THE POETRY OF ENNODIUS

Translated with an Introduction and Notes

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INTRODUCTION

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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.

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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

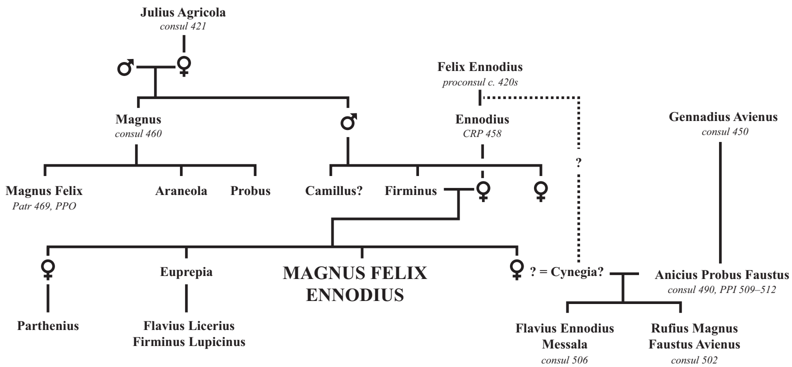

Figure 1 A genealogy for Ennodius.

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

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