for the ocean.

265 *1 Cor* 7:34 identifies the true virgin as one who "cares for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit" (*virgo cogitat quae sunt domini, ut sit sancta corpore et* ***spiritu***); this passage was much discussed by the Church fathers; e.g., Ambr. *Virg.* 2.2.7 (*virgo erat non solum corpore sed etiam mente*); August. *Exh. virginit*. 12; *Doctr. chr.* 4.21. The praise of the bridegroom for his virginity is, unsurprisingly, absent from the more secular late antique epithalamia.

266 The palm was a symbolic prize of victory; Ennodius deploys a cherished oxymoron: Maximus wins by losing.

267 Ennodius may allude to Ov. *Am.* 1.2.40 (*adpositas sparget in ora rosas*).

268 A short invocation of divinities who inspire poetry, composed in trochaic tetrameter catalectics. This meter can also be found in Christian hymnody and the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

269 Ennodius puns on Maximus' name, literally "in the praise of Maximuses / greatest men."

270 Ennodius praises the natural beauty of Venus in six Sapphic stanzas. Ennodius' use of Sapphics in an epithalamium was an innovation (Consolino 2017, 123).

271 Cf. Apollo describing Daphne's beauty in Ov. *Met.* 1.498–499 (*videt igne micantes / sideribus*) and Venus' description of Earinus in Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.26 (*hic puerum egregiae praeclarum sidere formae*; cf. Cypr. Gall. *Gen*. 787).

272 Ennodius may allude to Apollo's advice to the poet in Ov. *Am.* 2.506 (*qui canit arte, canat; qui bibit arte, bibat*).

273 Cf. Catul. 55.12 (*in roseis latet papillis*).

274 "Prison" is metaphoric for Venus' clothing; cf. Sen. *Herc. fur.* 57 (*rupto carcere*); Sil. 8.278, 12.188.

275 Cf. Hor. *Carm*. 3.8.23 (*laxo meditantur arcu*; in the same metrical position).

276 Ennodius casts the longest section of the work in hexameters, the canonical meter of Latin epithalamia. He inverts the trope, found in many epithalamia, of a triumphant Cupid announcing his latest victim (e.g., in Statius, Claudian, Sidonius). Ennodius instead has his Cupid lament his mother's loss of power to the rising authority of chastity, and goading Venus to action. This section draws inspiration, broadly, from Ov. *Met.* 5.362f.; cf. Consolino 2009, 171–172. The vehemence of Cupid's speech is surprising, given Ennodius' previous praise of Maximus' chastity. While Kennell claims that the topic compelled Ennodius to "minimize the Christian background to the impending nuptials" (2000, 92), his frequent model Paulinus of Nola had pioneered a fully Christian form of epithalamia that dispensed with the classical mythological apparatus (*Carm.* 25); Schröder sees the exuberant pagan apparatus of the poem as a teasing message to Maximus on his abandonment of chastity (2007, 52).

277 For sense, the order of this and the following line are reversed.

278 Ennodius draws from the description of the chaste Diana in Ov. *Met.* 3.169–170 (*spar*sos *per colla* ***capillos*** */* *colligit in nodum*).

279 A ring could conceal poison should its owner wish to commit suicide; cf. Heliogabalus' poisoned emerald ring (*Hist. Aug.* 17.33.5).

280 "Twinned cares": Venus will afflict both Maximus and wife with passion.

281 Maximus was the last scion of his noble house (*generis spes unica summi*; a flattering allusion to Sedul. *Carm. Pasch*. 1.60, *omnipotens aeterne Deus, spes unica mundi*).

282 Ennodius alludes to Vergil's characterization of Lethe, the river of forgetfulness in the Underworld (*Aen.* 6.715, *et longa oblivia potant*).

283 The sense is that Maximus seeks a wife for the express purpose of having children.

284 Ennodius introduces Cupid's speech with an allusion to Vergil's description of himself as a triumphant poet (*G.* 3.17, *illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro*); *in ostro* at verse-end is common in poets after Vergil, but not elsewhere in coordination with a form of *conspicio*).

285 In some versions of the myth, Dione was the mother of Venus.

286 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.257 (*clamore salutant*).

287 Ennodius alludes to Achilles' words of consolation after raping Deidamia (Stat. *Achil.* 1.650, *Ille ego—quid trepidas?—genitum quem caerula mater*).

288 Ennodius may draw on Prudent. *Cath.* 7.5 (*dum litamus victimam*).

289 Chalk was used in the betrothal ceremony to designate the bride and bridegroom.

290 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.369 (*lumina flexit*) and 4.501 (*germanam credit*).

291 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.25 (*certas habuit puer ille sagittas*).

292 Ennodius alludes to Verg. *Aen.* 5.816 (*his ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis*), in which Neptune soothes the worries of Venus.

293 Cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.150, 13.80 (*vulnera vires*).

294 Given Ennodius' propensity to engage in onomastic wordplay, one wonders whether Ennodius divulges another piece of Maximus' otherwise obscure name when he says, "may you be *felix*;" see n. 247, 551, 943; cf. #5.50, #2.168.

295 The poem concludes with six Phalaecean hendecasyllables; cf. the preface to Sidonius' epithalamium for Polemius and Araneola (*Carm.* 15). Pieria

(*Pierio*) was a region in Macedonia, sacred to the Muses, who were often called the Pierides.

296 This is the only hymn in which Ennodius engages the same topic as Ambrose (*Hymn.* 4, *Deus creator omnium*), although it differs in both theme and setting. Ambrose began with God and concluded with the Trinity, while Ennodius' entire focus is on Christ. Ambrose's hymn was for Saturday Vespers; Ennodius' hymn seems more apt for bedtime prayer. For discussion of this hymn, see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 274–275; Gasti 2018, 439–440; and, for a detailed analysis, Di Rienzo 2005 ("L'*Hymnus* . . ."); on Ennodius' hymns generally, see Urlacher-Becht 2008 ("Les hymnes . . .") and 2014, 283–438; Di Rienzo 2007. Meter: iambic dimeter.

297 A divine oxymoron: death is sweet because it is a divine gift, and one enjoyed by Christ.

298 This line echoes Ambr. *Hymn.* 10.6 (*anhela solis aestibus*).

299 The "mind . . . simmers down" (*mens . . . tepescit*): the sense parallels a moment in Ambrose (*Hymn.* 4.24, *somni vaporem temperet*), but the language is drawn from Lucan's characterization of the minds of the soldiers after the battle of Ilerda (4.284, *mentesque tepescunt*).

300 Ennodius manipulates the paradigmatic *Jo* 14:6 (*ego sum via et veritas et vita*), substituting the hymn's thematic "light" (*lux*) for the biblical 'way' (*via*).

301 "Shadows" (*umbraculis*) tended to have positive connotations in classical literature: the pleasant shade protecting from the harsh sun; but in Christian texts, they acquired a decidedly negative connotation (e.g., Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 24.661f., where shadow prevents comprehension of the Scriptures). Ennodius introduces these ominous shadows when night has already fallen, emphasizing their metaphorical nature.

302 Ennodius recalls Ambr. *Hymn*. 5.31 (*quod nulla nox interpolet*).

303 While in v. 13 "night" (*nox*) refers to the time of day, the sense is more metaphorical in this line and refers to sin.

304 Thematically, this passage recalls *1 Pet* 5:8 ("Be sober, for your enemy, the Devil, like a roaring lion, prowls about, seeking to devour you"). Ennodius associates the Devil's savagery with cannibalism through an allusion to Pythagoras' denunciation of carnivorism in Ov. *Met*. 15.92–93 (*mandere saevo / vulnera dente*).

305 An apocalyptic image of the Devil bound in chains (cf. *Rev* 20:2).

306 A final reference to another Ambrosian hymn (5.15, *vexilla virtutem micant*).

307 The hymn, which began in darkness and fear, ends with an image of Christ as an eternal light that breaks the diurnal cycle that gripped the soul at the opening of the hymn.

308 This hymn condenses the biblical story of Jonah and the whale (*Jon* 1–2). It bears the mark of the standard metaphorical reading of the story, established by Origen (c. 184/5–254/5 CE), in which the whale is the manifestation of mortal sin and Jonah is compelled to confront his carnal passions (see the language of the body in vv. 26–29). The title reveals little about the possible liturgical context for this hymn, which could serve for a time of the year or a time of one's life. It has been suggested that it could have been composed for monastic practice or personal meditation (Urlacher-Becht 2014, 349–350); or the communal celebration of Holy Thursday (Di Rienzo 2006–2007, 34),

Lent (Di Rienzo 2007, 627), or Easter Saturday (Magani 1886, 92). See also Di Rienzo 2010. Meter: iambic dimeter.

309 A storm struck the ship carrying Jonah as he fled his prophetic calling to Nineveh (*Jon* 1:1–10).

310 The shipwrecked prophet is Jonah, whose story is sketched in a series of arresting images and metaphors in vv. 9–23.

311 The first half of the hymn could be understood (and punctuated) as a single, sprawling sentence (Urlacher-Becht 2014, 346–347).

312 The first of several recollections of Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* in the hymn (7.122, *ferino devoratus gutture*); the image of 'from the lion's mouth' is common in the Bible: e.g., *Ps* 21:22, *Dn* 6:23, etc.

313 The "ship" (literally, 'oarage') is the whale that swallowed Jonah.

314 Jonah, after being released from his three-day captivity in the whale, followed God's command to castigate Nineveh.

315 The hymn's central panel focuses on three miraculous paradoxes: Jonah survived despite being dashed onto shore by the waves; while still alive he was buried (in the whale); and his tomb was an animate thing.

316 This sentence contains two stark oxymora: (1) waters (*lymphis*), which are paradigmatically pure (cf. 'limpid'), are fouled; and (2) his eternal life was won through death. There may be a pun on the *immunda* tomb, with the suggestion of 'unworldly' or 'unearthly' (*im-mundus*).

317 In the hymn's closing stanzas Ennodius deploys prosaic bodily terms (*venter, medulla, viscera*) whose unpoetic tone the translation tries to mimic.

318 Another echo of Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* (7.4, *serenus aspice*).

319 "Distress" (*pressura*) recalls *Jo* 16:33 (*in mundo pressuram habetis, sed confidite, ego vici mundum*); note especially the similarities to the version found in the *Vetus*: *in hoc autem mundo tribulationem, et pressuram habebitis: sed gaudete, quoniam ego vici mundum*.

320 Cyprian (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus) was martyred during the Valerian persecution (257–260 CE). Elected bishop of Carthage in 249, he went into hiding the following year to escape the Decian persecution (250 CE). He eventually returned to Carthage, where his willingness to compromise on the status of those who sacrificed to the emperor during the persecution displeased both hardliners and accommodationists. A successful lawyer and teacher of rhetoric before his conversion, he is often considered among the best stylists of the Latin Church Fathers, and numerous works by Cyprian related to his pastoral ministry survive, as do others of dubious authenticity. His martyrdom is the subject of a poem by Prudentius (*Perist.* 13), who—like Ennodius—foregrounds Cyprian's eloquence (e.g., #11.1–8; cf. *Perist.* 13.16–17 in which Cyprian's fluency is also revealed as his characteristic feature; see also Lact. *Inst.* 5.1.24–26; Jer. *Vir*. 67.1–2; Paul. Nol. *Carm*. 19.141–143). Cyprian's feast is celebrated on September 16th. On the hymn, see Bordone 2013. Meter: iambic dimeter.

321 "Priest": the poem opens with *vatis*, which Ennodius regularly uses to refer to bishops, although here the broader sense of 'bard' or 'prophet' also resonates, as Ennodius introduces Cyprian through his power of speech (*vatis Cypriani et martyris*, 1). This vatic opening may suggest a connection between Cyprian and Moses, as well as other Old Testament prophets, but also Epiphanius of Pavia, since *vates* was the first and key term in Ennodius' celebration of the

thirtieth year of Epiphanius' bishopric (cf. #2.30–35, where *vates* serves to map Epiphanius onto the model of Moses).

322 The asyndetic series of virtues (*cor lingua sensus dignitas*) is a standard feature of Ennodian panegyric, although this particular set of nouns may draw on the Ps-Ambr. *Hymnus ad Horam Tertiam* 5 (*os lingua **mens** sensus vigor*).

323 Elsewhere Ennodius uses the image of 'living death' (*vitale funus,* #20.22) for the carnal prison of the immortal soul, but here it must have a positive sense.

324 The arresting image of the sun glinting off the executioner's axe introduces a digression on Cyprian's intelligence and oratorical effectiveness.

325 The line strikes an epic posture: *gurgitis unda* was common in later epic (e.g., *Hom. Lat*. 364; Sil. 12.750, 15.485), including Christian epic (e.g., Juvenc. 2.716; Claud. Mar. Vict. 1.87).

326 A phrase found in almost every Latin epicist, here used metaphorically of Cyprian's "barbed" words, although in context it may also recall the martial imagery of *Eph* 6:13–17.

327 Ennodius deploys an asyndetic pair of verbs (*orat obtinet*). He needs little encouragement to do so, but the specific context may draw attention to a similar moment in Prudentius' poem on Cyprian (Prud. *Perist*. 13.101, *disserit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit, prophetat*); cf. the speech Prudentius puts in Cyprian's mouth in *Perist.* 13.41–45.

328 Cf. Prudent. *Perist.* 13.13.21–24.

329 Christians under persecution were ordered (*iussus*) to sacrifice to the genius of the emperor. If they did so, they would receive a certificate sparing them further harassment; cf. *Acta Cypriani* 32.3 (*Galerius Maximus proconsul dixit: iusserunt te sacratissimi imperatores cerimoniari. Cyprianus episcopus dixit: non facio*).

330 Ennodius plays on the implications of *periculum* ('danger,' 'risk'): in v. 22 he refers to the physical danger posed to Cyprian by Galerius' executioner; in the next line, he refers to the more serious risk that apostasy posed to his soul, if he should renounce Christ.

331 Ennodius imagines that the last words of Cyprian, a skillful rhetorician, unintentionally delayed his martyrdom as his executioners reveled in his elegant speech.

332 "More cheerfully" (*laetior*) is the first of four comparatives at verse-end (*plus celer*, 27; *saevior*, 28; *lenior*, 31). Prudentius had used the same comparative to describe the mental state of Cyprian as he entered his trial (*Perist.* 13.88).

333 The irregular comparative in my translation mimics that found in Ennodius (*plus celer*).

334 Galerius Maximus was proconsul of North Africa at the time of Cyprian's martyrdom. Prudentius pointedly elides the name of the magistrate in his celebration of Cyprian (*Perist.* 13).

335 The phrase "ebbing anger" (*ira lenior*) recalls Ovidian apologetics (cf. *Trist*. 4.4a.48, 5.2b.16), which had been picked up by Sedulius (*Carm. Pasch.* 5.132).

336 The phrase "*visere Christum*" is less common than one might expect, but it does appear in Prudent. *Apoth*. 38 (*sine corpore visere Christum*).

337 Pentecost, which is celebrated on the seventh Sunday (i.e., 50 days) after Easter, commemorates the visitation of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles and other followers of Christ in Jerusalem. Despite their diverse languages, all could

understand each other in their native tongues (*Acts* 2:1–31), a miraculous suspension of the curse of the Tower of Babel (*Gen* 11:1–9). Meter: iambic dimeter.

338 During the first Pentecost, tongues of fire appeared above the heads of the faithful (*Acts* 2:3).

339 The Holy Spirit arrived with a mighty, rushing wind (*Acts* 2:2, *advenientis spiritus vehementis*).

340 The "ancient gloom" (*veterno . . . / . . . nubilo*) refers both to the incomplete testimony of the Old Testament and the Apostles' downheartedness in the aftermath of the Crucifixion.

341 To the nationalities mentioned in *Acts* (2:8–11), the Gallic Ennodius adds Gauls, as well as Thracians and Indians, who were paradigmatic in Latin poetry for peoples at the furthest reaches of the earth.

342 The line contains a hint of Lucretius' description of the gale (1.276, *saevitque minaci murmure pontus*).

343 Canopus was a bustling port in Egypt, on the Nile's western mouth, near Alexandria.

344 The crown is "mystic" (*mysticus*) both in the sense that it participates in the deep mystery of the divine but also because it is sacramental. The number 7 (*septemplici . . . munere*) was symbolic of the sacramental, and because Pentecost was celebrated seven weeks after Easter it too was considered sacramental.

345 Stephen was the Protomartyr, or the first Christian martyr. Appointed one of the first deacons to oversee the care of the poor in Jerusalem, his success at winning converts caused him to be denounced and brought before a council of Jewish elders. Stephen's speech in this council so enraged the crowd that he was stoned to death. After meditating on the aptness of Stephen's name (1–6), Ennodius, as often in his martyr hymns, focuses on the paradox of victory through death (7–15). Ennodius devotes the hymn's second half to Stephen's martyrdom, touching on most of the major episodes of his passion (*Acts* 7:54–60). St. Stephen's feast is celebrated on December 26th. Meter: iambic dimeter.

346 In Greek Stephanus (στέφανος) means 'wreath' or 'crown' of victory or glory. Thus, his name (*Stephanos*) is the crown/prize (*stephanos*).

347 As the first Christian martyr, Stephen forged a path for future saints. Some intentional ambiguity about whether we should be thinking of Stephen or Christ is resolved in Stephen's favor when, at the end of his lengthy speech to the Jewish council, he sees a vision of Christ (20–21).

348 Ennodius paraphrases Stephen's declaration in *Acts* 7:56: *ecce video caelos apertos, et Filium hominis stantem a dextris Dei*.

349 See *Acts* 7:58–59.

350 As he was being stoned, Stephen called on Jesus to receive his spirit and not to condemn those who sinned against him (*Acts* 7:59–60); the phrase recalls those spoken by Jesus in the Gospels (*Lk* 23:24; *Mk* 5:44).

351 When Ambrose (c. 340–397 CE) was bishop of Milan (374–397), he emerged as a pioneer of Latin hymnody, composing antiphonal hymns inspired by established eastern practices. At least 14 hymns by Ambrose survive, although the exact count is obscured by a legion of imitators. Ambrose's hymns were part of his vigorous defense of orthodoxy against Arianism (the belief that Jesus was subordinate to God the Father; cf. v. 11). He was also known for his unceasing

resistance to pagan cult and his succor of churches throughout northern Italy. Ambrose was, like Ennodius, from an aristocratic Gallo-Roman family. He was appointed governor of Aemilia and Liguria in 374 and elected bishop of Milan in the same year. Through force of will and sheer charisma he exerted a profound influence over the Emperor Theodosius, who famously repented in the snow before the bishop after Ambrose excommunicated him for ordering a massacre in Thessalonica; see Paulinus of Milan, *Life of Saint Ambrose*. On his presence in Ennodius, see Alfonsi 1976; Gioanni 2006, I.lvi–lviii. His feast day is celebrated on December 7th. Meter: iambic dimeter.

352 *Haec* ("these words") is found in all manuscripts but suppressed by almost all editors to avoid ending to the line with a tribrach (⏑⏑⏑); but Ambrose himself did not avoid this ending when rendering names (cf. *Hymn*. 9.20; with Urlacher-Becht 2014, 439). My translation, which relies on the less common stress on the second syllable in his name seeks to capture this flavor in the line. Ennodius, always alert to etymological wordplay, puns on Ambrose's name (ἀμβρόσιος, 'immortal, divine') by opening the verse with *caelo* ('heaven'), closing it with his name, and reinforcing the pun by opening v. 2 with *nomen* ("name").

353 Ambrose was a famed orator and writer; yet Ennodius choses here, in a hymn inspired by Ambrose's example, to emphasize his deeds rather than his words. In an epigram commemorating Ambrose (#21), Ennodius, operating in a more typical mode, praises Ambrose's fusion of word and deed and his skill at teaching his fellow Christians through his virtuous example (cf. *Mt* 5:19).

354 An oblique reference to Ambrose's choice of the virtuous yet difficult path, likely his refusal to court popular opinion when opposing Justina and the Arian courtiers who were attempting to appropriate churches in Milan.

355 Ambrose succeeded an Arian bishop, Auxentius, who was appointed when the legitimate bishop of Milan, Dionysius, was forced into exile (see #20).

356 The line recalls Ambr. *Hymn*. 13.14 (*egit triumphum matyris*).

357 The image of snatching prey from a beast's mouth may refer to David rescuing the sheep from the lion's mouth (*1 Sam* 17:35, often glossed in late antique exegesis as *praedam de ore*). "Prey" refers both to the churches that the Arians sought to occupy and the souls their heresy would ensnare. Ambrose repeatedly defended the orthodoxy of the churches of Milan, often by means of his forceful, erudite speeches—and angry mobs.

358 The "savage serpent" (*serpens ferus*) might refer to the Empress Justina (see n. 359) as well as, more generally, heresy or the Devil (e.g., *Rev* 12:9).

359 Ennodius continues the metaphor of the serpent begun in v. 17. The Empress Justina (c. 340–c. 388 CE) was married to Valentinian I, who ruled 364–375. An Arian Christian, she vigorously supported the doctrine after Valentinian's death. In 387, she fled Italy, along with the child-emperor Valentinian II, to Illyria, where she fostered an Arian resurgence.

360 Ascension, or Holy Thursday, falls 39 days after Easter and commemorates the appearance of the resurrected Jesus before the Apostles and his ascension into Heaven (*Mk* 16; *Lk* 24). See Filosini 2010; Walpole 1922, 158–163; Urlacher-Becht 2014, 280–281, 363–373, 422–423. Meter: iambic dimeter.

361 Ennodius opens the hymn with Ambrosian language (*Hymn.* 3.1–2, *iam surgit hora tertia / qua Christus ascendit crucem*) that was popular with other hymnists (e.g., *In Festo Pentecostes Hymnus ad Laudes* 1, *iam Christus astra ascenderat*). The opening three stanzas of this hymn feature more end-rhyme

than is typical in Ennodius' hymns, with the pattern ABCC BAAB A/A/: *polum*, *funera*, *expulit*, *ruit*, *saecula*, *Tartarum*, *exitum*, *pallida*, *gaudium*, [*est*], *omnium*, [*dicitur*].

362 The spillover of sense from one stanza into another has suggested to some that Ennodius' hymns were not meant to be sung but were instead composed for personal meditation (Di Rienzo 2007).

363 The text of this line is unsound. *Protulit* appears in the better manuscripts, but the sense remains somewhat obscure.

364 *Eviscerat* is rare in poetry, but it was used in prose by both Ambrose and Augustine. Ennodius may reverse the Vergilian simile of the dove rent by the falcon (11.723, *eviscerat uncis*; grimly recast by Silius for the punishment of Tarpeia, 13.847).

365 The text of the line is uncertain. The best manuscripts have a corruption of *sancte*; *Christe* may be a marginal gloss that was included into the text.

366 These lines recall the Parable of the Lost Sheep (*Lk* 15; *Mt* 18:10–14).

367 The line draws inspiration from *Ps* 23.7 (*levate portae capita*).

368 The final word of the hymn, *hostium* ('of the enemies'), could be *ostium* ('the door'), in which case it would be the object of *intrat* ('arrives, enters'), perhaps a reference to the Parable of the Good Shepherd (*Jo* 10:6–9).

369 Euphemia was martyred in Chalcedon c. 304/307 CE during the Diocletianic Persecution (303–313). After torturing a group of 49 Christians for 19 days, Priscus, the provincial governor, dispatched the others to be tried before Diocletian but kept Euphemia behind with the hope of provoking her apostasy. Euphemia withstood his attempts, and Priscus committed suicide before Euphemia was martyred in the arena. The Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) was held in the church of St. Euphemia, whose miraculous intervention led to the renunciation of the Eutychian heresy. Her feast is celebrated on September 16th. This is Ennodius' only hymn in Alcaic hendecasyllables. The lyric meter signals its close interaction with, as well as thematic and lexical dependence on, Prudentius, in particular *Perist.* 14 (for Agnes). Ennodius also draws inspiration from Ambr. *Hymn*. 8 (also to Agnes), but while Ambrose stresses Agnes' chastity, Ennodius characterizes Euphemia as a *miles Christi* through the repeated use of martial language (e.g., *fortis*, 5; *fortiter*, 32; *superat*, 5; *vincere*, 13). Ennodius' hymn inspired a tradition of hymns in this meter (Schaller 1984, 89).

370 Ennodius questions the power of speech with wordplay on Euphemia's name. In Greek, εὐφημία means to 'speak auspiciously' or 'avoid inauspicious speech' and so 'to keep proper silence;' on the topos of silence in late antiquity, see Hernández Lobato 2017.

371 Ennodius alludes to Ambrose's *Hymn for Agnes* (8.12, *fides teneri nescia*); in keeping with Ennodius' prioritization of Euphemia's masculine courage, he exchanges Ambrose's 'faith' (*fides*) for *virtus* ("virtue"; but also 'manly courage').

372 Euphemia did not torture herself, but, like many martyrs, called for additional torments during her martyrdom. The line could also be read to suggest that her physical resistance turned the torment back onto the torture itself.

373 The sense seems to be that since the only thing greater than the martyr is Christ's love, if the executioner truly understood that power, he would immediately spare Euphemia.

374 A series of asyndetic nouns lists the torments Priscus applied to Euphemia (*flammas flagellum carnifices rotas*). When an executioner attacked Euphemia

with an axe, he went mad and committed suicide. After Euphemia was tied to the red-hot wheel, she was healed by an angel, while the wheel miraculously killed its maker. Similar catalogues of torture appear in Damasus' epigrams that commemorate Paul (1.19–21 Trout, *verbera vincla famen* ***lapides*** *rabiemque* ***ferarum****, etc*.) and Laurentius (33.1, *verbera carnifices flammas tormenta catenas*; cf. before, v. 11 *tormenta torsit fortia corpore* and after, v. 30, *mox saxa fossas verbera bestias*).

375 Priscus first ordered Euphemia to be cast into an oven. But when the soldiers, Victor and Sosthenes, saw angels in the oven's flames, they converted and refused Priscus' orders. When other soldiers cast her in, she emerged unscathed.

376 "That man" refers back to Priscus.

377 The line is compressed in Latin, consisting, as often in Ennodius, of an asyndetic series of nouns. Priscus first attempted to corrupt Euphemia by sending the town's most beautiful youths to seduce her (*blanditias*), but she converted them to chastity. After trying to burn Euphemia, Priscus made a pit filled with spikes (*fossas*), but Euphemia passed over it unharmed. She was then condemned to the arena (*bestias*), but no animals would attack her. Eventually a she-bear nicked her leg, causing her instant, painless death.

378 This hymn commemorates Nazarius, whose bones Ambrose installed in the Basilica of the Apostles in 395 CE, along with those of St. Celsus (see Cuscito 2013, 2–6). Ennodius provides abundant details about the saint: his noble birth (v. 6), his martyrdom during the Neronian persecution (9), his oratorical prowess matched by the example of his death (13–22), and his burial and miraculous preservation in a garden (23–28). From external sources, little is known about Nazarius, beyond the fact that Ambrose discovered his body and severed head buried in a garden outside the walls of Milan (see vv. 21–24). His feast is celebrated on July 28th, along with those of Sts. Celsus, Victor, and Innocent. The hymn is notable for the three extended metaphors that dominate its central section: (1) the true teacher (13–16); (2) the fighting general (17–20); and (3) the modulated speech (21–22). Meter: iambic dimeter.

379 Ambrose transported Nazarius' remains to Milan (Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii* 32–33).

380 Tacitus relates that Nero persecuted the Christians to distract from his complicity in the Great Fire of Rome in 64 CE (*Ann.* 15.44), but there is little evidence of widespread persecution; see Shaw 2018 on the controversy.

381 The line recalls another in #13.16–17.

382 A pointed allusion to Vergil, *Aen.* 11.389–390 (Turnus dismissing Drances' idle boasting) reinforces a central tenet of the hymn: the necessity of action that matches speech.

383 A possible reference to Ovid's description of how the Roman people arose from Rhea Silvia and Mars (*Fast.* 3.10, *cepit, ut huic urbi semina magna dares*); the image somewhat indecorously collapses Nazarius' successful evangelizing while he lived with his beneficent effect on the garden in which he was buried.

384 The manuscript reading of *Mediolanium* is irreconcilable with meter, prompting most editors to emend to the plausible *Mediolanum*; see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 439.

385 Appropriately for a passage in which he praises Ambrose, Ennodius recalls a phrase from *Hymn.* 2 (3, *Petri triumphum nobilem*).

386 Accord to Paulinus of Milan, Nazarius' blood still dripped red when Ambrose exhumed his severed head (*Vita Ambrosii* 32–33).

387 The bishop is Ambrose (c. 340–397), who discovered Nazarius' remains and installed them in Milan.

388 This hymn, which revolves around a central paradox of Mary as both virgin and mother, is the second oldest extant Latin composition dedicated solely to Mary, after the "Barcelona Hymn to the Virgin" (c. mid-fourth century CE). Ennodius structures the hymn through analogous blocks that only vaguely adhere to the strophic stanzas, with meaning frequently spilling from one stanza to the next (e.g., vv. 4–5, 16–17, 20–21, 24–25). In the first block (1–5) the poet wonders how he should speak and establishes a paradox that he will trace later in the poem: Mary is a door both closed and open (i.e., both a virgin and the mother of Christ). The last block (26–32) begs Mary to intercede on behalf of the speaker or the community of faith. The central sections dwell on the miracle of the Annunciation (10–15) and the equal wonder of her intact postpartum virginity (24–28), with a central panel that declares Christ's double nature in accordance with the orthodoxy established at the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE). This is the only hymn by Ennodius that polemicizes at length in support of orthodox theology; cf. the oblique censure of Arianism in #14.16–23. Meter: iambic dimeter.

389 It is ambiguous whether it is Christ who does these actions (*partus* as nominative) or Mary. Since the ambiguity could not be carried over into English, I fixed Christ as the more prominent subject (cf. #17.29).

390 The metaphor of the open/closed gate was prefigured in *Ezk* 44:2–3: "And the Lord said to me: This gate shall be shut."

391 This line reinforces the parallel between poetic inspiration and divine incarnation in the preceding lines.

392 The meaning of these lines is uncertain, and much depends on the punctuation of v. 7; Vogel's punctuation, preserved here, results in less strained grammar, despite the unusual disruption of the line (cf. #10.4–5, 18.4–5). Contemporary Christian poets regularly highlighted the unnaturalness of miracles, cf. Paul. Nol. *Natal.* 3.107–109; Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 1.85–102.

393 Vv. 10–15 recapitulate the events of the Annunciation (*Ma* 1:18–23; *Lk* 1:26–36).

394 This line echoes the Archangel Gabriel's declaration to Mary (*ecce concipies. . . . filium*, *Lk* 1:31); cf. Fortunatus' *Hymn to the Blessed Mary* (*quod aure virgo concipit*, 10).

395 Ennodius seems to draw on lines in which Ambrose described Christ's virgin conception in *Hymn.* 5.13–14 (*alvus tumescit virginis / claustrum pudoris permanet*; cf. #23.9). The idea of Mary's intact chastity (*claustrum pudoris*) establishes the central paradox that Ennodius will sound again and again in the following lines; see also v. 29 (*vinculum pudoris*); *Mt* 1:18; *Lk* 1:35.

396 Mary's willing acceptance of Gabriel's words (*Lk* 1:38, *Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*) precipitates the Incarnation of the Son.

397 This phrase echoes *Cant*. 4:12 (*hortus conclusus soror mea, sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus*).

398 A bilingual pun may explain the otherwise uncomfortable reference to Mary's anatomy (*rima*); ῥῆμα ('spoken word') appears twice in Luke's account of the Annunciation (1:37–38) and would continue the implication of spiritual and corporeal power in the hymn's central panel.

399 The phrase "true progeny" recalls a line in Vergil's *Aeneid* (8.301, *salve, vera Iovis proles*), repurposing for Christ a description of the demigod Hercules.

400 Ennodius uses a similar phrase (*qui sede non digna iacens*) to describe the unfit grave of St. Nazarius (#17.29). On the emendation of the line, which is corrupt in the manuscripts, see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 439.

401 A perplexing line: it seems to be a final invocation of Mary's body (cf. *exta*, 28) and how belief in her miraculously preserved virginity was integral to avoiding various Christological heresies.

402 Martin reluctantly agreed to become the third bishop of Tours in 371 CE. Born c. 316, he had been a soldier, like his father, who had received a grant of land in Pavia. Martin was jailed after renouncing service to the emperor Julian on the eve of a battle. Released from the military, he became a disciple of Hilary of Poitiers, which caused him to be cast out of Milan by the Arian bishop Auxentius. Martin then lived for a time as a hermit on a small island in the Ligurian Sea before joining Hilary at Poitiers. Eventually he began evangelizing throughout western Gaul, leading to his acclamation as bishop of Tours. His feast day is on November 11th. Ennodius' hymn shows several debts to the *Life of Saint Martin* by Martin's younger contemporary, Sulpicius Severus; these debts are mingled with verbal echoes of other authors, especially Ambrose and Vergil. Meter: iambic dimeter.

403 Martin died peacefully in 397; Ennodius evokes the language of martyrdom to claim that Martin won sainthood through his good deeds (cf. v. 16).

404 The line may refer to Martin's vows of asceticism (i.e., he conquered sin by conquering his own body) or, if the phrase looks forward to his acts, to his habit of offering his body as proof of his faith, most famously when he agreed to stand unarmed before the enemy after he renounced his allegiance to Julian the Apostate (*VSM* 4.1) and when he agreed to let pagans attempt to topple a sacred pine-tree on him (*VSM* 13).

405 Martin was only baptized after being a catechumen for ten years (*VSM* 3.3).

406 This line recalls one by Ambrose (*Hymn.* 2.19: *fides calore ferveat*).

407 I.e., he was baptized. The language of water and fire (*undis vapore*; cf. n. 227)—i.e., water and the Holy Spirit—explains the echoes in v. 13 (*fontis ignem*).

408 When the indigent Martin encountered a naked beggar at the gate of Amiens, he divided his own cloak and gave half to the man. A subsequent dream of Jesus wearing the half-cloak convinced Martin to be baptized (*VSM* 3.6). Ennodius' reference to Martin's most praised act of charity mimics language found in Sulpicius Severus' account.

409 There is some ambiguity whether "King of Heaven" (*rex aetheris*) refers to God or Martin (see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 285 for discussion); the phrase recalls a common Vergilian phrase (e.g., *Aen.* 10.621, 12.140), but it was much repeated, even by Christian authors (e.g., Cypr. Gall. *Gen.* 441).

410 I.e., heavenly salvation and, in particular, sainthood. This is another phrase that chimes with Christian and classical authors; Ambrose provides the most immediate reference (*Hymn.* 7.2, *astrorum globos*), but the phrase can be traced to Vergil (*Aen.* 6.725–726).

411 The language of this stanza evokes materialism and commercialism.

412 Purple was the color of royalty and so the glory of heaven; an alternate reading (*astrum,* 'star' → 'heaven') seems like a gloss of this meaning.

413 Martin exorcised demons from several men, including the proconsul Tetradius (*VSM* 17–18) and banished a crowd of slanderous demons (*VSM* 22).
414 Martin raised a catechumen from the dead who, once baptized, lived on for many years (*VSM* 7).
415 Sulpicius Severus relates that an Arian mob beat Martin with sticks. He was eventually driven from his home, presumably Sabaria in Upper Pannonia (*VSM* 6.4).
416 Martin had refused to become bishop and only came to the church in Tours when he heard there was a sick man in need of his aid. Sulpicius Severus does not mention this aspect of Martin's reluctance.
417 The hymn ends with another epic phrase (e.g., Verg. *Aen*. 7.365; cf. Sil. 13.749) adopted enthusiastically by Christian authors, who shifted the sense of *fides* from 'loyalty' to "faith" (Juvenc. 2.437; Prudent. *C. Symm*. 2.503).
418 This hymn praises Dionysius, the bishop of Milan (349–355 CE). Dionysius attended the Synod of Milan in 355, which was convened by Constantius II (337–361) in an attempt to resolve the dispute over Arianism. Dionysius, part of the pro-Nicaean (anti-Arian) delegation, was eventually maltreated by Constantius and exiled along with the other Nicaean bishops. In his absence, the Arian Auxentius became bishop of Milan, setting the stage for Ambrose's dramatic defense of orthodoxy in the city. Of Dionysius' life before his bishopric, little is known. Ambrose was said to have recovered his remains in 375 or 376, and his skeleton is currently on display in the Cathedral of Milan. His feast is held on May 25th. Meter: iambic dimeter.
419 Dionysius was exiled by emperor Constantius II to Caesarea in Cappadocia after the disastrous Synod of Milan in 355. Ambrose praised Dionysius for choosing voluntary exile over his friendship with the emperor (*Epist.* 63.68). In advancing the citizenship of the saints (*piorum civis*), Ennodius draws on *Eph* 2:19 (*cives sanctorum*).
420 Defaming Constantius II as a tyrant is unusual given his generally conciliatory and pro-Church policies but appropriate given his rough treatment of Dionysius and his support of semi-Arianism.
421 Ennodius provides a brief apologia for confessors who earned their sainthood without blood (*sine cruore*).
422 "Appeals for death" (*vota mortis*) recalls many notable passages in prose and poetry (e.g., Sen. *Oed.* 206).
423 A perplexing line, whose unusual metaphor seems ill-placed in a hymn; but the sense is clear enough in context: unlike martyrs who win sainthood in a moment, confessors earn their sainthood through a long process during which holiness seeps into every part of their being.
424 Elsewhere Ennodius uses the image of "living death" (*vitale bustum,* #11.4) for the eternal glory of a saint; but here it must imply the misfortune of the carnal prison of the immortal soul.
425 The "prince" is Constantius II, whom Dionysius rebuffed when the emperor attempted to force him to condemn the orthodox St. Athanasius and affirm Arian or semi-Arian theology.
426 Dionysius mocked the anger of the emperor and set out into exile.
427 The self-denial of water was a regular feature of heroic spirituality in the Bible (e.g., *Exod* 34:5; *Mk* 15:23); see also Prudent. *Perist*. 6.58–60.

428 The hymn's conclusion pivots to a plea that Christ will use Dionysius as an intermediary to help the faithful.

429 This epigram for Ambrose (c. 340–397) is the longest of those dedicated to the bishops of Milan, as befits the man who did the most to increase the authority of the diocese and establish it as a firm defender of orthodoxy. Cassiodorus, Ennodius' contemporary, praises Ambrose in quite similar terms in *Instit*. 1.2. For a general introduction to Ambrose, see #14 n. 351. Meter: elegiac couplets.

430 The epithet *superstes* ('remaining alive' → "he lives") at the end of the first verse offers an etymological gloss on Ambrose's name (ἀμβρόσιος, 'immortal, divine'), which follows immediately at the start of v. 2. That Ambrose lives because he was so skilled at teaching his fellow Christians through his virtuous example recalls *Mt* 5:19 ("whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven"); cf. 311V.2.

431 In the Latin, *superstes* is contextualized by an asyndetic series of ablatives (*meritis et honore superstes / Ambrosius vates moribus ingenio*) that could not be carried over into English effectively. *Vates* is Ennodius' standard word for "bishop," although as the next couplet will make clear, the older senses of 'bard' or 'prophet' also resonate in this passage; cf. n. 321.

432 Purple extracted from the *murex* (a mollusk) was extremely valuable and associated with expensive garb and thus nobility.

433 Garlands symbolize both victory and inspiration, showing the rhetorical prominence that Ambrose attained, while hinting at the martial turn in the epigram's second half.

434 The 'jeweled style,' which valued the artful arrangement of intricate pieces of speech, was a mark of elegant composition throughout late antiquity; see Roberts 1989.

435 Ennodius also deployed this phrase (*probitate pudore*) in his praise of the contemporary bishop of Milan, Laurentius (see 98V.1) and in his birthday commemoration of Bishop Epiphanius of Pavia (see #2.35). In the latter, Ennodius extolled Epiphanius who, like Moses, was able to bend the ear of recalcitrant kings during the tumultuous 470s. If that association is vivid for the reader, it may foreshadow the militant turn in the poem's conclusion and Ambrose's ability to bend political powers to his spiritual authority; cf. Paulinus Petricordiae who draws a similar connection between Ambrose and another Old Testament prophet, Elijah (*Vita Ambrosii* 47.3).

436 The military vocabulary shifts the representation of Ambrose from that of moral confessor to soldier of God in his stalwart defense of orthodoxy; cf. *certamine* in #36.1. The opening words evoke *Ps* 45:4 ("Gird your sword (*accingere gladio*) upon your thigh"), which Tertullian saw as a prefiguration of Christ (*Adv. Marc.* 5.18), although there may be a hint of classical epic (*succincti gladiis*, Enn. *Ann. fr.* 426, 527 S).

437 Ennodius quotes Lucan (8.385 *ensis habet vires*).

438 An intricate verse: the episode in which Paul was bitten by a viper on Malta yet suffered no ill effects (*Acts* 28:1–6) provides a ready Christian framework. But there is also an unmistakable reference to Vergil, *Georgics* 3.425–426 and the deadly Calabrian serpent that threatens the shepherd (***anguis*** */ squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga*). The viper may be the Arian heresy or,

more specifically, its ardent supporter, the Empress Justina; cf. *serpens ferus* in Ennodius' *Hymn to Ambrose*, #14.17.

439 Ambrose's chosen successor, Simplician (b. c. 325–400/401), was elderly when elected in 397. He served as the thirteenth bishop of Milan for only three years. Ennodius' epigram stresses the continuity of Simplician's bishopric with that of Ambrose, who had named his successor by thrice whispering on his deathbed "old but good" (*senex sed bonus, Vita Ambrosii* 46.1), and Simplician's vigorous efforts for the community of Milan despite his advanced age. Simpician had been integral to the conversion and teaching of Ambrose and then Augustine; he earlier had converted the Neoplatonic philosopher Marius Victorinus. During his episcopate, Milan retained considerable authority, and Simplician ruled on some doctrinal statements by the councils held in Carthage and Toledo. His feast is observed on August 16th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

440 A quotation of Paulinus of Pella's *Eucharisticon* 235 (*hostibus infusis Romani in viscera regni*) drives home the precarious state from which Ambrose and then Simplician worked to restore the towns of northern Italy.

441 The epigram's center manipulates a simile in Vergil (*Aen.* 10.766, *aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum*). Vergil mentions the massive ash tree wielded by the giant Orion to characterize the villainous Mezentius; Simplician is himself likened to the ash, made strong enough by lengthy peace to endure adversity.

442 Despite Simplician's advanced age at the time of his election, Ennodius represents him as a "novice" (*tiro*). Ennodius refers to *rudimenta*, the preliminary stages of instruction.

443 This line intertwines two contrary references: Prudentius' description of souls ensnared by Christ's love (*Perist.* 6.71, *ferventes animas amore lucis*) and the moment when Lucan's witch Erichtho selects a corpse to resurrect (6.629, *gelidas . . . medullas*), a chilling way to emphasize Simplician's advanced age.

444 A nuanced line: Ennodius analogizes Simplician's brief, energetic bishopric to the brief, vibrant lifespan of a flower.

445 The final couplet foregrounds Simplician's continuation of Ambrose's building program, specifically the Basilica of the Virgins, in which Simplician is interred and which now bears his name. There may also be a reference to his receipt of the relics of the martyrs Sisinnius, Martyrius, and Alexander, whom Ambrose had sent on mission.

446 Venerius succeeded his teacher Simplician as the fourteenth bishop of Milan. He evidently had considerable rhetorical and theological training (Paulinus mentions him as a deacon who attended the death of Ambrose), but little else is known about Venerius before his episcopate. The eight years of his episcopate (400/1–408 CE) were difficult ones for northern Italy and Milan in particular, as the predations of the region by Alaric's Goths compelled Honorius to transfer the imperial capital from Milan to Ravenna. Venerius was buried in the Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus in Milan. His feast day is held on May 6th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

447 In contrast to the aged Simplician, Venerius is a youth (*iuvenis*) at the time of his election. Venereal passion would be expected to be most potent in youth, but Ennodius clarifies that, unlike the divine Ambrose, Venerius' character owes nothing to his name. The couplet includes an excellent series of sonic and

etymological effects that could not be conveyed in English: the *-ven-* sound echoes in *iuvenis* ('youth') and the name Venerius and then the verb at the start of v. 2, *Venit* ('he came'); Ennodius deftly discounts the etymological significance of Venerius' name while simultaneously introducing a folk etymology of Venus (< *venire*, 'to come;' cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.69). Meter: elegiac couplets.

448 The epigram's first couplet is an elegant mélange of allusion, assonance, and etymological wordplay. The opening phrase (*forma pudicitiae*) resonates both in classical literature—Ovid has Paris seduce Helen by claiming her beauty is incompatible with her modesty (*Her.* 16.290); Juvenal warns about the dangers of a handsome body (10.297)—and Ennodius' own exaltation of Christian virtue (cf. 1V; and esp. of Epiphanius' beauty combined with chastity, #2.74f.). Ennodius would, with an etymological wink, reuse this phrase when praising the youthful Venerius' eventual successor, Senator ('Oldster').

449 The "hoary judge" (*vetulus iudex*) was Simplician, who taught Venerius self-control.

450 The meaning of "old age" (*aetas*) is bivalent, referring to the efforts of the aged Simplician and Venerius' precocious maturity.

451 The "steps . . . of the lofty See" (*sublimis . . . fulca cathedrae*) refer to the pulpit from which Venerius preached but also metonymically to the episcopal authority that passed from Simplician to Venerius.

452 "Ancient creeds" (*cana . . . dogmata*) refer to orthodox doctrines; in 404 Honorius transferred his residence to Ravenna, a move condemned by Venerius.

453 "The light of life" (*sol vitae*) seems to be an Ennodian coinage for the Holy Spirit.

454 With "Word's seed" (*semine Verbi*) Ennodius draws on language from the Parable of the Sower in *Lk* 8:4–15 and *Mk* 4:3–20.

455 The epigram's final image of "apostolic milk" draws on *1 Cor* 3:2 ("I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for before you were not able to bear it") and *1 Pet* 2:2 ("As newborn infants, desire the sincere milk of the word"); cf. #2.121–122 and n. 67.

456 Marolus succeeded his teacher Venerius as the fifteenth bishop of Milan (408–423 CE). That Ennodius is our only source for Marolus' life testifies to the declining importance of the diocese of Milan in the early decades of the fifth century CE. From this epigram we can infer that Marolus was born in Mesopotamia, which he left, perhaps fleeing the persecutions of Shapur II (309–379). He travelled to Antioch, where he received theological training, thence to Rome and finally Milan. He oversaw efforts to mitigate the effects of the invasions that ravaged northern Italy during his episcopate. He founded the Basilica Concilia Sanctorum, which is no longer standing. He was buried in the Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus in Milan. His feast day is held on April 23rd. Meter: elegiac couplets.

457 Of the bishops Ennodius honors in this cycle of episcopal epigrams, Marolus has the only name not amenable to etymological or bilingual wordplay. Ennodius instead focuses on his distant origin and his travel to Milan, which acquires the quality of a pilgrimage.

458 Ennodius' geographic progression places this "blazing star" (*iubar*) in the East, where it could evoke the Morning or Evening Stars but the pluperfect verb suggests that Ennodius means to call to mind the Star of Bethlehem, which guided the Magi to the infant Jesus.

459 Marolus is thought to have spent time in Antioch, which remained a flourishing theological center in the late fifth century CE.

460 The line consists entirely of an accumulation of adjectives, in which those characterizing Marolus' pastoral efforts (*pervigil, providus*) surround his personal ascetic virtues (*intentus*, *ieiunus*), culminating in the passion (*ardens*) he devotes to these pursuits, all harmoniously joined in the sainted bishop. Ennodius' careful arrangement could not be exactly reproduced in English, but some of the sonic effects have been mimicked.

461 The Holy Land has shared Marolus with Milan and the West; this also suggests the transfer of holy relics. Marolus imported from Antioch the relics of Saint Bablyas of Antioch and Saint Romanus of Caesarea and installed them in his new Basilica Concilia Sanctorum.

462 Martinian succeeded Marolus and served as the sixteenth bishop of Milan from 425–435/6 CE. He is known to have sent a copy of Ambrose's *De Incarnationis* to Theodosius II and may be mentioned in a letter by the Nestorian John of Antioch. He was buried under the altar of St. Stephen's, which he built along with St. Zechariah's. His feast day is held on January 2nd. Meter: elegiac couplets.

463 The first couplet contains a swirl of classical and biblical references. It opens with a description of the purity of Martinian's soul that uses a phrase (*nivei lactis*) with a lengthy pedigree (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.20, Sen. *Oed*. 228, Cypr. Gall. *Num*. 201, etc.; and Ambrose *De obitu Valentiniani* 75). The rest of the couplet is framed by *Mt* 10:16—in which Jesus told his apostles "Behold, I send you out as sheep among wolves: be therefore as wise serpents, and harmless as doves"—which sets the stage for the positive evocation of the serpent joined with imagery of the dove (the latter includes an allusion to Paul. Nol. 6.206 (*extat divini species manifesta vigoris*) that introduces an account of the events that prepared for the coming of the Lord). Ennodius repurposes the biblical injunction for believers to be cautious (*prudentia*) into praise of Martinian's "cleverness" (*astutia*), a word concordant with other, less positive, references to the serpent, but here appropriate because of the political deftness that Martinian needed to win his episcopate.

464 Ennodius flubs the meter of *astūtia*, mimicked by the text's hypermetric "most."

465 Hesitancy to assume episcopal responsibilities was a hagiographic convention; Martinian's rival left no other mark in history. The episode might recall the objection of Bishop Defensor to the election of Saint Martin of Tours because of his unkempt appearance, which was overridden by the support of the people and a timely reading of a Psalm that undermined Defensor's position (Sulpic. Sev. *VSM* 9).

466 Martinian's virtues are so great he seems to have already been beatified, and so a "holy exile" who walks among the mortals of Milan.

467 Martinian built or renovated two churches: St. Stephen's and St. Zechariah's; these may have been pagan structures to which windows or openings, perhaps covered with thin slices of alabaster, were added.

468 Glycerius, the seventeenth bishop of Milan, held the position from 436 to 438 CE. One has the sense that Ennodius knew as little about Glycerius as we do, and so focused on his distinctive physical appearance, which would have been evident in the portrait that this epigram originally accompanied (see

"Introduction," p. 15). Glycerius was buried in the Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus in Milan, where his grave was commemorated by an anonymous epigrammatic epitaph cited by Fontana (now lost); see Cuscito 2013, 7–9. On Glycerius, see also Ferrua 1964. His feast day is held on September 20th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

469 Ennodius avoids the expected bilingual wordplay on Glycerius' name and sweetness (Gr. γλῦκύς, 'sweet') and instead focuses on how his ruddy complexion was the physical manifestation of his modesty; cf. Fontana's anonymous epigram, whose second verse puns freely in this vein.

470 The "scepter" is the symbol of episcopal authority. Its introduction here along with "the purple" (the color of regal authority) has a dual purpose. First, it continues Ennodius' description of Glycerius' complexion, now linked to the color of authority. But the combination of scepter and purple cannot help but call to mind the emperor of the same name who ruled briefly around the time of Ennodius' birth (473/474) and whom Ennodius elsewhere praised in passing (80V.79; see Gusso 1992). The imperial Glycerius, who may have been a relative of Ennodius' bishop, became a bishop of Salona after his disposition by Julius Nepos, adding another parallel to Ennodius' characterization; cf. Ennodius' intentional conflation, elsewhere, of Bishop Laurentius with the martyr Laurentius (see #55 and n. 630). The phrase "the testimony of his face" may have been inspired by a verse in Paulinus of Nola (32.3.5, *testatur imago*); interestingly, the exact phrase (*testis imago*) also appears in Ennodius' contemporary, Dracontius (*Romul.* 5.48), in whose works one finds more phrases in common with Ennodius than any other late antique author.

471 Lazarus was the eighteenth bishop of Milan (438–449). As with Glycerius, Ennodius seems to rely on the portrait of the bishop for the epigram's inspiration, which also includes several prominent allusions to Vergil's *Aeneid*. Lazarus was buried in the Church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus. His feast day is held on February 11th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

472 With the alliterative phrase at mid-verse (*premeret pede*) Ennodius etymologically glosses Lazarus' name (< Gr. λάζω 'to kick with the heel or foot'); the image of Lazarus trampling down the proud echoes the theme (but not the language) of *Ps* 90:13 (*conculcabis leonem*).

473 Ennodius redeploys Vergil's well-known description of the downcast Marcellus in the underworld (*frons laeta parum*, *Aen.* 6.862).

474 With "silent eyes" (*luminibus tacitis*) Ennodius alludes to another famous moment in the *Aeneid*, when Dido frantically scans Aeneas after he announces his intention to leave Carthage (*Aen.* 4.363).

475 As in his description of Ambrose (#21.8), Ennodius focuses on the bishop's judgmental gaze.

476 The hidden misdeeds might be sins of a general sort, but Ennodius may be referring to Pope Leo's contemporary attempts to suppress Manichaeism.

477 Eusebius served as the nineteenth bishop of Milan (449–462). He was involved in the condemnation of the Monophysite Eutyches and oversaw the reconstruction of Milan following its occupation by Attila, during which much of the town burned, including St. Thecla's. He was buried in the Basilica of St. Laurentius. His feast day is celebrated on August 12th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

478 An ambiguity in the line creates a sense of mutual friendship between bishop and congregation, as the line could also be understood as "drawn by friendship *for* a foreign people."
479 "Titan" was a common poeticism for the sun; cf. #4.1, 7.3.
480 At the mid-point of the poem, Ennodius deploys an asyndetic accumulation of adjectives (cf. his epigram for Marolus, #24.5), at the center of which he at last etymologically glosses Eusebius' name (*pius* ~ εὐσέβεια, 'pious'). Juxtaposed with Eusebius' characteristic piety is his generosity (*largus*), referring to his role in succoring those devastated by Attila's depredations. The other two adjectives in the line complete the picture of Eusebius' gentle humanity, a notable contrast with the severity of Lazarus, his immediate predecessor.
481 The implications of this line are unclear. Eusebius had, at the instigation of Pope Leo, convened a Council in Milan that condemned Eutyches.
482 Eusebius' charity after the sack of his city recalls the efforts of Ambrose. This line in particular draws a parallel with the archetypical Milanese bishop, who "rejoiced with the rejoicing and wept with the weeping" (*Vita Ambrosii* 39.1, *erat etiam gaudens cum gaudentibus et flens cum flentibus*).
483 During Attila's invasion Eusebius led his congregation in prayers before each of Milan's churches (*de statione*).
484 Gerontius succeeded Eusebius to become the twentieth bishop of Milan (462–465). He continued the reconstruction of Milan's churches begun by Eusebius. He was buried in the Basilica of St. Simplician. His feast day is celebrated on May 5th. Meter: elegiac couplets.
485 Ennodius suggests that Eusebius, like Ambrose, named his successor on his deathbed. The first two couplets reinforce the seamless transition from the episcopate of Eusebius to that of Gerontius.
486 "Pale fate" is an expression favored by Ennodius; cf. #44.1 and #15.8 (*Hymn for Ascension*).
487 In the second half of the epigram, Ennodius sows agricultural metaphors, drawing on the Parable of the Weeds (*Mt* 13:24–30) and of the Good Sower (*Mt* 13:18–23; *Mk* 4:13–20; *Lk* 8:4–15); cf. *Jo* 15:1, *2 Cor* 9:10.
488 This metaphor, like that in v. 6, was often used of heresy, suggesting Gerontius continued the work of his predecessor (see n. 481).
489 Benignus served as the twenty-first bishop of Milan (465–472). He participated in the Synod of Rome (465) that extended papal control over Churches in Spain and likely consecrated Epiphanius as the bishop of Pavia in the same year. He was buried in the Basilica of St. Simplician. His feast day is celebrated on November 20th. Unlike the previous epigram, which drew its inspiration primarily from biblical parable, this epigram is suffused with classical references. Meter: elegiac couplets.
490 Ennodius opens by checking the etymology of Benignus' name (*benignus* 'kind'); cf. 251V.1, #48.7–8.
491 Ennodius alludes to Jupiter's prophecy to Aeneas (Verg. *Aen.* 1.292, *cana fides*) to stress the greatness of Benignus' destiny.
492 Vergil's description of the prophetic Sibyl (6.66, *praescia venturi*) is transferred to the prayers of Benignus' parents.
493 The "elders" (*patres*, or 'senators') likely refer to Benignus' participation in the Synod of Rome (465). But the doubled reference to Roman senators and the

Senate foreshadows Benignus' successor, Bishop Senator. "Council cheered" (*plaudente senatu*) recalls a grim retrospective moment during Pompey's demise in Lucan (7.18), perhaps foreshadowing Benignus' death, although Sidonius used the phrase to celebrate his own accomplishments (*Carm.* 8.9).

494 The untimely death of Benignus is reinforced by an apt allusion to Vergil's simile for the dead body of the youthful Euryalus (9.435, ***veluti*** *cum flos succisus aratro*).

495 Senator served as the twenty-second bishop of Milan (472–475). Unlike his immediate predecessors, some details of his life survive. He was born in Settala, east of Milan, and studied with St. Abundius in Como. In 450, he joined Abundius on a delegation to Constantinople to deliver Pope Leo's *Tomus,* which denounced Eutyches' Monophysite heresy, and attended the Synod of Milan convoked by his predecessor, Eusebius. He founded the Basilica of St. Euphemia in response to her miraculous intervention in the Council of Chalcedon. He was buried in this church, which is now also dedicated to him. His feast day is celebrated on May 28th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

496 Ennodius takes the low-hanging etymological fruit and opens the epigram by playing with the ancient political implications of Senator's name, reinforced by an allusion to Vergil's description of the doors of the Temple of Janus (*Aen.* 7.612, *trabea cinctuque gabino*). But the requisite fun also serves to foreshadow Senator's participation in the delegation to Constantinople and Theodosius II. The "Gabine toga" was a distinctive arrangement of the toga employed during religious festivals. Ennodius' line, therefore, combines references to symbols of ancient Roman political and religious authority.

497 Ennodius is our only testimony that Senator composed a commentary, likely on the Book of Prophets but perhaps on the Psalms.

498 In 450 CE, Senator was part of the second delegation that conveyed Pope Leo's *Tomus*, a response to Flavian, the Archbishop of Constantinople, about Eutyches' Monophysite heresy. Leo's treatise informed the philosophical debate at the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon the following year.

499 The "second sun" is Leo's *Tomus,* which proposed a solution to the Christological controversies that roiled in the Church in the fifth century.

500 Theodorus served as the twenty-third bishop of Milan (475–489), during a period of turmoil as northern Italy suffered first the invasion of Odovacer (476) and then Theodoric (488–490). Theodorus was buried in the Basilica of St. Laurentius. His feast day is celebrated on July 27th. Meter: elegiac couplets.

501 Ennodius begins with a studied allusion to Aeneas' greeting of Hector's ghost in *Aen.* 2.281 (*o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum*), stripping out the references to Troy and adding the first two of three repetitions of "you" (*tu*) in the couplet, an unusual device within the cycle.

502 Ennodius does not explicitly gloss Theodorus' name ('God's gift') but instead praises his gift of moral virtue and terms him the "apostolic bard(/bishop)" (*vatis apostolici*), a novel expression.

503 The couplet presumably refers to Theodorus' confrontation with Odovacer during his invasion of Italy.

504 An enigmatic single hexameter closes out the cycle for the bishops of Milan. Ennodius hopes for the continued life and protection of the contemporary

bishop Laurentius I (490–511), who constructed the gallery of bishops and so, of course, does not yet appear among them. For Laurentius and his relationship with Ennodius, see "Introduction," p. 16.

505 The king (*rex*) could be Jesus or the Lord, but undoubtedly also calls to mind Theodoric, whom Ennodius praises lavishly elsewhere (e.g., 263V, his *Panegyricus Dictus Clementissimo Rege Theodorico*).

506 Magani suggested that the title in the manuscripts (*Epitafium nominis boni*) preserved a corruption of the subject's proper name: Homobonus (1886, 398; see also Schetter 1986, 501). This name—rare but attested in late antiquity (e.g., Gregory, *Epist.* 3.11)—thus becomes fodder for the expected etymological play in this line. Di Rienzo (2005, 219) associates Ennodius' wordplay with those found in Ausonius (*Epitaphium* 30, *In tumulo hominis felicis*) and Claudian (*carm. min.* 11, *In sepulchrum Speciosa*). I resisted a pun on "Goodman" in the first line to preserve the mystery of the subject's age, which is discussed at length in subsequent lines. Kennell (2000, 65–66) observes that the poem would be an appropriate meditation on the death of Armenius' son, who is praised in similar language in 34V. On this poem, see Di Rienzo 1999 and 2005, 25–30, 219–220; Schetter 1986; Kennell 2000, 65–66. Meter: elegiac couplets.

507 Ennodius dwells on the deceased's moral greatness and the contrast of this with the small plot of his tomb; cf. the epitaph for Majorian (#42).

508 The youth's lost potential is lamented; on the ideal of the "aged boy" (*puer senex*), see Carp 1980.

509 This line suggests that the subject was baptized, but Ennodius also engages a paradox: during youth, when most people indulge in sin, the subject worked to remove his. Schetter argues that this line began a second poem dedicated to the same man, with the first devoted primarily to lamentation at his untimely passing and the second to praise of this character, thus mimicking the deployment of multiple epigrams within a single epitaph (cf. *CE* 465, 730).

510 Apostrophe to the reader was typical of epitaphic epigrams and inscriptions but rare in Ennodius' poems; see Consolino 1976.

511 The line refers to 'those who have confessed' (*confessis*), shorthand for those within the community of Christian belief.

512 Ennodius finally reveals that the subject lived for 20 years (*bis denas*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.326, *bis denas Italo texamus*). The opening of the line bears a striking resemblance to Pope Damasus' epigram for his sister Irene (14.5, *bis denas hiemes*).

513 The dedicatee's name may have been Habundantius. *Vir Inlustris* or *Illustris* ('a Notable Man') was the highest of several late antique titles that indicated the holder's social rank within the Italian aristocracy. Although the exact requirements for these titles shifted over time, *Inlustres* were those who held the highest offices, while a *Vir Spectabilis* ('an Admirable Man') occupied the second rank, above *Vir Clarissimus* ('a Well-Regarded Man'), which indicated that the person belonged to the senatorial class. Meter: elegiac couplets.

514 The accumulating, asyndectic list of virtues is nearly identical to that given to Cynegia, who is praised for her beauty rather than her rank (*sanguis honor genius probitas constantia vultus*, #37.5); cf. #40.1 (for Mellesa).

515 The line fuses two notable phrases from Lucan: first, his summary characterization of Cato (2.390, *in commune bonus*; cf. Dracont. *Romul.* 5.200);

second, Codro's apology for stealing wood from a pyre to give Pompey a proper burial (8.750*, paterisque haec damna sepulchri*).

516 Ennodius launches an extended, if somewhat obscure, metaphor of the threads of fate through an inverted reference to the pitiful death of Lausus (*Aen.* 10.815, *Parcae fila legunt*), reinforced by another reference to Lucan: Julia's spectral warning to Pompey (3.19, *lassant rumpentis stamina*). The general sense is that the poor (of spirit) risk true death, while the virtuous enjoy a more resilient fate.

517 "The wizened age" in the final couple recalls Catul. 95.5 (*Zmyrnam cana diu saecula pervolent*), but it seems more likely that Ennodius knew the phrase through Martial's praise of Domitian for restoring ancient practices (8.80.2, *nec pateris, Caesar, saecula cana mori*). The poem's final reference to classical secular authority then gives way to an image from *2 Cor* 6:16 ("For you are the temple of the living God").

518 This epigram commemorates Victor, who served as bishop of Novara (30 miles west of Milan) between c. 489 and 493 CE. Ennodius likely had contact with Victor when serving as secretary to Bishop Laurentius in Milan. The poem has some similarities with the cycle of epigrams praising the bishops of Milan (#21–33), but in other ways it is an atypical composition by Ennodius. The first half includes familiar praise for the subject overcoming the temptations of the flesh; but the eschatological tenor of the poem's second half, with its intimation of Victor's participation in the Last Judgement is unusual. See Urlacher-Becht 2014, 224–227; Consolino 2012; Di Rienzo 2005, 33–35. Meter: elegiac couplets.

519 My italicization of *victor* highlights Ennodius' wordplay in the well-worn tradition of significant naming (*nomen est omen*), which also played an important role in his epigrams on the bishops of Milan (#21–33).

520 It is possible that Ennodius refers to the troubles that afflicted northern Italy after Theodoric's defeat of Odovacer and his siege of Milan (489–493). The verb *despicis* implies that Victor is already among the saints looking down upon the world; this image is intensified in the poem's second half.

521 Like the first verse, this line consists of an asyndetic list of adjectives modifying a single noun.

522 Ennodius' use of Olympus for heaven is typical (cf. #2.79, 3.29, 4.35, 16.24, 56.3).

523 The striking phrase *funera mundi* traces back to Lucan (*in funere mundi,* 7.617) but enjoyed a vogue in fifth- and sixth-century Christian poets, appearing in Orientius (*Comm*. 185) and also in Ennodius' contemporary Dractonius (*Romul.* 10.436). On the possible meanings of the phrase, see Urlacher-Becht 2014, 226 n. 373.

524 There is editorial debate over the tense of *concedes* in the line. The future makes good sense and matches the eschatological tenor of the poem's final half.

525 Eutrepia was Ennodius' sister, the only of his close relations to whom his letters survive. This letter, one of seven to Eutrepia, was likely written sometime before the end of 506 CE. It provides an unusual introduction to an epitaph for a woman named Cynegia—whom, presumably, both Ennodius and Eutrepia knew—since it focuses almost entirely on the conceit of Ennodius' meager Muse and the haste with which he composed the poem. This suggested to Kennell (2000, 66–67, 142–143) that this epigram was not

composed for a deceased Cynegia but was a model of devotional communication, a pretext designed to spur Eutrepia to respond to Ennodius. If this epigram were rhetorical, it would date before Cynegia's death c. 504/506. Debate swirls around the identity of this Cynegia, although a scholarly consensus has formed that she is the same Cynegia memorialized in #38, the wife of Ennodius' close friend, Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior Niger (consul in 490), and possibly a relative of Ennodius; on the debate see Consolino 2014; Brocca 2006; Kennell 2000, 142–143. Meter: elegiac couplets.

526 "Compelled": Ennodius plays with an ambiguity in the word *necessitas*: the circumstances compelled him to compose the epigram, but so too did this close affection for Cynegia. Hunger and fasting are the dominant metaphors in the letter's opening (e.g., *macies . . . ieiuna*).

527 The threads of life and destiny were woven, measured, and cut by the Fates. Ennodius concludes the first line with an interesting citation of Juno's plea in Silius that she will not try to persuade Jupiter because his ardor had cooled (Sil. 17.361, *nil fila sororum*), itself a reference to Ovid's wish to live with his lover and then be mourned by her after his death (*Am.* 1.17, *fila sororum*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 632).

528 The line begins with a Vergilian periphrasis for Rhea Silvia's liaison with Mars, which produced Romulus and Remus (*mixta deo mulier*, *Aen.* 7.661); it ends with a stock phrase in Ennodian epitaphs (cf. *post funera factis,* #42.1).

529 The stark juxtaposition that opens the line (*mascula femineo*) shares language with Manilius' description of the alternating sexes of the zodiac (*mascula femineis*, 2.389).

530 In his poem for Abundantius (#35), Ennodius deployed an almost identical list of laudable characteristics for a noble-born Christian: "Ancestry, honor, wit, rank, rectitude, resolve" (*sanguis honor genius probitas constantia census,* #35.3). Cynegia's physical appearance (*vultus*) replaces her socio-political status (*census*) as her the seal of her virtue.

531 In this letter to Adeodatus (c. 505/506 CE), Ennodius reveals that he intends to inscribe his epitaph for Cynegia on her grave. He was the recipient of five other letters from Ennodius, several of which discuss literary matters: 74V, 303V, 407V = "Appendix II," #3 (a reaction to the criticism this epitaph will receive), 440V, and 460V (in which he asks to exchange a loaned book).

532 Adeodatus was a presbyter in the Roman Church, i.e., an elder who assisted the bishop in the liturgy.

533 "Perfect men:" Ennodius refers to the *emendatissimi*, those who are free from fault because they have been thoroughly corrected; cf. 119V.1, 143V.18, 155V.10, etc.

534 After establishing the importance of epistolary exchange in §1, Ennodius addresses Adeodatus directly.

535 "My sweat": i.e., through labor and exertion (in composing poetry).

536 "Your son": i.e., Cynegia's husband, Faustus, a son of the Church in which Adeodatus was an elder.

537 Stefania (*PLRE* 2.1028), was the sister of Faustus and recipient of three letters from Ennodius (394V, 439V, 442V); she is also mentioned in #179 §25. About Sabiana and Fadilla, nothing else is known.

538 "The Pope" is Symmachus (498–514 CE); see "Introduction," p. 10. Dioscorus, who helped Ennodius and Faustus persuade Theodoric to support Symmachus'

claim to the papacy, was a deacon in Rome; he was a co-recipient of a letter with Hormisdas (300V). "My case" likely refers to Ennodius' repeated attempts to secure the repayment of a loan made to Symmachus by the Milanese episcopate (cf. 77V, 139V, 235V, 300V).

539 Hormisdas was an influential deacon in Symmachus' papacy and future pope (514–523). Ennodius addressed two letters to him in an attempt secure the repayment of a loan to Symmachus from the Milanese episcopate (235V, 300V; see also 77V). "The key" (*clavis*) is almost certainly a periphrasis requesting further communication from Hormisdas, since Ennodius very frequently speaks of the *clavis sermonis* (75V.4, 125V.19, etc.) or *vocis* (188V.31) or *oris* (197V.7, 198V.24) or *linguae* (122V.1).

540 This letter to Beatus (*PLRE* 2.223) introduces two epitaphs for Cynegia (see #37 n. 525). Ennodius sent several other letters to Beatus when the younger man was studying in Rome, c. 509–512 CE (398V, 405–406V, 428V) and in 511 he sent brief letters of introduction for Beatus to Pope Symmachus and his deacon (and future pope) Hormisdas (416–417V).

541 Ennodius does not plan to be concise. Spartans were famous in antiquity for their pithy expressions, which gave rise to the English term "laconic" (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 208, *Sayings of the Spartans*).

542 In the letter to Adeodatus (361V), Ennodius mentions that Cynegia appeared to him at dawn, when he was exhausted from three nights of hard travel, to reproach him for not yet composing her epitaph.

543 Ennodius implies, obliquely, that since Beatus has not yet completed his studies, he should confine his suggestions to those that bring out a truer sense of Cynegia's character, leaving the criticism of poetics to more experienced hands, like those of his father. Beatus will not take the hint; see n. 553.

544 Barbara lived in Rome. She was the recipient of two other letters from Ennodius around this time (393V, 404V), and Ennodius praises her literary talents in #179 §23–24.

545 Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus (*PLRE* 2.281–282), consul in 504, was a distinguished figure in Roman cultural and political circles; he is also mentioned in #179 §20. Of Blessila (*PLRE* 2.231), nothing else is known.

546 Ennodius lists a number of Beatus' fellow students. Fidelis (*PLRE* 2.469–470) would become *Quaestor Palatii* (527–528) and Praetorian Prefect of Italy (c. 537–538; cf. Proc. *BG* 2.12.27–28). Ennodius introduced Simplicanus to Faustus (282V) and received a letter from him (331V). About Georgius and Solatius, this is the only surviving reference; of Marcellus, we know only that he was the son of a Stephanus.

547 Ennodius alludes to Cato's praise of Pompey's household in Lucan (9.201–202, *casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam / fortuna domini*).

548 Ennodius offers two epitaphs for Cynegia—or a single polymetric epitaph (note the singular *epitaphium* in §3), supposedly composed in a state of extreme exhaustion after three days of difficult travel (361V); the religious significance of a vision after three days is clear. The first poem/section, in two elegiac couplets, is told from the perspective of Cynegia herself, as often in epitaphs; the second, in three Phalaecean hendecasyllables, comments on the material in the elegiacs from the perspective of society (Consolino 2017, 121).

549 The phrase *munere Christi* was favored by Paulinus of Nola (eight times in the same metrical position).

550 Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.11.19 (*vulnera mentis*); Paul. Petr. *VSM* 4.637; Boethius, *PC* 4.3.39.

551 Ennodius casts Cynegia's death as evidence of God's benevolence, since he fulfilled her prayers to predecease her husband. I translate *fausto* as the proper name of her plausible husband (Kennell 2000, 142–43), who would also be 'fortunate' to have had such a luminous wife. Interestingly, Cynegia herself is called *felix* ("blessed"), perhaps a pun gesturing to her lineage—as Ennodius did for himself in #5.50?—although the word is admittedly common and Ennodius uses it regularly to describe saints (e.g., #13.10, 17.9) and sainted bishops (e.g., #22.7, 26.9), and even unscrupulous men (#130.5).

552 Cf. Claud. Mar. Vict. 3.74 (*membra toro posuit neglecta fideli*).

553 Ennodius commits a minor metrical lapse in this line, scanning *mātrōna* as an amphibrach (˘ — ˘). I have added a hypermetrical syllable ("too") to approximate this in the translation. Shortening vowels before combinations of mute and liquid consonants (e.g., -tr-) was a tendency of later Latin poets and reflected the evolution of Latin pronunciation since the classical period (see Condorelli 2003, 88). A year or so later, Beatus replied to point out the error, prompting Ennodius to plead that the mistake was a product of exhaustion and asking Beatus' father, Probus, to correct the poem (398V). Apparently, the metrical contretemps lingered, as 406V sees Ennodius condemning Beatus and his "gnawing fellows," who criticized a poem that Faustus himself had praised, and clarifying the situation in a second letter to Adeodatus (407V); translations of these letters can be found in "Appendix II" (#1–3).

554 The title of this epitaph is absent in all witnesses, many of which join this epigram with 229V. Ennodius sent two short letters to an Albinus (58V in the autumn of 503, when Albinus was Pretorian Prefect of Italy, and 279V in early 508; cf. *PLRE* 2.51). This Albinus was still alive in 522, when he was embroiled in charges of conspiracy with the eastern court and defended by Boethius, who was himself subsequently condemned and executed. Since this Albinus outlived Ennodius, this epitaph might refer to a relative, unless the epigram was sent to Albinus while he yet lived (Di Rienzo 2005, 35), a macabre tribute, but it has been suggested that Ennodius wrote epitaphs for others who were yet living (e.g., #37, with Kennell 2000, 135). Meter: elegiac couplets.

555 The sense of *titulos post busta dedisse* ('gave titles after the tomb') is uncertain. Kennell offered "places his fame beyond the grave" (2000, 125); Di Rienzo interpreted *dedisse* as 'abandoned' ("abbandonato," 2005, 35). *Titulos* lends itself to several possible interpretations: 'honors' (as earlier); 'title' in the sense of 'position;' 'headings' in the sense of the poems that accompanied and glossed artworks (see "Introduction," p. 15), and, of course, 'inscription' or 'epitaph.'

556 Ennodius draws on Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 103–104 (*primus abusque chao meritis vivacibus Enoch / multa per innumeros iam saecula contigit annos*); cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 10.255 *(florentem retinens meriti vivacis honorem*).

557 This epitaph for an idealized noblewoman named Mellesa (or Melissa), who died in 508 CE, opens with an asyndetic list of virtues commonly found in epitaphs for Christian and non-Christian women. In his epitaphs for Abundantius and Cynegia, Ennodius also enumerates the virtues characteristic of exalted noble-born Christians: "Ancestry, honor, wit, rank, rectitude, resolve" (*sanguis honor genius probitas constantia,* #35.3); the list of Mellesa's virtues

can be seen as a similar set of virtues inflected through those peculiar to women (e.g., *pudor*, which focuses on chastity and childbirth). On the title *Inlustris*, see n. 513. Meter: elegiac couplets.

558 Mellesa is chaste in accordance with Ambrose's formulation (*De viduis* 4.23) because she only used her body to produce children in wedlock. Meter: elegiac couplets.

559 The third couplet shifts the focus to Mellesa's married life; she mentions the "honey" (*mel*) of her persuasion, which contrasts with Severus, whose name denotes his severity and strictness. There is a possibility, suggested by *vertens*, that Mellesa may have converted Severus (presumably to orthodoxy), but Ennodius may simply be playing on the contrasting implications of couple's respective names.

560 Ennodius may have composed this epitaph for Eufemia in the fall of 508 CE; nothing else is known about her, apart from what Ennodius mentions in this poem (i.e., she was widowed; she had a daughter). Meter: elegiac couplets.

561 The line melds an Ovidian phrase (*obruerat tumulos*) with one Ennodius also uses in his epitaph for Cynegia (*post funera factis,* #37.3).

562 The first half of this line quotes a verse epitaph to the virgin Dedalia, which was visible near the Basilica Ambrosiana (*CE* 1435.5, *quae mortale nihil mortali in pectore volvens*).

563 The choir is 'snowy' (*niveis . . . choris*), a common epithet of heaven; cf. Prudent. *Perist.* 4.75.

564 A reference to Lucan (*O sors durissima*, 9.1046) elevates the line; cf. Claud. *Eutr.* 1.71 for a parodic use of the phrase.

565 This line captures the Christian widow's paradoxical virtues of *fecunditas* and *pudicitia,* perhaps reinforced through an allusion to the widowed Hecuba's lament (Ov. *Met.* 13.505, *fecunda fui*). On Eufemia's paradoxical chastity, see n. 558.

566 Majorian was the last emperor of the West (457–461 CE) who made a concerted effort to recapture the empire's lost territory in Gaul and North Africa. Although successful in the former, his planned invasion of Africa failed, leading to his assassination by Ricimer, who would effectively rule the empire until his own death in 472. Ennodius' family prospered during Majorian's reign. Majorian promulgated a number of reforms, one of which, "On Abandoned Property and That of Proscribed Persons," he delivered to a certain Ennodius, the *Comes rerum privatarum* and a relative of the poet, in Ravenna on September 4, 458. We also know that a Camillus—who was a relative of Ennodius (and in some reconstructions of his genealogy, his father, see "Introduction," p. 2)—held two high offices under Majorian and attended a banquet hosted by the emperor (Sidon. *Epist.* 1.11.10; cf. Sidonius' panegyric of Majorian, *Carm.* 5). Magnus, Camillus' uncle, who was the second-ranked guest at the same feast, also enjoyed success under Majorian, serving as Praetorian Prefect of Gaul in 458 and Consul in 460. This epigram may draw inspiration from Ausonius' popular cycle of quatrains on the emperors, of which those from Julius Caesar to Heliogabalus survive (Ausonius XXIII Green). See Marconi 2013, 11–12; Kennell 2000, 125; Di Rienzo 2005, 35–36. Meter: elegiac couplets.

567 The text of this epigram is woefully corrupt, but the epigram's sense is clear enough: Majorian, a great leader brought low by fate, is held in a modest tomb, while unworthy leaders rest in massive mausolea.

568 If Ennodius is thinking of a particular leader, if may be Genseric, king of the Vandals in North Africa, whose treacherous destruction of the Roman fleet led to the failure of Majorian's expedition and the emperor's downfall.

569 In this epitaph for Dalmatia, who may have died c. 509/510 CE, Ennodius stresses how nature and one's family can militate against salvation. Meter: elegiac couplets.

570 Ennodius puns on the name the girl shares with the oft rebellious province, drawing on Velleius Paterculus (*Dalmatia annos viginti et ducentos rebellis, ad certam confessionem pacata est*, 2.90.1); while Rome finally subdued the province, the girl triumphs over nature.

571 An oxymoron (*degeneri . . . nobilitate,* 'degenerate nobility') charges this cryptic line. Despite the degeneracy of her noble family—presumably because of some lapse from orthodoxy—Dalmatia was able to reach heaven. Combined with v. 3, Ennodius suggests that the virtuous daughter rebelled against her unorthodox (Arian?) family.

572 The verb *calcasse* ("scorn" or 'trample') reinforces the intimations of orthodox virtue in the previous couplet; cf. Damasus on the martyr Agnes (*Epigr*. 37.4 Trout, *sponte trucis calcasse minas rabiemque tyranni*) and Prudent. *Ham*. 472 (*pulverea calcasse via*; note the presence of *rebellem* at the end of v. 468); these passages draw on *Ps* 90:13 (*super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis: et* ***conculcabis*** *leonem et draconem*).

573 *Sole pudoris* ('the sun of modesty') is a striking and unprecedented phrase.

574 In 1508, Andrea Alciato printed a three-line epitaph to a Rustica preserved in Milan's Church of Francis Assisi with Ennodius' epigram (Urlacher-Becht 2011, 173–175). It survived until the nineteenth century (Sirmond claims to have seen it), but it is now lost. The additional lines reveal that Rustica was around 60 years old when she died and was laid to rest on January 11th, 513 CE. Meter: elegiac couplets.

575 "Pale death," a standard expression favored of Ennodius (#15.8, 29.3) appears in the first line.

576 In the final line of the epigram, we learn that Rustica was married and had a son. She is still considered chaste because she produced children in wedlock and embraced chastity as a widow.

577 Perhaps one of Ennodius' later epigrams (c. 513 CE?); see Kennell 2000, 67; Di Rienzo 2005, 36–37; Di Rienzo 2003, 94–96. Meter: elegiac couplets.

578 Ennodius draws on the notion that death only comes from sin, while eternal life comes from God's salvation (e.g., *Rom* 6:23, *stipendia enim peccati, mors* ["for the wages of sin is death"] *gratia autem Dei, vita aeterna, in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*).

579 This epigraph, perhaps Ennodius' earliest for an ecclesiastical building (c. mid-504 CE), commemorates Laurentius' restoration of a small chapel in honor of Saint Xystus (also Syxtus or Sixtus) II, a pope (257–258 CE) who was martyred during the Valerian persecution. The chapel has been identified with one in a building constructed in the late fourth century, now St. Lorenzo's. See Urlacher-Becht 2014, 155–156; Cuscito 2009, 30. On the construction of sacred spaces in Ennodius' epigrams, see Urlacher-Becht 2010 ("Une poétique . . ."). Meter: hexameter.

580 Laurentius I was bishop of Milan (490–511) and was Ennodius' ecclesiastical superior during most of his time in the city. I translate *antistes* as "prelate,"

reserving "bishop" for Ennodius' regular *vates*. The virtues that Ennodius applies to Laurentius (*probitate pudore*) are held in common with his great episcopal models, Ambrose (#21.7) and Epiphanius (#2.33).

581 Ennodius, following his typical practice in verse, refers to the chapel as a *templa*.

582 The chapel, well over a century old, had fallen into disrepair (*lapsa*) and disuse (*incertos . . . recessus*). Hartel, following Sirmond, gives a plausible alternative punctuation, with *lapsa* modifying *fama*.

583 By omitting the details of Xystus' life, Ennodius may intentionally conflate the martyred pope (Xystus II) with Xystus (Sixtus) III (432–440), the predecessor of Leo the Great (440–461), who was famed for his building program and an important element in the propaganda supporting the contemporary pope, Symmachus (Kennell 2000, 98–99). Ennodius thus suggests an analogy between Laurentius and Leo. Xystus is "blessed" (*dexter*) in the sense that he will be saved at the Last Judgment; cf. *Mt* 25:33–34 ("To those on his right, the King will say, 'Come, for you are blessed by my Father, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you since the world's creation").

584 The implication is that the chapel contains relics of St. Xystus.

585 This epigraph commemorates the reconstruction of the Basilica Concilia Sanctorum (Church of San Romano) after its destruction by fire. The renovations were begun by Laurentius and continued by his successor, Eustorgius II. The poem orients itself with Paulinus of Nola's description of Saint Felix's miraculous intervention when a pagan crowd set fire to a basilica under construction (*Carm.* 28.60–166, with Di Rienzo 2005, 81). Meter: hexameter.

586 Ennodius may refer to another passage in which Paulinus of Nola describes the imbuing of the divine spirit into terrestrial abodes (*Carm.* 6.156–158, *cur gloria caeli / in nostros delata lares et vilia texta / . . . infert?*).

587 The last in a series of oxymora of that kind that delighted Ennodius; for the phase "harmless firestorms," Ennodius may draw on Sedulius' description of the Burning Bush to confirm that the fire that destroyed the church was providential (*Carm. Pasch.* 1.127, *ignibus innocuis flagrans apparuit olim*; cf. *Exod* 3:1–6).

588 Ennodius alludes to Vergil's account of farmers who burn fields to rejuvenate the soil (*G.* 1.85, *crepitantibus urere flammis*); the allusion supports Vogel's emendation of *usta* for the manuscript's *aucta*.

589 Near the middle of the poem, Ennodius deploys a golden line (abVAB).

590 The vision of the cleansing power of the Holy Spirit appears in many biblical passages (e.g., *Mt* 3:11; *Ma* 1:8; *Lk* 3:16; cf. *Isa* 4:4).

591 "Crooked minds" (*mens recti nescia*; cf. #71.5) may draw on Juvenc. 3.45 (*feritas sed nescia recti*), although Ennodius is partial to variations of the basic phrase.

592 Sirmond suggested that this epigraph, untitled in the manuscripts, described the Basilica of the Apostles on the island of San Guilio in Novara, which had recently been completed by Bishop Honoratus (c. 504 CE; cf. #70). The epigram shares many of the themes found in the *dictio* Ennodius composed for Honoratus to deliver at the dedication of the church (98V), in which he extolled the Christian practice of renovating pre-Christian customs and buildings, here displayed by Honoratus' consecration of a church dedicated to

Peter and Paul on a site where pagan gods were once worshipped; see Kennell 2000, 100–101, 181. Meter: elegiac couplets.

593 The phrase "new light" (*lux nova*) emerged from two notable passages in *Aeneid* 9 (9.110, Cybele arrives in Italy; 9.731, the glare from Turnus' eyes) to become commonplace in Christian authors (e.g., Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, Sedulius).

594 According to legend, the brothers Julius and Julian established this church, c. 390 CE, after expelling dragons from the site.

595 Victor had been the seventh bishop of Novara (c. 489–493 CE; see his epitaph, #36); here Ennodius plays on his name to draw together Bishop Victor, the creator of the church in Novara, and God/Christ the triumphant Creator. Ennodius makes the same pun on the name of Victor in #36.1 and 98V.2–3.

596 Honoratus, the ninth bishop of Novara, completed the work begun by Victor. Ennodius also composed an epigraph celebrating the fortified residence that Honoratus built on the island (#70).

597 Ennodius draws on a phrase (*corda venenis*) common among Christian poets for those misled from the true faith (e.g., Juvenc. 2.719; Paul. Petr. *VSM* 2.280, 4.183; cf. Boethius, *PC* 4.2.6).

598 The first of a series of five epigrams (#49–53) on Bishop Laurentius of Milan and buildings he renovated. As Di Rienzo has observed (2005, 89–90), Laurentius' material construction of Milan following its devastation in the chaos of the Ostrogothic invasion (489–493 CE) parallels—and is modeled on—Christ's resurrection of the spirit (e.g., *Col* 3:1). It has been suggested that this and #51 may not be for public buildings restored by Laurentius but the house in Milan that Ennodius secured, either c. 504 (Kennell 2000, 142–144, after Sundwall's chronology) or, after great effort, in 512/13 (349V, 445V). Meter: elegiac couplets.

599 Ennodius calls the building a house (*domus*), but it could be almost any kind of building. This building may overlook the water—but the stream (*fluentis*) is also the inspiration and action of Bishop Laurentius.

600 A challenging line: I follow Di Rienzo (2005, 90) in understanding *ruinam* as the unprecedented direct object of the typically intransitive *consurgunt*, since the alternatives (e.g., taking it as the object of *per* limited by *census*) present greater semantic difficulties.

601 Having introduced Laurentius in v. 4, Ennodius connects his actions with Providence through the use of words ("lord," *domino*; 'creator,' *factoris*) that could refer either to the acts of the bishop or God.

602 Praise of an unnamed bishop, presumably Laurentius. Meter: elegiac couplets.

603 The opening praise of the famous bishop (*ille*) draws additional force from an allusion of Lucan's panegyric for his paragon of virtue, Cato (2.389, *iustitiae cultor, rigidi servator honesti*); Ennodius had quoted the start of the following Lucanian line (2.390) in his epitaph for Abundantius (#35.5).

604 This line clearly describes the bishop's proper execution of the confessional sacrament, although the text and precise sense are uncertain. The manuscript reading at the end of this line (*ora tui*) is strained; meter requires that the antepenult in Vogel's otherwise sensible emendation (*ōrātuī*) be scanned as short, a plausible lapse by Ennodius.

605 *Utero* ('from the womb') sets up untranslatable pun on *uber* ('breast' but also 'rich, fertile') in v. 8, which we could render more fully as: "Weaning him

from her breasts she bestowed him on (other) breasts / rich (fields)." The sense is that the bishop's mother gave him as a child to the Church.

606 Ennodius opens the epigram's final couplet with a golden line (abVAB).

607 This epigram praises an esteemed bishop and claims that his successor will benefit from his noble dwelling. But which bishops does Ennodius have in mind? One possibility is Ambrose, the greatest of the Milanese bishops, and his (indirect) successor Laurentius; another plausible option is that the poem refers to Laurentius and his successor Eustorgius II (c. 508–518 CE; on Ennodius' bitterness at Eustorgius' election, see "Introduction," p. 3). If the epigram dates after the death of Laurentius, it seems likely that the ambiguity was intentional, allowing Ennodius to glorify Laurentius as a second Ambrose and forge a link between his illustrious predecessor and the current bishop. Meter: elegiac couplets.

608 "Dwelling" (*habitacula*) is prosaic but has an impeccable Christian pedigree; it was especially favored by Ambrose, who used nearly four dozen times.

609 Ennodius also used "widowed" (*viduata*) to describe the Christian community of Milan on Ambrose's death (#22.1), creating another connection with that bishop.

610 A difficult and imbricated couplet. If Ambrose is the *raptus*, then Ennodius recalls his surprise election when he was sent by secular authorities (*aulica . . . moderamina*) to mitigate the sectarian conflict in Milan; if Laurentius, the sense is less clear, but it would seem that he has been taken into heaven like a patriarch of old.

611 This couplet engages imagery of the river, which flows from one bishop through his successor. If we have Ambrose foremost in our minds, we might think the verse refers to his purging of the Arians from Milan; if Laurentius, then the imagery of the holy water in #49. The image is reinforced and colored by a reference to a Vergilian allusion in Ambrose, who, in reference to the sacraments and especially baptism, four times alluded to an idyllic image in Vergil's *Georgics* (4.32, *floreat, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem*; e.g., *De sacr.* 4.1.2, *coepisti 'fontis inriguo' reflorescere*).

612 The house now prepares to welcome its next inhabitant, likely Laurentius or Eustogius II—or perhaps Ennodius, see n. 598. "Resident" (*mansor*) is an unusual word and may call to mind Sedulius' prayer that men keep their bodily temples worthy of the Christ's eternal fountain (*Carm. Pasch.* 5.294, *et faciat tenues tanto mansore capaces*).

613 The reference to the foot (*pedem*) has suggested to some that this building included a baptistry (Di Rienzo 2005, 94).

614 The conclusion of the epigram may recall a pregnant moment in Augustine's *Confessions*, when Simplicianus says he will believe that Victorinus is a Christian when he sees him in church, which leads the former to retort, "And so, do walls make Christians?" (*ergo parieties faciunt Christianos?*, August. *Conf.* 8.2.35).

615 A prayer to the Lord for the salvation of a house's inhabitants. Meter: elegiac couplets.

616 The invocation (*Da pater*) has numerous classical and Christian precedents, but Di Rienzo points out a plausible connection to Milanese liturgy (2005, 96; cf. e.g., Ambr. *De sacr.* 2.7.24, *'Deus' inquit 'pater omnipotens'*).

617 Ennodius, as often, uses *stamina* (the warp in a loom) to refer to the threads of Fate and so to the course of our lives; the imagery may recall the white robes worn by catechumens when they are baptized.

618 The line draws further depth from the call in *Eph* 5:14 (*surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis et inluminabit te Christus*); cf. *Isa* 26:19.

619 The reference to "taste" (*gustum*) in the context of baptism in these couplets may suggest the Eucharist.

620 Having addressed the Father in v.1, Ennodius turns in this couplet to Christ, whose crucifixion (*sanguinis*) Ennodius' poetry (*linguam*) exalts.

621 The connection between the agricultural metaphor—which opens with another culminating golden line (abVAB)—and the rest of the poem is obscure, leading Vogel to suggest that it had been transposed with the first couplet of #53; but Di Rienzo notes that the tree's "luscious shade" (*tenebroso . . . luxu*) conveys a sense of sinfulness from which, without the Christ's tending, our souls could not be purified through the baptism that forms the poem's core concern (2005, 97); see n. 301.

622 Praise of how liberal education can release an individual's true majesty. On the poem, see Di Rienzo 2005, 118–120. Meter: elegiac couplets.

623 With *infabricata* ('unwrought' → "native"), an extremely rare word, Ennodius seems to have in mind one of the unfinished lines of the *Aeneid*, just as the Trojans begin to depart from Carthage (4.400, *infabricata fugae studio*); cf. #6.15, 39V.3.

624 Ennodius seems to allude to Lucan's simile for the zeal with which thirsty troops dug for water (4.298, *merserit Astyrici scrutator pallidus auri*; cf. n. 56); but the image of Christians mining true knowledge can also be found in Augustine (*Doctr. chr.* 2.40.60). In theological discourse gold becomes a symbol for the trials that purify the soul (e.g., *Job* 23:10, *et probavit me quasi aurum, quod per ignem transit*); cf. *Prov* 17:3.

625 Thalia was the Muse of comedic and light verse, especially epigram (e.g., Mart. 4.8.11, 7.17.4).

626 This epigraph seems most apt for a library; but assuming the title is accurate, it could suggest that meals in Milan's bishopric were also times of intellectual nourishment. Meter: elegiac couplets.

627 Ennodius reinforces this image through a reference to the reaction that the sons of Gylippus had to the death of their brother (Verg. *Aen.* 12.278, *pars gladios stringunt manibus, pars missile ferrum*).

628 The sign of the Christian was also mentioned by Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 24.149, *quia fronte signum Christianis emicat*) and Prudentius (*Psych.* 360, *frontis signacula*).

629 Helicon was a mountain sacred to the Muses in Boeotia; its streams were metonymic for poetic inspiration.

630 This compact epigram describes, on the surface, the martyrdom of Laurentius during the Valerian persecution in 258 CE (see Trout 2015, 143). Pope Damasus had composed an epigram for Laurentius (*Epigr.* 33 Trout; cf. Prudent. *Perist.* 2), but the epigram's form (three hexameter lines) recalls the epigraphic *tituli* that described paintings, especially those by Elpidius Rusticus (deacon in Lyon, and Ennodius' friend and correspondent), raising the possibility that this epigram too once accompanied a painting of the martyrdom—or at least was constructed to foster this impression. The poem draws a parallel between

the heroic martyrdom of Laurentius, who called to be turned over as he was slowly roasted, and Laurentius the bishop of Milan, who was imprisoned by Odovacer and then set about rebuilding Milan after it had been heavily damaged by fire during the war with Theodoric. The title in the manuscripts (*De Adultero et Molle*) seems to have been transposed from the much more apt poem that follows (#122). On the poem, see D'Angelo 2001.

631 Memphis was a capital city in pharaonic Egypt, which was famed both for its deep history and its papyrus; cf. #165.6 (*otia Niliacis non passus carmina biblis*). The tenor of this line is somewhat reminiscent of Claud. *DRP* 1.52–53 (*omnia quae seriem fatorum pollice ducunt / longaque ferratis evolvunt saecula fusis*); cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 27.39 (*testis Memphitica tellus*).

632 "Nero" could stand for any wicked persecutor, here the Emperor Valerian (253–260). The line seems to allude to Juvenal 4.38 (*ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni*), in which Rome served "bald Nero" (i.e., Domitian).

633 This epigram, notionally to celebrate the restoration of the Church of Saint Calimerus, focuses its praise, after the first couplet, on the restorer, Bishop Laurentius. Calimerus was the fourth bishop of Milan (perhaps c. 270–280 CE, although there is much uncertainty about the dates of these early bishops). About his life, conflicting stories are told, but he was martyred for his evangelizing—the tale of him being cast in a well was based on a medieval misunderstanding. His feast is celebrated on July 31st. See Urlacher-Becht 2004, 158–159; Cuscito 2009, 93–94. Meter: elegiac couplets.

634 Di Rienzo suggests that this couplet could indicate that an oculus was added to the shrine; but the language of "light" was also a standard paraphrase for enlargement (2005, 85).

635 "Luminous Olympus" (*astrigeri . . . Olympi*) draws on Juvencus (3.225, s*i ruber astrifero procedit vesper Olympo*; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.86, *processit vesper Olympo*).

636 "Shape and color" may draw on Ovid's description of Hyperion (the sun) in the *Metamorphoses* (4.193, *forma colorque tibi radiataque lumina*).

637 Ennodius also uses the phrase "restorer of the old" (*vetustorum reparator*) in a letter to Faustus (9V).

638 Ennodius may close with an allusion to Claudian's *Fourth Panegyric to Honorius*: *casuris* ("those tottering") is rare in prose and Claudian deploys it in the same position in his account of Honorius' unique resistance to the universal destruction caused by the tribe of the Getae (55–56, *omnibus adflictis et vel labentibus ictu / vel prope casuris*). Given Laurentius' role in rebuilding Milan in the wake of a similar invasion, the link seems suggestive.

639 A building with some liturgical use (see v. 5) has been fashioned from two structures, one of which may be a residence. The image of unity in multiplicity (and the reverse) held much attraction at a time of roiling Christological controversies. Meter: elegiac couplets.

640 This line may draw on Sidonius' description of Anthemius' palace (*haec post assurgit duplicemque supervenit aedem*; with Anderson's emendation of the last word), or perhaps on Paulinus of Nola's description of a similar structure (*Carm.* 21.386–87, *post haec* ***geminato tegmine*** *crevit* / *structa domus*).

641 The first of two epigrams dedicated to the baptistery constructed by Ennodius' friend Arminius, who built the shrine to commemorate his only son who was

interred within. Ennodius also consoled Arminius in a letter (34V). Meter: elegiac couplets.

642 The end of this line may recall the praise of Abraham in the *Carmen adversus Marcionem* 3.32 (*sublimi dignus honore*) but the phrase becomes standard in Christian poetry (e.g., Cypr. Gall. *Num.* 678; Paul. Petr. *VSM* 1.186; Dracont. *Satis.* 178, Arator 2.368).

643 Ennodius also uses the phrase "living-giving flow" (*vivificantis aquae*) in #73.2.

644 This line draws on Martial's entreaty that the emperor Domitian will hear his prayer (5.1.6, *sive salutiferis candidus Anxur aquis*); cf. #74.6.

645 This section of the poem draws on *Jo* 4:14, "But whoever drinks the water that I give will never thirst; but the water will be for him the source of eternal life."

646 The baptistry has been decorated with scenes of martyrdom, whose vivid characters seem to live—and whose martyrdom has won them eternal life.

647 Ennodius may draw the phrase 'living dead' from Dracontius' *De laudibus Dei* (1.648, *funera viva gemens, vivax in morte cadaver*; 3.516, *impulit ad flammas adcurrere funera viva*).

648 The second epigram on the baptistry constructed by Arminius to commemorate his young son. While the first epigram focused on the font's waters and its depictions of martyrdom, this epigram treats Arminius' son. Meter: elegiac couplets.

649 It seems likely that Arminius' young son died before baptism and so was purified through sacrifice, *holocausta*, referring both to purifying sacrifice in general (e.g., Hilarius, *In Psalmata* 65.23) and Jesus' crucifixion (e.g., August. *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 41.5; Rufinus, *Origines in Leviticum* 1.4).

650 The line begins with a phrase drawn from Nemesianus (1.81, *perge, puer, coeptumque tibi ne desere carmen*). The son has "mindfulness" *(bene conscius)* in the sense that he is self-possessed as he approaches Judgement; it was a favorite expression of Ambrose (18 times); cf. Dracont. *Romul.* 5.177 (*nec timet insidias semper bene conscius insons*).

651 The baptistry, it seems, depicts angels, the "carriers" (*vectores*) who convey Arminius' son to Christ.

652 This epigram commemorates the restoration of a baptistry by Laurentius. Meter: elegiac couplets.

653 Ennodius continues his allusions to Claudian in these epigrams praising Laurentius. "Metal's light" (*luce metalli*) alludes to Claudian's praise of Rome and its protector Stilicho (*Stil.* 3.133–134, *quae luce metalli / aemula vicinis fastigia conserit astri*). Into this, Ennodius weaves a further allusion to a gem-encrusted passage in Claudius Marius Victor (1.283, *ac viridi radiat fulgescens luce smaragdus*; see too v. 281, *fulgentis inter ramenta metalli*).

654 Ennodius may draw on an apt description of the Temple of Jupiter Stator in Ovid's *Tristia* (3.34, *conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo*).

655 Ennodius again intentionally conflates Bishop Laurentius with his martyred namesake. As the martyr looked upon the flames of his torment with equanimity, Ennodius has his bishop gaze at the damage Milan suffered during the Ostrogothic invasion, determined to rebuild.

656 Ennodius follows his practice of referring to Christian churches as temples (*templo*). The verb (*nitet*) refers properly to the gleaming architecture, but it also glorifies the virtuous character of Laurentius.

657 I.e., the building itself would be resplendent (like silken robes), but Laurentius' sublime character adds even greater value (like the dye).
658 Cf. #62.7.
659 Ennodius praises a baptistry in the Church of St. Stephen renovated by Laurentius' successor, Eustorgius II (c. 511–518); on Eustorgius' other renovations, see #47, 85V. In every line save the last, Ennodius employs a different synonym for water. Di Rienzo observes that the height of the baptistery would have demonstrated the miraculous nature of the sacrament, which Ennodius captures through repeated references to verticality (2005, 133). Meter: elegiac couplets.
660 Through an allusion to Claudian's description of the Nile (*Carm. min.* 28.5, *Aegyptus sine nube ferax imbresque serenos*) the scope of the waterworks is hyperbolically described.
661 Ennodius seems to allude to Lucan's description of the horrific rainstorm that flooded Caesar's camp; Lucan's sky was deformed and shadowy (4.105, *deformis caeli facies iunctaeque tenebrae*), in contrast to Ennodius' unblemished Christian sky; cf. Cypr. Gall. *Sod.* 82; Dracont. *Romul.* 2.21.
662 We may detect a reference to an image of Christ offering spirit-sustaining milk in Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 22.82, *proflua lacte sacro largus dabit ubera Christus*), joined to an idyllic image from Vergil's *Eclogues* that glorifies song (5.84, *saxosas inter decurrunt flumina*).
663 Ennodius refers to the episode in *Exodus* when Moses brings forth water from the rock (*Exod* 17:6; cf. *1 Cor* 10:4).
664 The phrase "distant aether" draws on Lucan (6.445, *una per aetherios exit vox illa recessus*).
665 The epigram's final line forges, through a quotation of another Ennodian epigram (#56.4, *Laurenti vatis ducta ministerio*), a connection between Eustorgius' renovations and those of his predecessor, Laurentius.
666 This epigraph, likely for the bishop's residence, interweaves praise for the material building (presumably sumptuously restored by Laurentius) and praise of the bishop's priceless character and the challenge of emulating his virtues. Bartlett (2003, 165) suggests another possibility: this was sent, perhaps with #63–69, to Boethius as part of Ennodius' attempt to rent one of Boethius' vacant residences in Milan (370V, 408V). Meter: elegiac couplets.
667 The *crustis* refer to any kind of inlaid or embossed artwork, including plasterwork and mosaics. The splendor of the house is underscored by language that draws on Lucan's description of Cleopatra's palace (10.114, *nec summis crustata domus sectisque nitebat / marmoribus*).
668 Ennodius may allude to Statius' lavish description of the home of his friend Stella (*Silv.* 1.2.149, *saxa virent, hic flexus onyx et concolor alto*).
669 Cf. Cassiodorus on art that triumphs over nature (*Var*. 1.6.12: *de arte veniat quod vincat naturam: discolorea crusta marmorum gratissima picturarum varietate texantur, quia illud est semper in pretium, quod ad decorem fuerit exquisitum*.)
670 The subject of this sentence may be either Nature or Art. The line features a reference to Ovid's description of his faithless but still beautiful lover (*Am.* 3.3.5, *candida candorem roseo suffusa rubore*).
671 Ennodius again mentions *crustis* (cf. v. 2), which I rendered here as "works."

672 The epigram's final line confirms the prioritization of spiritual and moral riches over material goods. The gnomic conclusion may gain gravity from a reference to the Sibyl's admonition to Aeneas (Verg. *Aen*. 6.129, *hoc opus, hic labor* ***est***; Di Rienzo 2005, 89) but the phrase is common in the Church Fathers (esp. Ambrose and Jerome).

673 An oratory is a small chapel, used primarily for private prayer. The first of a series in elegiac *tituli* (#63–69) that label the rooms in a house, perhaps the ecclesiastical residence likely described in #62, or the residence that Ennodius finally secured in Milan after years of effort (445V, perhaps 389V; with Bartlett 2003, 65). Di Rienzo (2005, 105) draws a parallel between this epigram's central paradoxical conceit and *2 Thess* 1:5 ("this is clear proof of God's righteous judgment, so that you may be deemed worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you suffer").

674 The phrase "joy in lament" (*gaudia planctu*) appears in the same position in Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 10.19.114, *moxque itidem insani sopito gaudia planctu*).

675 The powerful phrase *indubitata fides* ('absolute belief'), which occupies the entire second half of this line, is common in Christian prose and previously appeared in the poets Juvencus (2.693) and Prudentius (*Psych.* 621).

676 Ennodius may draw on Cyprianus Gallus (*Lev.* 204, *omnibus in rebus nitidum praestabit olivum*); cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.470 (*et Gyaros nitidaeque ferax Peparethos olivae*).

677 Olive oil may be used in the consecration of churches.

678 Di Rienzo (2005, 105) observes that this first line seems to embed an allusion to Paulinus of Nola's spiritual granary in *Carm.* 24.842 (*struat* ***ampla*** *mentis horrea*) within the sonic structure of Martial 14.208.1 (*currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis*), although there is no obvious significance to the latter's content (a gift of a stenographer).

679 The idea of the expense repaid by God may bring to mind several biblical passages, e.g., *Lk* 6:38, *Mt* 7:2, *Ma* 4:24, *Prov* 19:17.

680 The phrase "table's glory" (*gloria mensae*) seems to draw on Lucan's condemnation of luxury (4.376, *lautae gloria mensae*; adapted by Paulinus of Nola in *Epist.* 32). The final phrase *damna salutis* seems to draw on phrases in one of Paulinus of Nola's *Natalicium* for St. Felix (12.151, 291).

681 The cellar is "sober" (*sobria*) both in that it is not gratuitously drunken but also in that it is modest. Behind the simple paradox lies a theological point of great importance to Ambrose, who on several occasions extolled the *bona* or *sobria ebrietas* ('sober intoxication') that accompanies the sacraments (14 instances in all; e.g., *Cain* 1.5.19; cf. Ps-Ambrose *Hymn* 2.23–24, *laeti bibamus sobriam / ebrietatem spiritus*). Augustine described Ambrose as providing *sobriam vini ebrietatem* to the people of Milan (*Conf.* 5.13.23); see Quasten 1948.

682 The 'cup of anger' (*irarum pocula*) is another Ambrosian phrase (e.g., *Exh. virginit.* 12.81).

683 This epigraph, which likely dates to c. 507 CE, extols the fortified residence of Honoratus, the ninth bishop of Novara, on the island of San Guilio. Ennodius also composed a *dictio* for Honoratus to deliver at the dedication of the church on the same island (98V; also commemorated by #48). Meter: elegiac couplets.

684 Bellona was the Roman goddess of war.

685 In this long epigram, Ennodius praises the library of Faustus and, it seems, the short poems that Faustus composed to describe its contents—and perhaps inscribed within it; cf. Martial's epigrams describing Greek and Latin works in the *Apophoreta* (183–196). Faustus (Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior Niger, *PLRE* 2.454), a frequent correspondent of Ennodius' between 501 and 512 CE, was a prominent figure in Ostrogothic Italy, serving in a number of posts, including consul in 490 and Pretorian Prefect of Italy from at least 509 to 512. He and Ennodius had joined forces in supporting the legitimacy of Symmachus' election to the papacy (see "Introduction," p. 10). On this poem in the context of long epigrams in Ennodius, see Di Rienzo 2008, 549–552. Meter: elegiac couplets.

686 The poem opens with an allusion to Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* 5.84, *consona quem celebrat moderato carmine plebes*).

687 A difficult line, but the sense seems to be that Ennodius imagines the books that inspired Faustus receiving his descriptions of them.

688 "Crooked minds" (*mens recti nescia*; cf. #47.13) may draw on Juvenc. 3.45 (*feritas sed nescia recti*); the context may draw our attention to *1 Tim* 6:20 and Paul's admonition to "keep safe what's been entrusted to you [*depositum*, in the Vulgate], avoiding sacrilegious babblings, and the conflicts of what falsely is called knowledge."

689 *Documenta* ("lessons") refers to Faustus' poems.

690 The standard apologia of the minor poet: prominent men, like the pretorian prefect Faustus, should devote themselves to great works and deeds, leaving epigram to lesser authors like Ennodius.

691 The line may recall language in Calpurnius Siculus (4.152, *o mihi quae tereti decurrunt carmina versu*).

692 E.g., *Col* 1:13–22; *1 Cor* 8:6; *Phil* 2:5–11.

693 Another challenging line that contrasts comic or light works and more serious works like epic and tragedy (*fortia*). Surprisingly, Ennodius says that comic works be judged by their polish (*per lima,* 'by the file'), while more serious works be judged "by applause" (*plausu*). Is Ennodius reversing expectations, or does *plausu* have another sense, e.g., 'with force' or 'with momentum' (López Kindler 2012, 134), i.e., 'vigorously,' while comic works need a light touch?

694 A reference to Claudian's praise for Stilicho (*6Hon.* 385–386, *sedesve capacior ulla / tantae laudis erit*?; cf. Dracont. *Romul.* 5.253; *Satis.* 206) supports Hartel's conjecture of *laudis* for the manuscript reading of *ludus*.

695 This epigram appears only in the Vatican Codex. Meter: elegiac couplets.

696 This epigram commemorates a subscription or when a parent signs the baptism certificate for a child who is too young to sign themselves. Meter: elegiac couplets.

697 Ennodius also used the phrase "life-giving flow" in another baptistry poem (#58.2).

698 An elegant, allusion-rich epigraph for a statue of lion, from whose mouth water flows into, it seems, a baptistry. A paradox motivates the poem: the lion's ferocious, lethal nature has been tamed (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.4) and repurposed to serve a life-giving sacrament. Meter: elegiac couplets.

699 An allusion to Ovid's *Fasti* reinforces the poem's proposition that love overcomes savagery (4.103 *deposita sequitur taurus feritate iuvencam*).

700 "Cups" (*pocula*) is a metonym for water.

701 The mention of "glassy spring" (*vitreos . . . fontes*) may recall Horace's famous description of Bandusia's spring (*Carm.* 3.13.1, *O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro*; cf. Mart. 12.2.13, *fons ibi Castalius vitreo torrente superbit*; Dracont. *Romul.* 2.78).

702 A final allusion—to Martial's entreaty that the emperor Domitian hear his prayer (5.1.6, *sive salutiferis candidus Anxur aquis*; cf. #58.2)—may bring to mind the next line in that poem, which addresses the emperor, "O blessed protector and savior of the world" (*o rerum felix tutela salusque*). With the poem's final word, "waters" (*aquis*), Ennodius employs the fifth synonym for water in as many lines; cf. #61.

703 This epigraph describes a statue of a serpent, perhaps incorporated into a crucifix (Sirmond 1611 *ad loc.*). Meter: elegiac couplets.

704 While the serpent was a notorious symbol of sin (*Gen* 3:1, etc.), it could also represent God's mercy, as when Moses protected the Israelites from a serpent swarm with a bronze snake (*Num* 21:4–9). This episode came to be seen as another prefiguration of Christ (e.g., *Jo* 3:14, "and as Moses raised the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be raised;" cf. Ambrose's interpretation of this passage in *Expl. Psalm.* 98, and Prudentius' hexametric tetrastich, *Ditt.* 12.

705 In this, the first of two epigrams on gardens, Ennodius turns a description of the *locus amoenus,* often a metaphor for poetry and elegant style, into an explicit declaration of the power of literature itself, which is like a flourishing and luxuriant garden, able to produce flowers and lush plants even in winter because poetic capacity is not bounded by time or season: *rhetoric*'s garden never fades. Meter: hexameter.

706 An allusion to Vergil's description of Elysium emphasizes the splendor of the garden and underscores the epigram's thesis on the power of literature (*Aen.* 6.638, *devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta*).

707 Ennodius' line contains rich wordplay difficult to capture in English. He contrasts the illumination of a learned man (*lucem . . . diserti*) with the cultivated plants (*cultis*) that a reader might expect a garden poem would praise. But both *diserti* and *cultis* are pregnant with meanings that blur the line between intellectual and vegetal goods: *cultis* refers to the plants (lit. 'the things having been cultivated'), but in "cultivation" one can detect the hint of learning, education, and *culture*; in this context, *diserti* (< *dissero,* 'to examine, discuss') could in turn recall *dissero* ('to sow;' although the verb's past participle differs, *dissitum*). To express the line more fully: "so that you may learn to prefer the light of a man *implanted* with wisdom over mere *cultivation* (of plants)."

708 "Purple tongue" (*purpura sermonum*) alludes to Sidon. *Epist.* 2.10.1 (*sic omnes nobilium sermonum purpurae*; see too Sidon. *Carm.* 22.6) and connects with the common practice of describing proper, elegant literature in late antiquity as "purple" (Roberts 1989, 116; see #161.4); cf. Horace's warning against "purple patches" (*purpureus pannus*, *AP* 15–16).

709 The Zephyr was the gentle western breeze, but it could refer to any favorable wind.

710 The *dicta* ('utterances' but so "texts") are *ebria* in this golden line (abVBA) because they are steeped in oratory's splendid nobility. On drunken texts, see also n. 681. Purple, which colors this and the next two lines, was extracted

from the *murex* (a mollusk). It was extremely valuable and so associated with nobility. Ennodius used similar language in praising Ambrose's oratorical skill (#21.3, "Majestic purple flashed across his dewy tongue"), here elevated through another reference to the *Aeneid* (9.614, *vobis pieta croco et fulgenti murice vestis*).

711 Ennodius refers to the *chelydrus*, a notoriously noisome and venomous water-snake; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.214, 3.415. Ennodius deploys a phrase, 'submit their necks' (*submittunt colla*), that has some classical predecessors but resonates strongly with Christian authors (e.g., Paul. Nol. *Natal.* 11.12; Juvenc. 2.42; Prudent. *Apoth.* 642; nearly two dozen times by Jerome).

712 Ennodius may allude to an epigram attributed to Petronius that extols nature's wondrous irregularities (*AL* 651.1 R, *sic contra rerum naturae munera nota*).

713 Another inscription set in an Edenic garden. While the garden in #76 inspired a celebration of the capacity of poetry to delight and teach, this epigram focuses on the garden's idyllic composition—although this too may be a metaphor for the glories of humble epigram over ambitious epic (cf. vv. 15–16). Meter: elegiac couplets.

714 "Tended acres" recalls an entry in the priamel that opens Tibullus' first book of elegies (1.1.2, *et teneat culti iugera multa soli*). Like Tibullus, Ennodius advises that we should cherish humble elegance over vast ambition.

715 At verse-end Ennodius quotes a phrase used by Ovid to describe the pleasant locales of Rome (*Fast.* 1.8.65, *te modo Campus habet, densa modo porticus umbra*).

716 The plants have symbolic meaning: lilies are paradigmatic for purity; the laurel for victory in war; the olive for peace; and both laurel and olive for victory in athletic competitions.

717 The wreaths of victorious generals were fashioned from laurel; a friend might wear a wreath of olive, myrtle, or flowers (e.g., Hor. *Carm*. 2.7.24).

718 Ennodius again draws an epigram to a close with an allusion to Vergil: *largus opum* recalls the description of the prominent politician Drances, who challenges Turnus to duel Aeneas (*Aen.* 11.338).

719 A hexametric label, likely to be incised on a silver tray embossed with a portrait of Ennodius. Di Rienzo aptly characterizes this and the following epigram (#79) as "suspended between self-deprecation and self-celebration" (2005, 123). The sense is that the plate only has value, despite its image of the poet, because it is made of a precious metal. The larger conceit is that while the poet praises the plate as a guarantor of immortality, the poem ensures the immortality of the object (and the artist).

720 Another label, a shell (*concha*) that may have resided in a church for use in the liturgy. Both Claudian (*carm. min.* 45) and Sidonius (*Epist.* 4.8) wrote epigrams on shells used as vessels. While it seems likely that this poem describes a real-world object, *concha* was also one of the terms used to designate the ring of experienced priests that surrounded the bishop during liturgical services. Meter: hexameter.

721 The oxymoron of the wave that excites thirst was much favored by the elegists (e.g., Tibull. 1.3.77; Ovid, *Her.* 4.147, *Rem.* 406, 632) and later authors.

722 An epigram in elegiacs describes a silver plate depicting a man on horseback.

723 The line suggests that the plate depicts Theodoric, who preserved traditional Roman iconography that showed victorious leaders holding a small statue of winged Victory (*victoriola*).

724 Ennodius plays with two senses of the verb, *ridet*: the dinner guest should be 'pleased' by the remarkable tableware; but the artwork itself 'gleams' (cf. #92.3, *ridet furor aureus*).

725 Ennodius seems to describe seven plates depicting the goddess Diana and six animals she might hunt—or perhaps a single plate with Diana in the center ringed by her prey? Meter: elegiac couplets.

726 The epigram ends with a clever allusion to Juvenal's criticism of a wealthy man for spending money on everything but his son's education, including a fancy chef (7.184–185, *qui fercula docte / conponit*); by sliding the position of the phrase, Ennodius converts the adverb (*doctē*), into a vocative, although this introduces another mystery: who is the learned man addressed in the poem? Faustus? Ennodius himself?

727 Ennodius describes a segregated tray into which distinct dishes (either metal or consumable) can be placed; if the former, then it may describe a tray that could transport the decorated plates in #81 in a secure arrangement. Meter: elegiac couplets.

728 Ennodius stretches the sense of *venter*, which can refer to any concavity and so the tray—but more typically refers to the stomach, in which the carefully segregated foods will soon be combined. The use of parentheses in the translation attempts to capture the ambiguity.

729 The first of five epigrams (#83–87) meditating on a depiction of Pasiphae and the bull, whose images seem to have been engraved on a silver goblet (*caucus*). Instead of moral condemnation (cf. e.g., Luxurius 365 R), Ennodius focuses especially on the vivid quality of the images and carefully modulates his terminology to avoid repetition and provide the variation expected in an epigrammatic series. The entire series draws inspiration from Vergil (*Aen.* 6.24–30) and Ovid (*Ars* 1.289–326). On the series, see also Wasyl 2018; Di Rienzo 2001. Meter: hexameter.

730 Pasiphae was the daughter of Helios (the sun); after she wed King Minos of Crete, she was cursed with an erotic attraction for a bull sent to Crete by Poseidon. The line opens with an allusion to Vergil's *Eclogue* 6, in which the satyr Silenus sings of Pasiphae (6.46, *Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore iuvenci*).

731 The bull (*bos*) is 'gleaming white' (*candidus*; cf. "snow-white" in v. 1). Ennodius creates a double effect by juxtaposing the word with silver (*argentum*): first, silver is paradigmatically *candidus* (e.g., Mart. 1.115.2–3) and although it is grammatically the *bos* that is *candidus*, the juxtaposition colors the quality of the metal; second, he manipulates an oft-quoted line by Ovid (*Ars* 1.290, *candidus armenti gloria taurus erat*), substituting silver (*argentum*, the material of the goblet), for Ovid's assonant 'herd' (*armenti*).

732 Only in this line does Ennodius refer to the animal as a bull (*taurus*; cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.290), after calling him a *iuvencum* (1) and *bos* (4).

733 Ennodius continues the theme but in a new meter: elegiac couplets. This poem and the next two hexametric poems (#85–86) are clustered in the manuscripts.

734 The uncomfortable eroticism of the image is enhanced through an allusion to Ovid's *Heroides* and Leander's wish that Hero will break the seal on his love letter with her teeth (18.17, *forsitan admotis etiam tangere labellis*).

735 This, and the remainder of the series, are cast in hexameters.

736 As he often does, Ennodius uses the vocabulary of painting (*pictor*) for other artistic media: here, metalwork and engraving.

737 The compression caused by adherence to English meter costs us one of the variations that Ennodius effects across the epigram: each line contains a word for life/soul (*animae, spiritus, corda*).

738 Daedalus was the master builder who constructed a wooden heifer into which Pasiphae could climb, allowing her to approach the bull.

739 The cow is "twofold" because it seems to be a cow but is in fact a cow containing a woman; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.25 (*Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis*).

740 The final lines are somewhat obscure, and my translation attempts to convey a possible punning ambiguity in the line: notionally, the singular feminine subject remains the bull's neck (*cervix, area*) from the previous line; but *lorum* ("strap") was also slang for penis (e.g., Petr. 13; Mart. 7.58.3, 10.55.5), raising the possibility that the one sweating under the taut "leather" is Pasiphae.

741 The first of four epigrams (#88–91) celebrating an incredibly delicate piece of jewelry owned by Firmina. The title describes it as a necklace, but the poems themselves avoid all but oblique references to its form, focusing instead on the paradox of its construction and ethereal substance. Ennodius also composed an epigram describing one of Firmina's rings (#92). On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 320–323. Meter: hexameter.

742 Ennodius emphasizes the attenuation of the gold through metaphors of fatigue: the gold is 'exhausted' (*exhausto*, 1) and 'wearied' (*lassatum*, 2). Ennodius may be punning on Firmina's name (< *firmus*, 'strong, steadfast, untiring').

743 "Exquisite skin" (*candida . . . membra*, or 'pure white skin') is a surprisingly rare phrase; Ennodius deploys it in the same position as Ovid when describing the murder of Coronis by Apollo, her jealous lover (*Met.* 2.607, *candida puniceo perfudit membra cruore*; cf. Dracont. *Romul.* 8.619 and *Oed*. 792; Sil. 4.204, *per candida membra*).

744 Ennodius shifts his attention to the expertise possessed by the skilled artisan who fashioned the necklace. Meter: elegiac couplets.

745 "Golden threads" often refer to the strands of Fate, deftly woven by the Parcae (e.g., in the same position, Sidon. *Carm.* 5.369, *aurea concordes traxerunt fila sorores*).

746 The necklace is so ephemeral that the eyes can scarcely grasp it. Meter: elegiac couplets.

747 There is an effective ambiguity in the subordinate verb, *finxere*; the eyes cannot fully grasp what they *see or touch* (remembering that ancient theories of vision had a tactile basis) and what they *imagine* (cf. 'fiction'). Ennodius uses the same verb, with the same ambiguity, in #92.1.

748 Ennodius draws the series to a close with a short hexameter poem that continues the play between the senses of touch and sight. Meter: hexameter.

749 Ennodius describes an intricate ring owned by Firmina. As with her necklace, Ennodius again focuses on the object's animating paradox: a detailed still image that seems to move. On the title *Inlustris,* see n. 513. Meter: hexameter.

750 Molossian hounds were famed for their speed and strength (e.g., Verg. *G.* 3.405; Hor. *Sat*. 2.6.114).

751 Ennodius' line is especially rich in alliteration and other sonic effects, which nicely complement the line's focus on the visuality of the image.

752 A slightly mysterious line: it could be that the skill (of the craftsman) who forged the ring matched its owner's strengths; but in #93.4 *genius* clearly

suggests an image (formed from the pieces of a mosaic); the ring's metal is a "slave" in the sense that it is compliant—to its owner or the craftsman.

753 The final image shows Firmina wearing the beast-covered ring as she distributes charity, a beautifully compressed representation of "bread and games."

754 Ennodius, captivated by the paradox of many pieces combining to form a single image, praises the deft skill of a marble-worker. On mosaics as a metaphor for literature, see Roberts 1989, 70–73. Meter: elegiac couplets.

755 The line combines phrases found elsewhere in Ennodius' poetry (*viscera dum lapidum*, #62.6; *permixta lege*, #107.2, in a very different context).

756 The line may contain an allusion to Lucan's account of the petrifying effect of Medusa (9.651, *riguerunt marmore gentes*).

757 Ennodius closes the poem with a reference to Orpheus, the paradigmatic artist who was able to control nature with art, taming the beasts and even stones by his song (cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.2, *Threicius vates et saxa sequentia ducit*).

758 In the late summer of 506, Ennodius wrote to complain that Petrus had failed to inform him about the honors that Petrus had recently won, likely from Theodoric ("revered prince" §1). Since Petrus was near the healing springs of Aponus (modern Abano), Ennodius attempts to entice him to write back by appending two epigrams inspired by the site, the first in elegiacs, the second in hexameters. This is Ennodius' only letter to Petrus. But as Schröder has pointed out, the tone is not one that we would expect if this were the product of a failed attempt to cultivate an epistolary exchange, but rather one of intimate familiarity (cf. 10V, 381V to Faustus; Schröder 2007, 335). Since Petrus was traveling when he received the letter, it is reasonable to conclude that Petrus and Ennodius were, in fact, often together, which would explain the dearth of letters to him in Ennodius' archive. Ennodius' treatment of the hot springs at Aponus is one of three late antique meditations on the natural wonder, along with Cassiodorus (*Var.* 2.39; possibly inspired by Ennodius, with Majani 2006, 218) and Claudian (*carm. min.* 26), which served as a model for the other two; see also Lucan 7.193–94; Auson. *Ordo* 161; Claud. Mar. Vict. 733–737; and Hilary of Arles' fragmentary epigram on the hot springs of Grenoble (*AL* 487 R, with Consolino 2017, 115). On the poem, see Urlacher-Becht 2013 ("Les jeux . . ."); Majani 2006; Schröder 2007; Kennell 2001.

759 "With my feet:" a proleptic pun on physical and metrical feet, looking forward to the two attached poems. "Blades of your writing" refers to an arresting Vergilian metaphor (*remegio/um alarum*, 1.301, 6.19), but it was also popular with Ambrose (11 times) and thence into other ecclesiastical authors (e.g., Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 34.5).

760 Antenor was a Trojan and respected counselor to Priam during the Trojan War. After the Sack of Troy, Antenor was said (Verg. *Aen.* 1.242) to have fled to Italy, where he founded Patavium (modern Padua), the closest city to Aponus. Cassiodorus, in his prose description of Aponus, attributes the spring's healing powers to its medicinal vapors (*Var.* 2.39.8).

761 Helicon was a mountain sacred to the Muses in Boeotia; its streams were metonymic for poetic inspiration. The reference to "new poets" is self-deprecatory, since it was the term used by Cicero to mock contemporaries, like Catullus, who composed untraditional verse (Cic. *Or.* 161).

762 "Glovidenus" (i.e., 'Rotundacious' or 'Braggart'): Ennodius refers to himself by the same self-deprecating nickname in #6 §3. It has been thought to be a

reference to a certain Cluvienus mentioned by Juvenal as another (inferior) poet whose art was spurred by indignation (1.80).

763 For Ennodius' debilitating eye disease, cf. 228V, 269V.

764 In introducing his poems, Ennodius calls them "lame" (*poemata . . . clauda*); on the one hand this is a typical way to describe elegiac verse (e.g., Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.11, *clauda quod alterno subsidunt* ***carmina*** *versu*), but it also puns on the name of Claudian (***claud****a*), his poetic predecessor in describing Aponus; cf. Claud. *carm. min.* 13 (*'claudicat hic versus; haec' inquit 'syllaba nutat'*).

765 In the first two couplets, Ennodius dilates on Claudian's first couplet describing Aponus proper (*carm. min.* 26.11–12). While this expansion seems to suggest that Ennodius' treatment will elaborate on his model, his poems will span only 14 verses (12+2), compared to Claudian's even hundred, with Ennodius concentrating exclusively on the paradoxical interplay of fire and water at the site, while Claudian delves into its source, outflow, healing qualities, the fertility of the nearby fields, etc.

766 Ennodius draws from Lucan's description of Aponus (7.193–194, *Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit / atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timavi*); and perhaps Sedulius (*Carm. Pasch.* 3.125, *damnauit patulas audax fiducia venas*).

767 The end of this line may draw on Claudius Marius Victor's description of Aponus (3.736–737, *calidis quas aponus* ***undis*** */ exhalat*); cf. *Epigr. Bob.* 1.8 (*et sacer in vitreis ignis anhelat aquis?*).

768 "Smoke-bearing" (*vapifero*): cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.45 (*vaporiferis iunctus fornacibus amnis*); *Silv.* 3.5.95; *Theb.* 6.710. Cassiodorus' description of the healing powers of the springs uses language similar to Ennodius but not found in Claudian (*Var.* 2.39.29, *unde non tantum deliciosa voluptas acquiritur, quantum blanda medicina confertur*; 2.39.65, *sic medicabili substantiae venit a sulphure quod calet, a salsedine quod desiccat*); see Majani 2006, 217.

769 "Death's cycling partnership" recalls the mythological compact of the twins Castor and Pollux, who lived and died forever in alternation; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.121 (*si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit*).

770 While both Claudian and Cassiodorus emphasize the paradoxical harmony of fire and water at Aponus (cf. Claud. *carm. min.* 26.75–79), Ennodius, in contrast, stresses their cohabitating strife. One wonders whether this is meant to be symbolic of the relationship between Ennodius and Petrus. Hardie (2019, 173) points out that *concordia pugnax* is a variant on the more familiar concept of *discors concordia* (e.g., Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.19; Ov. *Met*.1.432–433), which looms large in discussions of late antique aesthetics (Roberts 1989, 144–146).

771 Praise of a powerful hunting dog. Di Rienzo (2005, 156) wonders whether the idyll might be a metaphor for a powerful man bested by his social inferior; but it also stands on its own as canine praise. Meter: hexameter.

772 Homullus ("Little Man") was a real, if rare, name for men (e.g., Plin. *Epist.* 4.9.15; *Hist. Aug.* 4.6.8).

773 If the canine identity of the "Cretan" remained in doubt, Ennodius further tips his hand with an allusion to Lucan's description of Molossian hounds (4.442, *silva cani, nisi qui presso vestigia rostro*).

774 Molossian hounds were famed for their speed and strength (Verg. *G.* 3.405; Hor. *Sat*. 2.6.114); Ennodius may use allusion to heighten the tension in the scene, with the first words of the line recalling two threatening passages in Vergil: the first, a warning that the shepherd must protect his flock from cold

rocks (*G.* 3.299, *molle pecus*); the second, a simile of the flock savaged by the lion (*Aen.* 9.341, *molle pecus*).

775 The first of two epigrams condemning a plate that depicts the erotic encounters of Jupiter. Meter: hexameter.

776 Ennodius uses language that recalls Sedulius' rejection of the tales of pagan writers (*Carm. Pasch.* 1.21, *scelerum monumenta canant*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.26, *Veneris monimenta nefandae*).

777 A didactic meditation on the impossibility of Jove's divinity. The criticism was standard fare among Christian authors (see esp. Pseudo-Paulinus, *Carm.* 32.56–59). This epigram builds on the criticism levied in #96, which is joined with this poem in most manuscripts. Although Ennodius does compose polymetric poems, there is no reason to doubt Grynaeus' decision to separate them. Meter: elegiac couplets.

778 Ennodius avoids using the standard substantives for god in the poem, relying instead on the generic adjective 'divine' (*divus*) in this line and the generalizing noun 'divinity' (*numen*) in v. 3.

779 This lengthy epigram likely praises Theodoric and his garden, probably on the grounds of the palace that he renovated in Pavia (Gasti 2006 ("Il giardino . . ."), 174–175. The poem, a thinly veiled allegory for Theodoric's reign, falls in three sections. Theodoric's bloody success in war (1–6) has prepared him to cultivate the benefits of peace (7–18). The poem ends with a warning to those who contemplate disturbing the peace (by stealing from the king's garden), which is at any rate unnecessary because of the king's beneficence (19–22). The poem's position in the corpus, immediately after Ennodius' *Panegyric to Theodoric*, suggests that it too could have been composed in 507 CE—or that the compiler of Ennodius' archive recognized the poem's connection with Theodoric. On the poem, see Gasti 2006; on Ennodius' long epigrams, see Di Rienzo 2008. Meter: elegiac couplets.

780 There is little doubt that it is Theodoric's hand described; but the king's name is not uttered in the poem.

781 The first of three relative clauses that mimic the expansion motif common in hymns. The poem's first word, *bellipotens* ("war-strong"), is redolent of martial epic from Ennius to Claudian (*3Hon.* 147) but, significantly for Ennodius' representation of Theodoric as the savior of Italy, Tertullian had used a pleonastic variation (*bellipotens et armiger*, *Marc.* 3, *Adv. Jud.* 9) to refer to Christ (Gasti 2006, 178).

782 Cf. Dracont. *Laud.* 3.481.

783 The imagery of the color red (vv. 2, 5–8) shifts to the dual connotations of purple-red: natural fecundity and noble sovereignty. The reading of the end of this line (*stymmatae campi*) has vexed editors. Since the manuscript reading produces gibberish, I follow, tentatively, Vogel's economical emendation of *stymmate* ('tincture'); Hartel's emendation of *scammate* ('the location of a contest'; well attested in late antique Christian authors) would shift the emphasis of the line from the battle's blood to the battlefield itself. Gasti's suggestion (*stigmata*) undoubtedly produces a more memorable line (2006, 300–301).

784 Cf. the Parable of the Grafted Tree (*Rom* 11:17–24); Prudent. *Apoth.* 338–347.

785 The ever-vigilant serpent Ladon guarded the golden apples of Juno in the Garden of the Hesperides (cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.621–662). With the mention of Ladon,

Ennodius shifts focus to the dire consequences that would befall anyone who stole from Theodoric's garden, which in any case is unnecessary, since Theodoric shares his bounty.

786 The first of three elegiac distichs (#99–101) on a gilt and silvered whip that belonged to Ennodius' friend and pupil, Arator. An orphan like Ennodius, Arator had come into the care of Bishop Laurentius, befriended Ennodius' nephew, Parthenius, and had been tutored by the grammarian Deuterius in Milan (85V). Arator was also the recipient of several letters (378V, 387V, 422V), *dictiones* (#174, 85V, 380V), and a poem (#169) by Ennodius. He would eventually compose, many years after Ennodius' death, a selected versification of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which he performed to great acclaim in Rome in 544 CE and which enjoyed a broad readership during the medieval period. On Arator's relationship with Ennodius, see Zarini 2009. Like his series of epigrams on the mule (#107–110), the first poem has a riddling sense that is progressively resolved and elaborated by the subsequent poems. On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 318–320.

787 Ennodius incorporates an ambiguity in the line's final word (*flagello,* 'whip'): the precious metals were both added *to the whip* and/or by someone taught *by the whip*.

788 Ennodius quotes Aeneas' brusque rejection of Magus' supplication (*Aen.* 10.531, *argenti atque auri*).

789 Ennodius refashions a Vergilian line, which described the lavish kit of the horses Evander gifted to Aeneas (7.279, *tecti auro fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum*).

790 A touching tribute to an old horse. The first of several equestrian epigrams (#102–105). Ennodius was in need of a new horse in late summer 509, when he wrote to remind Agnellus of his promise to send a horse (359V). Ennodius fell ill soon thereafter. But a year later he wrote to let Agnellus know he was sending a slave to collect the promised horse (397V). Meter: elegiac couplets.

791 Ennodius implies the horse's affection through language drawn from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (1.194, *nunc iuvenem*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.149) and Propertius (1.8.40, *blandi carminis obsequio*).

792 The poet's dreamlike, pre-dawn ride on his favorite horse. The reverie in nature is charged with frequent alliterations and allusions, almost always in what seem unremarkable expressions but which in fact have quite specific pedigrees. Meter: hexameter.

793 The opening recalls the tenor of the first half of Ausonius' *De rosis nascentibus.* The line closes with an allusion to Lucretius' description of sunlight seeding the clouds with light (6.209, *solis de lumine*).

794 These lines draw from Avienus' translation of Aratus with their "mature night" (680, *noctis adulta*) and 'golden-red rays' (81, *et rutilo cunctis flagat coma flammea crine*).

795 Cynthia was an epithet of Diana (i.e., 'from Mount Cynthus' on Delos) and, through transfer, with Selene, goddess of the moon, who was often depicted with horns representing the crescent moon. Homer's famous description of dawn makes a clever appearance in this clever line, mediated through Ausonius' metrical summary of the *Iliad* (*Aurora in croceis fulgebat lutea bigis, Periochae Iliadis* 8); Ausonius' phrase itself was a tidy reworking of Vergil's

adaptation of Homer, *Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis*, 7.26; cf. Aurora's *croceis rotis* in Ov. *Met.* 3.20.

796 The moon retraces the path travelled by her brother Helios, the sun.

797 A seemingly discordant reference to Myrrha's flight after seducing her father (Ov. *Met*. 10.476, *de munere noctis*; but cf. Dracontius' use of the same phrase in *De laudibus Dei* 3.723).

798 The constellation of Cancer or the Crab was associated in antiquity with the path of the sun on the summer solstice (thus the Tropic of Cancer) and so the day with the brightest and longest daylight.

799 Ennodius also refers to the landscape's "decorated face" in #7.25; the 'lovely country' (*ruris amoenati*) connects this poem with Horace's praise of the country over the city in *Epist.* 1.10.6 (*laudo ruris amoeni*).

800 Cyllarus was a beautiful young centaur who was killed by an unknown foe in the battle with Lapiths (Ov. *Met.* 12.393). The image of the centaur foreshadows the harmony of rider and horse in the final lines of the poem.

801 The poet has received a gift of a Hunnic war-horse, which he attempts to settle in its new life of poetry and peace. The specificity of Ennodius' poem and its pleas to put aside war are endearing. It has been suggested that Triggua (Kennell 2000, 118 n. 166) gave Ennodius this charger, or perhaps Theodoric, in acknowledgement of his *Panegyricus* (Di Rienzo 2005, 148–149). Claudian wrote about a magnificent horse given as a gift to the Emperor Honorius (*carm. min.* 47). Meter: elegiac couplets.

802 The poem opens on an ominous note through a reference to the horse famine that brought plague in Lucan (6.84, *Belliger attonsis sonipes defessus*), but Ennodius immediately emends the image: his horse did not starve but was nourished by its native fields.

803 On the Tanais River, see n. 232.

804 My "polar law" (*lege poli*) could be understood as divine law (e.g., Val. Flacc. 2.357; cf. Dracont. *Satis.* 250) or cosmic order (*AL* 83 R, almost certainly post-dating Ennodius), but it seemed best to continue the passage's Arctic tenor (cf. Vitr. 9.6).

805 This epigram expresses parochial admiration for a local breed of horse in elevated language. For the deciphering of the title in the manuscripts (*De Badeo et Balane,* 'On a Bay and Brown Horse'), see Di Rienzo 2005, 226. Meter: elegiac couplets.

806 Ennodius carefully modulates his equine vocabulary in the poem's first half (*cornipedes*, 1; *ungula*, 3; *sonipes*, 5).

807 On the Tanais River, see n. 232.

808 "Padane" refers to the region roughly demarcated by the watershed of the Po River in northern Italy. Oppian includes the Tuscan among his list of the best breeds of horse (*Cynegetica* 1.170).

809 The horses of Thessaly (*Aemonii*), like those of Achilles and Alexander the Great, were paradigmatic for powerful equine excellence.

810 This line is very similar to one in Ennodius' poem for the Hunnic horse (#104.3, *cana pruinosis mandentem gramina lustris*), yet the alterations diminish the line's pomposity somewhat, a difference my translation seeks to reproduce.

811 The Phasis River empties into the eastern Black Sea.

812 This epigram, on a Gallic mule that could be controlled by voice commands, imitates an epigram on the same theme by Claudian (*carm. min.* 18; see Gioseffi 1999), like his poem on Aponus (#94). Ennodius' poem is an exercise in *diminutio*, describing the same remarkable animal as Claudian in half the lines (10 vs. 20); appropriately for a half-length effort, while Claudian described a synchronized team, Ennodius describes only a single animal. See Di Rienzo 2005, 152–153. Meter: elegiac couplets.

813 Ennodius signals his engagement with Claudian through the poem's only explicit allusion (*Aspice morigeras Rhodani torrentis alumnas, carm. min.* 18.1). Ennodius cleverly alters Claudian's imperative (*aspice,* 'behold') into a command to *reconsider* the animal—and by implication Claudian's poem (*REspice*; Di Rienzo 2005, 153). In the rest of the poem, Ennodius studiously avoids quoting his model, even placing key nouns in different cases and positions in the line. This differentiation begins immediately with the adjective that describes the animal in the first line: Claudian's mules are *morigeras* ('compliant'), while Ennodius calls his mule, somewhat incongruously, "swift" or 'flying' (*volucrem*).

814 In the first line, the mule was flying (*volucrem*) and now, at the command, she flies (*volat*).

815 The driver's voice acts like a studded bit (*lupatis*).

816 This is the first of four short epigrams (#107–110) on how mules are the offspring of donkeys and mares. The mule could be used as a figure of cautionary revulsion (e.g., Ambr. *Hex.* 5.3.9: "examples of unnatural union . . . hybrid barrenness") but Ennodius' series seems to have a riddling quality (cf. Symphosius 37) in which the final one-line poem reveals that the product of this dangerous miscegenation and violation of nature is but a mule and not some more monstrous offspring (cf. Ennodius' epigrams on Pasiphae mating with the bull, #83–87). On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 314–316; D'Angelo 1993, 653–654.

817 Ennodius also uses the phrase "nature's conflicts" (*iurgia naturae*) to describe an effeminate man (#122.2).

818 The righteous indignation of the first poem begins to falter, as Ennodius characterizes the trick that leads to the strange offspring with the same phrase he used of a beautiful mosaic in a Milanese church (*nobiliore dolo*, #62.4).

819 Ennodius seems to draw inspiration from an unusual phrase in Ausonius' description of timely childbirth (*Eclogue* 7.28, *foedera partus*).

820 Ennodius deploys the same phrase, "confused law regulates," when praising the skill of a mosaic-layer (*permixta lege coactis*, #93.1)

821 The riddle's solution is revealed through a single, brusque hexameter.

822 Viola was the wife of Ennodius' correspondent Bassus (27V, 146V). In this epigram, Ennodius praises Viola by reference to her luxurious sedan chair (*basterna*). The same conveyance was the subject of a poem in the *Anthologia Latina* (101 SB): but where that poem focused on how the sedan prevented its passengers from being tainted by the male gaze, Viola brightens up everywhere she goes. Meter: elegiac couplets.

823 Ennodius cannot resist a pun on the name of Viola ('violet').

824 Ennodius characterizes the power of Viola's luminous charm through a reference to Seneca's description of the goddess Lucina (74, *radios spargere lucidos*).

825 This epigram describes a blade concealed in a walking stick. Meter: elegiac couplets.

826 Ennodius seems to contrast his concealment with someone who is feared because he carries his weapon openly.

827 The cane was a token of a freeborn gentleman.

828 Ennodius describes a bird landing on a small impromptu raft in the flooding Po, an effective poem that captures a moment of calm amid turbulence. Ennodius once found himself in a position similar to the bird, with more hair-raising results (#5). The poem shares some similarities with Lucan's simile of the flooding Po (6.272–276) but Ennodius, if he had it in mind, avoids direct citation. Meter: elegiac couplets.

829 "Reins" characterizes the constraining effect of the banks of a river; Ennodius was fond of the expression (not attested elsewhere), using it also in a letter to Olybrius (48V).

830 Di Rienzo suggests that the "scaly backs" refer to the bark of a tree floating in the swollen river (2005, 157), but this makes it difficult to understand the significance of the title, v. 3, or Ennodius' observation that the water formed the bird's raft from its own substance (*de proprio*, 7). If the raft seems rather to be composed only of foam, Ennodius' awestruck tone is more sensible.

831 The line ends with an apt allusion to Ovid's account of walking on the ice floes of Tomis (*Trist.* 3.10.38, *premebat aquas*).

832 Ennodius says the waters produced from itself an *alnus* ('adler'), wood used in shipbuilding and so poetic for ships.

833 Ennodius seems to praise deception in the service of a higher good (Di Rienzo 2005, 158; see López Kindler 2012, 153–154 for a contrary interpretation). The poem's animating paradox is supported through oxymoronic phrases. Meter: hexameter.

834 Until the end of this line, Ennodius encourages the reader to think he will condemn the lie. The opening ("I ask: whoever . . .," *quis rogo*) is (comically) indignant in Mart. 10.66.1, while Ennodius' second line foregrounds positive vocabulary—including, perhaps, a reference to Juvencus' versification of the Parable of the Good Farmer (2.796, *bona semina*; cf. *Ma* 13:24–31)—before dropping the twist with the line's final word: Ennodius unexpectedly is praising "lies" (*fraudes*).

835 Ennodius adopts the language of prodigy to describe the odious son of two noxious parents. The title gives away Ennodius' game, which is to hold in suspense whether he addresses an animal or a human. Meter: hexameter.

836 Ennodius deploys allusions to Vergil's *Aeneid* to elevate the tone of the poem's opening. The poem's first three words quote Aeneas' prayer to avert the curses of another hybrid creature, the Harpy Calaeno (*Aen.* 2.265, *di, prohibete minas; di, talem vertite casum*). Vergilian language echoes in the second line, with a less apt allusion to Evander's lineage (*Aen.* 8.138–139, *quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fundit*).

837 *Lupa* ("she-wolf") was slang for a prostitute; having established this slippage between the animal and human worlds, Ennodius refers to the father as another animal, albeit it one lacking the same rich symbolism: this donkey-dad (*asellus*) was a donkey-driver.

838 Ennodius' language is, if possible, even stronger: the union 'shatters nature itself' (*rumpens naturam*).

839 The target of this series of couplets (#116–118) never invited guests to dine when he was fortunate, but only when he was grieving for his son, which he used as an excuse to organize a sumptuous banquet. Ennodius hopes the banquet will become an annual event! The first two poems in the series are hexametric, the last an elegiac couplet. On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 308–310.

840 The association of meals and dead children seems to call to mind the horrific feast that Thyestes prepared for his brother Atreus, and so an apt Senecan phrase (*Thyestes* 22, *numquam stante pelopea domo*).

841 The final epigram in the series opens with an allusion to Juvenal's miserable "poor party-goers" (6.424, *convivae miseri*), who were kept waiting for dinner while their female host exercised and fornicated with her trainer. Lausberg (1982, 402) notes a parallel with *AL* 719 R, (*convivae, tetricas hodie secludite curas . . .*) and suggests a capping allusion similar to that seen in #151. This might be plausible if the attribution of *AL* 719 R to Augustus were sound, but it may be a later Vandalic or, most likely, Carolingian composition (Contreni 2011).

842 The first of two epigrams focusing on Gaul, which Ennodius viewed with patriotic fondness. The first assails a Venetian who dared slander Gaul in the presence of a Gaul. Ennodius plays on light/dark imagery in every line of the poem, with the final term, *maculata* (cf. August. *Psal. Don.* 248f.), moving towards an explicit statement of the equivalence of color and morality found in the other lines of the epigram. Meter: elegiac couplets.

843 "Pure as driven snow" (*nix probitatis*) is an Ennodian innovation.

844 The humor of this short epigram in elegiac couplets revolves around an untranslatable pun on *Gallus* (a Gaul/rooster). A goose has been killed by a rooster in a cock-fight, leading Ennodius to muse that vengeance has come at last for the role that Juno's geese played in alerting the Romans that the besieging Gauls were about to seize the Capitoline in 397 BCE. This episode, retold in Livy (5.47), was much mocked by Christian polemicists (e.g., Ambr. *Epist*. 10.73; August. *Civ. Dei* 2.22.2).

845 The pun operates on several levels: first a bird (rooster) kills another bird (goose); second a Gaul kills a goose; third the author (also a Gaul) kills and eats a goose, which explains the title.

846 The goose gave the Romans life by warning of an incursion into their precarious defenses on the Capitoline hill, allowing them to avoid annihilation at the hands of the invading Gauls.

847 Ennodius condemns whoever dared send him a gift of figs. Meter: hexameter.

848 Because of their association with the Fall of Adam and Eve, figs were deemed inauspicious. Jesus had condemned the fig tree to bareness (*Ma* 11:15, "Let no one eat fruit from you ever again;" *Mt* 21:19; cf. the Parable of the Fruitless Fig, *Lk* 13:6). These passages were often interpreted in late antiquity as condemning ostentatious but fruitless display (especially of contemporary Jewish religion). Ennodius even avoids naming the fruit in the poem.

849 Ennodius refers to the serpent's role in precipitating the Fall (*Gen* 3).

850 The turn in the poem's conclusion follows *Rom* 5:12–21, in which death entered the world through a single man, but the gift of Christ's crucifixion (the branch in Ennodius' next line) redeems all believers.

851 Ennodius may recall at the end of this line a passage from Paulinus of Nola (*Carm*. 27.289, *vita deus noster; ligno mea* <u>*vita pependit*</u>).

852 The first of four short hexametric epigrams (#122–125) attacking an effeminate, sexually voracious man. On this poem, see D'Angelo 2001, 107–108; on the series and homosexuality in Ostrogothic Italy, see D'Angelo 1993, 649–652; and on the series, Di Rienzo 2013, 312–314. The title (*De Adultero et Molle*) appears in the manuscripts, incorrectly, before the preceding poem (#55), and was transferred to the front of this series by Schott.

853 Di Rienzo suggests taking *naturae* with *discrimen* rather than *iurgia* (2005, 163 n. 252), which would reiterate (unnecessarily) what the first line described: the target's behavior doesn't help the observer determine his sex.

854 The hare (*lepus*) had numerous connotations, including cowardice (e.g., Ter. *Eun.* 426, *lepus tute es*) and rampant sexuality. Ennodius concludes with a comically inapt reference to *Ps* 90:13 (*conculcabis leonem*) to suggest the target's ferocious sexual appetites.

855 'Common type' (*communis generis*) nouns were those whose grammatical gender could be masculine or feminine (Don. *Ars gram.* 2); the term was also applied to ambiguous words that had both active and passive meanings—e.g., a *vector* could be someone who carries *or* someone who is carried (Agroecius, *Ars de orthographia* 119.12)—and so would align with the confusion of sexual roles introduced in #122. Ennodius seems to vary the common joke on the two senses of "neuter gender" when mocking eunuchs (cf. *AL* 109 R; Auson. *Epigr.* 50).

856 Roman sexual mores were organized around the distinction between active-penetrating and passive-penetrated partners. But Ennodius claims that even when the target takes the active role—and so behaves in a manner appropriate for his sex—he performs shameful deeds (*turpia*), implying that the act is homosexual and so still non-normative.

857 The first of three hexametric distichs (#126–128) on a Goth named Jovinian, who struts around in a *lacerna*, a traditional Roman cloak worn over a toga. Di Rienzo suggests that the Goth's beard is so massive that it covers his large Roman cloak, betraying Jovinian's attempt to appear Roman (2005, 191). It's unlikely that Ennodius, a staunch supporter of the Gothic king Theodoric, intends epigrams like these to wound or to resonate with true xenophobic sentiment; on his Gothic sympathies, see esp. Rota 1998 ("Quid Ennodius . . ."). On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 310–312.

858 Ennodius contrasts Jovinian's non-Roman mien—and likely his large Gothic beard—(*barbicam faciem*) with his Roman style of dress and perhaps manner (*Romanos . . . cultos*).

859 Ennodius moves from the individual to the class of people who are distinctive because of their "immodest" bodies (*immodico . . . corpore*). I translated as though this referred to the Goths' size, but it could refer to another form of bodily distinction (e.g., tattooing).

860 Ennodius puns on Jovinian's "clothes" (*vestes*) and "countenance" (*vultus*).

861 A *lacerna* ("noble cloak") was a traditional Roman cloak worn over a toga.

862 Into the final line of the series, Ennodius weaves references to Paulinus of Nola and Statius (*Carm.* 26.339, *intra unum* <u>*mixtis inimico foedere*</u> *corpus*; *Theb.* 6.290, *iungunt* <u>*discordes inimica in foedera*</u> *dextras*).

863 The first of three epigrams in elegiac couplets (#129–131) on an avaricious glutton, who ruins the meals of his guests by delaying their food with prattle.

864 The host is "lax" (*deses*, 'inactive') in serving his guests because of his "filthy tongue" (*linguae sordibus*), presumably because he delays the meal with ill-timed or unsuitable blather.

865 "Excessive hunger" (*ambitosa fames*) alludes Lucan's condemnation of luxurious appetites (4.376, *ambitiosa fames et lautae gloria mensae*) and draws further depth from *Rom* 16:18 ("For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple").

866 The expense of the meals is bankrupting the glutton but also compels him to continue eating, even if his master (i.e., his stomach) does not call for more food (*si taceat dominus*).

867 The epigram opens with an ominous quotation of Vergil's description of the cannibalistic Cyclops Polyphemus (*Aen.* 3.622, *visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro*), adding only the detail that this monster feeds on the poor (*pauperis*). Ennodius makes the connection explicit in the next epigram (#131).

868 The target's stomach is his heir because he wastes his fortune on extravagant and abundant food.

869 Ennodius reveals the reference to Polyphemus, the cannibalistic Cyclops who fed on Odysseus' crew, that was suggested in the previous poem (#130), cleverly sealing the reference with the last word from the Vergilian passage (3.622 . . . *atro*).

870 A cryptic epigram. Ennodius draws an analogy between the serpent who corrupted Adam and Eve (vv. 1–2; cf. *Gen* 3) and those who seduced away his friends using the lure of fine cuisine (vv. 3–5); but, warns Ennodius, this new temptation quickly becomes one's master (v. 6). Meter: elegiac couplets.

871 The "godlike" were the immortal, blissful Adam and Eve, when they still dwelled in Eden.

872 Ennodius responds to a gluttonous critic who will not stop disparaging his work. The glutton was a common metaphor for a critic who feasted on the work of others (e.g., Hor. *Ep.* 6.15; Mart. 6.64). Through the metaphor, Ennodius suggests, especially in the final couplet, that the critic faults him for his spare and modest style! Meter: elegiac couplets.

873 A "Phasian fowl" is a pheasant; according to myth, Itys, the son of Procne and the Thracian king Tereus, metamorphosed into the bird when Procne fed him to his father.

874 Ennodius suggests the ultimate destination of his critic when he draws the poem to a close with a reference to Anchises' description of the feasts that tempt the wicked in hell (Verg. *Aen.* 6.604–605, *epulaeque ante ora paratae / regifico luxu*).

875 Ennodius denounces a slippery advocate, whose ease with obfuscation renders him inscrutable and contemptible. He may have in mind a comparison with the wicked man (*homo apostata*) in *Proverbs* (6:12–15; Di Rienzo 2005, 175). Meter: elegiac couplets.

876 Ennodius refers to a "poison" (*toxica*) used especially on arrows, and so particularly appropriate for a characterizing a lawyer's noxious speech.

877 A comic recasting of the cry of the sinner in *Rom* 7:15 ("I don't understand what I'm doing. For I don't do what I want but do that which I hate") that captures the author's exasperation at dealing with this man. It is worth a literal rendering: "I want only this: what you don't want! But I swear that you don't want what you claim to want!"

878 Vogel suggested that Ennodius conflated Prometheus with Proteus, the shape-shifting sea god; but if Ennodius indeed meant Prometheus, he could intend a general reference to Prometheus' frequent deceptions or perhaps his molding (*formis*) of the first humans.

879 It is uncertain whether *Defensor* ("Defender") refers to a profession (defense attorney), the advocate's too-apt name (cf. Bishop Senator), or a position (*Defensor civitatis*, a public advocate charged with protecting the poor, which barely endured into Ennodius' lifetime; cf. *Cod. Theod*. 1.11).

880 Another epigram treats a lawyer's deceptive, treacherous facade. The title could connect this epigram with the "Defender" in #134, but this target seems to be called Justin (v. 5; see n. 882), although this is not necessarily incompatible with the identification of the target in #134 (see n. 879). Meter: elegiac couplets.

881 In theme and language, the opening alludes to a simile in Lucan, that of the ichneumon, a parasitic wasp that deposits its eggs in the necks of snakes it has tricked into exhausting their strength (4.724–25, *aspidas ut . . . / ludit . . . provocat umbra*).

882 The line is confused in the manuscripts, with some calling the target *defensor* and others *defensor Justinus.* The latter is hypermetrical and so clearly impossible. Vogel threw up his hands at deciding between *defensor* and *Justinus*, but it is easier to imagine *defensor* merging into the text via a marginal gloss influenced by this poem's title and #134 than an otherwise unattested Justin being so introduced.

883 Ennodius condemns a histrionic lawyer who abuses language. Meter: elegiac couplets.

884 This is the first in a series of four epigrams on Tribune (#137–140), a eunuch vagabond who seeks support and protection from grandees and travelers alike. The language of Ennodius' sardonic and vivid treatment of the theme (it is impossible to flee from one's own nature; cf. Luxurius 315 R, with Juv. 8.40 and Mart. 5.17.1) is largely original, with few allusions to other texts. As with many of Ennodius' short epigrammatic series there's a (slight) riddle, which is revealed in the final poem (#140). Meter: elegiac couplets.

885 The unavoidable pun when mocking a eunuch—*testibus* can mean both witnesses and testicles (cf. *AL* 108 R; Mart. 7.62)—operates on two levels: Tribune lacks, both socio-economically and physically, the means to his ambitions and so he must travel to avoid the revelation of his true nature.

886 *Error* ("lapse") describes Tribune's wandering but also his flawed character.

887 Ennodius may recall a (true) prophecy in the *Aeneid* (10.244, *si non inrita dicta putaris*). An *adsertor* ("guardian") formally supported someone's claim of freedom (or servitude).

888 A pitiful creature like Tribune does not deserve his impressive name.

889 Ennodius puns again on *testis* ('witness'/ 'testicle'). Tribune can lie because he's a eunuch (*sine teste*) and without fear of contradiction or any need for affirmation (*sine teste*).

890 Ennodius weaves an allusion to Vergil's description of bees that hold small rocks in the breeze like small barks taking on ballast (*saburra,* v.3) in the storm-tossed sea (*G.* 4.195–196, *ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram, / tollunt*). The Zephyr was the gentle western breeze, but it could refer to any favorable wind.

891 In the final Tribune epigram, Ennodius puts aside irony and attacks his target directly as a eunuch with the epigram's first word (*Eunuchus*; cf. *testibus,* #138.1; *sine teste*, #139.1). The poem is built around a sexual metaphor: Tribune, as a eunuch, has no semen/seed and so cannot have children from a woman. Therefore, Tribune has sex (plows) without purpose. While the earlier poems criticize Tribune for social striving and being a blowhard, the final epigram exposes his bodily and ethical deficiency. Tribune is not merely a climbing flatterer who seeks to ingratiate himself with his social betters. He prostitutes himself for his livelihood. Meter: elegiac couplets.

892 An elegant and graceful example of epigrammatic irony as Ennodius condemns an unreliable cleric in three effective couplets. The title implies a broader target—Di Rienzo deemed this "piccola perla" ('little pearl') "surprisingly anticlerical" (2005, 183)—but it seems more likely that it aims its barbs at a particular priest or type whose hypocrisy is being singled out for scorn. Given the vicious disputes over the Laurentian and Acacian schisms that roiled the Church during Ennodius' period of poetic activity, it is easy to imagine a long list of possible targets for such an epigram, if a real-world target must be sought. In the manuscripts, the poem appears with other religious poems, before the *Hymns* and *Bishops of Milan* (#9–33).

893 "Grains of sand" is proverbial for a nearly infinite abundance; but cf. the description of the Pythian oracle's omniscience in Lucan (5.182, *non* ***modus Oceani****, numerus non derat harenae*).

894 The sentiment is widespread enough that Ennodius may not be drawing on a particular source; but cf. Catul. 64.143, (*nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat*).

895 Cynthia was an epithet of Diana (i.e., 'from Mount Cynthus' on Delos) and, through symbolic transfer, with Selene, the moon, who was often depicted with horns representing the crescent moon.

896 Ennodius slyly condemns a man who shows too much enthusiasm for his horses. Ennodius avoids explicit obscenity and leaves vague the exact nature of the man's love, but the reference to *clunes* ("rumps") in v. 3 is suggestive; cf. *AL* 224.6 R (*cogetur fervore suo clunem submittere asello*) and *AL* 148–149, on the lawyer Filagrus who commits bestiality with his mare. Meter: hexameter.

897 Ennodius opens the poem with a phrase twice used by Horace to indicate pure pleasure (*gaudet equis*, *Serm.* 2.1.26; *AP* 162), before an allusion to Lucan's epithet for the sword ('counselor of evil,' *iusti . . . dissuasor*; cf. Claud. *DRP* 3.28) shifts the tone dramatically. The line contains a nice effect in the assonance of *equis* ('horse') and *aequi* ('right') that I mimicked with "steeds" and "deeds."

898 A short, pointed epigram attacking a teacher (*magister*), who, because he shows no enthusiasm for learning, possesses a brutish rhetorical style. Meter: hexameter.

899 Ennodius puns on meaning of *studium* ('studies;' 'enthusiasm').

900 Ennodius evokes the rough speech of non-Romans through an allusion to Ovid's *Tristia* (3.11.9, *nulla mihi cum gente fera commercia linguae*; 5.7.37, *ne tamen Ausoniae perdam commercia linguae*).

901 This vivid epigram attacks a wrinkled old woman who fakes a pregnancy by gorging herself on food. Coarse attacks on sexually active older women had long been a feature of Latin invective poetry (Hor. *Ep*. 8 and 11; Mart. 3.32, using similar terminology; see Richlin 1992, 105–143). The poem's scatological conclusion is tame by the canons of Latin epigram but quite vulgar for Ennodius. Meter: hexameter.

902 Ennodius refers to *cruor* ("blood") or the menses, distinguished from the circulatory "blood" in v. 1 (*sanguis*).

903 Galla was a traditional character in epigrams (e.g., Mart. 2.34; Auson. *Epigr*. 14, cf. Di Giovine 1990, 57–62).

904 A crass poem assails a sexually ambiguous person who is likened to a magpie. See D'Angelo 1993, 652–653. Meter: hexameter.

905 The magpie was proverbial for incessant, annoying speech (Petr. 37.7) and was a noted mimic (Mart. 14.76). Its stark black and white color scheme makes it symbolic for a mixture of opposing forces (male/female, good/evil).

906 *Semivir* ("half-man") was a slur hurled in epic (e.g., of Aeneas, *Aen.* 12.99), pagan (Claud. *Eutr*. 1.172, 2.22), and Christian invective (Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1.125, *Perist.* 10.1068), but it was also used for mixed creatures like the Minotaur (Ov. *Ars* 2.24) and centaurs (Ov. *Fast*. 5.380). In epigram it always refers to sexually ambiguous characters: e.g., Auson. *Epigr.* 94.1 [Zoilus], 76.11 [Hermaphroditus]; the priests of Cybele in e.g., Mart. 3.91.2, 9.20.8.

907 The collocation *vir femina* ('man woman') was favored by Ovid, although always reversed and signaling two individuals (*femina virque*); note especially, *Ars* 2.478 (*constiterant uno femina virque loco*) on the softening effect of sex.

908 Ennodius attacks a fusion of stock targets in epigram: corrupt old men and those whose depraved characters are revealed by their eye diseases (e.g., Mart. 2.33; see Watson 1982). The Christian context adds an additional layer to the old man's depravity. If a good Christian is to gouge out his eye rather than risk damnation (*Mt* 5:29, "if your right eye causes you to sin, pluck it out and toss it away;" cf. *Ma* 18:9), this old man has gouged out his diseased eye yet persists in sin. Ennodius himself would complain of a noxious eye condition that afflicted him in 506 and again in 508 CE. Meter: hexameter.

909 The theory that we see by emitting rays from our eyes was the dominant theory of vision in antiquity, traceable back to Empedocles (fifth century BCE) and continuing to resonate in Christian texts (e.g., *Mt* 6:22, "the eye is the body's lantern").

910 The first of five elegiac couplets (#147–151) targeting a foolish contemporary of Ennodius who dares to call himself by the name of the greatest Latin poet. A similar joke was made by Martial (4.80). Vergil is, by no small margin, the poet with whom Ennodius engages most and the only poetic predecessor that he openly names, calling Vergil the "root for the learned" (*doctorum radix Maro*, 23V.3) and speaking of "Maro's elegance" (*Maronis elegantia*, 21V.3); see also 2.2V, 69V.14. On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 317–318.

911 Lausberg (1982, 391–392) suggested that Ennodius capped the series with an allusion to an epigram attributed to Vergil (*AL* 258.2 R, *esse potes liber, non potes esse pater*). The reading of the epigram's final word (and punchline) is

uncertain. *Moro* meaning 'fool' (< Gr. μωρός) is otherwise unattested, and the meter requires *mŏro*, which would mean that it should not be a collateral form of e.g., *mōrio* ('arrogant fool;' cf. Mart. 8.13). This prompted Barthes to emend the text to *mero*, which Di Rienzo suggested could recall Nero's nickname, Mero, because he drank uncut wine (Suet. *Tib*. 42; Di Rienzo 2005, 194). But since onomastic punning—and Ennodius' metrics—are not always so exact, I let the manuscript reading (and the better joke) stand. A similar pun appears in *Epigr. Bob.* 70.5, where two letters in the name Romulus are rearranged to produce a new nickname for the target: *Morulus* ('lil' idiot'), although the first syllable of that word is long.

912 Ennodius slanders Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (470/5–524 CE; *PLRE* 2.233–237), the eminent philosopher and a powerful figure in the court of Theodoric, as an incompetent fighter and impotent lover. Boethius the rake also makes an appearance in Maximianus' third *Elegy,* where he instructs the poet in matters of love in a manner utterly at odds with the persona that emerges from Boethius' own writings (see Shanzer 1983). Ennodius had previously attempted to establish a friendship with Boethius, congratulating him on his consulship (358V, albeit with several backhanded compliments) and making several attempts to gain the use of his house in Milan (e.g., 370V, 418V). If the poem dates to 509, as Sundwall claimed, the poem must be in complete jest (Shanzer 1983, 185). But this seems doubtful, and it more likely reflects the final break between the two authors, perhaps c. 512/13, after Ennodius' final attempt to rent Boethius' house (c. 511) met with silence from Boethius (413V, 415V, 418V), and then Ennodius and Boethius found themselves on opposite sides of how to manage the ongoing Acacian Schism when Boethius savaged (implicitly) Ennodius and Faustus in his *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* (Bartlett 2003, 62–65). Meter: elegiac couplets.

913 The epigram's first word (*languescit*) is charged with erotic meaning: we know from the start that Boethius' "sword" is not just a sword but his phallus; Shanzer 1983 reviews the precedents for this and other double-entendres in the poem.

914 A thyrsus was an ornamental staff topped with a pinecone or a bunch of grapes that symbolized Bacchus and the hedonistic activities with which he was associated.

915 The final line contrasts love and war, Venus and Mars.

916 The first of several epigrams targeting the worldly obsessions of women. This poem describes how young girls learn to cheat by playing with an Ostomachion, a geometric puzzle, whose ivory pieces could be assembled to form different images (cf. *AL* 187.7–8 SB). Compare the ethical lapses occasioned by attempts to solve the Rubik's Cube. Ausonius famously used the Ostomachion as a metaphor for the art of the cento (*Cent. nupt. Praef.*), but Ennodius' poem seems focused on ethical (and misogynistic) matters rather than the poetic. On the poem, see Polara 1993, 219–220; Di Rienzo 2005, 184–185. Meter: elegiac couplets.

917 Ennodius begins with an elegant (nearly golden) line, whose lofty style is reinforced by the phrase *corda virorum* at verse-end, where it was favored by Prudentius and hence other Christian poets.

918 Marmarica was the section of north Africa between Egypt and Cyrene. The adjective, which was popular among Flavian epicists and deployed by late

antique poets (Claudian, Boethius, Dracontius), extends the epigram's elevated style.

919 Since the reference to the Ostomachion brings Ausonius to mind, Ennodius may recall another poem by his fellow Gallic poet, his *Grammaticomastix* (22, *totum opus hoc sparsum*).

920 The meaning of the expression *de poena* is somewhat obscure. It cannot mean, as often, 'about the punishment' because the sense must be that playing the game properly requires a great deal of effort and so the girls learn to cheat (Di Rienzo 2005, 185).

921 The first of several epigrams (#154–157) in elegiac couplets that focus on wine and its abuse. Ennodius mocks a pretorian prefect (perhaps the Honoratus targeted in #158) for thinking he could wring wine from the vine-wood staff that is the symbol of his office. On the series, see Di Rienzo 2013, 316–317.

922 This epigram, and the next, revolve around a pun on *vitis*: 'vine' but also the centurion's staff, which was made from vine-wood. The line closes with an allusion to Ovid's description of the *Liberalia,* a festival devoted to Bacchus (*Fast.* 3.766, *gravidae munera vitis amat*).

923 The "skins" (*utribus*) are wineskins.

924 The prefect's staff speaks, although what it says is cryptic: it seems that the staff has carved clusters of grapes, which cannot, of course, produce wine.

925 The first of two epigrams in elegiac couplets that treat inferior wine from Liguria. In this epigram, Honoratus—whom Di Rienzo (2005, 186) identified with the target of #155–157—fails in his quest to become intoxicated because he drinks quantity over quality.

926 "Drunkard" (*potator*; a universally accepted conjecture by Sirmond) resonates with several biblical passages (e.g., *Prv* 23:20, *Mt* 11:19; cf. Jer. *Epist.* 52.11). Di Rienzo proposes that these references help characterize the amount that Honoratus drinks: i.e., *rivers* of wine (2005, 188).

927 Ligurian wines were of notoriously low quality (Strabo 4.6.2; Mart. 3.22); a double-entendre on "spew" (*vomens*) motivates the line: Honoratus cannot become drunk as long as he serves and vomits up cheap wine in vast quantities.

928 This epigram, whose title indicates that it was composed by Ennodius' friend Faustus, refutes the assertion that a Ligurian can be a drinker, since the wine in that region is so poor it cannot qualify as wine. If it is by Faustus, whom Ennodius repeatedly praised for his poetry (e.g., #6), it would be the only recognized piece of his poetry to survive.

929 The noun "drunk" (*potor*) has deep associations with Horace, who deploys it to indicate familiarity with a geographic place (*Carm.* 2.20.19; cf. Claud. *Stil.* 2.192: *potor . . . Savi*; and Sidon. *Carm.* 5.479) and to refer to drunkards (e.g., *Epist.* 1.18.91; *Serm.* 2.4.59 and 2.8.37; cf. Mart. 6.78.1); cf. the more prosaic *potator* in #158.1.

930 This hexametric epigram's title is misleading, as it focuses mostly on a drunken female character. Bernt refers to this poem as a skoptic epigram in the form of an epitaph (1968, 12), while Di Rienzo thinks the poem is likely metaphorical, with the flask (husband) and wife (lid) both pledged to Honoratus' eternal service (2005, 189).

931 Ennodius plays with an ambiguity in "flask" (*flasco*; this poem its earliest attestation): is it the physical container for wine, a man aptly named "Flask," or a nickname for a drunkard?

932 Lyaeus or 'the releaser' was an epithet of Bacchus, the god of wine.

933 Must is grape juice in the process of fermentation; the implication is that the target does not even wait for the wine to ferment fully before guzzling it. This line, like the last, contains an interior rhyme.

934 "Euhoe!" (*evoe*) was the disyllabic ritual shout of ecstasy made by participants in Bacchic festivals.

935 Ennodius closes with a quotation from a prayer for Aeneas' well-being (Verg. *Aen.* 1.546, *quem si fata virum servant*). If we imagine the flask's lid as the speaker, then it pledges to serve its drunken owner (perhaps the Honoratus in #154–159); but if the speaker is a woman, then she pledges to serve her god, Bacchus.

936 Ennodius praises Flavius Ennodius Messala (*PLRE* 2.759–760), the son of his friend Faustus Niger, for his consulship (506 CE). Messala, like his brother Avienus, became a friend and correspondent of the poet (e.g., #162–164; 378V, 385V, 421V, 434V, 454V, 468V). The first couplet, which gives no indication of Messala's name, holds in suspense whose consulship is being discussed. Only in the second couplet is Messala's consulship revealed (*tuo . . . murice*) and contrasted with Ennodius' own "noble lineage" (*purpura nostra*, 1). Ennodius' collection preserves another epigram by Messala in which he likewise makes sport of their shared name (#162). Meter: elegiac couplets.

937 Ennodius seems to allude to a phrase in which Statius claims that another's love elevated someone's status (*Silv.* 2.6.11, *cui maior stemmate iuncto*).

938 The "lists" (*fastis*) are the consular fasti or calendars, the record of those who held the annual office of consul and so gave their names to the year. Ennodius means that his status has been improved (*potior*) by Messala's consulship, symbolized by a white toga with purple stripes (*trabeis*) worn by distinguished Romans, including consuls during important ceremonies.

939 This couplet may allude to a passage in Sidonius that praises the speech given by Nicetius in celebration of Turcius Rufius Asterius' consulship of 449 CE (*Epist.* 8.6.6, *illam* ***Sarranis*** *ebriam* ***sucis*** *inter crepitantia segmenta palmatam plus picta oratione, plus aurea convenustavit*). The toga worn by triumphing generals would be embroidered with palms (*palmata*). Ennodius asks why Messala's toga is rejuvenated ("bloom," *vernans*) through the expensive purple dye collected from the murex shell (*murice*) when Ennodius' purple (see n. 940) contributed more to Messala's status. The declaration Ennodius made in the poem's opening seems to be reversed, as Messala is reminded by Ennodius that his own family could boast consuls and so contributes to Messala's prestige alongside that gained from his own consulship.

940 "Our purple" refers on the one hand to the consular offices held by Ennodius' ancestor, but also to his stylized literary compositions; see n. 708.

941 Messala writes a short epigram in elegiac couplets to remind Ennodius to return his book, likely a grammar (see #164). In doing so he makes a metrical error (see n. 942) that provokes two chiding responses from Ennodius (#163–164). In general, Messala's poem is less elegant than many of those by Ennodius; I tried to capture this difference in my translation.

942 Messala makes a metrical lapse in the line's last word: the *e* in *dēsinas* is long, but the meter requires it to be short. Since a variation in stress near verse-end

would not be as keenly felt in English prosody, I add a hypermetric syllable ("book*let*").

943 Messala makes a clever allusion to Martial's advice to Maximus that he avoid eating out (2.53.1, *vis fieri liber? mentiris, Maxime, non vis*), adapting the name of Martial's character into a pun on Magnus Felix Ennodius—*maximus* ("greatest") being the superlative of *magnus* ('great').

944 Messala may draw on the language of a Vergilian address to Augustus, further exalting Ennodius (*G.* 1.503, *iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar*).

945 Ennodius replies to Messala's metrically faulty epigram (#162) that requested the return of a loaned grammar (see #164). The tone may seem harsh, but Ennodius makes a metrical lapse of his own to show his genial humor (Polara 1993, 222–223): Messala's name should scan *Mēssālă*, but its position requires the last syllable to scan long, *Mēssālā.* While Ennodius does make metrical errors (Vogel catalogued around 70 such anomalies; see "Appendix II," #1–3 for a notorious example), this infelicity, in light of the context, position, and word, can only be intentional, poking fun at Messala's mistake by making a flub of his own when saying his correspondent's name ("Messa*lah*"). Meter: elegiac couplets.

946 The implication is that Messala asks Ennodius to return a book that, in light of Messala's lapse, he must not like or read, while at least Ennodius appreciates the volume. Ennodius may play with a superlative phrase in Paulinus Petricordiae (*VSM* 2.625, *ignara et proprii mens iniustissima casus,* 'a mind ignorant and most unjust').

947 Ennodius continues to make sport of Messala's metrical lapse (#162.2). Meter: elegiac couplets.

948 "Broken poem" refers to Messala's poem (#162) but may also indicate that Messala requested that Ennodius versify the grammar that he loaned him, which would then be the gift (*munere nostro*) that Ennodius mentions in the next couplet.

949 Ennodius makes another metrical lapse by scanning the final syllable of *quandoquē* as long, which I reproduce through the anomalous stress on "some*day*." There may be another meaning to the "gift" mentioned in this couplet: Ennodius is giving Messala practice in identifying false quantities so that he can improve his own skill at verse composition.

950 *Loripedem* ("limping" or 'crooked-footed') may recall Juvenal, who uses the rare word twice, including in line that would create an ironic allusion (2.23, *loripedem rectus derideat*, "let the upright mock the lame"). *Pangere versum* ('hammer out verse') is also a rare phrase, used otherwise only by Optatian (2.8, 9.17); cf. #172.3 (*pangentem carmina*).

951 The harvesting of grapes spurs Ennodius to compose poetry, whose imperfections he excuses as caused by the drinking of wine. Grape pressing is rarely mentioned in epigram (cf. *AP* 9.403) but does appear in the context of otiose literary production in Pliny (*Epist.* 9.16, 20) and Symmachus (3.22), as well as Ennodius' own #176, 334V, and 337V (cf. Mondin 2014–2015, 135). This epigram engages the programmatic contest over proper aesthetics between water-drinking poets, who practice a refined Callimachean poetics, and those who advance the claims of wine-soaked inspiration; cf. #176 §6. Mondin argues that the poem is a complex metaliterary meditation on Ennodius' composition of secular poetry and may have been destined for the conclusion of

his planned verse collection. It appears in the manuscripts between two poems of identical length on literary themes: his prefatory poem (#1) and an invective against a flawed critic of his poetry (#133). On the poem, see Mondin 2014–2015, Urlacher-Becht 2014, 71. Meter: elegiac couplets.

952 Ennodius draws on the language of Mart. 1.18.2 (*in Vaticanis condita musta cadis*).

953 While wine and blood were often associated, the direct metaphor of wine as blood is rare in classical literature, suggesting the influence of biblical (e.g., *Gen* 49:11, *Deut.* 42:14) and Christological symbolism (e.g., *Jo* 51:1–6).

954 Through an allusion to Sedulius' preface (1.21–22, *et scelerum monumenta canant, rituque magistro / plurima Niliacis tradant mendacia biblis*) the secular nature of these poems is starkly described. Ennodius' disassociation of rest (*otium*) from poetic composition—Ennodius is *unable to rest* and so composes—is remarkable (see Bernstein 2019); Ennodius uses the same phrase in his description of how the bishop Gerontius rejected sloth to focus on good works (#29.10, *otia non passus*).

955 Mondin connects this intimation of poetic immortality with Seneca's famous formulation of literature's necessity ("leisure [*otium*] without literature is death," *Epist.* 92.3; Mondin 2014–2015, 144).

956 Thalia was the Muse of comedic and light verse, especially epigram (e.g., Mart. 4.8.11, 7.17.4, and esp. 10.20.3); note too the final line of the prologue to Symphosius' *Aenigmata* (*Da veniam, lector, quod non sapit ebria Musa*; with Mondin 2014–2015, 147–148).

957 The image of the tottering Muse was common in epigram—e.g., *AL* 285a R (*Calliope madido trepidat se iungere Baccho / ne pedibus non stet ebria Musa suis*); cf. Prudentius' vision of *Luxuria* (*Psych.* 318–320)—referring often to the "limping" nature of elegiac couplets, although the occasional struggles of Ennodius ("Appendix II," #1–3) and his friends (#162–164) with the rules of classical prosody suggest another facet of the image; cf. Ennodius' apology for composing lame verse (#94 §6).

958 Ennodius rejects the oft-promoted proposition that wine is essential to poetic inspiration (e.g., Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.2–3); see Mondin on this motif in late antiquity (2014–2015, 151–57).

959 The Latin Muses (*Camenarum*) appear throughout Latin verse, but this particular form was used by Martial in reference to Stella's elegiacs (Mart. 6.47.4); and the form was favored by Ausonius, who used it five times, four in the same position. Bromius was an epithet of Bacchus, the god of wine.

960 If the title is accurate, the grammarian and rhetorician Deuterius (*PLRE* 2.267–269) requested (c. 506 CE) that Ennodius compose an ethopoeia, a speech in the character of a famous mythological or historical figure, in this case Diomedes, one of the Greek heroes who sacked Troy but who, on his return home, discovered that his wife, Aegiale, had been unfaithful. Ennodius describes the theme in these three elegiac couplets and then presents, in lengthy prose, Diomedes' speech when he learns of his wife's infidelity. Deuterius was a well-respected and well-connected grammarian and rhetorician in Milan. Deuterius was Ennodius' correspondent (24V) and perhaps his teacher (Marconi 2013, 8–9; cf. 69V.13–15). He tutored many young men in Ennodius' friend-network (e.g., Arator, see #174). He was obviously a man of considerable sway in northern Italy, as he earned, unusually for a teacher,

the honorific *Spectabilis* (Kaster 1988, 109–110; see n. 513). Ennodius mentions him in works spanning 503–506 or 512 CE; but since he does not seem to be spry by the time Ennodius began to mention him—he's bald (#168.9–10) with an eye condition (24V.2)—it seems probable that he was active in the city before these dates; see Kaster 1988, 267–269; Marconi 2013, 76–86. Deuterius also requested that Ennodius provide a poem to assist his attempt to secure a piece of property (#167) and was himself the subject of genial mockery in an epigram (#168). Sirmond identified 28 declamations or *dictiones* in Ennodius' archive; see Kennell 2000, 258–259; Di Rienzo 2004.

961 Ennodius perhaps draws on a simile of Lucan that characterized the obliviousness of Pompey (6.65, *Pompeium, veluti mediae qui tutus in arvis*).

962 This line echoes one in Pseudo-Seneca's *Octavia*, when Agrippina decries the collapsible boat with which Nero attempted to kill her (602, *qua naufragia deflevi mea*).

963 The metamorphic swells of passion and temptation that Aegiale endured while her husband Diomedes was away are compared to the literal ocean waves that he endured on his travels.

964 Diomedes' speech consists of three sections. In the first, Diomedes laments the cruelty of the gods who answered his prayers to return home only to plunge him into an even worse situation: his wife's adultery (1–5). Diomedes praises the former character of his wife, Aegiale (never named by Ennodius), before she succumbed to the advances of another man (6–7). Diomedes concludes with a prayer that the gods renew his seaborne wanderings (8). In crafting this speech, Ennodius draws on the versions of Diomedes' tale in Vergil and Ovid (Verg. *Aen*. 11.225–295; Ov. *Met*. 14.457–511; cf. Dictys 6.2; Ov. *Ibis* 349–350).

965 Diomedes' prayers to return home were granted, only to lead to the greater misfortune he now laments.

966 "Circe's cup" (*poculum Circeum*) was what Circe offered to (sexually interested) men, like Odysseus and his crew, who arrived on her island Aeaea; the potion would transform the unprotected into tame beasts; cf. Boeth. *PC Carm.* 3.

967 "Adulterer's wish:" according to some sources, Aegiale took multiple lovers, but Ennodius seems to follow the version in which she had an affair with Cometes, the son of Diomedes' companion Sthenelus.

968 "Hateful voyage:" to avoid being murdered by his adulterous wife, Diomedes fled his homeland; he eventually settled in Italy (Verg. *Aen*. 11.225–295; Ov. *Met*. 14.457–511).

969 Ennodius seems to have appended this allusion-rich poem to 208V. If so, it praises Deuterius. Meter: hexameter. Ennodius opens with an allusion to Victory in Claudian's praise of Stilicho, that poet's patron and defender of empire (*Stil.* 3.206, *custos imperii virgo*). Polara (1993, 228) notes that *vocali police chordas* is an allusion to Tibullus (2.5.3, *nunc te vocales impellere pollice chordas*), whom Ennodius references rarely and always as part of a serious treatment of a theme (cf. #173.11).

970 "Strings speak" (*fila loquentia*) in several late antique poems, e.g., *AL* 725.23 R (*seu tibi, Phoebe, placet temptare loquentia fila*); Paul. Petr. *VSM* 6.105 (*nervorum fila loquuntur*).

971 The plectrum was a device, often made of tortoise shell, used to pluck the strings of e.g., a lyre. Ennodius may draw on Seneca (*Tro*. 321, *levi canoram*

verberans plectro chelyn); but cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm*. 27.72–73 (*ut citharis modulans unius verbere plectri / dissona fila movet*).

972 Cyrrha (or Cirrha) was a seaport in Phocis, near Delphi and Mount Parnassus, the sacred home of Apollo and the Muses. It was popularized in Latin poetry by Lucan.

973 Ennodius may evoke the famed description of Augustus from the opening of Vergil's *Eclogues* (1.7, *namque erit* ***ille*** *mihi semper deus*) and, perhaps, language from Juvencus (2.353, *ille sed inspiciens, quid pectora clausa tenerent*).

974 Ennodius alludes to Prudentius' prayer to Christ for poetic inspiration (*C. Symm.* 2 *Praef.* 61–62, *ni tu, christe potens, manum / dextro numine porrigas*).

975 Ennodius composed this dense poem for Deuterius to send to Eugenes (or Eugenetes; *PLRE* 2.414–416), evidently to support Deuterius' request for a small garden from Eugenes (vv. 23–29). On Deuterius, see n. 960; #166, 168. Eugenes was a prominent figure in Ostrogothic Italy, attaining the office of *Magister Officiorum* in 507 CE. Likely the brother of Olybrius (32V; see #7), Eugenes was a notable orator, advocate (Cassiod. *Var.* 1.12), and patron of the arts (e.g., 67V, 149V, etc.; Cassiod. *Var.* 1.12, 13). On the titles, *Vir Spectabilis* and *Vir Inlustris*, see n. 513. Meter: elegiac couplets.

976 Ennodius introduces an ambiguity, with "strands" (*fila*) evoking the threads of the Fates, who made Eugenes (and perhaps Deuterius) prosperous, but also the sweet (*dulcia*) strings of the Muses, who support this song.

977 Ennodius perhaps alludes to Statius' genethalicon (birthday song) for Lucan (*Silv.* 2.7.114, *et te nobile carmen insonantem*).

978 The line may hint at Eugenes' successful career. He had been *Quaestor Palatii* in 506 CE (succeeding Ennodius' friend Faustus); Ennodius may also hint at Eugenes' career as an advocate through the phrase *vox iusti*, by which Juvenal referred to Solon, a famed Greek lawgiver (10.274, *vox iusti facunda Solonis*).

979 The timbrel (*tympana*) was a ritual percussion instrument; a plectrum was a device, often made of tortoise shell, used to pluck the strings of e.g., a lyre.

980 Ennodius refers to the Camenan sisters (*Camenarum . . . sororum*), prophetic Italian nymphs that came to be associated with the Muses of Latin literature. Ovid referred to the "wise crowd" of the Muses (*docta . . . turba*) in his lament that his poetry availed him not in exile (*Tr.* 3.2.4).

981 The thumb is "loquacious" because it accompanies the song on the lyre.

982 Ennodius alludes to Vergil's description of the warrior maiden Camilla (*Aen*. 11.508, *o decus Italiae virgo*).

983 "The lap of Quirinus" (*Quirinali . . . gremio*) refers to Rome; the Roman people were often referred to as Quirites.

984 Tigresses were thought to be exceptionally protective of their young (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.8–9, *intempesta cano; citius me tigris abactis / fetibus orbatique velint audire leones*).

985 Ennodius alludes to Aeneas' description of Pallas on his pyre (11.68, *qualem virgineo demessum* ***pollice*** *florem*).

986 Ennodius quotes Aeneas' address to Evander (*Aen.* 8.143, *his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem*).

987 "Circumstance" translates *nostra saecula*, an intentionally vague expression by Ennodius. It typically refers to an age (of a man, of mankind) but can also

refer to the material (non-spiritual) circumstances of an individual. The latter is especially relevant, given Deuterius' sollicitation of property; but the former contributes to the flattery of Eugenes.

988 Amphion was a mythological founder of the Greek city of Thebes, whose walls he assembled using the power of his music. Dirce was a fountain near Thebes, said to be created or named by Dirce, a cruel queen punished by Amphion and his brother for mistreating their mother. Ennodius deploys a final Vergilian reference in this line (*Ecl.* 2.24, *Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho*).

989 I.e., show that the Muses now favor Deuterius (and Ennodius) by granting the requested garden.

990 An epigram (perhaps c. mid-506 CE) that mocks, seemingly in jest, Deuterius, while excusing his verbal lapses. Deuterius was a prestigious teacher of grammar and rhetoric in Milan and the addressee of several works, including #166–167 (see n. 960 for more information about the teacher). In other works, Ennodius lavishly praises Deuterius' learning and abilities as an instructor: e.g., "most learned man" (69V.5, *doctissime hominum*); "revered teacher" (69V.13, 85V.5, *venerablis magister*); "best teacher" (3V.2*, doctorum optime*; 69V.12, *doctor optimus*; 94V.4, *optime magister*). Meter: elegiac couplets.

991 One wonders about the nature of Deuterius' verbal deficiencies. The presence of *innumeris* ('countless' in the sense of "infinite" but also 'without meter') may suggest that Deuterius lacked proper rhythm. Ennodius tells us that Deuterius did compose verse (24V); but the criticism could refer to Deuterius' prose; (cf. #163–164, on Messala's metrical lapses).

992 The verb is singular, but to capture the passage's comparative sense (*hoc melius*) I reframed this line. Even this defense of Deuterius contains a joshing ambiguity, as *simplex* ("simple") means 'lacking in deceit, guileless, honest, frank,' but also 'lacking in style, common, uneducated, foolish.'

993 Cicero (106–43 BCE) had been the exemplar of perfect Latin oratory for centuries.

994 This couplet, and the epigram as a whole, may draw on Martial's praise of Silus Italicus, who first practiced rhetoric before turning to poetry (7.63.5–6, *sacra cothurnati non **attigit** ante Maronis / implevit **magni** quam **Ciceronis** opus*).

995 'Baldness' (*calvities*) arrives as the first word of the poem's last line, which Ennodius likens to the glow of the moon (*Phoebae lumina*)! Baldness could have negative connotations: there was a rich skoptic tradition against bald men; emperors were notoriously tetchy when it came to their baldness (e.g., Suet. *Domitian* 18.2); and it was a characteristic of buffoons in mime (Juv. 5.171–172). Yet it was also long-associated with learning and philosophy (see e.g., Synesius, *In Praise of Baldness* 6).

996 This droll elegiac couplet puns on both the name of Arator, which meant 'ploughman,' and also *colo –ere*, which can mean both 'cultivate' (e.g., a field) and 'honor, care for' (e.g., a special day). This ambiguity is expressed through the parentheses in v.1. Ennodius clearly thought the plow pun amusing, as he also deploys it, at great length, in 85V.10, which commemorates Arator's performance upon his matriculation into Deuterius' school (see also #174). Arator was one of Ennodius' frequent correspondents; see on #99. On the title, *Vir Inlustris*, see n. 513.

997 The first of two or perhaps three poems to Agnellus (#170–171/72), a significant figure in Ostrogothic politics (*PLRE* 2.35), with whom Ennodius began a correspondence in the winter of 505/6. Around 507, Agnellus was sent to Africa to manage Theodoric's interests among the Vandals. When he returned to Italy, he assumed an important position in the court at Ravenna, presumably either *Magister Officiorum* or *Comes Largitionum* (see 321–322V). This brief polymetric poem, which consists of a curse in a Sapphic stanza and four trochaic tetrameter catalectics, intimates the source of Ennodius' displeasure. The agreement mentioned in the poem's final two lines may refer to the horse Agnellus had promised Ennodius (359V); see Kennell 2000*,* 64–65, 119. The poem seems either to be an ironic denunciation of Agnellus for his failure to send the promised horse, or it aims to soothe Agnellus after a slanderer caused some friction between the friends.

998 Ennodius draws on sentiments present in several biblical passages (e.g., *Ps* 28:4; *Ecclus* 28:15, see Di Rienzo 2005, 199–200). For Christ the (Great) Judge," cf. Paul. Nol, *Epist.* 11.186 (Auson.), *Epitaphium Cynegii* 6.

999 "Pact" refers to the friendship between Agnellus and Ennodius, which has been strained by the slanderer.

1000 A short note accompanies (at least) two poems. Ennodius claims that he had refused other requests, but his affection for Agnellus led him to send these poems for him to read, although he warns him not to circulate copies. Of course, this may imply—in the ironic, periphrastic style typical of late antique epistolary discourse—that Agnellus should circulate them, even if this would be a blow to Ennodius' modesty. Meter: hexameter.

1001 The poems to which Ennodius refers are unknown.

1002 To "make copies" would imply the circulation of the poems to other readers; cf. the orator Symmachus, who earned the (likely ironic) ire of Ausonius by circulating one of his poems without his authorization (*Epist.* 1.31).

1003 This line boasts a conceit of elegy (e.g., Propert. 1.15.16, *vincula rupit amor*; Tibull. 2.2.18, *vincula portet Amor*), but Ennodius may also refer to Prudentius' description of the common bonds of *Romanitas* (*C. Symm.* 2.608–609*, ius fecit commune pares et nomine eodem / nexuit et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit*).

1004 Ennodius asks Agnellus to loan him a horse. This entreaty seems to have been unsuccessful, as Ennodius renews the behest in late summer 509 CE (359V), noting that Agnellus' previous promises had gone unfulfilled. That request too proved fruitless and, after an illness caused an unexpected delay, Ennodius dispatched a slave to collect it (397V; cf. 309V, another letter in which Ennodius complains about this health to Agnellus). Meter: elegiac couplets.

1005 Dithyramb, once the ecstatic choral song sung for Bacchus, came to symbolize frantic or inspired verse. It could be said to be "fruitful" (*frugiferis*, otherwise only of fields, soil, etc.) because of the association between Bacchus and fertility.

1006 Cf. #164.5.

1007 Aon, a son of Poseidon, gave his name to Aonia, the ancient name of Boeotia, the land of Helicon, the mountain sacred to the Muses.

1008 Pegasus was the winged horse of the Muses, whose hoof-strike caused the Muses' fountain, Hippocrene, to spring from Mt. Helicon. Ennodius means to suggest both one of Agnellus' swift horses and the inspiration that such a gift would impart.

1009 The lines allude to Vergil's description of Camilla's swiftness (*Aen.* 7.808–809, *illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret / gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas*).

1010 Ennodius' Muse will be Agnellus, whose gift of a horse will inspire Ennodius to sing happier songs.

1011 Ennodius closes with a quotation of Horace's translation of the opening of the Odyssey *(AP* 141, *dic mihi, Musa, virum*; cf. Auson. *Perioch. Od*. 1.1).

1012 This poem (c. 507 CE) introduces the grandsons of Proculus to their teacher, perhaps Deuterius (see n. 960). Ennodius tells us nothing else of this Proculus, but because of the praise of his poetry in the last section of this poem, he has been identified with the notable Ligurian poet (*PLRE* 2.923; Sidon. *Epist.* 9.15). On late antique education, see Barnish 2003; Watts 2012; Marconi 2020 and 2012–2013; Rallo Freni 1981, 25–32; Riché 1976; Léglise 1890. Meter: elegiac couplets.

1013 Ennodius' image is even more dramatic: "the pregnant earth extrudes her teats into the spikes of grain."

1014 The "turf" is 'married' (*maritatis*) implying that it has been fertilized. Ennodius seems to draw inspiration for this and other lines in the poem from Vergil's description of autumn (*G*. 1.314–316, *spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit et cum / frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent? / saepe ego, cum flavis messorem induceret arvis*).

1015 Trees are pruned to stimulate the production of more fruit.

1016 "Nurse" (*nutricem*) can also refer to a nursery garden (Plin. *HN* 17.10.12), which would be appropriate in this context.

1017 Ennodius may recall Tibull. 1.1.23 (*agna cadet vobis, quam circum rustica pubes*).

1018 "Stammer" (*balbutit*) is a rare word; Ennodius may allude to Prudentius' apology for his halting verse (*Perist.* 10.11–12, *sic noster haerens sermo lingua debili / balbutit et modis laborat absonis*; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.48).

1019 Cf. #167.19–20 (*dextera fati / cum lacerat*).

1020 Ennodius may recall Prudentius' condemnation of misplaced eloquence, which he likens to farming with ivory implements, among other foolish misapplications of wealth and talent (*C. Symm.* 1.638, *si rastris quis temptet eburnis*).

1021 "Proculus's sons," i.e., grandsons, as the title makes clear.

1022 Ennodius again alludes to Prudentius' *Contra Symmachum* (2.286, *decoquat in massam fervens strictura secures*).

1023 The "Pindaric elder" (*Pindareus . . . avus*) is Proculus himself, who becomes the focus of the poem's final section. Pindar, an early Greek poet, was emblematic of powerful lyric poetry (Hor. *Carm.* 4.2). Ennodius' characterization might suggest the genre in which Proculus wrote. The adjective otherwise appears only in Martianus Capella's praise of Calliope (2.119.22).

1024 *Camenalis* ('of the Camenae'): the Camenae were prophetic Italian nymphs that came to be associated with the Muses of Latin literature.

1025 Phoebus, i.e., Apollo, the god of poetic inspiration. Marsyas had challenged Apollo to a musical contest; easily dispatched, Apollo flayed him.

1026 This declamation pays tribute to the intellectual achievements of Ennodius' younger friend, Arator, who would recite the poem and speech on the occasion of his graduation from Deuterius' *auditorium* in Milan (see #167) in July/August 508 before he moved to Ravenna in early 509 CE. On Arator,

see n. 786. After a short elegiac preface, the prose *dictio* falls in two parts: the first (1–3) addresses the relationship between literature and praise; the second (4–12) provides an aretology of literature proper, praising its laudable attributes and capacities. Prontera (2017–2018, 296) comments that the titular phrase, *ad laudem provectus est*, is unusual but paralleled by Cassiodorus in the context of scholarly careers (*Var*. 4.6.2, 9.21.9). It may evoke the proof of faith through suffering (cf. Cyprianus, *De bono patientiae* 18). See Prontera 2017–2018; Rallo Freni 1981.

1027 The prefatory poem opens with a near golden line, unbalanced only by the preposition in the first half (*de*).

1028 Ennodius may draw on language in Avienus' translation of the *Phaenomena* (1636, *ebria sanguineae subvolvant vellera nubes*; 346–347, *Assyriumque bibunt nova vellera fucum, / ebria ut externo splendescat lana veneno*). Ennodius also disparages Chinese robes in his panegyric for Theodoric (263V).

1029 Cf. *Aetna* 451 (*candentes efflant lapides*).

1030 Ennodius' emphasis on visual splendor in this opening (*radiantibus*) associates the narrative with the metaphorical texture of the prefatory epigram.

1031 Ennodius weaves a series of metaphors through the *dictio* (rural, commercial, water, irenic).

1032 The phrase *messes ingeniorum* may be an intentional multiplication of a similar phrase in Symmachus' reflection on the utility of praise (*Epist.* 3.1, *laudari quippe a laudato viro rara est messis ingenii*); but cf. Plin. *HN* 17.13.

1033 "Deposit:" the imagery draws on biblical sources (e.g., *Tim* 6:20; *Mt* 25:14–30; *Lk* 19:12–27, with López Kindler 2012, 421; cf. Di Rienzo 2005, 209).

1034 "Pegasus' font:" the Hippocrene was a fountain (*gurges*) on Mt. Helicon, sacred to the Muses and so a source of poetic inspiration. It was said to have sprung up under the strike of Pegasus' hoof (*Pegaseus*).

1035 The phrase "granaries of knowledge" (*scientiae horrea*) draws on biblical language (esp. *Mt* 3:12, *congregabit triticum suum in horreum*); Prontera connects the phrase with the language of Christian moral treatises (2017–2018, 309).

1036 "Furrowed" (*describitur*) with this meaning is unique; but cf. #2.9 (*scribit agros*), with Rallo Freni 1978; cf. Sidon. *Carm*. 16.8, *Epist.* 2.2.1.

1037 On *subrepiunt* for s*ubripiunt* see Vogel 1885, 413; Dubois 1903, 284–285.

1038 Di Rienzo (2005, 54) links this imagery with language associated with Ambrose; cf. #21.11–12, in praise of Ambrose; but also #178.9, Deuterius' *studiorum arma* ("weapons of your studies").

1039 For this sense of *erigitis* ("fortify"), cf. #15.25–27 (*Hymn for Ascension*); *Ps* 145:8; and Ambr. *Exp. Luc.* 293, with Urlacher-Becht 2014, 373 n. 400.

1040 For *producta* as a perfect participle, cf. Sen. *Epist*. 83.17 (Prontera 2017–2018, 315).

1041 On the importance of literature as the foundation of Christian morality in Ennodius, see Urlacher-Becht 2008 ("L'éloge . . .").

1042 Ennodius alludes to the parodic representation of the Saturnian golden age in the opening of Juvenal 6 (10, *et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito*).

1043 Contemplation of his carefully arranged bookshelf spurs Ennodius to praise the power of literature and culture in an unusual meter, trochaic tetrameter catalectics. This is Ennodius' only poem cast entirely in this meter and may give it a hymnic sense, unless it was destined for a polymetric work.

1044 For the phrase "paramount authority" (*superna potentia*), cf. e.g., Cassiod. *De anima* 13; *Exp. Psalm.* 56.

1045 *Lux pudoris* ("modesty's light") may draw from Ov. *Fast*. 6.115 (*cum luce pudoris*).

1046 With the striking phrase *mundi faece* ("worldly scum") Ennodius seems to allude to Lucan's vision of degenerate Rome (*Romam sed mundi faece repletam*).

1047 A mattock is an agricultural tool used to till the soil. Ennodius mentions the implement on several occasions (e.g., 69V.5, 175V.4).

1048 In a previous letter to Maximus (334V), written in the fall of 508 CE, Ennodius proposed that the pair embark on a conversation about virtue. Maximus' terse reply failed to satisfy Ennodius, who harshly chastises Maximus for the slight, which Ennodius assumes was caused by Maximus engaging in unvirtuous activities. Ennodius therefore appends a short epigram in elegiac couplets in which he counsels him to maintain his virginity.

1049 "Splendor of your speech" (*ostrum loquendi*): Ennodius uses the color purple for dignified speech (*ostrum*; cf. *purpura* in §3; see n. 708).

1050 Lyaeus ('the relaxer') was an epithet for Bacchus, the god of wine. Silenus, an associate of Bacchus, was an uncouth, bald, overweight, drunken satyr; on wine-drinking poets, see n. 951.

1051 Cf. Cypr. Gall. *Gen*. 265, 472.

1052 "Water," i.e., the water of poetic inspiration. The brother (in Christ) is Ennodius.

1053 Ennodius had attempted in 509–510 CE to gain the patronage of Boethius' father-in-law, Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus Iunior (*PLRE* 2.1044–1046), but relations between the two seem to have cratered in 512 CE when the papal epistle to the eastern bishops, part of the ongoing attempt to close the Acacian Schism, followed the theological arguments advanced by Faustus and Ennodius rather than those of Boethius and Symmachus (49V, 464V; see "Introduction," p. 10). Boethius condemned the papal response—and its supporters—in his *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*. Ennodius, therefore, seems to mock Symmachus and Boethius by connecting Faustus' recent triumph in the papal debate with Ambrose's victory over Symmachus' great-grandfather (Quintus Aurelius Symmachus) in the controversy of 384 over the placement of an Altar of Victory in the Roman Senate house. On Boethius and Ennodius, see n. 912. Meter: elegiac couplets.

1054 The palm-wreath was a symbol of victory. The "friend" (*amico*) refers to Symmachus (both Q. Aurelius Symmachus and Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus).

1055 On Ambrose, see n. 351; the poem's final phrase has several possible meanings: the goddess' wrath might be more beneficial because she supports the position of Ambrose (and Faustus), or because it speaks religiously proper words or keeps holy silence, or because it applauds the speech of Ambrose/Faustus.

1056 A hexametric epigram follows a brief prose preface that compares the brilliant power of liberal education with the devoted nurturing of an eagle for its young and the distinctive test to which eaglets are put. The title, absent in the manuscripts, derives from Schott. Vogel considered this an introduction to the declamation for Paterius and Severus (*Dict.* 13), also translated here. On this poem, see De Lucia 2006. The question of how extensively and formally

Ennodius worked with students in Milan has provoked disagreement. Deacons often assumed an educational role, as Ennodius himself reminds Deuterius at the conclusion of this piece (§11). Vogel was skeptical that Ennodius had a formal pedagogical position (1885, xi), but Léglise (1890, 212–214) and Fontaine (1962, c. 402) both imagined that he led rhetorical instruction in the Milanese *auditorium*. More recent scholars have tended to take a more cautious outlook (Rallo Freni 1981, 13f.; Marconi 2013, 30–36; and esp. Prontera 2017–2018 on 320V; cf. Schröder 2007, 111–118.

1057 In the second half of the poem, Ennodius associates the practice of elite human education with a ritual test that eagles were said to perform on their young: eaglets are turned to the sun and those who can withstand the glare are raised while those who falter are neglected or killed. This test, which Ennodius also mentions in a letter to Avienus (23V.4), can be found as early as Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 620a.1–5). It entered Latin literature with Lucan (9.902–906; cf. Sil. 10.108–111) and was popular in Christian exegetical texts (e.g., Ambr. *Hex.* 5.18.60, *Expl. Psalm.* 1913.4; Jer. *Comm. in Esaiam* 12.40; August. *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 36.5), but Ennodius seems to allude particularly to the opening of Claudian's *3Hon.* (1–14). While Claudian uses the eagle test to assert his own readiness to perform before the emperor, Ennodius removes any sense, present in Claudian and most other texts, that one of the eaglets must fail, appropriately for a poem introducing a declamation delivered by two young students (De Lucia 2006, 55–58). This line may be further reinforced by a reference to Prudent. *Ham.* 699 (*insubiecte, potens, rerum arbiter, arbiter idem*; cf. Juv. 8.79, *esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem*; Ambr. *Epist.* 10.71.4, *testis est ergo idem arbiter, idem* . . .).

1058 The 'assault of the flames' (*flammarum . . . bella*) refers to the rays of the sun (and the brilliance of liberal instruction).

1059 A celebration of the entrance of Severus and Paterius into Deuterius' *auditorium* in Milan (cf. #173; on Deuterius, see n. 960). Little else is known about the two boys. Severus (*PLRE* 2.1004) may have been a descendant of Flavius Messius Phobeus Severus, consul in 470 CE. Paterius (*PLRE* 2.836) may have been the descendant of the Flavius Paterius who was consul in 443.

1060 "Heirs to names steeped in purple:" i.e., the boys' ancestors have reached the pinnacles of political office; *parentiva* ('of or concerning parents') is an exceedingly rare word but had appeared in Maximus Tauriensis, a student of Ambrose of Milan.

1061 The *Fasti consulares* chronicled the consuls and other higher magistrates, as well as important events that occurred during their terms in office.

1062 The image is anachronistic: "Centuries" refers to the groups (*centuria*) in which the Roman people once assembled to vote in the *Comitia centuriata,* and "Field" to the Campus Martius, the traditional assembly place for Romans.

1063 Ennodius uses the same phrase, "scepters and magisterial robes" (*scipiones et trabeas*) in #179 §16. The *trabea*, the ceremonial robe worn by distinguished citizens, was originally a purple robe with gold embroidery, in late antiquity it was often embroidered with vivid, pictorial patches producing a "gorgeous display of brilliance and color" (Roberts 1989, 112).

1064 Ennodius alludes to Horace's famous declaration of poetic immortality (*Carm.* 3.30.1, *exegi monumentum aere perennius*). The "palm" was a symbol of victory and so of preeminence.

1065 In a prosopopoeia, Ennodius imagines Paterius and Severus appealing to their famed ancestor, presumably the consul Paterius, who addresses Deuterius and then the boys in §7–8.

1066 In 85V.9 and 94V.8, Ennodius characterizes Deuterius as the defender of Roman "liberty on the verge of collapse" (*ruitura libertas*); see Barnish 2003.

1067 The ancient Olympics featured several horse and chariot races. The last recorded games were held in 393 CE, although they may have continued in some form for a time thereafter.

1068 Ennodius has "Paterius" conclude by addressing Paterius and Severus directly. The "champions" or 'defenders' (*propugnatorum*) are the pair's teachers.

1069 The "esteemed teacher" (*doctor venerabilis*) is Deuterius.

1070 Ennodius turns to address Deuterius.

1071 While Paterius and Severus are embarking on their secular education with Deuterius, Ennodius concludes by forcefully declaring his continued interest in their (more important) spiritual education; on this theme see #179. The "virginal mother" is Mary, through whom Christ and so the Church—and Ennodius' role as spiritual father—were born.

1072 In late 511 or early 512 CE, Ennodius sent this work to Ambrosius and Beatus—two young Ligurians departing for school in Rome. This prosimetric epistle elaborated the ethical foundations of the liberal arts and sought to connect the two students with leading, and responsible, educators in the city. The piece, untitled in the manuscripts, is routinely known by the name assigned to it by Sirmond: the *Paraenesis didascalica* ("Pedagogical exhortation"). After a general introduction that explains the work's prosimetric organization, a series of personified virtues or arts is introduced, with each described in prose followed by each character speaking in verse. The first section, *Poetry*, introduces a series of Christian virtues—*Modesty*, *Moderation*, and *Faith*—that leads in turn to *Grammar* as a foundation for the traditional pinnacle of studies: *Rhetoric* (cf. August. *Ord*. 2.8.5, with Mondin 2017, 152 n. 18). The work concludes with an extensive catalogue of morally upright Romans on whom Ambrosius and Beatus should model their conduct and a brief polymetric envoy to Symmachus and the two youths. In appearance, the work presents itself as an elaborate private letter to Ambrosius and Beatus; but in reality, it is a public declaration of pedagogical principles—and a claim to moral leadership by the ambitious Ennodius, who likely hoped it would burnish his candidacy to succeed Laurentius as the bishop of Milan (Mondin 2017, 152). In a previous letter to Beatus (405V**,** translated in "Appendix II," #4), Ennodius had announced the project and requested that Beatus wait for Symmachus to correct it before circulating it to sympathetic readers. Ennodius draws on numerous models in constructing the *Paraenesis*, foremost among them the tradition of didactic personification of the liberal arts in Martianus Capella's allegorical, prosimetric *De nuptiis*—although in contrast to that work, Ennodius' allegory is only thinly maintained in most of his prose sections. Other prosimetric works were influential as well, including those by Symmachus, Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius Apollinaris and, in particular, Ausonius (esp. the *Protrepticus ad nepotem,* see Mondin 2017, 156–161; and for the *Protrepicus* in general, Amherdt 2010; note Ausonius' polite refusal to provide the great-grandfather of Ennodius' Symmachus with a composition similar to the *Paraenesis* in Auson. *Epist*. 12; see n. 1130). In contrast to most of Ennodius'

poetic works, the bibliography on the *Paraenesis* is extensive: see esp. Mondin 2017; Zarini 2016; Lozovsky 2016, 325–326; Marconi 2012–2013 (advocating for a date c. 504 CE); Zarini 2012; Urlacher-Becht 2012, 219–223; Polara 2011; Moretti 2005 and 2001; Polara 1996, 29–35; Rallo Freni 1981 and 1971; Relihan 1993, 164–175.

1073 When Ambrose (*PLRE* 2.67) completed his studies in Milan (261V), Ennodius forwarded letters of recommendation to Faustus Niger (424V), Meribaudus (425V), and Probinus (426V). Ambrose would enjoy an illustrious career, culminating in his becoming the Praetorian Prefect of Italy in 533. Beatus (*PLRE* 2.222) was recommended directly to Pope Symmachus (416V) and his deacon (and future Pope) Hormisdas (417V). On the students in Ennodius' orbit, see Marconi 2013.

1074 Although the overall tenor of this work is, at least superficially, secular, it is notable that its first words draw the clearest connection with the divine (*Deo obsequimur;* cf. 405V.1, *eruditio per deum veniet res secunda*) and §2 is devoted to establishing faith as the foundation of a virtuous life.

1075 A year or less before the composition of the *Paraenesis*, Ennodius, in his *Eucharisticon* (438V), had foresworn secular poetry, perhaps under the influence of his recovery from a serious illness. He therefore is sure to claim that the educational value of the *Paraenesis* is found exclusively in the prose, while the poetic interludes are sweeteners for his rough style (§3); cf. Paul. Nol. *Epist*. 8.5 (to Licentius); and Boethius (*CP* 4 *pr*. 6), who may draw on Ennodius. On the tension between Ennodius' ecclesiastical and literary activities, see Vandone 2001; Polara 2016; Urlacher 2008.

1076 Ennodius likely draws on a similar mediation between prosaic and poetic modes of communication in Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 8.5.

1077 This section is composed in 12 Phalaecean hendecasyllables. While titles in the Ennodian corpus are generally thought to be authentic, it is likely that these interstitial headings are interpolations (Rallo Freni 1981, 2).

1078 The Camenae were prophetic Italian nymphs that came to be associated with the Muses of Latin literature. The reference to the "Camenan mother" (*parens Camena*) may signal a connection to the opening of Martianus Capella (1.1.1, *quem* ***matre*** *Camena*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.143, ***Musa*** *parens*).

1079 Corruption of these lines may contribute to their obscurity; Relihan suggests the presence of a metrical pun, i.e., "laws that allow resolution of long (*fortes*) into short syllables will debilitate strong minds" (Relihan 1993, 281 n. 4).

1080 "Discipline held by Christian soldiers" (*Christi militis insitum rigorem*) is a key phrase for the interpretation of the *Paraenesis* and the role of the secular arts (especially poetry and rhetoric) in proper Christian education.

1081 That is, to avoid meters more suitable for immoral poems (e.g., scazons and some iambics). Such *recusationes* remained de rigueur for the upright Christian poet (e.g., Sidon. *Epist.* 9.12.1; cf. Schröder 2007). Zarini (2012, 229) reminds us that these lines are spoken not by Ennodius but the character of Poetry. Poetry's objection seems to be laced with self-aware humor, since the hendecasyllable was used to great vulgar effect by poets like Catullus and Martial, and examples of scandalous content can be found in most meters.

1082 Having begun with the sweetener of secular verse, Ennodius quickly moves to a trio of Christian virtues. The first of which, Modesty, will be the "the mother of all good works" (§5); on modesty as the foundational virtue, see Tert. *Pudic*. 1.1.

1083 Ennodius cannily quotes biblical and secular texts. He first quotes *Prov* 9:8 (*argue sapientem, et diliget te*); then Juv. 7.209–210 (*qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis / esse loco*). The latter quotation continues to advance an underlying theme in the *Paraenesis*: the parental role of teachers and mentors, already mentioned in §4.

1084 This sentence seems inspired by the sentiments and imagery in Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.82–91, in which that poet reviews mythological pairs of teachers and students. This reinforces Ennodius' didactic program, as he seeks to advise pupils rather than (biological) sons.

1085 The first Christian prosopopoeia, Modesty, paradoxically speaks in elegiac couplets redolent with the language of secular erotic elegy.

1086 Ennodius says 'with rosy purple' (*roseo de murice*).

1087 Ennodius describes the profuse, sweaty blush that accompanies shy embarrassment.

1088 The sense is that one avoids shame by not speaking anything that one's modesty forbids (through the face's blush).

1089 The tone in the introduction to Moderation is more aggressive, akin to a diatribe: she "thunders" her poem (*tonare*).

1090 "Calm" (*frigus*) implies an absence of the baser passions and the preternatural calm of heaven (Relihan 1993, 282 n. 9).

1091 "Uncontrolled feasts:" *comisatio* were gluttonous feasts associated with Bacchic excess.

1092 Moderation (*Castitas*) speaks in pugnacious heroic hexameters that likely draw inspiration from Sobriety's assault on Luxury in Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (407–408). The tone of this personification is, paradoxically, aggressive and martial. Although Ennodius is very interested in sexual chastity, the introductory section and the poem itself make clear that he intends us to understand Moderation as addressing all bodily desires, i.e., a sub-species of *verecundia*. *Pudicitia* would seem a more apt title.

1093 The sense of this line is a little obscure, but it must mean that Moderation does not waste time on sour expressions when she sees something laudable.

1094 The line thrice repeats *crux* ("cross"); this is matched by the triple repetition of *hac* ("with this") in the next line, which could refer to either the cross or Moderation.

1095 "Spoils:" i.e., beautiful garlands comprise many different kinds of flowers.

1096 Electrum was, typically, an alloy of gold and silver; Ennodius uses the metaphor of a body (*corpus*) for a product composed of different parts or 'limbs' (*membra*).

1097 Faith (*Fides*) speaks in four Sapphic stanzas. In contrast to the aggressive stance taken by Moderation, Faith exudes the serenity of a confident moral character. The Sapphics associate this poem with moralizing Horatian lyrics (e.g., 1.22, *Integer vitae*), but the content draws primarily from the *Psalms* (e.g., 1, 14, and 111; with Zarini 2012, 231).

1098 "Fallen parents" (*luxae parentis*): Ennodius refers to the original sin of Adam and Eve.

1099 The Geloni were a notoriously fierce tribe who lived in the steppes of southern Russia; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.461, Claud. *Stil.* 1.110, etc.

1100 The Morini were another tribe on the periphery of empire; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.725–727. Although they submitted to Roman rule during the reign of Augustus,

they appear here as symbolic of far-flung barbarian tribes, a sense reinforced by the reference to Parthians (cf. #12.21).

1101 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.484 (*apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum*).

1102 "Tullian blaze:" Ennodius refers to the much-admired oratorical style of Cicero.

1103 "Fields of Mars:" i.e., the field of battle.

1104 Grammar speaks in trochaic tetrameter catalectics, a meter found in theatrical works like those of Terence, an author who formed a crucial pillar of the school curriculum. Unlike the aggressive Moderation or the bellicose Rhetoric who will follow, Ennodius' Grammar is a gentle, almost maternal, figure. The contents of her speech draw heavily on the opening of Ausonius' *Protrepticus* (1–32; see Mondin 2017, 157 for a detailed comparison).

1105 Ennodius draws the metaphor of 'flavoring the mind' (*mentibus . . . saporem*) from Paulinus of Nola (*Epist*. 10.1). The matter for grammatical study were poetic (secular) "tales" (*fabulae*); cf. Quint. 2.4.2. The secular and often pagan content of poetry was long a source of concern for Christian authors (e.g., August. *Catech.* 6).

1106 Grammar, surprisingly, claims to correct her pupils through persuasion rather than corporal punishment (see also §12). A similar promise is made in the portrait of Grammar in Martianus Capella (3.223–224) and similar sentiments are voiced in Auson. *Protrep.* 16–23, although there she is mostly concerned with stern correction of speech, while this aspect of Grammar's craft is minimized by Ennodius. A wry late epigram tells of the chaos that can erupt in the classroom when a teacher foregoes corporal punishment (*AL* 85 SB).

1107 The first art Ennodius mentions is rhetoric, which was equated with battle in the prose introduction to this section (§11). The second art is grammar itself, knowledge of which removes the anxiety of public speaking.

1108 The closing lines of Grammar's speech seem to draw on Quintilian, esp. 2.9.1–3. On the possible connection between this sentiment and Macrobius, see Mondin 2017, 161–168.

1109 "Mars of eloquence" is the personification of Rhetoric, who is characterized by her martial, domineering attitude and language. "Rhetoric's trumpeting battles" (*rhetoricis lituis*): Ennodius uses the martial war-trumpet (*lituus*) to evoke a grand, elevated style. Unlike the maternal Grammar, Rhetoric is martial and seeks to dominate, even other disciplines (§17). She also takes the prerogative, uniquely among the personifications, of giving two speeches: one in prose and then another in verse. The positioning of Rhetoric after the Christian virtues is somewhat surprising. In 431V.2, Ennodius chastised his relative Camilla, who planned to give her son a secular education after already admitting him into the Church. But as Augustine concedes, the value of rhetoric depends only on whether it is deployed for good or ill and the good Christian can make use of it to fight for truth (*ut militet veritati, Doctr. chr*. 4.2.3; cf. 94V.2–3); cf. the praise of rhetoric in #11 (*Hymn for Saint Cyprian*, with Bordone 2013) and Cassiodorus' reconciliation of traditional education with faith (*Instit.* 5.33). On Ennodius and Christian education, see esp. Marconi 2020; Polara 2006, 23–24.

1110 Ennodius deploys two technical terms (*divisio*, 'division,' and *partitio*, 'partition' → "sub-heading") for the third of the six canonical sections of a speech, in which the elements of the main argument (*confirmatio*) are outlined. Since they are synonyms, it would indeed be impossible to distinguish them.

1111 Rhetoric appropriately, although uniquely among the virtues, speaks in her prose introduction. Her claim to possess power second only to God (*post apicem divinitatis*) is surprising. This claim is reinforced in the subsequent poem, when Rhetoric claims for herself the power to create saints and sinners (v. 5). One wonders whether her boasting is intended as cautionary. Her reference to "humane" (*humani*) as opposed to sacred speech is also notable.

1112 "Scepters and magisterial robes," see n. 1063.

1113 Since rhetoric is the domain of prose, it can only play with the "strange craft" (*alieni . . . ludus oficii*) of elegiac couplets.

1114 Ennodius may allude to Paul. Petr. *VSM* 1.86 (*stringitur invictus sine crimine vulneris ensis*).

1115 Ennodius characterizes the malignancy of the reluctant witness with a reference to Vergil's epithet for the demon Allecto (*Aen.* 7.331, *virgo sata Nocte*).

1116 Wool from the Taranto region of Italy was famed for its fine softness (Hor. *Carm*. 2.6.18; Mart. 13.125).

1117 The final and most extensive prose section turns from the allegorical arts and virtues to the real-world education available to Ambrose and Beatus in Rome through its upright, Christian aristocracy (cf. the praise offered these figures by the personified Rome in Ennodius' *Libellus pro synodo* (49V.132–134). While there is no doubt about their Christian character, his descriptions are surprisingly secular, with the exception of the last entry, Stefania. But through studied allusion to Sedulius, an important author for the members of this Roman network, the Christian nature of these figures is revealed (see n. 1127). In the prose introduction to his work, Sedulius imagined that his dedicatee, Macedonius, would delegate the reading of the *Carmen Paschale* to a religious community comprising seven critical lieutenants (*Carm. Pasch.* 6.9–7.4 H, with Mondin 2017, 168–173).

1118 Ennodius will catalogue alternative models for Ambrose and Beatus. On Faustus, see n. 178; on Avienus, "Introduction," n. 4.

1119 Flavius Rufius Postumius Festus (*PLRE* 2.467–468) and Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus Iunior (*PLRE* 2.1044–1046) are granted priority in the catalogue of Roman aristocrats, with an extended description that stresses their moral rectitude. Festus, consul in 472 and quite elderly (he would die c. 513 CE), had been a supporter of Laurentius during the controversy over the papacy and so was not a correspondent with Ennodius. Symmachus, consul in 485 (with Odovacer) and father-in-law to Boethius, would succeed Festus as *caput Senatus*. He was a leader of the pro-Byzantine faction in Italian politics, and so he opposed the policies favored by Faustus and Ennodius. He was an extraordinarily prestigious and learned man, knowledgeable in Latin and Greek, author of a (lost) Roman history, and patron of the rhetorician Priscian. As the subsidiary addressee of this work (§26; "Appendix II," #4), Ennodius courts his patronage; he also received a letter from Ennodius (358V).

1120 The reference to pantomimes is not jejune, since a controversy involving the selection of a pantomime in 509 had sparked violent riots (Cassiod. *Var*. 1.20, 27.32–33). Symmachus had been entrusted by Theodosius with the restoration of the Theater of Pompey (Cassiod. *Var*. 4.51).

1121 On silence as a mode of Christian rhetoric, see Hernández Lobato 2017.

1122 Petronius Probinus (*PLRE* 2.909–910), consul in 489, received one letter from Ennodius (426V). His son was Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus

(*PLRE* 2.28–82), consul in 504; he and his sister Blesilla are mentioned in #38 (362V.4).

1123 Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius Iunior (*PLRE* 2.233–237), consul in 510 and son-in-law of Symmachus, received four letters from Ennodius when he attempted (unsuccessfully) to secure the rental of one of Boethius' houses in Milan (370V, 408V, 415V, 418V) and was the target of a skoptic epigram, #152. On their relationship, see Knox 2019, 223–234; Shanzer 1983; Urlacher-Becht 2012, 214–219, 225; Kennell 2000, 195–197.

1124 Agapitus (*PLRE* 2.30–31) was promoted at a mature age to a position in Theodoric's court (c. 503 CE); Ennodius sent him five letters (18V, 122V, 146V, 161V, 254V).

1125 Flavius Probus (*PLRE* 2.913) would soon attain the consulship (c. 513 CE); he received one letter (360V) and is mentioned in "Appendix II," #1, in which Ennodius commends Beatus for showing a poem with a metrical lapse (#38) only to Probus.

1126 Ennodius concludes with two exemplary noblewomen, Barbara and Stefania, who work to counterbalance the secular feminine personifications earlier in the work by reinforcing the Christian virtues Ennodius highlighted in the *Paranaesis*. Barbara received two letters from Ennodius (393V, 404V), who recommends her to Beatus in #38 (362V.4). In 393V she mentions the offer (declined) of a prestigious position in Theodoric's court (perhaps tutoring his daughter).

1127 The final figure, Stefania (*PLRE* 2.1028), was the sister of Faustus and recipient of three letters from Ennodius (394V, 439V, 442V); she was also mentioned in #38 (361V.4). She was likely the widow of the Asterius, who commented on Sedulius and attached a prosimetric *subscriptio* to a copy of Vergil's *Eclogues* (*Laur*. 39.1 f. 8r); see Mondin 2017, 174–176.

1128 I am indebted to Relihan (1993, 168) for the language to bring across Ennodius' play with different meanings of *oratio* ('oration,' 'prayer').

1129 Ennodius casts the concluding dedication entirely in verse, first hexameters for Symmachus and then adonics (i.e., the final two feet of a hexameter) for the two boys. Ennodius begins by quoting an entire line from an unsuccessful entreaty at Verg. *Aen.* 10.597 (*per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes*). This is the first of several Vergilian quotations in the short poem, which alternate with lines that allude to other poets, especially Ovid. The resulting miniature quasi-cento is reminiscent of Proba's practice in the opening of her cento. Furthering the centonic sense of this opening, this Vergilian line was split in a similar manner by Ausonius in his cento (94–96); on the connection of this work and Ausonius, see also n. 1104. I have italicized the lines that are wholly or nearly quotations.

1130 On Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus Iunior, see n. 1119. In "Appendix II," #4, Ennodius revealed to Beatus that he had sent a separate copy to Symmachus for correction before the work was to be circulated more widely. This shadow dedication to Symmachus positions Ennodius' work as the fulfillment of a literary request made a century before by Symmachus' great-grandfather to Ausonius. That Symmachus, the great orator and epistolographer of the fourth century CE, had written to the famed Gallic poet and instructor Ausonius to excuse himself for circulating a work by the poet. To this justification, he added an appeal for "some kind of pedagogical or protreptic poem" (*aliquod didascalicum seu protrepticum . . . carmen*, *Epist.* 1.31.2); but Ausonius had politely declined, saying that he should rather learn from Symmachus (*Epist.* 12 Green).

1131 A slight variation on Verg. *Aen.* 6.370 (*da dextram misero et te cum me tolle per undas*), with *tenui* ("my lightness") replacing *misero*.
1132 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.11.42 (*non facit ad mores tam bona forma malos*).
1133 Ennodius combines two lines from the *Aeneid*: 11.365 (*nil moror, en supplex venio*) and the ending of 10.598 (*miserere precantis*).
1134 Cf. Palladius' 170-verse account of grafting, *De Insitione* 7–8 (*commendas, dignaris, amas et vilia dicta / adfectu socii sollicitante colis*).
1135 Ennodius concludes with five adonics addressed to Ambrose and Beatus (the "scions" (*germina*) in v. 1); cf. #6.69–80.
1136 "Withered:" a final oxymoron or adynaton, as the 'dry' (*sicci*) and so typically infertile parent has offspring (*germina*, 1).
1137 The claim of being a (figurative) parent, lurking through implication and allusion throughout the *Paraneisis*, now becomes explicit, distancing Ennodius' principles from those found in the Latin didactic tradition stretching back to Cato the Elder, which had emphasized the transmission of knowledge and virtue from father to son. On Ennodius as *tutor*, see Schröder 2007, 115–118.
1138 This declamation is an example of the common school practice of ethopoeia (Pirovano 2010), the imitation of a speech by a historical or mythological character (see Bloomer 1997). Ennodius draws on Dido's denunciation of Aeneas when she learns that he plans to depart Carthage for Italy (*Aen.* 4.365–387; cf. *AL* 255 R). The title quotes Verg. *Aen.* 4.365, substituting *Veneris* for Vergil's *generis.* The close relationship of Ennodius' speech and its Vergilian model led Fini and others to categorize it as a "paraphrase . . . a prose version, of Dido weeping in the fourth book of Vergil" (1982–1984, 387); see also Schröder 2003, 262. On the piece, see esp. Pirovano 2010, who analyzes its strategies for recasting the *Aeneid* and how late antique commentary might have influenced Ennodius' understanding of the passage.
1139 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 7.36.
1140 Idalia was a city (modern Dalin) in the mountains of Cyprus, where a shrine to Venus was located.
1141 The Hyrcani lived in the Caucasus region near the Caspian Sea; cf. *Aen.* 4.367 (*Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres*).
1142 Ennodius continues to draw closely on Vergil (*Aen.* 4.368, *nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad* ***maiora*** *reservo?*).
1143 Dido turns her attention from Aeneas to Venus.
1144 The "High Thunderer" is Jupiter.
1145 Ennodius expands a passing comment in *Aen.* 4.373–374 into a series of oxymora.
1146 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.376 (*heu furiis incensa feror*).
1147 "Lycian:" Apollo had an oracle in the town of Patara in Lycia; cf. *Aen.* 4.346 (*Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*); 4.377 (*nunc Lyciae sortes*).
1148 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.383–384 (*et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum*).
1149 The line has the same metrical pattern as Verg. *Aen.* 4.365, slotting *Veneris* into the same metrical sedes as Vergil's *generis*. "Born" (*cretum*): cf. *Aen.* 4.191 (*venisse Aenean, Troiano* ***sanguine*** *cretum*).
1150 "Name of love" appears in a few poets (e.g., Lucr. 4.508 (same position); Ov. *Ars* 2.16), but Ennodius may still be drawing on Vergil, who has Dido imagine that Aeneas will call on her name (*nomine Dido*, *Aen.* 4.383).

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

APPENDICES

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Appendix I

ENNODIUS' EPITAPH

190. The epitaph of Ennodius[1]

Ennodius the bishop will rejoin the light,[2]
depositing his body in this tomb.
His lineage is famed, more noble through his kin,[3]
to whom, when dead, he gave the light of praise:[4]
They were restored to heaven by his vivid forms,[5]
conferring on them famed lives through his pen.[6]
Why marvel that he, deathless, lives beyond the grave,
restoring relatives to heaven's crowd?
His greatness we extol wherever world mounts sky,
and Ocean speaks at the descending pole.[7]
Schismatic enmities he bound onto the law,
restoring to our churches Peter's faith.[8]
In eloquence adept, renowned in teaching's art,
he rendered countless peoples unto Christ.
A steward generous, benevolent, and wise.
believing that the wealth he gave was his.
God's temples with his golden poems he garlanded.[9]
This wall now speaks the tenets of the dead.

Laid to rest on the 17th of July
in the consulship of Valerius V.C.[10]

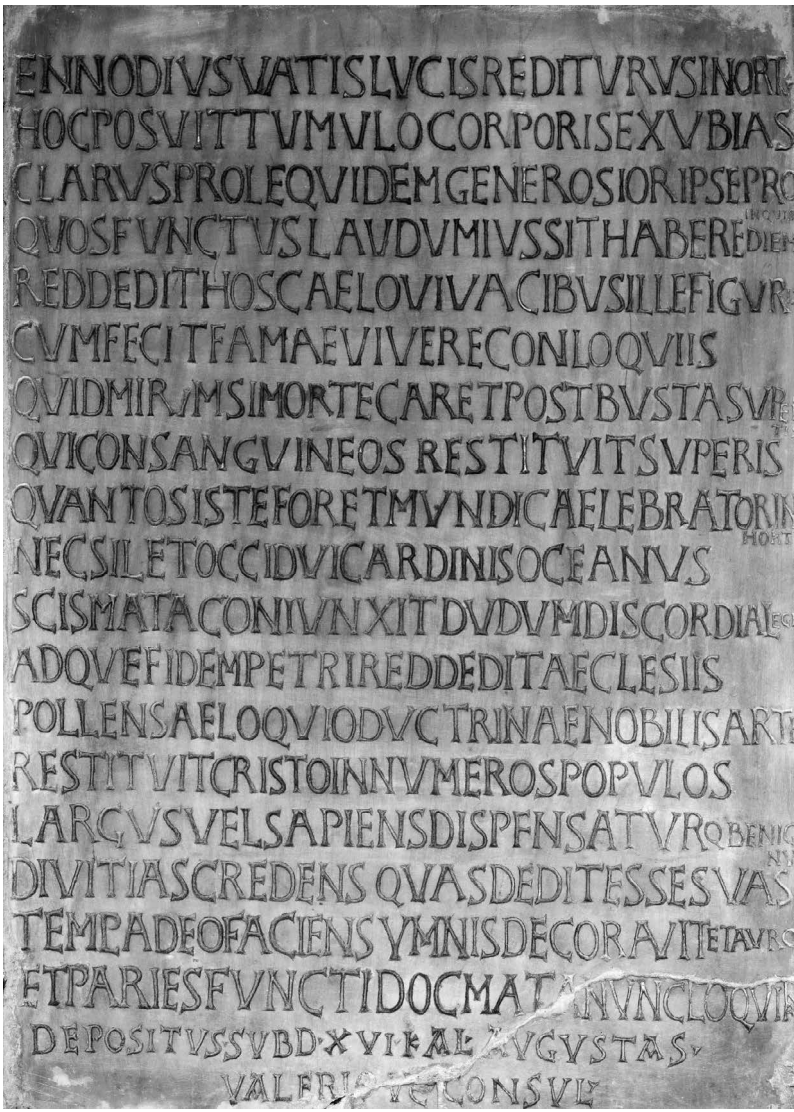

Figure 4 St. Ennodius' epitaph written in Latin couplets, San Michele Maggiore Basilica, Pavia. Italy, 521 CE.

Source: © agefotostock.

Appendix II

SUPPLEMENTAL LETTERS

1. Ennodius to Beatus[11]

(398 V = 8.21 H)

[1] If I could destroy my page by writing, I would attend to it for many reasons.[12] But because it is not lawful for a man not to make a mistake, I—wizened that I am, and your elder—implore you to have no memory at all of my previous letter. May your father and your homeland receive you just as every day I bear witness to all that you are.[13] I trusted the writings of others and, as a result, the unfortunate haste of my style bit you.[14] You acted wisely when you circulated my verses only to lord Probus, who occupies the pinnacle among learned men. That was the appropriate thing to do.[15]

[2] Rudely, I, who ought not to have believed anyone else, was riled up for no reason, as I now see. Go, therefore, to lord Probus—and, just as I hope your father enjoys a long life, I hope that you will listen to me, whom you have always loved, when I say that, although I yet live, when I wrote that poem, I was nearly dead! Kiss his knees for me and tell him, concerning the last verse, that Terentianus mislead me by this example: "Thus he spoke, crying, and gives his fleet the reins."[16] Yet he has already foreseen everything worth correcting.

[3] I greet you with all due affection. If I can escape my obligations, I will correct those verses and resend them to you. You see, your letters, the ones you sent via young Rufinus, I received in July.[17] It was for this reason that I did not know what was happening and as a result was agitated.

2. Ennodius to Beatus[18]

(406 V = 8.29 H)

[1] *Your* error does not make sport of me nor your former affection deceive me. You have preserved the condition of your age, nature, and mode of life. But I failed when I judged you differently than the truth demanded. Only those who have been enthralled by silly devotion arrive at this state. Therefore, we must now speak without circumlocution. Where has your insane presumption taken you, forgetting yourself, that you said to that holy priest that it seemed like the affection of marital love was not expressed in those particular verses, although they were composed in a brief period of time?[19]

[2] Did *I* wish to circulate widely what I had written? Did the epitaph require this?[20] Or common sense? Which ignoramus, which person utterly devoid of sane integrity counseled you that my poem—which lord Faustus himself received with the utmost grace!—should be savaged by you and your fellow gnawers?[21] Perhaps those who don't know their Terentianus (and are looking for an opportunity) have something to say about one syllable in my third hendecasyllable?[22]

[3] Truly, I deserved what I have suffered since it is written "your pearls must not be cast before unclean animals."[23] Although I am well aware of the inexperience present in my declamations, nevertheless I learned long ago that you know nothing and never will! Farewell and turn your attention to other men, with whom you must now speak.[24]

3. Ennodius to Adeodatus the presbyter[25]

(407 V = 8.30 H)

[1] I received your letters when I was worn down by a fierce attack of illness and an excessive fever. At that time our Christ displayed the truth of the Old Testament by doing for me what he had done to Lazarus, revealing the truth of the Gospels by this new example.[26] He ordained, during those days when he had restored my life, that whoever was able should confirm and support it by exchanging letters with his friends.

[2] The ignorant criticism of my verses, spoken to you by that "prodigy," made me laugh.[27] You know that they were valued very highly by their lord, although they had been composed in an exceedingly narrow span of time due to the departure of the courier.[28] But if you have not already revised them, don't bother. I fulfilled my vow when I wrote them. Now I turn to a new topic, which must be asked especially from the holy:

namely that you pray with great care for this sick man who loves you. And, if I deserve it, may you offer me frequent letters of instruction and consolation.[29]

4. Ennodius to Beatus[30]

(405V = 8.28 H)

[1] How will you think to reciprocate, how to indulge me, since I address you through frequent pages and, in obligation for this exchange of letters, I don't forbid that my page exit into the public light?[31] Neither your age nor any argument of this kind can alter my intention. I elect to give more credence to the generous than the expert and to prefer the benefits of a good nature to those of study. Your faith is a divine gift inherent in your nature; education is secondary and will come through God.

[2] It is necessary that a love for the whole show itself completely in you since you already have indications of the preliminary elements.[32] Therefore, now that you have received the honor of a greeting, know that I have dictated a letter of instruction for you, as per your request, although in haste.[33] For this reason, I took care to send it to our patrician lord Symmachus so that he might correct what deserves to be improved. But, to avoid any deception through negligence, I also inform you about that copy.

[3] Therefore, be discrete and take care not to reveal that it has been sent to you—including to that most eminent man mentioned above, even if he asks what's new. But, if you learn that it has pleased his authoritative knowledge, you need not fear it making the acquaintance of those who have good taste.[34]

Notes

1 Ennodius' epitaph (*CIL* V^2, 6464; *ILS* 2952) was found in the south wall of the main apse of the twelfth-century Church of San Michele Maggiore in Pavia. It is the only surviving inscribed epitaph for a bishop in the city. According to Opicinus de Canistris (c. fourteenth century) Ennodius had first been interred in San Vittore. Ennodius' relics were transferred to San Michele at an unknown date. Heinzelmann (1976, 64 n.15) suggested that Ennodius may have been the author of his own epitaph; but while the poem contains not a few Ennodian phrases, most scholars believe it to be by a diligent imitator, not the poet himself. My translation seeks to model the epitaph's lesser art, primarily through occasional awkwardness of sense and the more frequent admission of weaker stressed syllables. See Gnilka 2009; Gioanni 2005, 182–185 and 2006, I.clxxxii–clxxxv; Polara 1996, 19–20, 24–27; Merkel 1895. Meter: elegiac couplet.

2 *Vatis* ('inspired bard, prophet') was Ennodius' standard term for "bishop" (cf. Merkel 1895, 115–116). The epitaph's focus on Ennodius' literary production, rather than his ecclesiastical and political achievements, forms an interesting contrast with e.g., the epitaph of Sidonius (Consolino 1976).

3 "More noble" (*generosior*) contains a nice double sense: Ennodius gains social *and moral* nobility through his family. The references to Ennodius' family seem to follow the practice for Gallic bishops more than Italian.

4 Ennodius' letters and poems guarantee the immortality of Ennodius' relations (and the poet). This line echoes the conclusion of Ennodius' *titulus* for Bishop Martinian (#25.10, *lumine quas clauso iussit habere diem*).

5 Another Ennodian phrase; cf. *post busta superstis/es* in #35.1 and 40.10.

6 Ennodius' writings brought renown to his extended family; elsewhere in Ennodius, "conversations" (*conloquia*) refer specifically to epistolary exchanges.

7 Periphrases for the East and West, and so, metonymically, the entire world. The references to the East (*in hortu*) directly evoke his participation in the papal delegations dispatched to Constantinople by Pope Hormisdas in 515 and 517 to resolve the Acacian Schism.

8 The reference to "schismatic enmities" (*scismata . . . discordia*) refers to both the Laurentian Schism, which rent the papacy between 498 and 507 CE, and the on-going conflict between the Eastern and Western Churches known as the Acacian Schism; on these disputes, see "Introduction," p. 9–11. Despite Ennodius' efforts in 515 and 517, the Acacian Schism was only resolved after Justin I succeeded Anastasius I as emperor in 518.

9 This may refer to Ennodius' hymns (#9–20) but also his numerous epigraphic poems that adorned ecclesiastical spaces, e.g., Novara (#48) and especially Milan (#46–47, 49–70).

10 I.e., 521 CE; "V.C." or *Vir Clarissimus,* 'a Well-Regarded Man;' by the sixth century, it was a term granted to the general nobility; on these titles see "Poems," n. 513.

11 In #38.7, Ennodius had committed a minor metrical lapse, scanning *mātrōna* as an amphibrach (˘ — ˘) instead of an antibacchius (— — ˘). Replying to unwelcome criticism by the youthful Beatus (*PLRE* 2.222; n. 1073), Ennodius pleads that his mistake was a product of exhaustion and commends Beatus for forwarding the poem to Probus for correction (see "Poems," n. 553). The continuing fallout from this metrical controversy can be seen in "Appendix II," #2–3; see also Polara 1993, 223–224; Kennell 2000, 126–127.

12 Ennodius refers to his letter to Beatus that contained a copy of his epitaph for Cynegia (#38).

13 "Elder . . . father:" Ennodius uses the same word (*pater*) to describe his spiritual and pedagogical relationship with Beatus and Beatus' relationship with his biological father. Kennell identifies the father as the consular Probus (*PLRE* 2.913; see "Poems," n. 1125) who is also mentioned in #179 §21, but it would not make sense for Ennodius to offer Beatus an "introduction" to his own father, as he does in #179.

14 "Trusted the writings of others:" as Ennodius explains in §2, an example by the grammarian Terentianus Maurus led his prosody astray (see n. 16).

15 Probus is likely Flavius Probus (*PLRE* 2.913), a highly learned figure in Rome (cf. 283V.11) who would soon achieve the consulship (c. 513 CE); he is mentioned as a potential source of instruction for Beatus in #179 §21.

16 Ennodius points to an entry on Verg. *Aen.* 6.1 in Terentianus Maurus (*De metris* 1951), in which *lacrimans* is scanned as an anapest (˘ ˘ —), which Ennodius uses

as evidence that the first syllable of *matrona*, although normally long, could also be short. In late antiquity, the classical quantities were no longer a matter of natural perception (cf. Cic. *Or.* 173) but required diligent study (cf. August. *Mus.* 2.1.1, *ac primum responde, utrum bene didiceris eam quam grammatici docent, syllabarum cortium longarumque distantiam*).

17 Rufinus, evidently a fellow student of Beatus, is otherwise unknown.

18 If the sequence preserved in the manuscript is correct, after a genial, if forceful, attempt to set the record straight ("Appendix II," #1), Ennodius unloads on the presumption of Beatus for criticizing his verses and sharing them with others who have likewise criticized them. If, as is possible, the sequence in the manuscripts has been disturbed, then perhaps it is this letter (and perhaps also that to Adeodatus, "Appendix II," #3) that Ennodius refers to when he says that he had been "riled up for no reason" ("Appendix II," #1.2).

19 "Insane presumption:" cf. Cassiod. *Exp. Psalm*. 103 (*quam superborum insana praesumptio*). The "holy priest" was Adeodatus, to whom Ennodius writes in the next letter ("Appendix II," #3).

20 Ennodius refers to the epitaph he created for Cynegia (#38), in which he had committed a minor metrical lapse (see n. 16).

21 Faustus was the widowed husband of Cynegia; see "Poems," n. 178.

22 "The third hendecasyllable" (*de tertio Phaleucio*): Phalaceus was the Greek poet who gave his name to this mode of hendecasyllabic verse; see "Introduction," p. 33. Terentianus Maurus had composed a number of well-regarded works on phonology, prosody, and meter (all themselves in verse); see n. 16.

23 Ennodius quotes (loosely) from *Ma* 7:6 ("Don't render the holy onto the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine [*neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos*], lest they trample them under their feet and then turn and attack you").

24 Despite the seemingly decisive break signaled by the end of this letter, a subsequent letter finds Ennodius chastising Beatus for not writing, which Ennodius says betrays Beatus' education (428V).

25 On Adeodatus, see "Poems," n. 532.

26 I.e., just as Jesus had raised Lazarus, a pious Jew, from the dead (*Jo* 11:38–44), his cure of Ennodius proved the legitimacy of Christian faith.

27 Ennodius sarcastically refers to Beatus as a *portentum* ('monster,' 'monstrosity,' 'marvel').

28 "Their lord": i.e., Faustus; see "Poems," n. 178.

29 Ennodius was ill c. 509–510, and many of the letters during this period (390V–446V) mention his illness.

30 A brief epistle to Beatus announces the composition of the pedagogical exhortation that he had requested by (#179) and that Ennodius has also sent along a separate copy to Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus Iunior (see "Poems," n. 1119); for Beatus, see "Poems," n. 1073.

31 I.e., Ennodius routinely authorizes his correspondents to circulate his writings with others. This provides cover for the request for discretion in §3.

32 I.e., Beatus has already made a good beginning to his education, and now it remains for him to devote himself to its completion.

33 The "letter of instruction" (*epistolam ad vos admonitionis*) is the so-called *Paraenaesis didascalica* (#179).

34 Ennodius requests that Beatus wait until Symmachus has a chance to edit the work before circulating it.

INDEX