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## Managing Intertextuality in Ennodius' Corpus The Case of 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) *Dictio Ennodi diaconi in natale Laurenti Mediolanensis episcopi*

*'There is too much literature between reality and him', said Labriolle: this seems such an adequate statement for Ennodius' corpus, since it is normal to stumble upon references or quotations by other authors, either pagan or Christian ones. This paper takes into account Ennodius 1V. (= dict. 1H.) as a case study and aims at examining in detail which works and authors Ennodius uses in order to arrange one dedication. The declamation has been divided in five thematic sections; each shows a different percentage of intertextual categories such as clear reference, self-quotation, altered reference and word collocation. Through statistical evidence, the author of this paper has thought back on Ennodius' overall technique in making rhetorics: a good way of paying homage to the summi and the minores, or the easiest way to bundle up quotes and so to earn an entire piece of literature?*

**Keywords:** Ennodius, intertextuality, Late Antiquity quoting, Dictiones, categories of intertextuality

This short study, born within the scope of PoBLAM Project,<sup>1</sup> aims at providing a model of classification of the intertextual phenomena in Ennodius.

<sup>1</sup> The acronym stands out for "Poésie Biblique Latine de l'Antiquité au Moyen-Âge": it identifies a pluri-inclusive project about 'intertextualité et réception grammaticale', which was born from the collaboration between a French and a German team. PoBLAM in fact involves the Universities of Strasbourg and Lyon (UDL), Bergische Universität Wuppertal and FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg, which try to communicate with a well-articulated work program and by organizing recurring meetings and conferences. Special attention is paid in PoBLAM to the study of intertextuality, as we said before. In particular, the research will try to achieve three main objects: a) meta-intertextual structures in Biblical Poetry from Antiquity to the Middle-Ages; b) the impact of Biblical-Christian poetry on sociability, cultures and identity constructions in Europe during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages; c) forms of reception of Biblical Poetry in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages. More information to be found here: <https://www.uni-wuppertal.de/de/news/detail/lateinische-bibeldichtung-im-fokus/>.

Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.)<sup>2</sup> has been taken as a case-study for examining in detail which works and authors – from Vergil to Iuvenius, via Terence and Cicero – Ennodius employs in order to pay homage to the figure of Laurence I (?–511 c.), Archbishop in Milan from 490 to 511. This focus is supposed to work as a good example for the aim of the whole project, which wants to study the relationship of osmosis between the work of exegetical-theological elaboration and the renewal of classical poetic forms, giving this way a complete explanation about the process of creating “new classics”.

We will try to deal with:

- Ennodius’ attitude towards other authors, so the way he uses them within the writing of a supposed original content;
- The main categories in which such an attitude can be rationally nestled.

Augustin Dubois, doctoral graduated student at Paris-Clermont-Ferrand University, came out with his Ph.D thesis in 1903. In studying “*la Latinité d’Ennodius*”, he states something still valid after more than one century: observations dealing with the Latinity of “decadence” require a permanent and constant corroboration.<sup>3</sup> Ennodius’ activity should be seen as the ultimate intervention to save classical culture, within a context of turbulence, decline and fall for the Roman Empire through Barbarian peoples (fifth–sixth century).<sup>4</sup> So Ennodius is almost the last track of a survival, the one of rhetorics as *ancilla theologiae*, in an education which was at this stage “moribond e anachronistic”.<sup>5</sup>

The whole corpus is strewn with quotes as a puzzle, even though it maintains a relative originality, which requires to be detected. Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is full of references: Ennodius writes it as a relative and secretary of Laurence I, for the anniversary of his consecration; hence, the document is the

<sup>2</sup> We chose to follow VOGEL’s edition (1995<sup>2</sup>, [anast. rist. 1885<sup>1</sup>]); but the equivalence with HARTEL’s (1865) is put between parentheses.

<sup>3</sup> DUBOIS (1903: *praef.* 1).

<sup>4</sup> See HERRIN (2020: 89sq.).

<sup>5</sup> MARCONI (2013b: 5).

most important source we have to detect information about the Archbishop's life.<sup>6</sup>

First of all, 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) belongs to *dictiones sacrae*,<sup>7</sup> a group of speeches – conventionally distinguished by Jaques Sirmond from the *scolasticae*,<sup>8</sup> *controversiae*<sup>9</sup> and *ethicae* –<sup>10</sup> within Ennodius' corpus: this one is devoted to the celebration of a contemporary. We do not have to forget that such a classification is completely arbitrary and reflects Sirmond's ground and personal taste for classification: it has nothing to do with Ennodius' intention.<sup>11</sup> Unlike the *epistulae*, indissolubly linked to the current happening in a fairly

<sup>6</sup> We should not forget the *emphasis* given to Laurence I in Ennod. 245V. (= *carm.* 1, 1H.) (p. 193, vv. 16–17), the famous *Itinerarium Brigantionis Castelli*, where Ennodius hints at a *vatis* – with no name – who asked him to complete a term of a diplomatic mission. The *vatis* he aimed at satisfying was Laurence of Milan, because the territory of the Cottian Alps belonged to the diocese of Milan and the *Itinerarium* took place between 502 and 506.

<sup>7</sup> Together with Ennod. 98V. (= *dict.* 2H.) *In dedicatione basilicae apostolorum, missa Honorato episcopo Novariensi*; Ennod. 214V. (= *dict.* 3H.) *Dictio data Stephanio v. s. vicario dicenda Maximo episcopo*; Ennod. 277V. (= *dict.* 4H.) *In dedicatione, missa Maximo episcopo*; Ennod. 336V. (= *dict.* 5H.) *Dictio incipientis episcopi*; Ennod. 464V. (= *dict.* 6) [*De haeresi ecclesiarum orientalium*].

<sup>8</sup> Ennod. 3V. (= *dict.* 7H.) *In dedicatione auditorii, quando ad forum tranaslatio facta est*; Ennod. 69V. (= *dict.* 8H.) *Praefatio dicta Lupicino quando in auditorio traditus est Deuterio*; Ennod. 85V. (= *dict.* 9H.) *Praefatio quando Arator auditorium ingressus est*; Ennod. 94V. (= *dict.* 10H.) *Gratiarum actio grammatico, quando Parthenius bene recitavit*; Ennod. 124V. (= *dict.* 11H.) *Dictio quae dicta est, quando Eusebi filius traditus est ad studia*; Ennod. 320V. (= *dict.* 12H.) *Dictio data Aratori, quando ad laudem provectus est*; Ennod. 451V. (= *dict.* 13H.) *Dictio [quando Paterius et Severus traditi sunt ad studia]*.

<sup>9</sup> Ennod. 221V. (= *dict.* 14H.) *In legatum, qui patriam hostibus prodidit*; Ennod. 222V. (= *dict.* 15H.) *In novercam, quae cum marito privigni odia suadere non posset, utrisque venena porrexit*; Ennod. 223V. (= *dict.* 16H.) *In eum qui praemii nomine Vestalis virginis nuptias postulavit*; Ennod. 239V. (= *dict.* 17H.) *In eum qui seni patri cibos subtraxit, data Aratori*; Ennod. 243V. (= *dict.* 18H.) *In tyrannum qui praemii nomine parricidae statuam inter viros fortes dedit, data Aratori v.c.*; Ennod. 261V. (= *dict.* 19H.) *In aleatorem qui agrum, in quo parentes eius erant positi, pro ludi pretio dedit, data Ambrosio*; Ennod. 278V. (= *dict.* 20H.) *In eum qui in lupanari statuam Minervae locavit*; Ennod. 363V. (= *dict.* 21H.) [*In patrem quendam, qui cum filium a pirata captum redimere non dignatus esset, ab eo tamen ali petebat*]; Ennod. 380V. (= *dict.* 22H.) [*Contra legem*.] *de capta civitate hostium sacerdotes et Vestales virgines liberi dimittantur*; Ennod. 467V. (= *dict.* 23H.) [*In abdicatum qui patre necato matri quoque insidiabatur*].

<sup>10</sup> Ennod. 208V. (= *dict.* 24H.) *Dictio ex tempore quam ipse Deuterius iniunxit [Verba Diomedis, cum uxoris adulteria cognovisset]*; Ennod. 220V. (= *dict.* 25H.) *Verba Thetidis, cum Achillem videret extinctum*; Ennod. 414V. (= *dict.* 26H.) *Verba Menelai, cum Troiam videret exustam*; Ennod. 436V. (= *dict.* 27H.) *Verba Junonis, cum Antaeum videret parem viribus Herculis extitisse*; Ennod. 466V. (= *dict.* 28H.) [*Verba Didonis, cum abeuntem videret Aeneam*].

<sup>11</sup> PIROVANO (2010: 17).

brief span of time,<sup>12</sup> and for this reason full of literary memory in spurts, the *dictiones* include sections about theory,<sup>13</sup> so they can make room for the act of complete quoting.

It is necessary to conventionally identify some sections which 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is made up of:

1. Why the rhetorician should talk? A speech about ambition and reputation (§§1–5).
2. Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature (§§ 6–9).
3. Laurence's election and voters' reaction (§§ 10–12).
4. Back to the prestige of Laurence's life (§§ 13–15).
5. *Liberalia vs disciplina ecclesiastica* (§§16–24).
6. Greetings (§25).

Hence, a desirable outcome would be that we try to gather quotations and statistics, maybe in order to draw a criterion-line according to each section theme. Julia Kristeva (1941), a Bulgarian-French philosopher, literary critic, semiotician and psychoanalyst, is the starting point for this analysis, since she is noted for her work on the concept of intertextuality, based on the attempt of blending de Saussure's and Bakhtin's theories about signs, meanings and literature.<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, this paper has to be intended but an inner discussion about Kristeva's plurality of meaning: the intertextual view teaches that the meaning of a text does not reside in the text itself, but it is a

<sup>12</sup> KENNEL (2019: 369): the interval taken into account goes from few years after the death of Epiphanius of Pavia (496) to Ennodius' ordination to the episcopate, which provides none of the *epistulae* we possess.

<sup>13</sup> We cannot be certain about the precise time in which *dictiones* were written or born: sure enough that Ennodius has stopped writing them after being ordained. The *dictiones* seem to be linked to a specific phase of Ennodius' life, maybe when he worked as a teacher (still *dubium*), surely while being school related. For example Ennod. 466 V. (= *dict.* 28H.) clearly shows a deep knowledge of commentaries, attributable to a school system, cf. PIROVANO (2010: 31 *et passim*).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. F. DE SAUSSURE 1962 (1916<sup>1</sup>); cf. especially the famous definition of intertextuality given by KRISTEVA (1980: 37): «Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double».

combination between the reader's reaction and the complex network of texts which mediate and filter the reader's perception of the author's intention. As much as we try to define such relationships, they have sometimes to be interpreted as fluid, not fixable or always detectable.

Before starting with a rigorous classification, some preliminary problems have to be stated: at first, it is difficult for us to know which Latin Ennodius used in life and which Latin he preferred for writing. Such an approach summones diachronic theories<sup>15</sup> and obliges us to deal with Ennodius' longing for Augustan Latin (where his models are cronologically located, from 14 AD), to be compared to his true (Christian and Late Antique) nature.<sup>16</sup> Still, we cannot overlook synchronic differences among the literary and the colloquial Latin – going through the technical and vulgar one –, altered by the written means of communication. Furthermore, a very meaningful dichotomy in the whole Late Antiquity has to be roughed out: are we truly able to draft a boundary between (Ennodius') literary education and scholastic memory? For now, we must bear in mind that Ennodius' writing always fights against the cultural mediocrity of his time.

Instead of classifying the entire corpus through grammatical classes – like Dubois did –, we have tried to create functional (and simplified) categories in order to focus on the way, the intention with which Ennodius quotes other authors.

1. *Clear reference*: it is the luckiest category, because it leaves Ennodius' intention to the minimum chance; it may include quotations, the most direct form of reception; or plagiarism, and translation, similar to the previous way, but respectively in the form of *paraphrasis* and language-to-language transposition. They are mainly direct and intentional.
  
2. *Word-collocation*: this is a very ambiguous class, for it is often about crystallized expressions (mainly binomes) which Ennodius had in mind

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<sup>15</sup> TRAINA – BERNARDI PERINI (1996: 17sqg), even though all information strictly comes and can be found in one of the best known marsterpieces for linguistics: *Cours de linguistique générale* written by Ferdinand de Saussure.

<sup>16</sup> For a more precise stratification, see TRAINA – BERNARDI PERINI (1996: 23-24).

as a memory. Here he seems to be split between conscious and unconscious, on purpose and by chance. The theory of intertextuality would talk about “calque”: sometimes intentional, but rarely direct.

3. Altered reference: this group of cases does not include word-for-word quotations, but more likely a class in which similar ideas or concepts fall, either in the form of parody, of pastiche and simple allusion. These references are mostly direct and intentional, especially when long and substantial.
4. Another field to deal with is the one of Self-quotation, between intra- and inter-textuality; it welcomes Ennodius' words repeating themselves within the same work or, more frequently, corpus.

Introducing the first category, we run into two clear references to the Bible.<sup>17</sup>

1. Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §5): fugitiva gloriae est mens subiecta terrori, clamante Paulo apostolo ‘perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem’, hoc est dicere et indicio certo monstrare, quia non diligit qui pavescit. [*Vulg.*] I Ioh. 4, 18 Timor non est in caritate: sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem, quoniam timor poenam habet: qui autem timet, non est perfectus in caritate.  
[*NT*] I Ioh. 4, 18: φόβος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, ἀλλ’ ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη ἔξω βάλλει τὸν φόβον, ὅτι ὁ φόβος κόλασιν ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ.
2. Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 3, §14): cum hostilis inruptio more pecorum Christianum populum per diversa distraheret, tu variorum generibus cruciatum capiebaris in omnibus, tu paterna conventus pietate sustinebas tormenta multorum, ut ait apostulus ‘quis vestrum cruciatum, et non ego?’ inter ista tamen fractum te non vidit adversitas. [*Vulg.*] II *Cor.* 11, 29 quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?

<sup>17</sup> VOGEL (1995: 1).

[NT] II Cor. 11, 29: τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;

The source of Bible verses in Ennodius' corpus is debated and still studied; the same question interests Christian writers as a whole, in fact the coexistence of the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* in religious practice of this period is well-known. Ennodius would be using *Vetus Latina* for the translations of part of New Testament; while his *Mediolanensis cursus*, starting immediately after Bishop Epiphanius' death<sup>18</sup> (21 Jan. 498), must have played a very important role in the choice of Bible sources.<sup>19</sup> Jerome's *Vulgata* – the translation into Latin directly from Hebrew, shaped on exegetical works in Greek –, circulating in the North-Italian area, was surely known and used by Ennodius, especially for the Old Testament;<sup>20</sup> but we do not have to forget that it was not infrequently altered. The versions have much in common, but it is titanic to think about reconstructing them strictly. The role of memory in the quotation of the Fathers of the Church was very important as well.

Going back to the texts listed above, in the first case, we find a sort of invocation of authority: Paulus the Apostle should grant that things are said and shown with some judgment, because those who fear cannot be careful in any way. Ennodius summones his own mediocrity,<sup>21</sup> which cannot afford saying good things about Laurence: the fear of veneration is the greatest

<sup>18</sup> Ennod. 80 V. (= *opusc.* 3H.) (p. 108, §195) *nec non adiciebat de perfectione securus: 'confirmatum est cor meum in domino et exaltatum est cornu meum in deo salutari meo', ut hymnis et canticis et in morte resonans ad sedem suam caelestis anima remearet, quae quinquagesimum octavum aetatis annum duxit ad tumulum, triginta in hac sacerdotiali, qualem etsi excerptim lector adtendis scalptam, conversatione exemit.*

<sup>19</sup> Ennodius didn't manage the episcopate in Milan, but in Pavia (= *Ticinum*) in 513.

<sup>20</sup> Further studies, including philological and translation comparisons, are required in this field; we can only provide here a plausible theory from the geographical point of view, which summones Milan as a possible epicentre for Ennodius' knowledge of Scriptures.

<sup>21</sup> We have detected a random memory of Statius' *Silvae* behind the profession of Ennodius' incompetence: the difficulty in saying is a matter of *mediocritas* (Ennod. 1V. [= *dict.* 1H.][p. 1, §5]): *sancti Laurenti aliquatenus pro mea mediocritate bona dicturus plenum quidem laboris opus adgregior.* Stat., *Sil.* 5, *praef.*: *post hoc ingratus sum, si lacrimas tuas transeo. praeterea latus omne divinae domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor. nam qui bona fide deos colit, amat et sacerdotes. sed quamvis propiorem usum amicitiae tuae iam pridem cuperem, mallet tamen nondum invenisse materiam.*

enemy of purpose, so in order to obtain glory, he has to go through terror. Paulus' authority should function here as catalyst for a great message, which cannot be fully introjected because of *mediocritas*. On closer inspection, we notice that such an expression does not come from Paulus' *sententiae*: Ennodius must have mistaken Saint John the Beloved, the youngest of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus with Paulus the Apostle. The passage is well explained in:

Aug. *Serm.* 198, 4, 14–15: Scriptum est enim: timor non est in caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem. Iohannes hoc apostolus dicit. Si autem perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem, possideat primo pectus timor: nascetur ibi caritas, atque ita, quantum crescit caritas, decrescet timor; quantum illa augebitur, ille minuetur; cum illa perficitur, ille excluditur. Timor enim non est in caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem.

which shows a correct reference. The simplest explanation could be the most accurate one: Ennodius must have played (and failed) a memory game. Paulus is also seen as the authority on which one can lean in case of agony or obstacles:<sup>22</sup> adversity must not break, fear must not kill and a bad moment must not be transformed in a complete tragedy. In 511 Ennodius wrote *Eucharisticon de vita sua*,<sup>23</sup> one of the most meaningful and useful witnesses for Ennodius' life, including birth and education.<sup>24</sup> At some point, abhorring the *poetarum gregis* he had taken part to, he leaves the reader to believe that his knowledge of classics had forerun the one of Christian authors. The overwhelming tendency of reproducing sacred lines as a word-for-word reproduction is visible in the whole *corpus* concerning Scriptures.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cf. above II *Cor.* 11.29.

<sup>23</sup> Ennod. 438 V. (= *opusc.* 5H.).

<sup>24</sup> For which see also Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 310sq.).

<sup>25</sup> At first glance, direct references to Scriptures can be found in: Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.), Ennod. 7 V. (= *epist.* 1, 4H.), Ennod. 8 V. (= *opusc.* 7H.), Ennod. 9V. (= *epist.* 1, 5H.), Ennod. 25 V. (= *epist.* 1, 2H.), Ennod. 43 V. (= *carm.* 1, 9H.), Ennod. 48 V. (= *epist.* 2, 13H.), Ennod. 49V. (= *opusc.* 2H.), Ennod. 51 V. (= *epist.* 2, 14H.), Ennod. 56V. (= *epist.* 2, 19H.), 80 V. (= *opusc.* 3H.), Ennod. 240V. (= *opusc.* 4H.), Ennod. 268 V. (= *epist.* 6, 3H), Ennod. 302V. (= *epist.* 6, 25H.),



Ennod. 1V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 4, §25): virī sanguinem et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies sui

[Vulg.] Psalm. 54(55), 24: virī sanguinem et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies sui

Ennod. 1V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 3, §15): cum infirmor, tum potens sum

[Vulg.] II Cor. 12, 10: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum

[NT] II Cor. 12, 10: ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι.

The complete adherence to the Scriptures provision depends on a matter of reverence. Completely aware that just one *dictio* is not enough to paint trustworthy results, as far as we have noticed, such an attitude is not perceivable in the act of picking up clear contributions from pagan authors. This statement enforces the idea according to which Ennodius' treatment towards authors is different, depending on their being Christian or not, so on the time they lived. In the case of pagan references, Ennodius tends to rework words: he wants to create, to challenge the model. '*Rescribenda vos scribitis*', says he in 45V. (= *epist.* 2, 11H.). Ennodius is permanently torn about whether to respect the authority of the source and to avoid the annoying repetitiveness of the content.

Ennodius gets the chance to list some of the qualities of Laurence and borrows a *sententia* from Terence's *Phormio*, in order to evaluate Laurence's fairness in being a bishop. The crew of clerics coming from anywhere is portrayed as follows:

Ter. *Phorm.* 454: quot homines, tot sententiae

Ennod. 1 V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 4, §21): quot hominum genera, tot sententiarum varietas

Laurence's extraordinariness lies in the ability in persuading and calming everyone down, as shown in the closest paragraphs:

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Ennod. 311V. (= *epist.* 7, 6H.), Ennod. 320 V. (= dict. 12H.), Ennod. 336V. (= dict. 5H.), Ennod. 406V. (= *epist.* 8, 29H.), Ennod. 433V. (= *epist.* 9, 11H.), Ennod. 438V. (= *opusc.* 5H.), Ennod. 446 V. (= *epist.* 9, 22H.), Ennod. 447 V. (= *epist.* 9, 23H), Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.), Ennod. 464V. (= dict. 6H.).

Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 6, §§21–22): tunc quo minacium impetus blandi-  
mentorum melle domuisti, qua superborum corda venerandae humilitatis  
erectione fregisti, qua labantium animos consilii radice fundasti, explicare  
non valeo.

Going deeper, we discover that the same expression was used in Cicero's *de Finibus* 1, 15: *quot homines, tot sententiae*; not to count that such a concept was expressed through different words also by Homer's *Odyssey* 14, 228: ἄλλος γάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρεται ἔργοις,<sup>26</sup> Persius 5, 52: *Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus* and also Horace *Epistles* 2, 2, 61–62: *Tres mihi conuiuiae prope dissentire videntur, / Poscentes vario multum diuersa palato*<sup>27</sup> (*et passim*). The sentence is quoted as a *sententia*, which had probably become a commonplace; but our aim is to detect – and hypothesize – a sort of probable ancestor, without being sure of its usage, as it happens with *stemmata codicum*. If we were able to contemplate the fortune of a sentence, if we could handle its occurrence, if we found out exactly which authors were exactly chosen – keeping the patience of displaying their mutual relations – , we would expect to see a complex system of lines, most of which divergent. Some relationships would go down, impossible to be traced for the mere *usus scribendi*; others would interrupt as a prezygotic barrier, senseless to be imagined for a matter of knowledge and transmission of the model. Terence's use is widespread in the whole corpus,<sup>28</sup> Cicero was a schoolauthor, even though there's no reference to *De finibus* within Ennodius' corpus: so, which lineage should we follow? In studying Menander, Plautus and Terence's drama, Penniston defines expressions like *quot homines, tot sententiae* as "off-stage acquaintances",<sup>29</sup> loved by comic playwrights: in Terence, they are used for helping create a picture of daily life behind the scenes. The in-

<sup>26</sup> Different men take delight in different occupations (tr. Cofano).

<sup>27</sup> It seems to me it is quite like three guests who disagree, / Seeking wide variety for their varying tastes (tr. Cofano).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ennod. 6V. (= *epist.* 1, 3H.) (p. 10, §9), Ennod. 7V. (= *epist.* 1, 4H.) (p.11, §7), Ennod. 49V. (= *opusc.* 2H.) (p. 64, §115), Ennod. 56V. (= *epist.* 2, 19) (p. 72, §17), Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 314, §19) *et passim*.

<sup>29</sup> PENNISTON (1990-1991: 150sqq.).

tention seems to be different in Ennodius' *dictio* and words are varied in a more prosastic way, maybe with an impulse to strengthen; still, the expression is in the form of a behind-the-scenes spur. Either deriving from Terence, or from Cicero, the quotation is an example of "intertextuality of content"; depending on the "father" we choose for this quotation – Terence or Cicero –, the case should be included in the category of intentional *clear references* or in the common and accidental school reminiscences. We could talk about this expression for a very long time, without reaching a satisfying solution: there could be no need of choosing, but the presence of Terence in Ennodius corpus is so strong – and *de finibus* so weak – that for a mere matter of *usus scribendi* we must assume that Ennodius was keen on comic *sententiae*. What is more, Cicero's use is part of a longer reasoning and is strictly linked to the surrounding context, dealing with his opinion about how style should be in philosophical works.<sup>30</sup>

The following scheme (Diagram 1) offers a summary about our first category – the one of *clear reference* – and grafically shows the precise difference in quoting a Christian and a rather pagan context. The table has been divided in two parts, which mark two different areas of interests; we notice a demarcation line between the Christian and the Pagan side, all lying on an axis, following the direction of the central arrow. As we can clearly see from the "plus (+)" sign, the trend is descending. The reception of pagan can be seen more like *modus operandi* or *cogitandi* in Ennodius. This implies that most Latin works were effectively known as stuck parts of a sort of *canon*, but mainly remembered as parts of a collective memory.

Unfortunately, 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) does not offer any example of another macro-class, the one of 'intertextuality of structure', mainly including *Self-quotations*, which applies to grammatical patterns. It is the rarest class to be found, because it gathers sentences with an irregular and repeated use of grammar. Since this paper is about a case-study for the creation of

<sup>30</sup> Cic. *Fin.* 1, 15: *oratio me istius philosophi non offendit; nam et complectitur verbis quod vult et dicit plane, quod intellegam; et tamen ego a philosopho si afferat eloquentiam, non asperner, si non habeat, non admodum flagitem. Re mihi non aequae satisfacit, et quidem locis pluribus. Sed quot homines, tot sententiae: falli igitur possumus.*

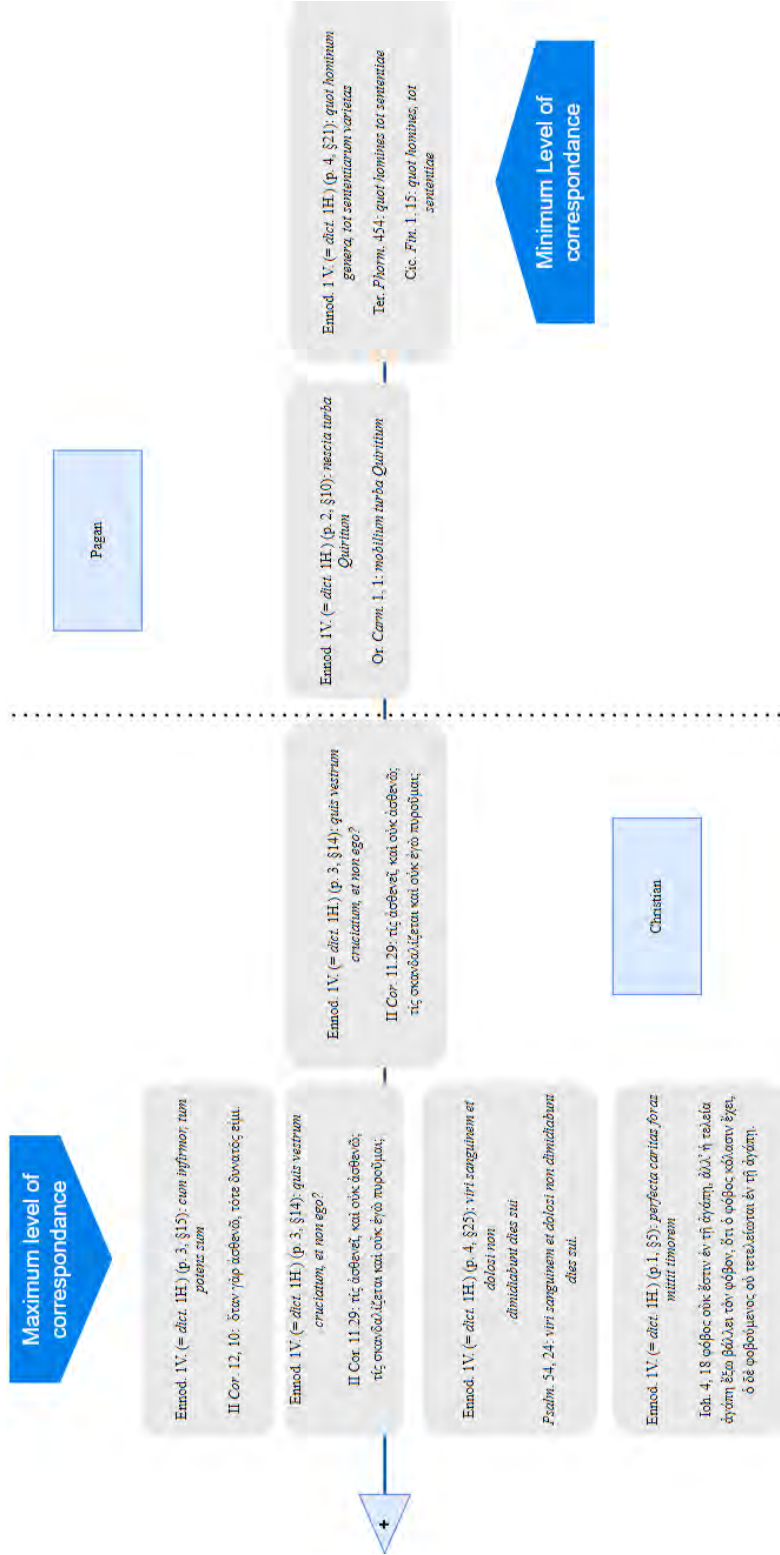


Diagram 1

functional categories, we will just try to present the category, through borrowing an example from Ennodius 19 V. (= *epist.* 1, 14H.) (p. 23, §6), where 'the possibility of intending an infinitive as an imperative'<sup>31</sup> stands out as a full-Ennodian tendency:

Ennod. 6 V. (= *epist.* 1, 3) (p. 10, §4): et quae ex merito nostro ventura col-  
legimus ex sua facit miseratione transferri<sup>32</sup>

Ennod. 11 V. (= *epist.* 1, 7) (p. 16, §2): in eo de me facinus credi facis omnes  
fallentibus<sup>33</sup>

Ennod. 19 V. (= *epist.* 1, 14) (p. 23, §6): ea indicari faciat<sup>34</sup>

But in order to fulfill the aims of this paper, we need to go back to Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.), and consider the previous short analysis as an *appendix*, which will be developed elsewhere.

A big trip among the most different authors can be made by analysing the class of *word-collocation*. We will see the case of a very obvious proximity between Ennodius and Orientius (450 – ?), a contemporary and converted Gaul, who became Bishop of *Augusta Ausciorum*, collaborating with Theodoric I as an ambassador. The expression *formido facessat* (Ennod. 1V. [= *dict.* 1H.) [p.1, §5]) is also in Orientius' (*carm. app.* 3.171), in the form of a request to God, an invocation of burdens and honors: «have mercy on me and my family: let the pain be far away, as well as worries and fear». Ennodius' use of such an iconic expression – which cannot be found elsewhere according to *TLL* – is inserted in section one, about *Why the rhetorician should talk* [: *a speech about ambition and reputation*]: «Thus comes also the fear of worshipping, which is enemy of purpose»,<sup>35</sup> especially when approaching the big deal of describing Laurence's value. In Orientius, the fear must be far away,

<sup>31</sup> DUBOIS (2004: 464) and GIOANNI (2006: 129).

<sup>32</sup> His mercy allows us to overcome the misfortunes that we believe have occurred due to our lack (tr. Cofano).

<sup>33</sup> You make people believe that I am capable of any crime (tr. Cofano).

<sup>34</sup> There is hope left that God will make you write only what is pleasant to know (tr. Cofano).

<sup>35</sup> Tr. Cofano.

for bringing about a good praise. It is likely that the quotation was direct, intentional, but still a word-binome.

This example is preliminary towards the others, for it shows that sometimes there is no context or idea that Ennodius “steals”: he is just keen on freezed expressions which were probably floating in his cultural context and embodies the society’s dialogic conflict over the meaning of words.

Differently from the previous scheme, we notice that in Diagram 2 there is no indicator about minimal or maximal adherence. This happens partially because Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is not the best case to take into consideration, since it shows an almost total adherence to Christian authors; but mostly because the process of using *word-collocations* does not require an inner precision. We could think about our modern *filler words*, mainly employed as an outcome of memory and repeating themselves in a weird form of inertia. This attitude seems to lower the level of accuracy, and in addition the one of willfulness towards the quoted part.

We could clearly experience such a mechanical disposition of Ennodius’ mind by analyzing the case of *militia Christi*, a very common and elegy-related transposition in Late Antiquity writers. The examples that follow:

Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H) (p. 2, §12): tironem pontificii expertissimum militem

Ennod. 452 V. (= *opusc.* 6H) (p. 311, §3, v. 21): Christi militis insitum rigorem

Ennod. 346 V. (= *carm.* 1, 15H) (p. 253, v. 18): qui bella Christi militat

Aug. *in psalm.* 9.5<sup>extr</sup>: haec ei Christo militaverunt ad nostram liberationem  
Cypr. *Epist.* 39, 2, 1: hic inter Christi milites antesignanus

Cypr. *Epist.* 58, 4, 2: spectat militem suum Christus ubicumque pugnantem

Ambr. *in psalm.* 38, 35, 1: nihil laxum, nihil molle verum Christi militem decet

Sidon. *epist.* 9, 12, 1: primum ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio (*sc.* carminum) renuntiavi, quia nimirum facilitati posset

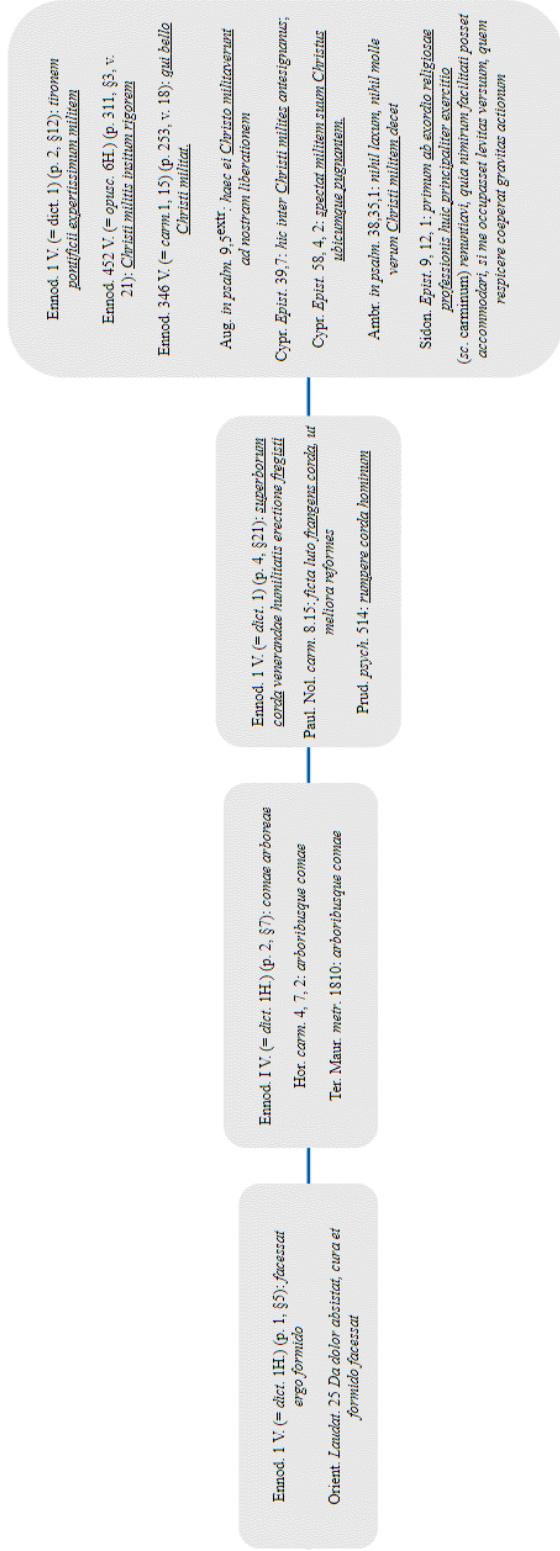


Diagram 2

accommodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat  
gravitas actionum

tend to show a common ground, where believers – or generally speaking, those who strongly defend religion – are mostly seen as *milites*. But the allegory of the armor of God dates back to *New Testament* and *Vulgata* and can be seen as an explicit contrast with the idea of – and term – *paganus*, intended here as «a civilian, opposed to a soldier».<sup>36</sup> Knighthood gave authors the idea of strength, power, effort and paved the way for identifying virtues as an equipment. It is useful to attach a passage from *Ephesians* (6, 13sq.), where Paulus describes the proper parts of *armatura Dei*:

Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo et, omnibus perfectis, stare.

State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induti loricam iustitiae et calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela Maligni ignea exstinguere;  
et galeam salutis assumite et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.<sup>37</sup>

Regardless of the observance of a general theme, we can detect a proof of Ennodius' tendency to employ *filler words* behind the use of an Horace's binome: *arboribusque comae*<sup>38</sup> appears in the varied form of *comae arboreae* in Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H) (p. 2, §7), which seems to be part of a less precise plan of recollection. Horace's line is a strongly heart-felt hymn for the act

<sup>36</sup> OLD, vol. 2, 1412, col. 2. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 53 *inter paganos corruptior miles*; 3, 43 *ipsi (...) pagani (...) futurae potentiae spe iuvare partis adnitebantur*; Iuv. 16, 33 *falsum producere testem contra paganum*; Suet. *Gal.* 19, 2 *dimota paganorum turba*; Dig. 35, 2, 96 (Scaevola libro singulari quaestionum publice tractarum) *miles si, dum paganus erat, fecerit testamentum*. See also ThLL, vol. 10, 1, fasc. 1, 79, col. 2 and Tert. *Coron.* 11, 1, 42 *apud Christum tam miles est paganus fidelis, quam paganus est miles fidelis*.

<sup>37</sup> Ef. 6, 13-17 (B. ALAND – K. ALAND – J. – C. M. MARTINI – B. M. METZGER (eds.) *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 2014 [1986<sup>1</sup>]).

<sup>38</sup> Hor. *carm.* 4.7.2.



of coming back to life:<sup>39</sup> snow has disappeared, like soldiers put on the run; earth and trees are once again tinged with green, rivers are returning to flow.<sup>40</sup> Ennodius' echo seems to be intricate and insincere, lacking the complex state of purity that Horace's hymn can show. Ambiguity in such cases could also be a wanted effect, since it is also in names and places feeding the fuzzy nature of this work. As Gioanni points out, the 'ambiguïtés volontaire révèle au contraire l'habileté et l'invention de l'auteur'.<sup>41</sup> Such a category – the intentional limited exactitude – has an illustrious precedent precisely in Horace: we are talking about *Itinerarius Brigantionis Castelli*,<sup>42</sup> a journey through Montgenèvre and the Cottian Alps, for a diplomatic mission to Brigantio (= Briançon). Among the most ambiguous models, we can easily find Horace's *Iter Brundisinum*.<sup>43</sup>

The most difficult cases to detect are of course *altered references*, and there is a limpid example that drags the beloved Vergil in:

Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.), (p. 2, §7): Nunc cum terrae sucus per venas aren-tium virgultorum currit in germina et alvus sicci fomitis umore maritata turgescit, cum in blandam lucem novelli praesegminis comae explicantur arboreae et omnis ramorum plectura diffunditur vel quae intra tunicam natura artaverat frondium decora solvuntur, cum avium cantilena com-itur sapore modulato, cum vita segetum glebis sepulta hiemalibus quasi repagulis algoris emissa et tempore fota concipitur.

<sup>39</sup> *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis / arboribusque comae.*

<sup>40</sup> CASTELNUOVO (2015: 180).

<sup>41</sup> GIOANNI (2006: CVIII), and see also L. BASSET – F. BIVILLE (eds.): *Les jeux et les ruses de l'ambigüité volontaire dans les textes grec et latins*. In: Actes de la Table Ronde organisée à la – Lyon 2 (23–24 novembre 2000) 2005, 171–186.

<sup>42</sup> Ennod. 245V. (= *carm.* 1,1H.).

<sup>43</sup> Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5. Horace's journey started in Rome and firstly reached Ariccia; *minus est gravis Appia tardis*, says Horace: they move through *Fundi*, *Sinuessa* and *Capua*. Then straight to Beneventum, «where the zealous innkeeper almost burned himself, turning his lean thrushes on the grill» [Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5, 71–72]. For a deep analysis of Ennodius' literacy in 245V. (= *carm.* 1,1), cf. F. MONTONE (2021: 35–59).

Now the juice of Earth flows into the parched bushes, up to the buds; the dry river bed begins to swell up with a fruitful juice; now the foliage show up in the soft light of a new crop of the day; the trees are in bloom and what nature had previously entwined in the tunic of its branches, melts into something beautiful, with the birds songs in the background, a lullaby with a moderate sound. The peasants collect the fruits buried by the winter clouds, as if spit out, despite the obstacles of the cold and nourished by the heat.

Verg. *Georg.* 2, 323sqq.:

Ver adeo frondi nemorum,<sup>44</sup> ver utile silvis;  
 vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.  
 Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether  
 Coniugis in gremium laetae descendit,<sup>45</sup> et omnis  
 Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.<sup>46</sup>  
Auia tum resonant auibus uirgulta canoris<sup>47</sup>;  
 Et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus;  
 Parturit almus ager Zephyrique trementibus auris  
 Laxant arua sinus; superat tener omnibus umor,  
 Inque nouos soles audent se germina tuto  
 Credere, nec metuit surgentis pampinus Austros

germina *Burman* : gramina ω, gramine P

<sup>44</sup> CONINGTON (1858: 228, n. 323) clarifies that *nemorum* and *silvis* both mean “the trees in the ‘arbustum’”, while *frondi* reminds of food for cattle.

<sup>45</sup> It is rather interesting the identification provided by someone between *Aether* and *Tellus* respectively with Jupiter and Juno. Vergil’s passage contains a poetic language, which shows its dependence on physical hints; no theological view seems to be required here.

<sup>46</sup> *Alit* (...) *fetus* unifies the fruits of a marriage – the one between Heaven and Earth – and the idea of fertilizing showers; see CONINGTON (1858: 228, n. 327).

<sup>47</sup> See also *Lucr.* 1, 10sqq.: *Nam simul ac species patefacta est verna diei / et reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni, / Aeriae primum volucres te, Diva tuumque / Significant ininitum, percussae corda tua / vi.*

But spring helps the leafy groove. Spring helps the wood.  
 Spring earth swells, asking for life-giving seeds.  
 Almighty father, Aether, in long deep rains  
falls to his wife's glad hug and, great and coupled  
 with her great body, quickens all that grows.  
In spring each pathless thicket rings with bird-song.  
 In the sure days all herds find love again.  
 Earth labors, teeming. Warm breaths of a West Wind  
 loosen fields; in all things is tender moisture.  
 Safely a grass-blade dares to trust new suns.  
 The vine-spray does not fear a rising South Wind.

The beginning of our second section - *Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature* (§§6-9) – offers such a bucolic and idyllic scenario, due to Laurence's consecration: nature's in bloom, agriculture shows its luxuriant side. The Vergilian *fecundae imbres (...) in gremium* can be detected behind the Ennodian *sucus terrae per venas arentium* and the *umor maritata*; they are a blessing for a *siccus alvus* and they all tend to flow: *currere* and *descendere* are both motion verbs; Vergil's *avia virgulta* hide behind Ennodius' *avium cantilena*; and the *arboreae comae* echo a sweet and slow lullaby from birds. Spring makes *silvae* grow (cf. Vergil's *Georgics* 2, 323: *ver utile silvis*) and creates a *ramorum plectura* (Ennod. 1 V. [= *dict.* 1H.], [p. 2, §7]). The underlined words can prove at a glance that Ennodius' description of nature takes advantage from *Georgica's* lexicon and we have chosen to attach a translation in order to enforce this idea.

It is also interesting to focus on the word *germina*, employed by Ennodius as the finish line for the fluid juice of Earth. In Vergil's passage, *gramina* is the *lectio* of all the manuscripts, except for P (Vat. Pal. Lat. 1631, saec. V-VI), but most scholars and editors have read *germina*, trusting the authority of Celsus apud Philargus' commentary (Philarg. ad Verg.). Even though most of the supporters of *gramina* have taken Hor. *Od.* 4, 7, 1 as a proof (: *redeunt iam gramina campis arboribusque comae*), the textual problem is still very diffi-

cult, because maybe Vergil is giving a different meaning to the word, related to the vine. Burman's *coniectura* could have a valid foothold in Ennodius' passage, where Vergil's presence is not deniable. The quotation is too long, not to be direct and intentional, but Ennodius reworks it as an intersection of surfaces and lexica, by employing signifying practices for different purposes. We may say that it is a shot, a textual arrangement per images rather than per words: it sometimes happens in Ennodius' corpus.<sup>48</sup>

The use of the word 'beloved' was no coincidence for identifying Vergil's role in Ennodius' literacy. We have detected a vague, but indeed plausible *altered reference* behind Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §1): *quousque meiners diffidentia intra angustum partitur penetrare delitiscere*. Ennodius' will of sketching a portrait for the figure of Laurence cannot overlook his usual *molesta modestia*: because of a lazy apathy, his ability and enthusiasm in writing is hidden in an *angustum penetrare* like in Verg. *Georg.* 1, 379-80 (: *et tectis penetrantibus extulit ova angustum formica, terens iter et bibit ingens*) the ant brings out the eggs from the burrows under ground, traversing a narrow path and they remain covered up, protected, but still the fatigue to take them out is high; Ennodius' need of time in processing information and bringing them out in an all-embracing *dictio* requires a very strong effort.

<sup>48</sup> The collaboration with PoBLAM Project has already reached some results in this field, highlighting fleeting images used by Ennodius and corresponding to other author's lines. Some examples from Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) can be provided in the present footnote, but we must be aware that a complete account of references is still a work in progress. Cf. Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 5, vv. 1-5) *Post canas hiemes, gelidi post damna profundi / Tranquillum quotiens nauita carpit iter, / Maeret et infidi desperat prospera ponti / Quamque videt faciem non putat esse salis. / Sibilat aura levis, validas timet ille procellas: / fluctibus et blandas aestimat esse minas*; and Ov. *Trist.* 1, 4, 11-16 *Nauita confessus gelidum pallore timorem, / Iam sequitur uictus, non regit arte ratem. / Vtque parum ualidus non proficientia rector / Ceruicis rigidae frena remittit equo, / Sic non quo uoluit, sed quo rapit impetus [undae.] Aurigam uideo uela dedisse rati*. And also Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 5, v.5sq.) *sibilat aura levis (...)* / *linthea si crispant Zephiri pendencia malo*; and Ov. *Epist.* 5, 54sq. *Aura levis rigido pendencia linthea malo / suscitatur et remis eruta canet aqua*. Another suitable and iconic example comes from Ennod. 451 V. (= *carm.* 2, 150H.) (p. 309, vv. 1-4) *ut valeant aquilae formatos prodere fetus, / vitalis tenerum frangit tepor insitus ovum, / tunc pius artatam lacerat pater impiger aedem, / ut pariat rursus studio quos edidit alvo*, where the image of *fetus aquilae* is likely reworded from Luc. 9, 902-906, by means of Claud. *Carm. Min.* 6; 18; 23; 26. The allusion, although clear, shows some differences, as a sign of separation from the model and transformation of the image.

Gradually blurring the burdens of congruence among Ennodius and other authors, we end up recognizing a Quintilian theory behind an Ennodius' *sententia*. In 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §2) Ennodius claims that *superflua scribere res iactantiae est: necessaria reticere contemptus*. There is no common lexicon, no common context, but we are aware that Quintilian played a very important role in Ennodius' education. Suffice it to know<sup>49</sup> that Ennodius 363 V. (= *dict.* 21H.) is a sort of *ethopoeiac antilogy* towards [Quint]. *Mai.* 5, according to a definition we attempted to give in the simultaneous PhD dissertation we are writing, always aware of the difficulty in labelling similar works written in Late Antiquity. In Quint. *Inst.* 2, 2 (: *in laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus nec effusus, quia res altera taedium laboris, altera securitatem parit*), the reasoning structure is similar and it is based on a necessary and sufficient implication: *superflua* are a sufficient condition for *iactantia*; but *necessaria reticere* is necessarily a sign of *contemptus*: such a concept is a cornerstone of the theories of *brevitas* and *labor limae*, which Ennodius makes his own especially when writing *dictiones*. The same idea of concision is to be found *in laudandis discipulorum dictionibus*, in a challenging balance required to the teacher. Quintilian aims at pushing and reassuring, urging and praising students, but all moderately and fairly. The contact point between the two passages is visible in a sort of watermark. We do not know that much about the education in Late Antiquity but several hypothesis can be made on the basis of Ennodius' corpus. The aim of teaching and schooling was to make ancient models live again and help young people reach them through practice. Rhetorics is considered *the ars* in Ennodius' works.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> And we must not forget that Quintilian and Ps. Quintilian were considered the same at Ennodius' time.

<sup>50</sup> Cf for example Ennod. 362 V. (= *epist.* 7, 29H.) (p.259, §1): *urbanorum est exiguis producta subtrahere et sine aliqua necessitate paginas, quales poscit hominum mensura, formare. Quod in me de his, quae prefatus sum, subtile putaveris, festinatio non semper amica artis et casus exhibuit.* Ennod. 363V. (= *dict.* 21H.) (p. 260–261, §2) *Numquid fas est adversus Quintilianum nisi pro veritate dicere? Aut immemorem sui loquendi facit aviditas, qui tribuit verba iustitiae? Fallentes decet urbanitas, dum peniculo fucata mendacii peregrinum decorem laudanda verbo tenus sumit elocutio. Sine solacio oratoriae artis aequitas adseratur. Eligo pompam, quam probitas defensa parturiet. Procedat contra eloquentissimum virum caelestium favore munita simplicitas. De fiducia partium nostrarum oritur quod audemus.* Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 313, §13) *in hac cautione*

The author was careful in respecting the ancient rhetorics' *praecepta*, but it is evident that the Barbarian crisis had exercised a very harmful pressure over Latin language. As Magani says, 's'hanno quindi in Ennodio tutti gli inconvenienti di un'epoca di transizione':<sup>51</sup> more likely Ennodius is the real and exemplar son of his own era.

Another interesting class is the one of *Self-quotation*, which includes expressions or sentences, created by Ennodius and not inspired by other authors, which reappear once or more in the whole corpus. A limpid case is that of Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §3), remembering himself and one of his linguistic frills:

Ennod. 1 V (= *dict.* 1) (p. 1, §3): ceu si in alveum magni fluminis stillantis guttam fundas eloquii, nequaquam ad cursum proficis liquoris impendio, et vix humorem parturit, quod ad undas aptatur.

Even a drop of sparkling speech (*gutta eloquii stillantis*) is lost in the sea of abundance (*cursum proficis liquoris*), due to its size. Ennodius regrets the *pressa magnitudo* of his *exhaustum ingenium*, which will always fall in deaf ears, defeated by the abundance of speaking.

Ennod. 95 V (= *epist.* 3, 24H.) (p. 120, §4): quod alveo quondam copiosi fluminis vix arentis gutta fundatur eloquii

In 95V. (= *epist.* 3, 24H.), when justifying his abandoned *cura liberalium* (surely after his being ordained, when Ennodius' passion for *liberalia* had seemingly expired), he says something similar: the past *copiosum flumen*, the one of *eloquentia*, is at the time nothing but a *gutta eloquii*. Going further, with a

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*opus est, ut supra aetatis immaturae naturalem paene licentiam artis crescat affectio et de continua per pedagogos et indicta necessitate clari operis spontanea cura prosiliat.*

<sup>51</sup> MAGANI (1886: *praef.* VIII). It is very useful to add what Magani says about Ennodius' style, which was obscure, muddled and sometimes chaotic: grabbing what he wants to say is not that easy and always creates troubles in finding out if there is too much obscurity from the author himself or too few understanding from Ennodius' reader. '(...) Non si accorgeva che *verbosità e ricercatezza* nuocevano alla *lucidità* dell'espressione'.

careful reading of sources surrounding Ennodius, we reach another form of *gutta eloquii tenuis*, belonging to the converted Christian Paulinus of Nola (354–431):

Paul. Nol. *carm.* 21, 691: Sed et haec mihi gutta / eloquii tenuis, quo te loquar unde profecto / ducitur, unde etiam fluviis exundat origo.

In *carm.* 21, addressing to Christ, his *fons summa*, he apologises for the «thin trickle of (his) eloquence» (here in Walsh, P. G.'s translation), which is just a *gutta* if compared to the proper irrigation (*deserta rigare*) given to the author's inner desert. Ennodius' ability to mix quotation and literary memories is also visible in the reminiscence of *alveo fluminis*, both in Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) and Ennodius 95 V. (= *epist.* 3, 24H.), a vague recollection of Verg. *Aen.* 7, 33: *adsuetae ripis volucres et fluminis alveo*.

In addition, Ennodius' *sarcina* is always *gravis* to be carried (like also in Prosp. *Ad coniug.* 47: *non autem haec gravis est mansueto sarcina dorso*; in Pavl. Nol. *Carm. App.* 3, 51: *gravior ne sarcina plumbo*; and Paul. Petric. *Mart.* 5, 525: *gravis excusso reiecta est sarcina collo*), by the one who gets ready for a difficult purpose (*oneris immensitas*); it is always advisable to follow *caritas*, not fearing anything but being careful to every decision.

The strong grab of the anchor is metaphorically described as *morsus* both in Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 2, §8) and Ennodius 2V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 6, v. 16), showing a tight dependence with Vergil's *Aeneid* 1, 169 (: *unco non alligat ancora morsu*). Aeneas is trying to reach the beaches of Lybia: there are trees in the wood, sweet water and a cavern, home of the Nymphs. There, ships do not need any mooring, *ancorae morsus* is lighter and the act of the *ancorae* (sc. *mordere*), loosens his grip.

The case of *Self-quotations* is once again ambiguous, since it is very difficult to state whether Ennodius wanted to quote himself intentionally or accidentally. The cases analyzed before seem to include crystallized expressions, which Ennodius had learnt to use automatically. One thing has to be noticed, as a suggestion for further studies: Ennodius 5V. (= *epist.* 1, 2H.) (p.

9, §1)<sup>52</sup> is very close to Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) and – low and below – the expression *gravis sarcina* comes again, associated to the act of *capere duram provinciam*.<sup>53</sup> The fact that similar expressions occur in a row, in consecutive works, opens up new possibilities in a different field of studies concerning the order of the corpus. This corpus, whose arrangement is considered to date back to a tradition following Ennodius' death, can show an internally linked structure. Such a statement has to be intended here mainly as a suggestion; hence, it needs to be analyzed surely elsewhere, not overlooking the importance of intratextuality for structural deductions.

## Conclusions

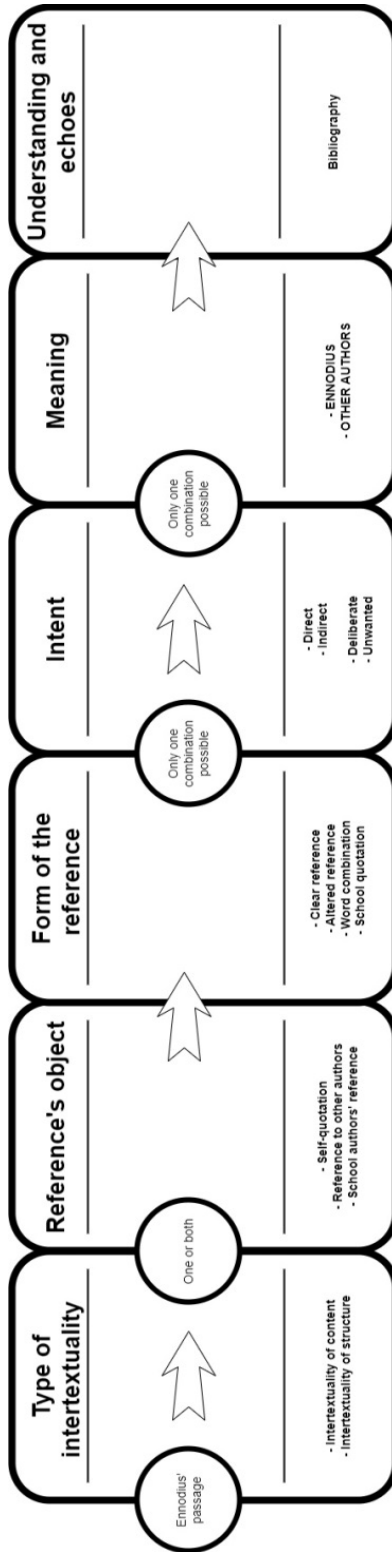
Reflection upon such a topic brings us to wrap up and draw some conclusions about Ennodius' culture and way of employing it. It would be wrong to think of Ennodius' work as a *cento*, sewing together phrases into a patchwork. We can find not much more than a quote for every ten-fifteen lines. According to most scholars, Classical and Christian messages are used in Ennodius as a moral training or – more practically – for the shaping of a ruling class. So the *dictiones*, apparently just traditional from the rhetorical point of view, can also be seen as a rather reactionary way by which to convey values in contemporary listeners and/or readers. Ennodius claims that *divinarum bona rerum* are raised 'as if they were illuminated by the light of a precious necklace'<sup>54</sup> only thanks to *studiorum liberalium diligentiam*. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is a treasure chest concerning Ennodius' understanding and other authors' memory. Classification dealing with intertextuality should follow a progressive model: few *macro*-categories should pave the way to micro-features, which must be saved. Given such pre-conditions, every passage should be defined as follows (Scheme 3):

<sup>52</sup> *Novi me duram cepisse provinciam et gravem sarcinam umeris infirmis adtollere, qui sublimitatem tuam quantum ad me quietam verborum stimulis excitavi.*

<sup>53</sup> Going back and reaching a starting point, we have to consider Ter. *Phorm.* 72–73: (...) *provinciam / cepisti duram!*

<sup>54</sup> Ennod. 452 V (= *opusc.* 6H) (p. 313, §10): *De praefatis virtutibus facessat studiorum liberalium deesse diligentiam, per quam divinarum bona rerum quasi pretiosi monilis luce sublimitentur, quia (...) qui non sufficienter magnorum tetendit ad culmina, miserorum infima vix relinquit.*





How to manage such a complex model? Essentially a progressive definition is required, after a precise analysis of the context and a proper translation.

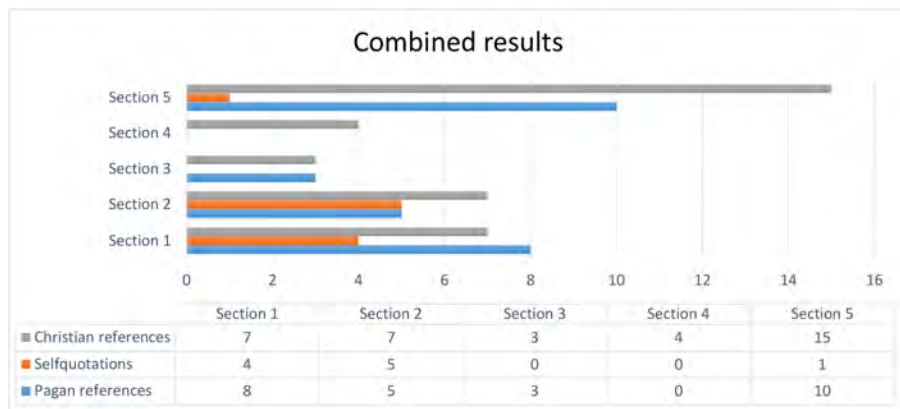
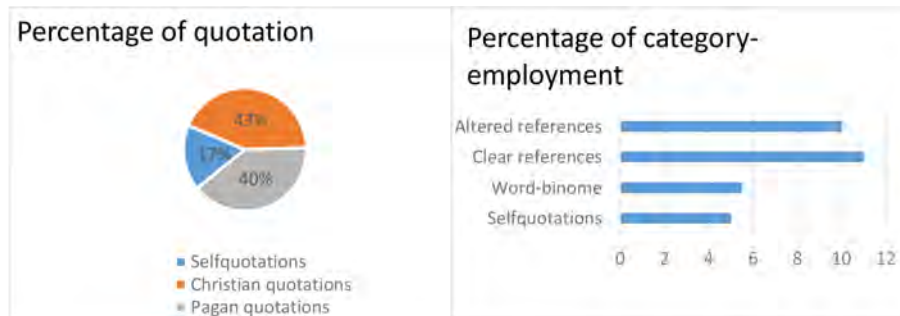
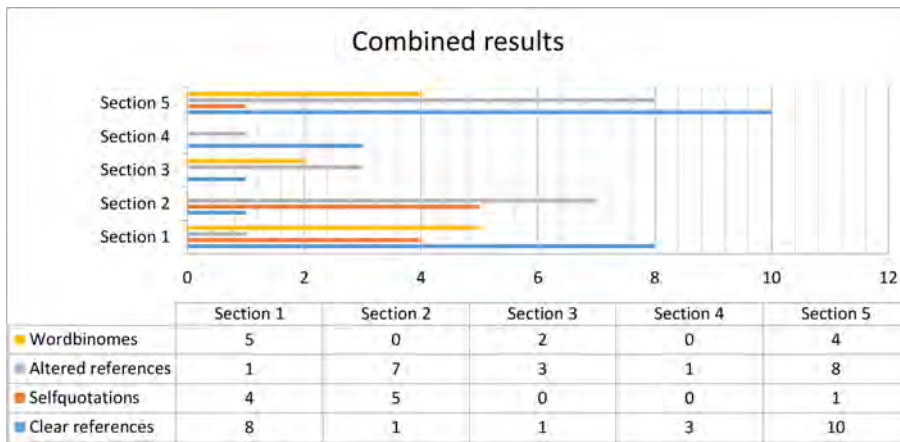
Such a study could have an impact in understanding still unclear information about Ennodius' writing and ultimately about his teaching activity: the combination between *artes liberales* and *disciplina ecclesiastica* would be giving an account of the inner and full-Ennodian contrast, rather than a handbook for understanding the fair use of secularity in a Christian era. It would oblige us to consider the context as a relevant neighbourhood, also when implying significative differences. Conclusions should be drawn, and it would be innovative to show statistics dealing with the type of quotes which have been classified before.

Let us remember the sections we defined:

1. Why the rhetorician should talk? A speech about ambition and reputation. (§§1–5)
2. Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature. (§§ 6–9)
3. Laurence's election and voters' reaction. (§§ 10–12)
4. Back to the prestige of Laurence's life. (§§ 13–15)
5. *Liberalia vs disciplina ecclesiastica*. (§§16–24)

And now let us take section 1 [*Why the rhetorician should talk, a speech about ambition and reputation*] and section 5 [*Liberalia vs disciplina ecclesiastica*], based on rethorical theory and mainly secular, as an example. Here, the activity of puzzling is mostly concentrated and it reveals a significative preponderance of *clear references*: the religious ones are equal in number to pagans concerning the 1<sup>st</sup> section, while they are in a 2:1 relationship in the 5<sup>th</sup> section. From the graphs, we notice that §§10-15 show up a very obvious prevalence of Christian references. Most results have no context in common with the original source. These statistical data uphold the idea that the section 1-5 are more likely scholastical ones, with memories directly coming from education and teaching.

This work does not want to show a presumption of being infallible or to stand out as the only way to classify intertextuality. The limited content taken



into account offers only partial results; it is the reason why PoBLAM Project is also working on the whole 470 works-corpus: to understand if the tendency is consistently respected.

One last thing has to be noticed: in classifying we had to make choices, which are still risky and uncertain. This awareness argues the narrowness and the precision required by any classification, calling out for a compromise.

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