

Marijana Vuković

**THE LIBRARY OF VIVARIUM:
CASSIODORUS AND THE CLASSICS**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2007

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by

Marijana Vuković

(Serbia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Marijana Vuković**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

The Survival and Transmission of Classical Heritage in the Early Middle Ages: Cassiodorus and his Contribution

This thesis deals with the library of Vivarium, a monastery established in the mid-sixth century in southern Italy. It inquires about a particular aspect of this library: why did Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, the founder of Vivarium, organize the library with exactly this choice of books? In a broader context, it deals with the transmission of classical texts in Cassiodorus' library. Was Cassiodorus' work in the library a salvage work or an application of Augustine's Christian educational program? Were the classics in Vivarium considered to be precious and respected for themselves, or were they just well applied and incorporated into Christian educational program? This thesis aims to give an answer to this question.

The Founder of the Library: Cassiodorus and Vivarium

Cassiodorus was born in the late fifth century in aristocratic pagan family from Rome, which had a long tradition in establishing strong connections with the barbarian rulers well before Ostrogoths, starting from Attila the Hun.¹ Cassiodorus inherited from his father an office at the Ostrogothic court, and balanced for many years in the turbulent world of the sixth-century politics of Ostrogothic Italy. At the time of his conversion to Christianity, Emperor Justinian attacked Italy in 536, with Belisarius' siege of Naples.² This impelled Cassiodorus to leave for Constantinople, where he stayed for some years. Cassiodorus was a prolific, although not a very

¹ Cassiodorus writes about his family and their connections with the barbarian rulers in the *Variae*.

talented writer, according to some.³ Around 554, he came back to Italy and dedicated himself to establishing the monastery on his ancestors' property in Calabria near Squillace. Cassiodorus named his enterprise *monasterium vivariense sive castellense*,⁴ which later scholarship interpreted as Vivarium, relating this name with fishponds galore around the monastery. Cassiodorus aimed this to be a Christian school with a thorough study of Scripture, corroborated with profane writings. To establish the school, he needed a library that consisted of classical authors and the Bible commentators. This library of Vivarium was rich in the choice and variety. Through the activities of keeping, copying, emending, and transcribing manuscripts, Vivarium played a significant role in the sixth-century book production, and, in a way, preservation of the books.

The Preservation of the Classical Heritage in Previous Scholarship

This was the assumption of the previous scholarship. The common belief was wailed in deceit; as Cassiodorus established a school and supplied the library with books, he must have done a great deal for the preservation of the books. Since classical ones were among them, as part of the ancient heritage, he must have done a great deal in preserving them as well, in the new, Christian environment. Early twentieth-century scholars dealing with this topic saw Cassiodorus as a fair savior of the ancient heritage. He was considered one of the few who launched secular studies as part of a Christian educational program. His additionally ascribed achievements also played a role in the scholarship. This picture of Cassiodorus was much-idealized and not examined thoroughly. But we have to acknowledge that the criteria for

² For the reconquest of Italy by Byzantium see Procopius, *The History of the Wars*, tr. H. B. Dewing, (New York: McMillan, 1914).

³ See the chapter on Scholarship about the disputes in assessing Cassiodorus.

establishing correct facts were not easy to reach. From the sixth century, very few sources are preserved, and in the case of Cassiodorus and his library, although his writings are mostly preserved, no other source or contemporary author has been writing about it.

What I intend to do in my thesis is to re-examine Cassiodorus' possible intentions in collecting the classical books for his library in Vivarium. One may say that "preservation" is keeping, copying, translating and emending books, and in this sense Cassiodorus did all that. But "preservation" also means someone's intent care. I am interested in revealing to which extent it was Cassiodorus' conscious decision to preserve classical writings. Also, as Cassiodorus was one of the few to incorporate classical authors in the library and into his program of Christian studies, it is an interesting thing to follow the comments he had left, and to comprehend the position of these authors in the new Christian surrounding. The time in which these works were created was already behind and losing of its influences and distinctiveness in the sixth century. Further destiny of the classics throughout the early Middle Ages is, although highly complex, my major preoccupation in this thesis, through the example of Cassiodorus' library in Vivarium.

I encountered many statements in the scholarship that I could not relate to Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, where he writes about his library. One has to be careful with Cassiodorus' writing. If Cassiodorus comes across a certain author and even quotes him abundantly, we should not claim that he had this author's book in the library. In the history of scholarship there were a number of examples of these confusions and misleading conclusions. We must rely on firmer arguments; in my

⁴ *Institutiones*, 1.29.1.

view, one has to focus on what Cassiodorus really says or to rely on the remaining original paleographical material.

This problem has to be placed into a wider context, however. Late antiquity, as a transitional period between antiquity and the Middle Ages was designated by changes and transformation in many spheres of life and culture. Antiquity had opulent and prolific cultural contributions to human civilization. The classical heritage has come down to us only partially, not in its entirety. This heritage had to survive the process of recognizance, rejection, acceptance, adaptation, and incorporation from the Middle Ages on. How profound a change society and people faced is a topic too wide to be discussed here; my concern is focused, as I said, on what happened to the classical books.

The book as a means of transferring ideas and thoughts never lost its power throughout history. It has always reflected a time of its creation. Texts created in antiquity, heavily flavored by the time and people's habits, mythology and paganism, somehow found their way through the period when the major features of antiquity evaporated. Ancient texts had to adjust and find their destiny within the embrace of Christianity. Not all the books were destined to survive in this period of transition. Some were very well accepted. Some books written in antiquity were a useless surplus. The question remains of how the classical books survived and how they were accepted and incorporated in the Middle Ages. The problem deepens further on the acceptance of the ancient books because of themselves; a matter of my interest is if the books from antiquity were accepted as a treasure by themselves or because of the fact that they could be easily transformed, incorporated, and applied into other culture. What determined that was applicability and generality of their ideas and thoughts. I attempt to find out which areas and fields, and which authors from

antiquity were suitable and apt to be subjected to the pursuits and strivings of the Middle Ages.

To trace the whole ancient heritage at the gate of the Middle Ages could be a quest of a lifetime. Individuals take single steps to make the picture complete. And this is where I see my contribution; my choice has fallen on the one who was claimed to be a “savior” of the ancient heritage in the Early Middle Ages. This is the story, therefore, about the previous much-idealized picture of Cassiodorus' role in the preservation of the classical books, its update, and his own reasons for collecting the books of the classical ancient authors. This thesis has the aim to point out how disparate these two aspects could be.

CHAPTER I

Cassiodorus' Attitude towards the Classical Heritage and the Question of his Responsibility for the Preservation of Classical Books: A Critical Overview of the Scholarship

The idea of keeping and storing books written in antiquity was related in scholarship to the few eminent collectors of the sixth century. When twentieth-century scholars directed their attention to the transitional period of Late Antiquity, to its specific hues and atmosphere, and as soon as they started to ponder about the survival of the classical heritage in the new Christian environment, they associated it with the name of Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, who was proclaimed to be one of the few who gave hope for the survival of this heritage and literacy in general. In the course of the sixth century, the merit of preservation of the ancient heritage was given to him, as he was one of the few who made efforts to maintain education and literacy at the time.

What strikes at once and seems blurred and undefined is the term “preservation.” If one takes the broadest context possible, it can be said that preservation means exactly what Cassiodorus did; he was buying books and keeping them in library. He was also transcribing books. Furthermore, he was translating books from Greek. Annotation as an activity could also be taken into account: the fact that a certain book (or a codex) has marginal notes or annotations means that this book was there once. Preservation, in the broadest context possible applies all this. But, in the case of Cassiodorus, the intention and will to preserve, particularly the classics, through all these activities has to be taken into consideration.

After the appearance of the first printed and critical editions⁵ of his writings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the name of Cassiodorus, his writings and his

work in Vivarium monastery, became synonymous with the intellectual world of the sixth century. Maybe because he was one of the few with an urge and initiative for the intellectual activities, many a scholar took his work for granted. Even if there was a real examination on his contribution to the general culture of the time, on the *Institutiones* being instrumental in shaping the Christian Latin culture of the Medieval West, on his humanist and archival reasons, and on his treatment of the classical heritage, and presence or absence of his intention to preserve it, scholarly opinions about Cassiodorus' achievement were surprisingly disparate, from overwhelming praise to sharp criticism, which pointed out the need of re-examination of the entire case. This chapter attempts to give a critical overview of these opinions on Cassiodorus' attitude and treatment of classical authors.

In the early twentieth century the attitude of scholars towards Cassiodorus' work in Vivarium was predominantly positive. In 1928, E. K. Rand evaluates Cassiodorus' work in the monastery in his influential book, the *Founders of the Middle Ages*: "Cassiodorus speaks of the copies of the Bible; but this plan made necessary the transcribing of the heathen authors as well...To him we owe, in large part, the preservation of such works as we have of classical Latin literature today."⁶ E. R. Curtius in his *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages*⁷ took over the idea that Cassiodorus "sanctified" the liberal arts. These remarks gave a long-lasting credit to Cassiodorus as a guardian of classical heritage and in the first part of the twentieth century it was a spread as a common belief. E. K. Rand expressed his opinion once again in a review entitled "The New Cassiodorus" on Mynors' edition of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*: "It is he who saved the ancient Latin authors and the Fathers of the

⁵ The editions, particularly of the *Institutiones*, are listed *citra*.

⁶ E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1928): 244. (hereafter: Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*).

Church for the Middle Ages. The credit goes primarily to Cassiodorus for this happy result.”⁸

Another problem emerges here. When scholars speak of “ancient,” it is almost inevitably the case that they do not clearly distinguish which “ancient” writers they mean, pagan or Christian. Cassiodorus lived in the sixth century; therefore, all the writers who had written before him could be considered as “ancient.” He himself uses this word in terms of all the writers before him, both Christian and pagan. The aim of this thesis is to distinguish particularly ancient classical authors from the Christian ones, which flourished and had a long - lasting influence later, in the Middle Ages. In due course I will try to find the particular quotations where scholars state that Cassiodorus did a great deal for the preservation of the classical heritage, or the statements claiming the opposite.

Interest in Cassiodorus was spurred by the publication of *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* by R. A. B. Mynors in 1937.⁹ The most “recent” edition up to Mynors’ was that of Migne in 1847,¹⁰ a reproduction of the 1679 text by Dom Jean Garet.¹¹ The *editio princeps* of the first book of the *Institutiones* was prepared by Jacobus Pamelius and published at Antwerp in 1566 by Christopher Plantin.¹² Many authors¹³ across Europe made critical studies of the manuscripts in the years preceding Mynors’ work, but no one before Mynors gave the text, edited from manuscripts. Mynors’ edition gave the first provisional list of the books extant in the Vivarium library, but

⁷ Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1953): 448-450. (hereafter: Curtius, *European Literature*).

⁸ E. K. Rand, “The New Cassiodorus,” *Speculum* 13, No. 4 (1938): 433. (hereafter: Rand, “The New Cassiodorus”).

⁹ *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937) (Hereafter: Mynors, *Institutiones*).

¹⁰ LXX, 1847.

¹¹ Rouen, 1679.

¹² Michael Gorman, “The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*,” *Revue Bénédictine* 110, No. 1-2 (2000): 27-41.

¹³ Usener, Keil, Mortet, Lehman, Stettner, Van der Vyver. See Rand, “The New Cassiodorus,” 433.

he did not distinguish the books that Cassiodorus claimed he had in the library from the books that he recommended, or the books he knew about.¹⁴ In Mynors' version they are put altogether, and presumably Mynors thought Cassiodorus had all of them in the library. This might be even more so as I noticed that Mynors avoided in this list the authors Cassiodorus had yet to buy.

Mynors' edition of the *Institutiones* was reviewed many times. In 1938, M. L. W. Laistner¹⁵ wrote: "It is surely astonishing, when one considers the importance of Cassiodorus' library for the transmission of classical and post-classical writers and of Cassiodorus himself for the development of monastic education..."¹⁶ In *Thought and Letters in Western Europe*, first published in 1931 and revised in 1957, Laistner remarks:

In this community Cassiodorus remained till his death at the advanced age of over ninety, indefatigably engaged in the two-fold project of furthering his educational ideals and, with admirable farsightedness, of collecting manuscripts of the great literature of the past, Greek and Latin, pagan as well as Christian.¹⁷

And a bit further:

The most obvious debt of posterity to Cassiodorus is the preservation of ancient writings, sacred and profane, which would have perished in those disturbed days but for his zeal in bringing together as large and diversified a library as possible. The result was impressive and, in spite of gaps, a very representative collection.¹⁸

Laistner expounded his attitude to Cassiodorus' work, giving him a credit for the preservation of works, including classical works as well. He is inclined and in favor of Cassiodorus, considering him praiseworthy. If we put aside some of

¹⁴ See Cassiodorus, *Institutiones Divinarum et Saecularium Litterarum*, (Freiburg, Herder, 2003): 488-500.

¹⁵ M. L. W. Laistner, "Book Review on *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* edited by R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937)," *American Journal of Philology* 59, No. 1 (1938): 115-117.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁷ M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1957): 97. (hereafter: Laistner, *Thought and Letters*).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

Laistner's misinterpretations and additions to Cassiodorus' library¹⁹ which have no support in any of Cassiodorus' writings within the monastery, the question remains: what was Laistner's concept of the term "classical"? He uses the term "classical," thinking of both profane and Christian writers who wrote before Cassiodorus, and only when he says "pagan," does one definitely know that he implies classical ancient authors which were non-Christian. With some other writers this would not necessarily be the case.

Laistner's contemporary Thiele²⁰ was of a slightly different opinion: "How large a part was actually played by Vivarium in the transmission of manuscripts to the Middle Ages is hard to say."²¹ Opposition to the glorification of Cassiodorus was established as early as the 1930s. The culmination is about to come at the turn of seventies, with James J. O'Donnell's *Cassiodorus*.²² These trends varied from author to author; it seems that in each time there was an opposition towards Cassiodorus, as well as the awe of him. Van de Vyver²³ was indecisive: "Whole role in the transmission of the ancient heritage ...we are not yet in a position to determine."²⁴ Stephen Gaselee,²⁵ expressed an opinion that I share:

Mynors added an *Index auctorum*, which is of great assistance in showing which books he quoted, many or most of which were to be found in the library of Vivarium. Perhaps his range of reading is a little disappointing to us: but we must remember that he was writing for the Brethren, and would avoid the citation of immoral and flippant writers, even if he knew their works when he was in the world.²⁶

¹⁹ I will talk about this more in the Chapter III.

²⁰ Hans Thiele, "Cassiodor, seine Klostergründung Vivarium und sein Nachwirkung im Mittelalter," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 3, (Heft, 1932): 378-419. (hereafter: Thiele, "Cassiodor").

²¹ *Ibid.*, 417.

²² James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) (hereafter: O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*).

²³ A. Van der Vyver, "Cassiodore et Son Oeuvre," *Speculum* 6, No. 2 (1931): 244-292.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 244.

²⁵ Stephen Gaselee, "Book Review of *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* edited by R. A. M. Mynors, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937)," *The Classical Review* 51, No. 5 (1937): 188-189. (hereafter: Gaselee, "Book Review").

²⁶ Gaselee, "Book Review," 189.

Gaselee probably relied on the list offered by Cassiodorus himself in the *Institutiones*. This view on the library of Vivarium is, although couched in terms of the contents of the library, far from a romantic, idealist view of Vivarium as an oasis and shelter of classical lore. Gaselee noticed the particular areas of writings extant in Vivarium, especially ancient classical writings, which were put into categories, founding them disappointing and probably not representative enough, apart from the few bright examples, for being considered the “golden age” of classical literature. This observation is, in my view quite rare in the scholarship.

Cassiodorus has been called for the first time “the savior of the Western civilization” by Jacob Hammer, in the article published in 1945.²⁷ The phrase he used has become widely known; many will exploit it either to support their views or to make sarcastic remarks on Cassiodorus. In Hammer’s view, Cassiodorus was a forgotten man but he deserved a place of honor. Further on, he repeated, with the dose of exaggeration, what others have said: “In Vivarium Cassiodorus set out to employ his leisure for the preservation of Divine and Human learning and for its transmission for after ages that entitles him to the eternal gratitude of Europe.”²⁸ Cassiodorus “saved the treasures of the past,”²⁹ he is a “servant of humanity,”³⁰ “a man of foresight and a benefactor of humanity.”³¹ Hammer concluded:

Through his activity Cassiodorus transmitted to posterity pagan and Christian learning which would have perished in those troubled days. It is really hard to imagine what turn or what form our civilization would have taken had the monuments of ancient civilization and tradition been destroyed and had Cassiodorus and his community failed to save them.³²

²⁷ Jacob Hammer, “Cassiodorus, The Savior of Western Civilisation,” *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* 3 (1944-45): 369-84. (hereafter: Hammer, “Cassiodorus, The Savior”).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Hammer, “Cassiodorus, The Savior,” 13-14.

This excessive and exaggerated bow Cassiodorus got was to influence scholarship in the decades to come.

Henri Irénée-Marrou's *History of Education in Antiquity*³³ dedicates only an occasional mention to Cassiodorus. Unlike him, Leslie Weber Jones followed up the trace initiated by Laistner in over-praise and glorification of Cassiodorus. Jones translated Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and supported this work with a substantial introduction where he covered almost all the aspects of Cassiodorus' life:

He planned to spend his old age in religious meditation and in the commenting on the Christian Scriptures, not forgetting entirely his previous hope of founding a theological school and of preserving the Scriptures and the great works of classical antiquity through the pens of monastic copyists.³⁴

In Jones' view, "the great merit of Cassiodorus' monastic work lay in his determination to utilize the vast leisure of the convent for the preservation of divine and human learning and for its transmission to posterity."³⁵

In another article,³⁶ Jones stated that Cassiodorus was a remarkable man, who

spent an equal amount of energy commenting on the Christian Scriptures, assembling an important collection of theological and of classical works, and teaching the monks precise rules for the copying of his precious manuscripts. ...The great merit of his monastic work lay in his determination to utilize the vast leisure of the convent for the preservation of divine and human learning and for its transmission to posterity.³⁷

Jones used repetitive overstatements, quoting the whole sentences from *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* and stressing the importance of Cassiodorus as a protector and a preserver of heritage, both classical and Christian, as

³³ Henri-Irénée Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956). (hereafter: Marrou, *History of Education*).

³⁴ Cassiodorus, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, tr. and ed. Leslie Weber Jones, (New York: Columbia UP, 1946): 20. (hereafter: Jones, *Introduction*).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁶ Leslie Weber Jones, "Influence of Cassiodorus on Medieval Culture," *Speculum* 20, (1945): 433-442. (hereafter: Jones, "Influence of Cassiodorus").

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 434.

well as transmitter and educator. Jones made it rather clear that he was thinking of the classical heritage. Moreover, he stressed Cassiodorus' intention to care for transmission and preservation. Although Cassiodorus' idea of copying manuscripts was not an original one, in his time, according to Jones, other heads of monastic communities rejected the liberal arts as being unnecessary for the study of the Scriptures, and "it remained for Cassiodorus to make of his monastery a theological school and a scriptorium for the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, of the Fathers of the Church and the commentators, and of the great secular writers of antiquity."³⁸ Cassiodorus lived at a time when the best works of classical literature were no longer being copied. Jones implies that Cassiodorus embraced this difficult task when no one was doing it any longer, but for the humanistic reasons of transferring it to posterity. As a contrasting statement, Jones added a footnote with Thiele's³⁹ opinion, who held that Vivarium had considerable importance as a disseminator of historical and classical works, although he doubted the importance of Cassiodorus, his program of studies and influence in later centuries. Jones concludes that the manuscripts of Vivarium and Cassiodorus preserved both the Fathers of the Church and ancient Latin authors in sound form for generations to come and that the credit goes directly to Cassiodorus for preserving this two-fold culture.⁴⁰

Jones' "Notes on the Style and Vocabulary of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*,"⁴¹ did not miss the opportunity to say in the conclusion that "we are indebted to Cassiodorus for the multiplication of the copies of the great secular writers of antiquity."⁴² Jones

³⁸ Jones, "Influence of Cassiodorus," 434.

³⁹ Thiele, "Cassiodorus," 417.

⁴⁰ Jones, "Influence of Cassiodorus," 442.

⁴¹ Leslie Weber Jones, "Notes on the Style and Vocabulary of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*," *Classical Philology* 40, No. 1(1945): 24-31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 31.

was deeply convinced of this idea. The question is which details and proofs made him be so strongly in the favor of it.

Pierre Courcelle is the great master in the scholarship on Cassiodorus. His work, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*⁴³ is one of the most quoted books on Cassiodorus' library. Courcelle points out that Mynors' list of Vivarium's books confused three categories of books.⁴⁴ Courcelle also calls Vivarium a "haven of culture"⁴⁵ and he mentions the notion of "preservation:" "Hence Cassiodorus hastened to order a large number of such translations, as though he foresaw the urgency of preserving some part of Greek culture."⁴⁶ Courcelle's emphasis is on Greek culture; even if he talks of preservation, it is always Greek heritage in the context of the West. Courcelle wrote extensively on the contents of the library. He analyzed the manuscripts mentioned by Beer,⁴⁷ whose theory was that the manuscripts from Vivarium ended up in the monastery of Bobbio. As for the book-list, Courcelle left only the list of the works bound together, as Cassiodorus described in the *Institutiones*. He gave a nice suggestion for further research: if only manuscripts bound in such way would appear or be found somewhere, it would undoubtedly be the proof that they originate altogether from Vivarium.⁴⁸ At the end of his book, Courcelle poses the question of transmission of the ancient writers:⁴⁹ "Does the fact that most of the books assembled by Cassiodorus are preserved prove that Vivarium was tremendously active in preserving them, or on the contrary had no participation therein, if they were preserved despite the total destruction of this library?" In

⁴³ Pierre Courcelle, *Les Lettres Grecques en Occident de Macrobie à Cassiodore*, (Paris : E. de Boccard, 1948), tr. *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1969). (hereafter: Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*).

⁴⁴ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 336.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 338.

⁴⁷ Rudolf Beer, *Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio*, (Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, philosophisch-historischen Klasse 48, 1911).

⁴⁸ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 375.

Courcelle's view, Cassiodorus' influence for the preservation of Christian authors was more weighty than that of the profane ones.

The attitude of scholars towards Cassiodorus changed from the 1950s onwards. Arnaldo Momigliano⁵⁰ wrote in 1955 that Cassiodorus was "never an awe-inspiring figure."⁵¹ Momigliano claims that modern scholars have been slow in taking a real interest in Cassiodorus. He is "no heroic character" and "no towering intelligence," and, all in all, "lesser man."⁵² But, another fact that Momigliano points out is interesting for our topic; Cassiodorus was the man who tried to save what could be saved. Momigliano is obscure here about whether he means saving the books or something else, but he stresses that the theories of Cassiodorus being responsible for survival of the books of Vivarium are doubtful.⁵³

In the late seventies the whole outlook, scope, and perspective regarding Cassiodorus' life and achievements was inverted by James J. O'Donnell's *Cassiodorus*. The scholarship on Cassiodorus can be divided in a period "before" and "after" this sharp and critical book. O'Donnell is radical and goes to the extreme: "There is nothing remarkable about the fact that one elderly politician had returned home to a monastery he had founded and settled down to collecting books."⁵⁴ In O'Donnell's interpretation, Cassiodorus developed a complex theory of the ultimate dependence of secular on sacred learning that would justify to himself and others his own distaste for the secular sciences. Cassiodorus was far from being the avid humanist student of secular learning that he is often made out to be. Not only was Cassiodorus far from original in the treatment he gives of the secular subjects, he was

⁴⁹ Ibid., 401.

⁵⁰ Arnaldo Momigliano, "Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of his Time," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41(1955): 207-245.

⁵¹ Ibid., 208.

⁵² Ibid., 209.

⁵³ Ibid., 209.

also far from enthusiastic about their study. The tone of the conclusion of the Book II echoes the advice to use secular studies but not to delight in them too much for their own sake. Moreover, Cassiodorus propagated the scriptural origin of the secular sciences. Cassiodorus always stressed how secular studies are important in understanding the Scripture, but, it was necessary for Cassiodorus to provide a text of the seven liberal arts that would reduce those studies to the appropriate state of subservience to scriptural ones. It is true, though, that Cassiodorus introduced the “humanities” to his monastery; but this was so only in the sense that he wanted once and for all to subordinate them to higher things.

O'Donnell concludes:

For centuries, the general assumption of scholars has generally been that Cassiodorus was establishing the practice of manuscript copying in monasteries and that particularly he was somehow responsible for the preservation of manuscripts of ancient secular classics.⁵⁵

O'Donnell claims that there is no evidence for either assumption. Moreover, there is no convincing paleographical evidence, in his words, that any surviving manuscripts of pagan classics passed through Vivarium. One must erase the romantic picture that Cassiodorus was taking ancient culture and walling it up inside the monastery with him. On the contrary, Cassiodorus seems not to have cared one way or the other what happened to secular literature. With this, the whole scholarship on Cassiodorus' preservation of ancient classics was knocked down and put into a stage of deep and thorough reconsideration. O'Donnell remained skeptical about the existence of the “classical heritage” in Vivarium. He started a debate; scholars felt they had to react.⁵⁶ This book has remained until now the most distinguished work for all those who deal with Cassiodorus. By his persuasive attitude O'Donnell managed

⁵⁴O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*. In this work I used the online version of this book, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

to convince. This explains the blossoming and flourishing of book reviews that appeared after the publication of his book.

Richard W. Pfaff's review⁵⁷ opens with the previous common belief that Cassiodorus laid down a program of reading which virtually ensured the survival of pagan classics within a well-articulated sevenfold framework of the liberal arts. "Exactly how these impressions came to hold the day is an interesting, if not perfectly clear story."⁵⁸ Pfaff finds O'Donnell's attitude convincing and he talks in favor of this work, assessing it as a full-length scholarly monograph.

In Michael McCormick's view, "Few figures appear as emblematic of the great transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages as Cassiodorus."⁵⁹ He concentrates on the inconsistencies of O'Donnell's text and puts emphasis on the period of Cassiodorus' life when the *Variae* were created. He agrees, though, with O'Donnell: "The time seems to have come to take a fresh look at the primary sources, review the accumulated scholarship, and attempt a new survey."⁶⁰ This suggestion is, in my view, a brilliant option. If it had been done before the thirties, it would have liberated Cassiodorus from the burden of glory, but at the same time preserved him from being crucified for too much praise.

According to Gerald Bonner,⁶¹ "there was this vulgate opinion of Cassiodorus that he had been the veritable savior of the western civilization."⁶² Bonner claims that Cassiodorus' influence on medieval culture was insignificant. Cassiodorus' figure was present, but did not go beyond this or made any significant influence on the recipients

⁵⁶ See the following reviews.

⁵⁷ Richard W. Pfaff, "Book Review of James J. O'Donnell's *Cassiodorus*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979)," *Church History* 49, No. 3 (1980): 320-321.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁵⁹ Michael McCormick, "Book Review of James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979)," *American Journal of Philology* 102, No. 3 (1981): 344-346.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁶¹ Gerald Bonner, "Book Review of James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979)," *Speculum* 56, No. 1 (1981): 184-185. (hereafter: Bonner, "Book Review").

of his intellectual legacy. Bonner praises O'Donnell's approach, saying this book was "learned and delightfully written study."⁶³ Cassiodorus in his view was a disappointing personality. He failed to establish a literary tradition at Vivarium which would continue his work after his death. This monastery disappeared from history after the death of its founder. Bonner supports O'Donnell's view on the overwhelming illiteracy in Vivarium: "Cassiodorus was reduced to compiling the *De Orthographia*, for the community in which there was no one else, apparently, able or wise to supply such a work."⁶⁴ Almost thirty years after the founder's arrival from Constantinople, there was still more need for a spelling book than anything else.⁶⁵ There is no evidence that Cassiodorus himself worked as a translator, since his command of Greek was very limited.⁶⁶ Bonner concludes that from a historian's point of view "the lives of the lesser figures of antiquity are of intrinsic interest, if only as a corrective to the misleading impressions which an exclusive concern with the doings of the great is apt to engender."⁶⁷ Bonner concludes with assessment that Cassiodorus was honest, but not a great man, and an actor, but not the principal one in the historical stage.

In Averil Cameron's view,⁶⁸ Cassiodorus is one of those characters who, though never in the first rank themselves, seem to have been present at all the action and whose work survives.⁶⁹ He has a reputation that he possibly does not deserve. Cameron claims that such a man as Cassiodorus has earned labels like "transmitter of

⁶² Bonner, "Book Review," 184.

⁶³ Ibid., 184.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 185.

⁶⁵ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 23.

⁶⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

⁶⁷ Gerald Bonner, "Book Review of James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), *Speculum* 56, No. 1 (1981): 185.

⁶⁸ Averil Cameron, "Cassiodorus Deflated," *Journal of Roman Studies* 71(1981): 183-186. (hereafter: Cameron, "Cassiodorus Deflated").

⁶⁹ Cameron, "Cassiodorus Deflated," 183.

classical culture to the West,” and “founder of the Middle Ages,” but unfortunately, without any footnotes. These labels are cut off by O'Donnell. She says: “We have here in fact a drastic revaluation of one of the major figures of late antiquity.”⁷⁰ According to Cameron, many scholars found O'Donnell's attitude to Cassiodorus unpalatable. Although it cannot be denied that the second book of *Institutiones*, addressed to the monks of Vivarium, is devoted to secular writings, it is minimized as far as possible in the course which sees the *Institutiones* less as a cultural prescription than as a kind of monastic rule. Those interested in Cassiodorus and accustomed to see him as important will have to do some serious rethinking. But, O'Donnell's rigid and stringent analysis seems to worry Cameron. She quotes O'Donnell's sentence in which he says that one way or another Cassiodorus seems not to have cared what have happened to secular culture.⁷¹ Cameron continues with an explanation of recent scholarship, who have tried to emphasize the interrelation of Christian and pagan works, necessarily put in the context of the conflict and opposition in the past. Cameron sees these conflicts between pagans and Christians were radically toned down from the fourth to the sixth century. In her view, Cassiodorus cared for secular learning; even in the *Expositio Psalmorum* he was preoccupied with it.⁷² “It has to be admitted, though, that Cassiodorus claimed that the secular *artes* derive from Scripture.”⁷³ Cameron stresses the explanation for why Cassiodorus had the urge to bring in secular learning at all in *Expositio Psalmorum*. What also needs explanation is the fact that the *artes* were included in both the second book of the *Institutiones* and in the program of the monks' education. In Cassiodorus' work there is no sentence in the opening of the book which says that these subjects have no theoretical right to

⁷⁰ Cameron, “Cassiodorus Deflated,” 183.

⁷¹ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

⁷² Cameron, “Cassiodorus Deflated,” 184.

exist, but that just at the end Cassiodorus stresses that secular studies may be helpful for the understanding the law.⁷⁴ In comparison with the other ecclesiastical writers of his time, Cassiodorus' inclusion of secular material was on an exceptional scale. This balanced review toned down the stir caused with O'Donnell's book. At certain points, Cameron does not agree with O'Donnell. Her suggestions were useful in establishing the path along which scholarship on this topic was heading.

In 1983 *Atti della settimana di studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro*⁷⁵ was published as a collection of essays and papers written for a conference held in Cosenza-Squillace in September in the same year. This collection is important because many ideas were developed on the various aspects of the Vivarium monastery. Many scholars used the opportunity to mention O'Donnell's book, and comment on it. This book, however, is not concentrated much on Cassiodorus' preservation of the classics, as until 1983 it was the topic on which much has been written, which was over-exploited and more-less overcome.

J. N. Hillgarth's⁷⁶ review on this book contains first a description of the collection. Ubaldo Pizzani's paper "Cassiodoro discipline del quadrivio"⁷⁷ sees the sources of the Book II of the *Institutiones* as a "mosaic" in which the main elements remained Hellenistic. Several articles in this collection represented "a much needed correction of the 'deflationary' approach adopted by James J. O'Donnell, in his Cassiodorus."⁷⁸ Mario Mazza had a need to "vindicate the importance of the work and

⁷³ *Exp. Ps.* 6. 94f.

⁷⁴ *Institutiones*, II, 7.4; concl. 3.

⁷⁵ Sandro Leanza, ed., *Atti della settimana su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro*, (Cosenza-Squillace: Soveria Mannelli: Rubbetinno, 1983) (hereafter: Leanza, *Atti della Settimana*).

⁷⁶ J. N. Hillgarth, "Book Review of Sandro Leanza, ed., *Atti della settimana di studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro*, (Cosenza-Squillace: Soveria Mannelli: Rubbetinno, 1983)," *Speculum* 64, No. 3 (1989): 734. (hereafter: Hillgarth, "Book Review of Sandro Leanza").

⁷⁷ Leanza, *Atti della Settimana*, 49-71.

⁷⁸ Hillgarth, "Book Review on Sandro Leanza," 734.

of Cassiodorus' role as editor against O'Donnell's excessive skepticism,"⁷⁹ in his essay "La Historia Tripartita di Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro senatoris: Metodi e scopi."⁸⁰ Also, in the same collection, Antonio Garzya shows that O'Donnell underestimated Cassiodorus' knowledge and use of Greek,⁸¹ in his paper "Cassiodoro e la gremità."⁸² The opposition defending Cassiodorus emerged; since then many scholars will say that O'Donnell's method was "deflationary."

Occasionally books still repeat that Cassiodorus was a great transmitter of the classical heritage. In Janet Coleman's view,⁸³ Cassiodorus was explicitly concerned in his *Institutiones* to urge the study of the liberal arts and the preservation of the great works of the past, but she does not make it clear whether she means ancient Christian or classical authors. Coleman lists a series of other scholars, who agree with this.⁸⁴ In my view, the corpus of their attitudes towards Cassiodorus' work requires a more thorough examination.

Pros and cons concerning Cassiodorus still exist in the scholarship. Richard C. Dales⁸⁵ says that "the activity of Cassiodorus and his fellow monks in Vivarium was considerable."⁸⁶ Cassiodorus has often been criticized for a lack of originality, but should be taken as an example of an "educator" rather than a philosopher or thinker. Cassiodorus is notoriously unoriginal in the content of his writings. His originality lies in his establishment of a system of Christian education in the monastery, including the study of the pagan classics, as apart of the monks' service to God.

⁷⁹ Hillgarth, "Book Review on Sandro Leanza," 734.

⁸⁰ Leanza, *Atti della settimana*, 210-244.

⁸¹ Hillgarth, "Book Review of Sandro Leanza," 734.

⁸² Leanza, *Atti della settimana*, 188-34.

⁸³ Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 128.

⁸⁴ Among them are A. Van der Vyver, Pierre Courcelle, M. L. W. Laistner, and A. Momigliano.

⁸⁵ Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

Fabio Troncarelli came to a conclusion about the several relevant items of the contents of the Vivarium library through an analysis of the extant archetypes of the manuscripts. Troncarelli,⁸⁷ although highly competent, does not, however, answer to the question of the list of the books. He deals only with the paleographical material, and the ways of establishing the common practice from Vivarium in the marginal notes. The appearance of his book drew a great deal of public attention and caused a stir and turmoil in the scholarship since it deals with things that were slightly abandoned for some decades and probably labelled as unsolvable.

After almost fifty years, another translation of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* appeared in 2004 by James W. Halporn.⁸⁸ In a long introduction in this book Mark Vessey pointed out: "Until a short time ago it was possible to conceive of him, if not as the 'savior of western civilization,' then as one of the shapers--at Scyllacium--of the Latin, Christian civilization of the Middle Ages."⁸⁹ Vessey says that Bolgar⁹⁰ treated Cassiodorus, along with Augustine and Martianus Capella, as engineers of a new civilization of the written book, destined to replace the oral culture. In Vessey's view, O'Donnell's *Avatars of the Word: From Papyrus to Cyberspace*⁹¹ in 1998 was a fond farewell to Cassiodorus as "savior of western civilization." O'Donnell restated and mildly revised the "deflationary" conclusions from his 1979 book, *Cassiodorus*.⁹² Cassiodorus was, from the eighteenth century onwards, the beneficiary and the victim of a habit of scholarly piety that made him a forerunner of the so-called "Christian humanism" of a time long after his own: "This is the Cassiodorus who 'saves'

⁸⁷ Fabio Troncarelli, *Vivarium: I libri, il destino*, (Brepols: Turnhout, 1998) (Hereafter: Troncarelli, *Vivarium*).

⁸⁸ Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*, tr. James W. Halporn, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004) (hereafter: Halporn, *Institutions*).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁰ R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

⁹¹ James J. O'Donnell, *Avatars of the word: From Papyrus to Cyberspace*, (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1998).

civilization from the barbarians by providing monastic shelter for classical literary and philosophical texts at a moment of grave crisis for cultural institutions in the late Roman west.”⁹³ Much has stayed unanswered and unclear about Cassiodorus’ relation to the ideals of “civilization” and “library” that have structured our post-Roman, post-medieval and “modern” historical consciousness.⁹⁴

O’Donnell acknowledged fifteen years after the appearance of his *Cassiodorus*: “I came to Cassiodorus in part because of a reputation that I was at some pains to demolish, his reputation for having snatched declining classical civilization from the barbarians, locked up in the cloister, and taught the monks how to copy the classics – a romantic image, and entirely untrue.”⁹⁵ Still, from 1994 and this article to 1998 and the *Avatars*, in Vessey’s view, O’Donnell slightly softened towards Cassiodorus and revised a bit his so far stringent views in downgrading Cassiodorus.

Quot capita, tot sententiae. Depending on the angle of the observation, many scholars have expressed their opinions, and contributed by supporting or rejecting certain main streams. The common path has yet to be established. Many questions stayed unanswered. Was Cassiodorus a great man, an authorized bearer of the intellectual pursuits of the sixth century? Or was he “a lesser man,” dully unoriginal in his attempts? Did he intentionally preserve the ancient heritage? Was it his conscious decision to preserve this heritage for posterity or he had some other aim which impelled him to enhance the library with classical texts? If no intention to preserve existed, what impelled Cassiodorus to keep classics in his library? Did he

⁹² Halporn, *Institutions*, 5, 7f.

⁹³ Ibid., 5.

⁹⁴ Halporn, *Institutions*, 6.

⁹⁵ James J. O’Donnell, “The Pragmatics of the New: Trithemius, McLuhan, Cassiodorus,” in *Future of the Book*, Geoffrey Nunberg, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/sanmarino.html>, Last Accessed: 22/05/2007.

have any classical books in his library? If he and his monks copied manuscripts containing the classical texts, the question is why they did this. Which works were among the ancient classical authors that Cassiodorus preserved and had in his library? Why he had exactly these works? Was it convenient for him to provide these works as available or it was something else that helped him choose them? Confusion has also remained in the scholarship on whether the “ancient” heritage meant both the classical and Christian heritage before Cassiodorus’ time or one of these in particular. How can this example provide insight into the wider picture of the preservation of the ancient heritage in the early Middle Ages? Was there a real intention for preservation? Or it was rather adjustment to the new time and its needs? Was there an intention for destruction? Or, as a consequence of transferring from papyrus to parchment, were some works just left to deteriorate and were never preserved. Did the ancient classical heritage just flow into the new medieval era without being so striking and distinct as it seems now?

There are too many questions and only one source, Cassiodorus, as a single figure in the historical background, has earned a great deal of attention owing to this. To comprehend his aims and pursuits one has to look into the conditions and background of his time, and later, into his own writings.

If Cassiodorus wanted to be an educator, as we know from his writing, and to incorporate the classical heritage into Christian education, the question could be posed on what was the education of his time like. Was he special in this sense and how special? Did he have any predecessors or this syllabus that he introduced was his own invention? The following chapter will address this question.

CHAPTER II

The Transformation of Educational System in Sixth-Century Italy

It is a complex venture to analyze the problems of the Roman educational system during and after the barbarian incursions and in the time of establishment of their kingdoms in Italy. In the fourth century already some transformations in education occurred as Christianity became legalized. Influenced by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*,⁹⁶ the scholarship in this field has long presented the impression that the decline and deterioration occurred in the two centuries following the momentous religious revolution started by Constantine. A pertinent question, however, is if it was a deterioration or transformation and adjustment to a new time and its conditions. The ongoing process of transformation did not have a sudden and forceful impact. It was rather a slow flow from one era to another. From our perspective this picture may have sharp edges and appear as a stark contrast of two distinctly different periods, but one has to take into account the fact that, due to its occurrence over a time span of two centuries, from the perspective of men from the fourth to the sixth century it was perceived as an amalgam of influences, some more preferable than the others. From one side there was the old, traditional system of classical education based on a thorough study of grammar and rhetoric. This was the only education that really functioned. On the other side, educated Christians gave an initial urge for Christians to have their own educational program. Augustine defined the principles of Christian learning at the end of the fourth century in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, a book of rules for the Christian intellectuals on how to interpret Scripture. He expressed regret that Christians had no public schools. But in his own time, and some century or two

later no such thing existed. On the third side, the barbarian incursions caused devastation and a great deal of turmoil. The barbarian kingdoms, established in the territory of the previous Roman Empire with their own language and traditions, inevitably caused social disruption. The Germanic peoples' integration into the conditions that they found in the late Roman Empire was slow. Even when Christianized, the Germans adopted the Arian version of Christianity condemned by Catholics as a heresy.

When Christianity became the official religion in the empire, people did not stop sending their children to Roman schools. School at the time was meant to serve for the upper middle and higher strata of society. In the fifth century, there was still no center for Christian studies apart from the ancient school.⁹⁷ Such centers did not exist in the West.⁹⁸ As long as the ancient school survived intact, Christian aristocrats were unable to imagine any culture but Christian classical culture. People practiced their religion outside the schools. The theological formation of the clergy occurred later in monasteries that started to spread in West at the time. Christians in the 5-6th century could choose between attending Roman schools, or rejecting classical education altogether.

Most Christians were attached to the ideal of life imposed by Roman civilization. Barbarians seemed even more frightening and alien in the fifth century, when their armies devastated the Empire. The amalgamation of the Christian and Greco-Roman traditions had been accomplished before the German invasions and later formed the basis for the creation of new culture. For the Romans (be they Christian or pagan) barbarians were aliens, their education coarse and warrior-like. At

⁹⁶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1776-1789).

⁹⁷ Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1962): 8. (hereafter: Riché, *Education and Culture*).

⁹⁸ Marrou, *History of Education*, 431.

the time of the barbarian incursions, Christians were attached to Roman education more than ever. It was, in a way, a safe retreat that preserved unity among them when they found themselves faced with novelties introduced by the conquering Germans. Traditional Roman education was still to be trusted in the eyes of Christians, who were willing to incorporate classical culture, to make it their own, sometimes with the provision that it be purified of pagan elements. Christians preserved classical culture instead of forgetting it. There were many areas of overlap between classical and Christian thought, and it is consequently difficult to draw clear lines between ideas and sentiments among the pagan writers of the late Empire and those which were common to Christianity.⁹⁹

The process of adoption and transforming the ancient way of education to make it their own was not uniformly accepted by all Christians. In view of some,¹⁰⁰ the Bible had everything to satisfy the intellectual curiosity and was rich enough to replace the liberal arts. Monks and hermits tended to be uneducated and anti-intellectual. Education under such conditions came to stand for secular culture, and its rejection became a *topos* of ascetic literature. Once in the desert, ascetics tended to adopt a hostile stance towards learning.

As for the knowledge of Greek, it was not unusual in the fourth-century West for an educated man to know Greek, although ignorance of it did not brand him as uncultured. In the fifth century a man acquainted with Greek was unusually learned. In the early sixth century there was a brief revival of Greek studies, but by the end of that century a man who knew Greek was rarity. And by the seventh century a literary knowledge of this language had almost disappeared in the West.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*.

¹⁰⁰ See Gregory the Great, *Life of St. Benedict*.

¹⁰¹ See Riché, *Education and Culture*, 44-45.

In the sixth century, only the general framework of education was maintained. The establishment of the barbarian kingdoms on Roman soil did not inaugurate a completely new age in the West, but rather the transformation of Roman culture. Rome still had schools at the beginning of the sixth century, and Cassiodorus was one of those who obtained a Roman education, and enjoyed the benefits that the study of rhetoric could offer. We know from Cassiodorus' *Variae* that teachers of grammar, rhetoric and law were listed in the public budget under Theodoric and his successor Athalaric.¹⁰² But, smaller and smaller percentage of the society could avail them of education, and it caused increasing illiteracy among citizens. However, schools for Christian learning still did not exist in the West.

In the time of the destructive barbarian incursions, there is evidence that some things started to settle down. The Germans predominantly adopted much of Roman civilization and upper class families sent their sons to Roman schools. It seemed as if the adjustment would function for both sides, Romans and Germans, had it not been for other barbarians that were just about to move into Italy, and those who still considered Italy to be their legacy from the previous centuries. The territory of late antique Italy had a transitional period of making a compromise between Roman Christians and pagans, and later, Ostrogoths, who, even when Christianized, accepted the Arian heresy. But, the age of troubles was not over; the Byzantine Empire came back to this territory in full power around 536. The war that lasted for almost twenty years devastated Italy. The long campaign of Justinian against the Goths inflicted a massive blow on cultural structures. It left traces of deteriorating and decay that the Germans never caused. Justinian saw his actions in Italy as one of the most celebrated external aspects of his reign; the opportunity to recover the territories of western

¹⁰² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IX, 21.

Mediterranean which were in barbarian hands was of a great importance for him. His policy might look aggressive and bold to us, but the reasons for it were fully proper and logical in his eyes.¹⁰³ He saw himself as a rightful sovereign of the entire Roman world in the past. Another question, however, is how it affected the population, who was still recovering for the first strike of the barbarians, trying to gather the pieces of life scattered by war and to re-establish a decent living. Not to mention the society in general; its pillars and structure were destroyed. With Justinian's reconquest the age of wars in Italy was not over; one more incursion, this time of Lombards, was about to happen. A relevant question is how the people of the sixth century could respond in cultural terms to the chaotic age in which they lived. On the single example of Cassiodorus' school in Rome, which was to be established with Pope Agapitus, one can trace the overall influence of Byzantium; plans for the development of education were abandoned and delayed for some twenty years. Similar examples are many; the most prominent one, and with much symbolism in itself, was the closure of Plato's Academy in Athens by Justinian in 529. The Italian aristocrats in Cassiodorus' time had the opportunity to leave for Constantinople. He himself also found refuge in the imperial capital.

Before the end of the sixth century, the Gothic wars, the incursions of Byzantium, and subsequently the Lombard invasion were responsible for the fate of the whole Italian book culture, including public and private libraries, and monasteries.¹⁰⁴ These incursions affected literacy, turning it into creeping illiteracy, the schools were abandoned and the population lost interest in anything that is not tightly connected with simply saving their lives. In the new political and social

¹⁰³ John W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966): 133.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Hodges, and William Bowden, ed., *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998): 59.

context, opposition to any progress in cultural terms grew stronger. The resulting crisis led to the establishment of the first Christian schools, which were retreats for the long-suffering populace affected by wars.

The Rise of Monasteries as New Educational Centers

The monastery subsequently took on the role of the school as a form of an education.¹⁰⁵ This form of education had a strict definition in being a school of the preparation for ascetic and later eremitic life. Monasteries from 400 on were “schools” (the first to be called such was Lerinum (Lérins) in Southern Gaul) that taught the practice of asceticism.¹⁰⁶ These monastic schools sized down their activities usually on reading, writing, study of the Bible, sometimes copying of manuscripts, with little or no access to secular studies. They had their role in transforming the overall habits of men who left the world for the monastery.

In the view of some people of the time, if one wanted to place his mind at the service of God, he began by rejecting classical culture. There were many who, turning their back on secular learning, abandoned the world. Caesarius of Arles, the monk of the monastery of Lérins and St. Benedict of Nursia, from Monte Cassino were good examples.

The monastery of Lérins was mistakenly considered a center of both profane and religious studies for a long time.¹⁰⁷ Established at 410 in the southern France, Lérins was first and foremost a center of asceticism.¹⁰⁸ No introducing secular authors as necessary reading was ever done in Lérins. The rule of Lérins, whose text is no

¹⁰⁵ See Riché, *Education and Culture*, 100-129.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 100.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 101.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 102.

longer extant, was possibly inspired by Eastern monastic customs.¹⁰⁹ Its learned members, such as Honoratus, Hilary and Eucherius attained their knowledge before entering the monastery, and possibly did not join the monastery for the reasons of education. The monastic life was based on fasting, vigils and psalmody.¹¹⁰ This school of religious culture was based on “ascetical exercises and spiritual meditation rather than learned exegesis and theology.”¹¹¹ When Caesarius joined this monastic community, in the turn of the fifth century, it was still a school of asceticism. The spirit of Lérins profoundly influenced the monasteries established in Gaul and Italy in the first half of the sixth century.¹¹²

Condat (St. Claude) in the Jura Mountains is another example of an early monastic school. It was established in 450 by Romanus, a monk who wanted to live a life of a desert monk.¹¹³ The monks of this monastery read the Lérinian rule and the works of John Cassian.

Monte Cassino is another example of the ascetic “school,” established by St. Benedict of Nursia. In his *Regula* he does refer to his enterprise as school for several times.¹¹⁴ The term itself should not deceive us, however. His school was imagined to be a strict and severe training for monks in their spiritual combats. St. Benedict of Nursia did not see any need of establishing educational center; he was upset by the corrupt morals of society, and sought holiness by following the life of a hermit. He strictly distinguished his school from the one he knew in his youth, the antique school. Benedict moved with his followers to Monte Cassino in 520, where he organized a religious community based upon a carefully regulated communal life of manual labor,

¹⁰⁹ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 102.

¹¹⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, XVI, (MGH, AA, VIII, 241).

¹¹¹ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 105.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 105.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

prayer, reading, psalmody, and continuous meditation over Scripture, as the proper way to worship and to reach God. The educational outline in this monastery was based on these activities. But his goals in terms of studying finish here.¹¹⁵ No place for the establishment of Christian learning, as St. Augustine understood it is described in the *Regula*.¹¹⁶ Neither there was any place for profane authors in his monastery nor in the one of Caesarius of Arles. Caesarius was, as well as Benedict disgusted by the profane culture and liberal arts.¹¹⁷

Ascetic training, however, did not satisfy all monks.¹¹⁸ Monasteries accepted children and adolescents who came to them either in fulfillment of their parents' vows or because of their own inclinations to leave the world.¹¹⁹ The education of these young people was the responsibility of the abbots or the authors of the monastic rules. Elementary education, the study of biblical texts, sometimes the copying of manuscripts formed the basis of this training. There was no opportunity for those who wished to deepen their understanding of the Scriptures. A common path had to be established between the amalgamation of Christian and classical culture and ascetic culture.¹²⁰ A time came for Augustine's educational program, outlined in the *De doctrina Christiana*, to be established.

Eugippius, who founded the monastery of St. Severinus in Southern Italy, built on the site of castellum Lucullanum,¹²¹ decided to apply this work of Augustine in his monastery.¹²² He prepared a sort of "edition," a florilegium of Augustine's works for his monastery, giving a fair tribute to the *De doctrina Christiana*. This anthology of

¹¹⁵ See Benedict, *Regula*.

¹¹⁶ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 121.

¹¹⁷ John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, V, 34.

¹¹⁸ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 129.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 100.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 129.

¹²¹ This monastery was mistakenly called Lucullanum in the scholarship.

¹²² Riché, *Education and Culture*, 130-131.

Augustine made by Eugippius has not received a critical edition so far,¹²³ and the conclusions have to be drawn with care. What could be said is that his edition of this Augustine's work was partial and limited in an interesting way; he omitted parts he considered unnecessary, and made an edition that pertained to his own goals and plans. Eugippius took the parts of Augustine's work he considered useful in common practice among brethren, which could be shared wholeheartedly.¹²⁴ He included five chapters of Book I, on the Scriptural truths, but omitted the entire Book IV, on Christian eloquence, where Augustine quotes Cicero. Eugippius kept most of the Books II and III. As for the Book II, he omitted parts on history, physical sciences, and astronomy.¹²⁵ His application of Augustine's educational program was, therefore, partial. Still, we know of no other center of biblical studies apart from this one, near Naples.¹²⁶ A detail that deserves attention here is Pierre Courcelle's observation that Eugippius asked from Dionysius Exiguus to translate Gregory of Nyssa's work *Peri Kataskeues Anthropou*, where Platonic ideas were suspicious even to Dionysius himself. Courcelle asks whether we are to believe that Eugippius' Neapolitan monastery was in awe of Platonic ideas.¹²⁷

What one can conclude from this overview of the Christian education in the late antiquity was that Christian educational centers were lacking for deepening the knowledge on the understanding of the Scripture. This is what impelled Cassiodorus to start a center for biblical studies in the mid-sixth century - the fact that its deficiency supported creeping illiteracy, the decay of overall education of the time,

¹²³ James J. O'Donnell, "The Authority of Augustine," <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/augustine/avgauth.html>, Last Accessed: 13/05/2007.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 130.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 131.

¹²⁷ Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 333.

and the fact that young Christians, willing to improve their knowledge on the Scriptures, had nowhere to turn.

Cassiodorus' Monastic Foundation at Vivarium

Cassiodorus, having passed through the old Roman educational system became a high official in the court of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric in Ravenna in his youth. He served this royal family even after Theodoric's death. He continued to work for his successors, but "the *civitas* of Theodoric was gone and with it the experiment of blending the two peoples into one..."¹²⁸ Cassiodorus was one of the few to believe that the cooperation between the Romans and the Ostrogoths was the only solution for Italy's ills.¹²⁹ Other Romans might have hoped to be freed by Justinian, but Byzantium later became more hated than Ostrogoths. Such political changes that followed forced Cassiodorus to leave Italy; but the idea to establish a Christian school never left him. During his official service for the Ostrogothic kings, schools of grammar and rhetoric still flourished in Rome. However, at the time there was still no such institution for Christian learning. In about 535, when Belisarius was launching his attack against Italy, Cassiodorus and Pope Agapitus were planning the foundation of the Christian institution of higher learning in Rome, modeled on the schools at Alexandria and Nisibis, where the instruction was based on the Syriac version of the Scriptures.¹³⁰ In the school of Alexandria Clement and Origen had taught earlier, and the school of Nisibis was a contemporary Hebrew school.¹³¹ In the would-be institution of Cassiodorus and Pope Agapitus the liberal arts were supposed

¹²⁸ Hammer, "Cassiodorus, the Savior," 6.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Marrou, *History of Education*, 431.

¹³¹ Hammer, "Cassiodorus, the Savior," 11. See also Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 135-137.

to be taught as a preparation for the advanced curriculum of theological studies.¹³² This idea of Pope Agapitus and Cassiodorus to organize such a school was a novelty. As was apparent from the overview of the existing schools, such an institution that combined secular with biblical studies was non-existing before Cassiodorus. Although Cassiodorus envisioned organizing this school, the wars of Belisarius made establishing of such an institution impossible and brought the plan to an abrupt end. In the words of Mark Vessey,

the idea of raising the prestige of the empire's old capital by making it a centre of higher Christian education may have seemed an attractive way of asserting Italian claims to cultural independence in the face of Byzantine hegemonic strategy of the mid-530s.¹³³

However, it did not work in 530s, and Cassiodorus left Italy, due to the imminent threat of war, and went to Constantinople, where he stayed for some years. The exact dates of his departure to Constantinople and return are not quite clear and are still a matter of dispute among scholars. O'Donnell suggested that he left for Constantinople in years after 540.¹³⁴ Hodgkin implied that he still might have been in Rome in early 540s.¹³⁵ He may have profited by his stay in Constantinople to write his works, to gather as much information as possible about the Jewish theological school at Nisibis in Syria, and to collect as many works as was possible for his library.

The plans of Cassiodorus and Pope Agapitus to establish a Christian Academy in Rome failed. Agapitus suddenly died in 536. What happened to Agapitus' library in Rome is not clear.¹³⁶ Its books were supposed to support the planned academy in Rome. What happened to Cassiodorus' library in Rome is also not clear. On few

¹³² See *Institutiones* I, introduction.

¹³³ Halporn, *Institutions*, 27.

¹³⁴ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

¹³⁵ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, tr. Thomas Hodgkin, (London: Frowde, 1886).

¹³⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 184.

occasions he mentions it, recalling the books he had there.¹³⁷ Some scholars believe that the Cassiodorus' library in Rome was transferred to Vivarium almost twenty years later.¹³⁸ This plan Cassiodorus and pope Agapitus had is important because it bears witness to the felt need for a school which organized its teaching around the Holy Scripture with the help of profane studies. This was not made necessary by the disappearance of the profane school, which persevered.¹³⁹ Cassiodorus is one of the few sources of his time that confirms that the Roman schools were still in existence in fairly large numbers on the eve of Lombard invasions in 568.¹⁴⁰

Cassiodorus realized that his future and the aim he had in mind seemed clearly to lie within the walls of his ancestors' property, if anywhere. He came back to his monastery from Constantinople around 554. The date of the establishment of Vivarium is not quite clear, however. The question is whether Cassiodorus established it before he left to Constantinople or on his return. Croke and Barnish believe that Cassiodorus, while in Constantinople, was keeping in touch with his growing monastic community in Squillace.¹⁴¹ It might be that this community formed in the time before Cassiodorus left and when he was absent, and that it gained characteristics of the monastic foundation in years. Cassiodorus, however, did not give up his ancient dream. He practically gave his old family house, a former Roman villa to be on his monks' disposal. Thus, its nature escapes our conclusions, although its purpose is clear. Jacob Hammer said that "it is proper to call Vivarium an estate in the best classical tradition; what is more Cassiodorus was an heir of that tradition, following let us say Cicero, who when condemned to political activity, would retire to the

¹³⁷ See *Institutiones*, 2.5.10: "I recall that we had this book in our library at Rome and read it eagerly." Halporn, *Institutions*, 222.

¹³⁸ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 134.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁴⁰ *Institutiones*, I, 1.

¹⁴¹ Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, 229.

country to devote himself to literary pursuits.”¹⁴² The establishment of the Vivarium monastery was a great intellectual event of the second half of the sixth century.¹⁴³ The foundation of the monastery was not exceptional in Italy, though. These centers started to spread up everywhere. The horrors of war seemed to have impelled monks, bishops, and laymen to turn more attentively to the sacred text.¹⁴⁴ What made Cassiodorus’ monastery special was the so-called “humanist” current,¹⁴⁵ and the fact that the study of the sacred text was supported by substantial classical works. No other monastery of the time combined secular with sacred studies. It was a complete novelty, and the fulfilling and finishing Eugippius’ half-done realization of the Augustine’s syllabus.

Set in pleasant, picturesque nature, Vivarium was a place for both learned and the monks who could not attempt advanced study. The latter delved themselves into field work and prayer. This shows that the monastery of Vivarium was not merely an academy of learning; it was devoted to prayer and work.¹⁴⁶ Vivarium became the place of refuge for some who cared for religious meditation; for others it became a school, equipped with books and a scriptorium, where theological writings and those of pagan antiquity were studied, copied and multiplied.¹⁴⁷ Monks were invited to pursue intellectual study according to the program outlined by Cassiodorus. In Troncarelli’s view, according to the marginal notes left in manuscripts, one can say that the level of graphic and cultural education of monks, or, at least scribes, was high.¹⁴⁸ In the preface of his *Institutiones*, where Cassiodorus sets the educational program for monks, he states that his monastery will carry out his plan for a *schola*

¹⁴² Hammer, “Cassiodorus, the Savior,” 9.

¹⁴³ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 134.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 158.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 162.

¹⁴⁶ Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, (New York: A Mentor Omega Book, 1962): 28. (hereafter: Leclercq, *Love of Learning*).

Christiana which the wars had until then prevented from realizing. In this school two things were to be offered: “how to win eternal life,” and how “the faithful...[could] learn to speak well.”¹⁴⁹ In the *Institutiones*, secular studies and the studies of the Scripture are constantly connected and associated. The whole program of religious and secular studies is imagined in a way that both of these are considered inseparable. Still, the latter was subsidiary to former because it was considered as a tool for the better understanding of the former. In his monastery, Cassiodorus aimed to form learned monks able to spread the true doctrine through the written word, with the help of secular works.

Vivarium consisted of a library and a scriptorium. Scribes were trained in the monastery. The abundant work of copying and transcribing the manuscripts took place there. Those proficient in Greek translated the Greek texts. Library was constantly increased. Volumes were kept in *armaria*, in which books were arranged by the subject matter.¹⁵⁰ The open question remains in modern scholarship on whether Cassiodorus was a monk or not. In Leclercq’s view, Cassiodorus, although he shared the life of monks, organized and even directed it, was not himself a monk and did not think as a monk.¹⁵¹ Still, as he was converted Christian and embraced a religious way of life, this question should leave more room for discussion.

Cassiodorus’ system of education provided virtually the only higher education available in Latin Christendom from his own day until the growth of the great cathedral schools of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Still, this information is widely known only today. We have no information whether Vivarium was known beyond the boundaries of Italy in Cassiodorus’ time or afterwards, in spite of his wish

¹⁴⁷ Hammer, “Cassiodorus, the Savior,” 12.

¹⁴⁸ Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 102.

¹⁴⁹ Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, 129.

¹⁵⁰ Hammer, “Cassiodorus, the Savior,” 12.

that his monastery be famous religious school. Nor can we claim with certainty on the duration of Cassiodorus' enterprise. Cautious scholars, like Schindel,¹⁵² say that we can not know that. The last safest date is 616, when Felix Scillitanus, the abbot of Vivarium after Cassiodorus' death, dated the *Computus*, the calendar. Lombards reached the territory of Italy in 568, but there is no shred of evidence that they ever reached Vivarium. Still, the destruction of the monastery occurred, and, although its reasons escape our conclusions, what we can say is that its manuscripts were scattered in the directions that are still under the dispute among the modern scholars.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Hammer, "Cassiodorus, the Savior," 28.

¹⁵² Ulrich Schindel, *Die Rezeption der hellenistischen Theorie der rhetorischen Figuren bei den Roemern*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse Dritte Folge, vol. 243, (Goettingen: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, 2001).

¹⁵³ See Rudolf Beer, *Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio*, (Anzeiger der kaiserlicher Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, philosophisch-historischen Klasse 48, 1911); E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934-1971); Herbert Bloch, "Book Review of Lowe, CLA," *Speculum* 25, No. 2 (1950): 277-287; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Leonard Boyle, *Medieval Latin Paleography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Heinz Gomoll, "Zu Cassiodors Bibliothek und ihren Verhältnis zu Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 64 (1950): 52-57; W. M. Lindsay, "The Primary MS of Probus Inst. Art.," *The American Journal of Philology* 48, No. 3(1929): 112-113; Fabio Troncarelli, *Vivarium: I libri, il destino*, (Brepols: Turnhout, 1998); Luciana Cuppo-Csaki, "De schematibus et tropis, from Donatus to Bede," <http://www.apaclassics.org/AnnualMeeting/06mtg/abstracts/cuppo.pdf>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007; Luciana Cuppo-Csaki, "Biblical exegesis and mnemotechnics in MS Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXII," <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Aegean/9891/Boeth.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007, etc.

CHAPTER III

The Library of Vivarium: An Attempt at Reconstruction

The primary source: *Institutiones*

Cassiodorus' achievement was rather unusual. At the age of 65, a former state official establishes a monastery, wishing to dedicate the rest of his life to a progressive and in a way unique idea of the completely equipped Christian school. This man provided basic literacy to those in need, transcribed and emended manuscripts, and translated works from Greek. The school in Vivarium was supposed to offer a thorough Christian education. It was for the Vivarium monastery that Cassiodorus composed a schoolbook, a guide for his monks, the *Institutiones*,¹⁵⁴ our primary source.

The work consists of two books: *An Introduction to Divine Readings*¹⁵⁵ and *An Introduction to Human Readings*.¹⁵⁶ The *Institutiones*, offering an introduction to the study of the Bible with support of the Bible's commentaries and to classical literature, had a purpose in monks' instruction in the use of library, which would enable them to follow the program of Christian education. It contained a detailed description for the monks on the usefulness of some writers, and an occasional precaution indicating heretical opinion. Cassiodorus also gave advice on the authors whose work was to be transcribed and translated in the monastery, as well as on the authors whose work had

¹⁵⁴ According to O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, "there is certainly every reason to believe that the work (*Institutiones*) was intended for no wider audience than the monks at the Vivarium." Recent studies, though, express a different view on the subject. Samuel Barnish realized that Cassiodorus was writing for an audience broader than his own monks at Vivarium: "The Work of Cassiodorus after his Conversion," *Latomus* 48, (1989): 179, and Luciana Cuppo-Csaki, "The Monasterium Vivariense of Cassiodorus and its Byzantine Neighbours: A Progress Report," in *Abstracts of Papers* (XIV Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Vienna, 1999).

¹⁵⁵ *Institutiones divinarum litterarum*

¹⁵⁶ *De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium litterarum*

already been transcribed and translated. The *Institutiones* is a detailed work, full of book titles, some of which Cassiodorus claimed were in his library.¹⁵⁷

Chronology has to be taken into account here. Cassiodorus returned to Italy and to his estate around 554. The *Institutiones* was written around 562.¹⁵⁸ Cassiodorus possibly died in 575. What does it say to us about the contents of the Vivarium? The books Cassiodorus mentioned in this work were the ones he collected up to 562. For almost 13 other years, while Cassiodorus presumably was still active in collecting, transcribing, and buying books, we do not have any information, apart from paleographical material. Thus, this work can answer to the question of the books only up to 562.

The *Institutiones* is practically the only written source for reconstructing of the library. No other sources speak about it and little of the convincing paleographical material has survived to the present day. What survived are the following codices: BAV Vat. Lat. 5704, with Epiphanius Episcopus (*Ennaratio in Canticum Canticorum*), Verona XXII (Jerome/Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*), Oxford, Bodl. Auct. II T 26 (Continuation of the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus), Paris, BNL 12190, BAV, Arch. St. Pietro D 162, Paris BNL 8907, St. Petersburg, Q v I 6-10, BAV. Reg. Lat. 2077 (Jerome/Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*). The last two were written in Vivarium after Cassiodorus' death. The rest has been destroyed. In study of the paleographical evidence modern scholarship relies on two kinds of sources: 1. Direct

¹⁵⁷ The list of previous scholarship on the library of Vivarium is extensive. See Enrique Basabe, "La conservación de los Clásicos," *Helmantica* 3, (1952): 381-419; Hans Blum, "Über den Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodors Bibliothek in Vivarium," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 64, (1950): 52-57; Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo, "Da vivario a Roma: Appunti per la storia del codice Vaticano Latino 5704," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 22, (1970): 39-46; Courcelle, *Les Lettres en Occident*; Hammer, "Cassiodorus, the Savior," 1-14; O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*; Riché, *Education and Culture*; Alexander Souter, "Cassiodorus' library at Vivarium: Some additions," *Journal of Theological Studies* 41, (1940): 46-47; Brian Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Troncarelli, *Vivarium*; etc.

¹⁵⁸ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

evidence from the manuscripts written in Vivarium, and 2. Copies made from archetypes once at Vivarium.¹⁵⁹

The question of Cassiodorus' library, although attempted to be discerned many times is still considered a difficult and unsolved matter. Much has been written on Vivarium but a systematic study of the problem has yet to be conducted.¹⁶⁰ Cassiodorus is to take a burden of responsibility for this particular situation and descriptions of his monastery library; they are very often incomplete and illusive, and thus, reconstruction based on his words is not enough. Generally Cassiodorus is considered a reliable and trustworthy primary source of his era, and scholars that deal with politics, religion and state affairs of the sixth-century Ostrogothic Italy use him. The problem with his description of the contents of the library is of a different kind; Cassiodorus sometimes does not say what we want to hear today; he would probably considered a dull reading writing down the entire list of the books in his library. Instead, he made it an appealing reading for his monks by combining advice, recommendation, mention and possession of the books. So, when he mentions books, he reveals only occasionally the titles that he had there by literally saying that. In this sense we can say he reveals just a part of the story. He had his own reasons, purposes and agenda, and he did not anticipate some of the questions we would now ask him if we could. And there is no other witness to ask. In this sense the *Institutiones* are just the beginning of the establishing the library of Vivarium.

The problem is two-fold; in an attempt to organize an excellent Christian school, Cassiodorus supplied his library with books. Then he gave an exposition on his educational outline and specified at certain points which were the books that ought to be read, in order to accomplish the program and which books among these he had

¹⁵⁹ Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 101.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

in his library. This last claim does not hold for all the books. Sorting out which books exactly were in Vivarium is not easy either; sometimes the whole passages flow in smooth recommendations, and at the end he says that he had all or some of them in the library. His writing is allusive and with unclear thoughts. That is why scholars have not been able to reconstruct the library, even if only relying on his account.

To determine the books that Cassiodorus specified as extant in the library I used his writing as the only source. As not being able to examine the surviving manuscripts, scattered all over Europe, I relied on his own report. In this attempt to reconstruct the library from the original text of the *Institutiones*,¹⁶¹ I tried to make a list of both pagan and Christian books that he claimed he had in this library,¹⁶² and establish the predominance of one of the groups. This list, given in the Appendix, shows the books put into three categories: apart from the books Cassiodorus said he had in the library, both pagan and Christian, there are also the books Cassiodorus mentions and knows about, and the books Cassiodorus recommends.

Looking into classical authors Cassiodorus selected and incorporated into his educational program, I would like to see what their purpose and function were in such a monastery built to be a Christian school. Naturally, the topics of classical works were dissimilar to Christian topics, since they were written in a different time and with a different purpose. Cassiodorus, however, found some reasons to keep them. The accurate list of the contents of the library is the desired end of all the scholars that deal with Cassiodorus. The start is definitely Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. The list of books from this source gives the answer to my research question as well. If Cassiodorus had these classical authors in his library, like he said, the question

¹⁶¹ Reconstruction of the library has been attempt of many scholars, but somehow, never complete. See Mynors, *Institutiones*; O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*; Laistner, *Thought and Letters*; Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*; on the most recent research see Troncarelli, *Vivarium*.

¹⁶² See Appendix.

remains on which were these books that he incorporated into his educational program, why exactly these, and whether in keeping them in his library he had in mind at any point their preservation from the possible extinction in the new Christian environment.

Methodology

My methodology is based on Cassiodorus' words; I followed his lines, in search for a claim that he had a certain book in his library. In the following, I will get closer to particular passages in the *Institutiones*, along with the problems and obscure parts I encountered.

The first nine chapters are compressed in repetitive counting and listing of books. Cassiodorus does not confirm for each book that he had it in the library. As this is the exegetical core of his Christian educational program, he repeats after a series of two, or after a chapter or two that "I have left you these..." Also, sometimes at the beginning of a certain chapter he claims that he tried to find, and managed to get the following books, and only then gives the long list of readings. In these cases I decided to include the entire lists in the contents of library. Cassiodorus is sometimes sentimental and excessively careful; in order that his monks avoid any kind of misunderstanding and that inexperienced monks not be left in confusion, he gives a detailed description on where the position of a certain book was, how it was bound, marked, etc. These descriptions help in identification. However, on several occasions, in order to corroborate some story or attitude with authoritative quotation, Cassiodorus mentions some work, and quotes from it, but these works serve just as the examples, not the books that monks should read. These works I included in the list of the works that Cassiodorus mentions or knows about. He closed the chapter nine

with saying that he has spoken of the commentators, majority of which he could find, translate if needed and place in the library. These that he could not find, he pointed them out in the context of impelling monks to find them. This is why I included the entire list from first nine chapters among the books owned by Cassiodorus in Vivarium. The next place where I included the entire list mentioned in the subheading was the chapter 1.17.2, on the Church Historians. This is where Cassiodorus stresses the importance of these writers for the general comprehension of the Christianity, and therefore his constant urge for monks to read them is present here as well. Relying on Virgil's *Georgics*, Cassiodorus explains how important for the monks is to delve into agricultural matters, if they don't follow the comprehension of the Scripture easily. As there were a certain number of these monks, he left for them several titles on their disposal. In the section on orthography, Inst. 1.30, Cassiodorus mentions all the authors he deems worthy, and then says that he collected as many of them as he could. His imprecise expression leads me to think that he might have had some of them, but it is not clear which ones. In this case I put the entire list of them as part of the library, but I stress this part is still under suspicion. In the section on medicine, Cassiodorus mentions several authors, says that he has them, but mentions that he had left, along with these, several other writers on medicine, on the monks' disposal. So far, to my knowledge, the scholarship has not discovered neither has given any hints on which these medical authors might be. In the second book of the *Institutiones* the problem is that there are several versions of the text, due to the differences in the manuscripts, and the flexible translators (such as Halporn) use couple of versions in translating the text.¹⁶³ The problem can arise when the crucial parts, from the point of view of this thesis, are different in the different manuscripts. Such is the place where Cassiodorus

¹⁶³ Halporn, *Institutions*, 171, 1f; see also Introduction, 38-40.

writes about Sacerdos, where in one version it is said that he leaves to his monks this book, along with Donatus and some others, while in the second version of the text there is no hint about it. I should also stress here that I did not include as the separate works the translations that had been done in the monastery or the works that have been known as translated at the time. This includes translations of Jerome, Epiphanius, Mutianus, Rufinus, Marius Victorinus, Bellator, Boetius etc. An extremely difficult part comes in the section 2.2.3, on rhetoric in the second book. There are manuscripts that offer different readings exactly at the spot where Cassiodorus speaks about the most influential writers on rhetoric and where as a conclusion he says (or not?) that he had gathered these in his library. The part with the mention of Euclid is also obscure. Cassiodorus says that if somebody would read him, he would have the information presented in a clear and distinct manner. This statement does not say much pro the fact that this work was extant in the library. Pierre Courcelle, however, believes that the section on geometry is shorter because monks had the opportunity to read the original works in the library.¹⁶⁴ However, this demanding task resulted in the list divided into commentaries of the Bible and the exegetical works, from one side, namely, *lectio divina*, and the secular authors from the other.

Lectio Divina

Lectio divina is not my major concern. It is included here to show how many more of exegetical works Cassiodorus mentions that he had in comparison to classical authors. This situation is to be expected, however; this was meant to be a monastic school equipped to provide its monks with extensive biblical study. For supplying his

¹⁶⁴ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 351.

library with high-quality works of Christian writers, Cassiodorus looked the length and breadth of Europe, Africa and Asia for copies and manuscripts.¹⁶⁵ He made considerable effort to establish accurate texts of the Holy Scripture in his library.¹⁶⁶ He supplied the library with an abundance of commentaries and expositions of the Bible. This part of the library was Cassiodorus' own choice and invention. Apart from Jerome's Latin Bible in nine volumes, many works and expositions of him and the other most eminent Latin Church fathers, like Ambrose and Augustine were extant in this library, as well as works of Prosper and Hilary. Greek Church writers also appear in his list, like Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom. Greek writings were all translated into Latin (this is why the Appendix contains the titles only in Latin). Pierre Courcelle¹⁶⁷ widely discussed this phenomenon; he concluded that majority of the monks was ignorant of Greek, and that practically the only three persons mentioned in the *Institutiones* as translators were Mutianus, Bellator, and Epiphanius. For the others, works in Greek could not serve except in the form of translation.¹⁶⁸ Church historians take up a considerable part of the *lectio divina*. Josephus'¹⁶⁹ *Jewish Antiquities* were translated at Vivarium. Greek Christian historians Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret are put together into *Historia Tripartita*, which was considered one of the most successful enterprises of Vivarium monastery in later centuries.¹⁷⁰ Binding together of several authors into a single codex was an innovation introduced by Cassiodorus.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ For books ordered from Africa see *Inst.* 1. 8. .9; 1. 29. 2; for the ones from Constantinople see Croke, *Count Marcellinus*.

¹⁶⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

¹⁶⁷ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 337-338.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 338.

¹⁶⁹ AD 37-100.

¹⁷⁰ See O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, and Jones, "The Influence of Cassiodorus," 433-442.

¹⁷¹ Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 101-102.

Cassiodorus' account is useful in that it can point out some books that are not extant today, like Jerome's *Quaestiones III de libro III Regum ad Abundantium*, *Annotationes breves in omnes prophetas*, *Commentarius in IV Evangelia*, Augustine's *Sermon de Abessalon*, *Tractatus in Epistulam Iacobi*, *Homiliae in librum sapientiae*, all Bellator's works, Ambrose's *Annotationes in epistulas Pauli*, Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Marcellinus' *De temporum qualitatibus et positionibus locorum*, Marius Victorinus' *Commentarius in Euangelium Matthaeum*, *Introductio in Aristotelis Cathegorias*, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, *Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica*, Censorinus' *De accentibus*, Seneca's *De forma mundi*, etc.¹⁷² It is also interesting to see that, apart from the approved authorities in biblical exegesis and the Church fathers, he incorporated less prominent figures into his library. They might be considered lesser now, but might have been important and influential then.

Cassiodorus also paid attention to certain writers like Origen, John Cassian, and Tyconius the Donatist. St. Jerome translated Origen's work into Latin, although, Cassiodorus comments, many considered him a heretic.¹⁷³ In his words, Origen has to be read with caution and wisdom, since, "When he writes well, no one writes better; when he writes badly, no one writes worse."¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Cassiodorus warns his monks to read Origen carefully and to avoid certain passages that he marked as contradictory to teaching of the *patres*. These marginal notes would suffice to warn his monks away from doctrinal error. He quotes Virgil's remark on Ennius: *Aurum in stercore quaero*¹⁷⁵ "I'm seeking gold in a dung-pile,"¹⁷⁶ the proverbial already famous at the time, when commenting Origen. O'Donnell, however, thinks that it may be a

¹⁷² See Appendix.

¹⁷³ Item in Octateucho eloquentissimae nimis omeliae sunt Origenis in codicibus tribus; quem multorum quidem Patrum sententia designat hereticum, sanctus vero Hieronymus eius aliqua opuscula sermone disertissimo transtulit in Latinum. *Inst.* 1.1.8.

¹⁷⁴ Jones, *Introduction*, 77.

¹⁷⁵ Mynors, *Institutiones*.

sign of underlying respect that Cassiodorus thought it sufficient to mark off doubtful passages without going to the trouble of preparing an expurgated edition.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, he did purge other works, such as the *Epistle to the Romans*, as part of the *Epistles of St. Paul*, and the rest he left for the monks to purge.¹⁷⁸ On Cassian's work *De institutis coenobiorum* monks could practice their critical judgment and exercise caution on it and Cassiodorus warns them to read him with care. This work had been in use in the library with the corrections of Victor of Maktar.¹⁷⁹ For Tyconius' *Commentary on Apocalypse* and *Liber regularum* Cassiodorus warns the monks to be aware of which parts are poisonous and which are not, which he distinguished carefully for them. Since there are some good things even in heretical writers, Cassiodorus here points out that some parts of *Commentary on Apocalypse* by Tyconius are profitable reading, doubtlessly following Augustine, who wrote in the *De Doctrina Christiana* about Tyconius.¹⁸⁰ Pierre Courcelle believed that Cassiodorus, through looking up to exegetical method used in Nisibis, revealed to the monks somewhat of the Nestorianism.¹⁸¹ Fabio Troncarelli believes that Paris Lat. 8907, with its extraordinary collection of Arian treatises was read by Cassiodorus and his monks.¹⁸² Apparently, in the sixth-century Christian monastery of Vivarium there were no such strict rules and prohibition on heretical authors as might be expected. This also betrays a great deal of the atmosphere of the period.

Any serious and extensive study of the contents of the library of Vivarium has to include the study of the remaining manuscripts and the archetypes of manuscripts. Cassiodorus' partial information and lack of provision of some crucial facts on the

¹⁷⁶ Jones, *Introduction*, 77.

¹⁷⁷ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

¹⁷⁸ *Institutiones*, 1. 8. 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.29.2.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.10.1.

contents of the library gives at certain points an ample space for various conclusions. On the other hand, the study of the manuscripts provided many surprising results and titles that Cassiodorus made no mention of whatsoever. Scholars agreed that the *Commentary of the Thirteen Letters of St. Paul*, which has been passed down to us under the name of Primasius of Hadrumetum, was actually Pelagius' exposition from the library of Vivarium.¹⁸³ Cassiodorus says about this work that he found it under the name of Gelasius, saw the need to purge heretical ideas from it because under such important names usually heretical matters are hidden.¹⁸⁴ In the case of Josephus' works in Vivarium, Cassiodorus says that he had only the *Jewish Antiquities*, but M. L. W. Laistner,¹⁸⁵ James Halporn¹⁸⁶ and Pierre Courcelle¹⁸⁷ claimed that Cassiodorus had Josephus' treatise *Contra Apionem* as well, although Cassiodorus does not say a word about it in the *Institutiones*. Brian Croke¹⁸⁸ dedicated an entire book to the question whether Cassiodorus had the continuation of Marcellinus' *Chronicle* or not. In the *Institutiones* allusion has been made on the extension of Eusebius' work by Marcellinus from Illyria to the time of Justinian.¹⁸⁹ Brian Croke said that "among many codices carried by Cassiodorus when he returned to Italy from Constantinople in the early 550s was a copy of the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus, an Illyrian. The *Chronicle* covered events from 379 to the death of Anastasius (518) and was later

¹⁸¹ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 355.

¹⁸² Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 101.

¹⁸³ This question was successfully solved by Alexander Souter, *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen epistles of St Paul*, (Cambridge, 1926) and the most recent treatise on the topic of Vivarium, Fabio Troncarelli's book *Vivarium: I libri, il destino* approves this theory.

¹⁸⁴ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 218. See also Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1. 8. 1: "This sort of thing often happens when men wish to protect faulty material by the authority of an illustrious name." Halporn, *Institutions*, 127.

¹⁸⁵ Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 100.

¹⁸⁶ Halporn, *Institutions*, 149, 188f.

¹⁸⁷ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 354, 91f.

¹⁸⁸ Brian Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁸⁹ *Institutiones*, I, XVII, 2.

continued by Marcellinus to 534.”¹⁹⁰ The Continuation of Marcellinus’ *Chronicle*, now in the Bodleian library is one of the original codices from Vivarium preserved today. Croke says that: “It is not absolutely certain from Cassiodorus’ statement ‘forte inveniatis alios subsequentes’¹⁹¹ that this particular continuation of Marcellinus existed at Vivarium in the first place nor that a fixed corpus of chroniclers (Jerome – Marcellinus – Continuator) be ascribed to Cassiodorus’ design.”¹⁹² Troncarelli has shown that this work existed in Vivarium, and Halporn agreed with.¹⁹³ Luciana Cuppo-Csaki¹⁹⁴ made conclusions on the manuscript of Petrus Abbas Tripolitanus as extant in Vivarium after Cassiodorus’ death, which Cassiodorus knew about and searched for from Africa.¹⁹⁵ In the manuscript itself, which is part of Vatican collection (Vat. Lat. 4905) it is said in the first page that “Cassiodorus recalls (*meminit*) this work...,” and in the last page there is a quotation from the *Institutiones*, where Cassiodorus asks from the monks to look for this work. There are many examples of the additions to the contents of the library, and this is why this question is still open in modern scholarship.

What connections did Cassiodorus’ monastery have with other *scriptoria* of his time? Eugippius’ scriptorium produced Augustine’s *De genesi ad litteram*, and Cassiodorus mentions this manuscript as extant in his library. The assumption that some connections existed in matters of exchange between monasteries would be a daring claim without the solid evidence, if we do not have it. Courcelle thinks that Cassiodorus has been in contact with Eugippius.¹⁹⁶ Orosius’ work, written in Ravenna

¹⁹⁰ Brian Croke, “The Misunderstandings of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones* 1. 17. 2,” *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1982): 225-226.

¹⁹¹ *Institutiones*, 1. 17. 2.

¹⁹² Brian Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 223.

¹⁹³ Halporn, *Institutions*, 150. Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 14.

¹⁹⁴ Luciana Cuppo-Csaki, “Biblical Exegesis and Mnemotechnics in MS Verona, Bibliotheca Capitolare XXII,” <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Aegean/9891/Boeth.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

¹⁹⁵ *Institutiones*, 1. 8. 9.

¹⁹⁶ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 387.

in the middle of the sixth century, today in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana in Florence, is also mentioned by Cassiodorus.¹⁹⁷ Troncarelli claims that the copy of Hilary's work, attained from Africa, was kept and read in Vivarium.¹⁹⁸ Luciana Cuppo-Csaki,¹⁹⁹ on the basis of Verona XXII thinks that there was an exchange between Verona and Vivarium. This manuscript was written and annotated in a way which is common for Vivarian manuscripts, but it was produced in Verona. Therefore, the analysis has to be based on the systematic comparison of the surviving manuscripts.

It is interesting to notice that from all Eucherius' works, Cassiodorus mentions only the *Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae*. Pierre Riché, in order to connect Cassiodorus with Augustine, makes an interesting observation and infers that it is more than a coincidence that Cassiodorus had in his library the work of Eucherius, *Liber Instructionum*, a true biblical dictionary such as Augustine wanted to have. Cassiodorus never mentions that he had it nor cited this work, but, in Riché's words, he used it in his recension of the *Epistles of St. Paul*.²⁰⁰ Augustine talks about such a dictionary in his *De Doctrina Christiana*²⁰¹ with an eager desire that such a thing should be created, which would be useful for young Christians. If Riché is right, Cassiodorus then just responded to the facilities of his own time, in which such a work already existed.

At the point where the list of exegetical works ends, the first book of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* not finished yet. What Cassiodorus did was to include some profane works into this first book on divine letters because, in his view, these help in better understanding the Holy Scripture. Had Cassiodorus been of a different mind,

¹⁹⁷ Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 101.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Luciana Cuppo-Csaki, "Biblical Exegesis and Mnemotechnics in MS Verona, Bibliotheca Capitolare XXII," <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Aegean/9891/Boeth.html>, Last accessed: 19/05/2007.

²⁰⁰ *Institutiones*, 1. 8.

²⁰¹ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2. 39. 59.

these chapters could well have been relegated to the second book on secular studies.²⁰² These writers overlap with the topic of this thesis, the classical works in the library of Vivarium. They are secular and pagan writers incorporated for some reason into Cassiodorus' program. After commenting on them, along with the second book of the *Institutiones*, I will try to offer an explanation on Cassiodorus' choice of ancient writers, who existed in his library of Vivarium.

Classical authors in the library of Vivarium

Classical works did not all have the same destiny in the late antiquity. The replacement of the papyrus by the parchment codex occurred at about the same time, and the loss of some classical lore can be ascribed to this. Publishing had a different context; in this sophisticated, complex and expensive process many works were neglected and forgotten. The destiny of many books depended on the priorities of the "saviors" and collectors. In Cassiodorus' case, the splendor and variety of classical works did not make any relevance and use. The use was exactly what he focused on, and the practical application, and in this way he chose the ancient books for his library. In his collection of classical authors, he concentrated on specific areas and topics.

We are still at the first part of the *Institutiones*, where Cassiodorus stresses that geographical knowledge²⁰³ is very important for the monks, so he starts this passage, chapter twenty five, with cosmography. A good question is whether these two sciences are the same or not, but in his definition both cosmography and geography

²⁰² O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

²⁰³ Cosmographiae quoque notitiam vobis percurrendam esse non immerito suademus, ut loca singula, quae in libris sanctis legitis, in qua parte mundi sint posita evidenter cognoscere debeatis. *Institutiones*, 1. 15. 1.

are boiled down to mere information on where a certain spot is on the earth, and are only useful in the context of giving information if Holy Scripture mentions it. He says he leaves to his monks Jullius Honorius' cosmographical work, *Pinax mundi*, written by Dionysius Periegetes, and Ptolemy's work. The manuscript of Julius Honorius is extant today in original form, although it does not have features typical for the manuscripts from Vivarium, and was, probably bought somewhere else and brought into Vivarium. Still, it fits into the definition of preservation established at the beginning.²⁰⁴

Then Cassiodorus turns to agriculture. He recommends reading these matters for monks who have difficulties with other areas of studying. He finds justification for such a work in Psalm 77.²⁰⁵ Gargilius Martialis, Columella, and Aemilianus are listed in the library. Reading medical works is good because "by reading this anyone can be restored to health."²⁰⁶ The monks should take from the library and read Hippocrates, Galenus, Dioscorides and Coelius Aurelius. What monks should not do, however, is to put hope in herbs rather than belief in God and his will.

Cassiodorus paid much attention to orthography and, in his words, provided the library with various manuals. The obscurity that lurks in the abundance of these works might discourage monks, so Cassiodorus explains that he decided to make a compilation and put it altogether in an organized way. The work that he had done is famous under the title *De Orthographia*.

With this the first part of the *Institutiones* is finished, after thirty-three chapters which symbolize the length of Christ's life. What follows are his Secular Learnings, or Human Readings.²⁰⁷ He does not make any distinction among ancient

²⁰⁴ Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, 40.

²⁰⁵ "For thou shalt eat the labours of thy hands: blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee."

²⁰⁶ Unusquisque et salutari valeat et sanari. *Inst.* 1. 28. 6.

²⁰⁷ Allusion on Halporn's and Jones' translations.

writers, and means both Christian and classical authors when uttering that. The time he lived in did not stress this distinction either, and he, as a man of sixth century did not see the boundary of the two eras the way it is seen today. He already started to point out medical works, orthographical, agricultural, and cosmographical works as part of his library, in the first book of the *Institutiones*. According to him, medicine, agriculture and cosmography are definitely part of divine readings because they help in better understanding of the Scripture.

The fact that there are seven chapters more on secular readings, Cassiodorus connects with many passages in the Bible²⁰⁸ and stresses that the number seven is inevitably connected with eternity. Book two differs from the first largely because it does not offer many titles at the monks' disposal. Instead, it offers Cassiodorus' exposition of seven liberal arts, his understanding of them, learnt and adopted from his previous education, life and various sources. This book, though used extensively in later centuries, employed a number of sources.²⁰⁹ Pierre Courcelle has shown that its scheme is borrowed from Ammonius from Alexandria.²¹⁰ This second book is a sequence of definitions, explanations, quotations of the knowledgeable people of antiquity, but, with just an occasional mention that he had a certain book in his library.

Starting from grammar, he supplied his monks with Donatus' *Ars grammatica*, since it is simpler and easier to understand in comparison to other textbooks and offers basics for the monks who might have been illiterate. He cautiously presents even as great names of Roman rhetoric as Cicero and Quintilianus, and in the first place offers commentaries of Cicero, made by Marius Victorinus. Only later does he admit that he provided the library with these two prominent names, because without

²⁰⁸ Psalm, 118. 164; Psalm, 33.2; Proverbs, 9.1; Exodus, 25.37; Revelation, 1.4; 12, 16, etc.

²⁰⁹ See Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 331-360.

them the study of rhetoric would be incomplete. The same goes for dialectics and the works of Aristotle. After mentioning a number of commentaries, he says what works of Aristotle should be read. James J. O'Donnell says that Cassiodorus had a personal distaste for secular studies.²¹¹ I would say that the ambiguity lurks behind his lines. While he was in a way a figure unique in terms of introducing these studies into his Christian program, he hesitated and explained himself when he mentioned certain prominent classical works and names as extant in his library.

As to arithmetic and geometry, he gives substantial, but compact and concise explanations on the essence of this science and recommendations on reading, but it is not clear, even in the case of Euclid's *Elements*, whether he had this work in his library or not. It could be also possible that he went into a great detail generally in the second book because he had very little to offer to monks instead. In other words, he did not have many primary sources on secular topics. This is only an assumption, though. Pierre Courcelle thinks he had primary sources in the field of geometry and arithmetics and that is why his account on this topic is shorter.²¹² Also, the works in Greek and the secular authors were minority possibly because of political reasons: although Cassiodorus wanted to take them in, he was cautious not to provoke the authorities of the time, Pope Gregory the Great especially, who were not in favor of classical writings.

Cassiodorus provided his library with a few works on music, like Gaudentius and Censorinus. In the part where he discusses astronomy he is cautious again, and warns monks how this science could be interpreted mistakenly and confused with superstitious belief that stars can predict the future. He left to his monks Seneca's *De*

²¹⁰ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 341-344.

²¹¹ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 179.

²¹² Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 351.

forma mundi, part of *Naturales Quaestiones*, the work that is not extant today but was an important manual on astronomy in antiquity.

Scholars have drawn some additional conclusions on secular writers in Cassiodorus' library, aside from Cassiodorus' words. According to M. L. W. Laistner²¹³ Cassiodorus not only preserved classical authors, but also had in his library the works of Virgil, Horace, and Lucan. In my view, although Virgil is quoted several times, no single mention in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* is made of Horace or Lucan. Laistner might have relied on Rudolf Beer,²¹⁴ who wrote about manuscripts of Lucan and Virgil as extant in Vivarium. This theory was many times abolished, and rebuilt again, but still, if Cassiodorus mentioned Lucan only once, and only in his work *Historia Gothorum*, which is lost today,²¹⁵ there is every probability that Lucan could not have been part of Cassiodorus' educational program. O'Donnell supposes that we owe the survival of Cato's *De re rustica* to Cassiodorus.²¹⁶ I see neither mention of Cato's name in the *Institutiones*, nor a recommendation of him as a part of Cassiodorus' educational program.²¹⁷ Courcelle mentions certain grammarians Sergius and Servius and their commentaries on Donatus' work comprised in the library, along with other grammatical works, although their names never appear in the *Institutiones*.²¹⁸ These assumptions have yet to find the valid support in the paleographical material, as their mention in the *Institutiones* is either obscure or non-existing.

The list of secular books ends here. The question remains: what was the purpose of storing these books in the library? There is more to it than Cassiodorus

²¹³ Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 103.

²¹⁴ Rudolf Beer, *Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio*, (Anzeiger der kaiserlicher Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, philosophisch-historischen Klasse 48, 1911).

²¹⁵ This work is only known today through the *Getica* of Jordanes.

²¹⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 252.

says; to offer his explanation that it was for the usefulness in terms of understanding the Scriptures is not enough. In my view, Cassiodorus, as devoted Christian, but still converted at some point in his life, would not have made such a choice without relying on a more prominent authority. In the following, I will discuss the aim of possessing these ancient books and try to conclude on Cassiodorus' possible reasons for having exactly these ancient books in his library at Vivarium.

Possible reasons for storing these classical works: An application of Augustine's educational outline?

If one relies on Cassiodorus' words, the remarkable thing about his enterprise is the riches of his library. This is more surprising since it might have been that Cassiodorus did not transfer his earlier collection of books from Rome to Vivarium.²¹⁹ This collection in his family house in Rome has to be clearly distinguished from the library in Vivarium. The monastic library was based probably to a large extent on his own previous belongings, and the additional works he bought, copied, and translated. The library of Vivarium was well supplied with copies of the Holy Scripture and biblical commentaries, as well as of histories, grammar books, miscellaneous guides, and Greek works for translation. However, for someone who was proclaimed to be the “savior of the ancient heritage” at some points in the history of scholarship, he had a rather specific taste in choosing classical texts for his library. The ancient books were apparently chosen carefully, for some reason, and there were not so many. Predominance and primacy is given, of course, to divine readings, which is highly expected in such a monastery, built to be a sort of a Christian school. Cassiodorus

²¹⁷ O'Donnell refers to E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, (1898): 664, for the suggestion of survival of Cato.

²¹⁸ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 345.

²¹⁹ See footnote 137.

provided as many commentaries and expositions on the Bible as he could. He tried to buy books he did not have, even as far away as Africa.²²⁰ Agents in Cassiodorus' employ ransacked Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa for texts; and he asked the community to continue searching for additional books.²²¹ Many parts of the *Institutiones* speak about his wish to possess some books and urging the monks to provide the library with it.²²² As for the commerce in books, even profane books, it had not ceased²²³ at the time. For the works that he could not provide, he sighs with sorrow, and hopes that he will provide them in future.

It seems that for the classical works Cassiodorus had exactly what he wanted, since he says rarely, if ever,²²⁴ that he regrets for not possessing a given book. He stresses that the classical books are useful and practical additional tools and means in acquiring Christian truths. If nothing more, I cannot say that they were not important for him in this way.

Surprisingly, the "golden age" of classical literature was not included in this library. Although he quotes occasionally, he never says he has Virgil, Terence, Horace, Ovid, Varro, etc. There are no poets, no playwrights, and no satirists.²²⁵ Some other monasteries had the extensive use of Terence in later centuries.²²⁶ This was not the case in Vivarium. Also, hardly any philosophical works, apart from works on dialectics, could be found in Vivarium. The areas that he covered were cosmography, agriculture, medicine, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, and

²²⁰ *Inst.* 1. 8. .9; 1. 29. 2.

²²¹ Christopher H. Walker, "Some of the Animals Missed the Ark: The Sixth Century Monastic Scriptorium and the Preservation of Texts." Unpublished paper presented to the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Medieval Association of the Midwest, University of Wisconsin-Medison, 2001. (hereafter: Walker, "Some of the Animals Missed the Ark").

²²² *Institutiones*, 1.1.9; 1.2.13; 1.3.3; 2.3.20; 1.3.6; 1.30.2, etc.

²²³ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 163.

²²⁴ Only in the case of Martianus Capella.

²²⁵ Walker, "Some Animals Missed the Ark."

²²⁶ See Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 133, 58f. Also see *Hrotsvitae Opera*, Liber II Praefatio, Strecker, ed., (Leipzig: BT, 1930).

astronomy. This list does not only follow the pattern of education based on the seven liberal arts, but has some additional elements. The only, in my view at least, logical reason for focusing on these areas can be found in reading Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*. This work of Augustine outlined the imagined program of Christian education for youth in the fourth century, and, although not original, he clearly defined it for the first time²²⁷ in history. The work did not enjoy an immediate success and it took a century for it to be copied in its entirety and appreciated, just at the dawn of the sixth century, exactly in the time of Cassiodorus' life.

In the Preface of his *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus says: "I was, I confess, extremely sorry that the Divine Scriptures had no public teachers..."²²⁸ Two centuries before Augustine was inspired to write his work the *De Doctrina Christiana* urged by the same concern. Both writers had this worry over the absence of Christian education, especially because classical education was still predominant and influential at the time.

In the second chapter of *De doctrina Christiana*, Augustine evaluates the usefulness of medicine.²²⁹ One had to be aware, though, that advice on healing was different from superstitious belief in the miraculous power of things. Christians should avoid it more cautiously the more it seems to be efficacious. As for the knowledge of astronomy,²³⁰ the course of the moon, the rising, setting and other movements of the heavenly bodies were familiar only to a few people. In Augustine's opinion it had a slight relevance and was of a slight use in treatment of the Scriptures, and could also be a source of potential danger if mixed with the vain prediction of events, although it could be useful as a basis for a calendar. The calendar, *Computus*

²²⁷ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 130, 194f.

²²⁸ Gravissimo sum, fateor, dolore permotus ut Scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent. *Inst. Praef.*

²²⁹ *De doctrina Christiana*, 2.29; 2.30.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. 46.

was exactly what was created in Vivarium in the turn of the sixth century; it was initiated for Cassiodorus' life, and finished after his death. Cassiodorus rejects astrology as being contrary to faith, because Augustine did the same.²³¹ Among arts concerned with the manufacturing, those useful for the work of God were, apart from medicine, also agriculture and navigation.²³² In the last one I see the connection with Cassiodorus' cosmography. These areas should be acquired casually and superficially, just for the purpose of not being ignorant if Scripture applies to them. Augustine thought that the sciences of disputation and reasoning were a great help in understanding the Scriptures.²³³ Cassiodorus pays much attention to rhetoric and dialectics. Mathematics or the science of division, partitions, and definition evolved, according to Augustine, from the science of reasoning.²³⁴ Augustine says “we should not avoid music because of the superstition of the profane if we can find anything in it useful for understanding the Holy Scriptures.”²³⁵ Augustine covers writing and languages as well;²³⁶ one should know these skills in order to avoid the ambiguity of signs. Cassiodorus said much on orthography as well, for one particular reason: in order to work with well-established texts, to be able to deal with transcription and correction, a monk had to learn the rules of punctuation and orthography.

Augustine did not mention any names, except on few occasions, like Cyprian and Tyconius. Cassiodorus built up on this pattern of disciplines his own choice of writers. In the part on Christian writers, Cassiodorus' own choice is apparent, since it cannot be compared to any contemporary library. In the part on secular authors, he followed carefully Augustine's advice.

²³¹ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 353.

²³² *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 30.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 2, 48.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, 58.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, 26.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, 4 ; 2, 5.

Cassiodorus definitely knew well this work of Augustine, respected it, quoted it, and wished to apply Augustine's program of education when he supplied his library with books. This Augustine's work might have served as a basis for Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*²³⁷ as well, not just in his forming the library. Augustine definitely was an authority for Cassiodorus, both in literary style and in Christian faith. Augustine is the writer mentioned the most frequently in Cassiodorus' writings. It might have happened that, in his strong admiration for Augustine, Cassiodorus tried to succeed in organizing the Christian school and the library according to the rules of this Christian textbook made by one of the most influential Latin Church fathers. It is true, as Robert Markus stressed,²³⁸ that more than a century and a half lay between these two persons and their works, and that the interval had transformed the nature of the task they had been faced with. Augustine wrote to assert Christian rights to borrow and to integrate pagan culture into Christian. In Cassiodorus' time, Augustine's hostility to pagan culture had no relevance. But, Markus also admits that Cassiodorus undoubtedly followed Augustine's recipe for the utilization of secular disciplines. In my view, so faithfully that he organized his library in accordance with this recipe. Many scholars, like Markus and O'Donnell said that Cassiodorus followed Augustine, but without showing that these two authors could be connected through the contents of the Vivarium library. Unfortunately, the claim that Cassiodorus borrowed Augustine's idea on the formation of library has no attestation and can not be traced in any of Cassiodorus' lines, so my conclusion remains a hypothesis.

²³⁷ *De doctrina Christiana*, preface.

Conclusion

The attempt in such writings like this one is almost inevitably to reach what others did not. In this sense I can say that Mynors has tried to make the accurate list of the books extant in Vivarium based on Cassiodorus' words; but, he confused three categories of books whereas Cassiodorus clearly stressed this difference. Pierre Courcelle gave a more precise list, although just as part of the text, not separately, since his main concerns were the sources Cassiodorus used, particularly Greek sources.²³⁹ I compiled the list of the Vivarium library based on Cassiodorus' words; further analysis of manuscripts can add to this list of the contents of the library.

Apart from the list of books, few scholars like Schindel, paid attention to the classical authors in the library and commented on their presence in the library; this is what I did. Nobody, in my knowledge, has tried so far to connect the choice of these books with Augustine's educational outline given in the *De doctrina Christiana*. Cassiodorus collected books from the areas that Augustine advised as useful for reaching the proper Christian knowledge and comprehension of the Scripture. Schindel²⁴⁰ has tried to connect this list of books with the anonymous fourth-century writer of the textbook, who established the path through which education of the time was supposed to head. In my view, Cassiodorus would not rely on anybody else, except for the most prominent authority, and this was Augustine. The areas of study were in terms of classical authors borrowed from Augustine; the choice of books was Cassiodorus' own invention. As for the divine writings, they were completely of Cassiodorus choice.

²³⁸ Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 221.

²³⁹ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 331-360.

This field of study is, however, not explored in its entirety. The analysis of the existing manuscripts and the archetypes of manuscripts have shown that there is more that pertains to the library of Vivarium than Cassiodorus says. Several authors more are identified through this analysis by the efforts made by Fabio Troncarelli and Luciana Cuppo-Csaki. In their works it is constantly stressed that the final conclusions on the library of Vivarium are still to be reached. The desired end, the final contents of the library, although escaping our final conclusions, is on their way to realization.

As for Cassiodorus' preservation of the ancient classical heritage, which has been mistakenly emphasised in the scholarship, I conclude that no single mention is made by Cassiodorus of the preservation of classical works. Such an idea does not exist in his writings. It is not what Cassiodorus had in mind. Cassiodorus did not at any point envision the library of Vivarium as a heaven for all Classical lore²⁴¹ or to be a salvage repository for it. He thought it important that the texts he collected should be preserved, annotated and edited so that they were the best possible copy, but in choice of books he took a utilitarian rather than an archivist view. Secular books are only mentioned in the context of usefulness for better understanding of the Scriptures, and are just a tool and a means in a more substantial comprehension of it. Furthermore, there is not a scrap of evidence that he foresaw the imminent extinction of classical learning on the horizon or envisioned the library he was founding as one of its last refuges. The mission of the Vivarian library was to support the study of Scripture. It was not an Ark.²⁴² However, the Vivarium library was not bereft of these

²⁴⁰ Ulrich Schindel, *Die Rezeption der hellenistischen Theorie der rhetorischen Figuren bei den Roemern*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse Dritte Folge, vol. 243, (Goettingen: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, 2001).

²⁴¹ Walker, "Some of the Animals Missed the Ark."

²⁴² Ibid.

ancient books, like some scholars claimed.²⁴³ There were several dozens, which were, not for the purpose of being a treasure, but as a tool, transcribed, translated, bought, and kept inside this monastery library. In this way, one can say that possibly they were saved for the posterity from deterioration, oblivion, and disappearance. But, if the question is whether it was Cassiodorus' intent and conscious decision to save them for posterity, I cannot say that it is truth. The question of our perspective is definitely not applicable to Cassiodorus' time, and the questions we now pose to ourselves apparently did not bother Cassiodorus and his contemporaries.

As for the destiny of the ancient classical heritage in the early Middle Ages, it cannot be observed in general terms. Each book had its own destiny; it depended on many factors and benefactors, and "saviors," above all. Many books found their shelter and were embraced by Christianity, which depended on their adjustment and flexibility to be incorporated into new circumstances. Many books were also left to deteriorate and vanish in the time when specific atmosphere in which they were created was losing of its relevance and its ground. Each book, labelled by its own contents, aims and purpose has written its own destiny. Their further life and existence depended from what was said inside. Applicable ideas from ancient texts were amalgamated and thus, these books were kept in the Early Middle Ages; why other texts disappeared I cannot tell it at this point.

²⁴³ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/texts/cassbook/chap1.html>, Last Accessed: 19/05/2007.

APPENDIX

To prepare the following book catalogue, I used the online version “Library of Latin Texts,” <http://clt.brepolis.net/clt/start.asp?sOwner=menu>, which is, in case of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*, based on the *Corpus Christianorum* critical edition. I also used two English translations, the one of Jones, and Halporn’s. I explained the methodology in the Chapter III. To identify the names and the titles, I used Halporn’s translation and Mynors’ edition of the *Institutiones*.

Excerpts from the *Institutiones* and...

The books Cassiodorus said he had in Vivarium

Lectio Divina²⁴⁴

Hieronymus

Scripturae sacrae translatio Hieronymi (Latin Bible)²⁴⁵

Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim²⁴⁶

Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum²⁴⁷

Quaestiones de novo testamento²⁴⁸

Quaestiones III de libro III Regum ad Abundantium²⁴⁹

Epistula ad Vitalem²⁵⁰

Annotationes breves in omnes prophetas²⁵¹

Commentarii in Isaia²⁵²

In Hieremiam prophetam libri VI²⁵³

²⁴⁴ quos ego cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinae, ut senex potui, sub collatione priscorum codicum amicis ante me legentibus sedula lectione transivi; *Inst.* Praef. 8. Quae tamen omnia in unius codicis corpore congregavi, ut in vicem commentorum ad libros ipsos pertinentia Domino praestante relegatis. *Inst.* 1.2.12. While Cassiodorus does not say after every book that he has it in his library, after certain passages he concludes in this way, saying that he has left to his monks all the above mentioned books in a single codex. Quibus libris iuvante Domino capitula insignire curavimus, ne in tam necessaria lectione, ut saepe dictum est, confusa tyronis novitas linqueretur. *Inst.* 1.5.7.; Quorum tamen librorum titulos sub brevitate collegi, quando instructionis non minimum creditur esse compendium, res fusas latissime paucis sermonibus indicare; his enim remediis lectoris animus introductus saluberrimam Scripturarum seriem provocatus excurrit. *Inst.* 1.6.5.

²⁴⁵ quem labore beati Hieronymi Latina lingua, sicut et alia multa, cautissime translatus expositum que promeruit; *Inst.* 1.6.1.

²⁴⁶ Sanctus etiam Hieronymus uno volumine de libro Geneseos Hebraicas solvit propositas quaestiones, quae per utriusque Testamenti Scripturas divinas tamquam linea uno calamo deducta parili nitore descendunt. *Inst.* 1.1.6.

²⁴⁷ explanationes quoque Hebreorum nominum et locorum, quae ad magnam intelligentiae partem in librorum veterum auctoritate sunt positae, uno volumine sua nobis in Latinum interpretatione lucidavit. *Inst.* 1.1.6.

²⁴⁸ de novo quoque Testamento fecit alterum librum, ubi quaestiones ad eandem legem pertinentes diligentissimus doctor enodavit. *Inst.* 1.1.6.

²⁴⁹ Nam et beatus Hieronymus ad Abundantium scribens obscurissimas tres alias exposuit quaestiones; *Inst.* 1.2.6. This work is not extant today.

²⁵⁰ De quo libro etiam memoratus sanctus Hieronymus ad Vitalem scripsit episcopum quomodo Salomon et Achaz, *Inst.* 1.2.9.

²⁵¹ Ex omni igitur Prophetarum codice quinto sanctus Hieronymus primum annotationes faciens propter tyrones et parvulos competenter eos et breviter explanavit; quas vobis in annotato nuper codice Domino praestante dereliqui. *Inst.* 1.3.1. This work is not extant today.

²⁵² Nam Esaia, qui aperte referendo Christi ecclesiae que mysteria 'non tam propheta quam evangelista dicendus est', decem et octo libris mirabiliter supradictus sanctus Hieronymus explanavit. *Inst.* 1.3.2.

Commentarii in Ecclesiasticen²⁵⁴
 Commentarii in Ezechiel²⁵⁵
 Commentarii in Daniel²⁵⁶
 Commentarii in Prophetas minores²⁵⁷
 Ad Rufinum de iudicio Solomonis²⁵⁸
 Comentarioli in Psalmos²⁵⁹
 Prologus in libro Iob de graeco emendato²⁶⁰
 Commentarius in IV Evangelia²⁶¹
 Commentarii in Euangelium Matthaei²⁶²
 Commentarius brevis in epistolas S. Pauli²⁶³
 Commentarii in IV epistulas Paulinas (ad Galatas, Ad Ephesios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem)²⁶⁴
 Commentarius in Apocalypsin²⁶⁵
 De viris illustribus²⁶⁶
 Epistula ad Chromatium et Heliodorum²⁶⁷
 Eusebii Caesariensis Chronicon. Hieronymi continuatio²⁶⁸

²⁵³ quem etiam sanctus Hieronymus viginti libris commentatus esse monstratur; ex quibus sex tantum nos potuimus invenire, residuos vero adhuc Domino iuvante perquirimus. *Inst.* 1.3.3.

²⁵⁴ Secundus vero liber Salomonis, qui appellatur Ecclesiastes, a beato Hieronymo potenter expositus est; quem latino sermone nuncupat Contionatorem, quod loquatur ad populum et sermo eius non specialiter ad unum sed ad universos generaliter dirigatur. *Inst.* 1. 5.3.

²⁵⁵ Ezechielem vero, cuius in Hebreo sermo 'nec omnino disertus nec ammodum rusticus est', XIII libris sanctus Hieronymus explanavit; *Inst.* 1.3.4.

²⁵⁶ idem que Danihel qui, licet apud Hebreos nequaquam prophetico choro recipitur, sed inter eos annumeratur qui Agiographa conscripserunt, tribus libris a supra memorato sancto Hieronymo noscitur explanatus. *Inst.* 1.3.4.

²⁵⁷ Residuos vero XII Prophetas, quos sermo vulgus propter brevitatem librorum suorum Minores appellat, XX libris supradictus sanctus Hieronymus commentatus esse dinoscitur, id est: Osee libris tribus, Abdiam libro uno, Amos libris tribus, Iohel libro uno, Ionam libro uno, Naum libro uno, Abacum libris duobus, Sofoniam libro uno, Ageum libro uno, Zachariam libris tribus, Micheam libris duobus, Malachiam libro uno. *Inst.* 1.3.5.

²⁵⁸ In tertio igitur libro antefati codicis sanctus Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus sermonem fecit de iudicio Salomonis; de quo loco sanctus quoque Hieronymus dulcissima, sicuti solet, explanatione disseruit; *Inst.* 1.2.8.

²⁵⁹ Hunc in quibusdam psalmis et beatus Hilarius et beatus Ambrosius et beatus Hieronymus, in omnibus tamen beatus Augustinus studiose nimis latius que tractavit; ex quibus iam duas decadas Domino praestante collegi. *Inst.* 1.4.1.

²⁶⁰ quem labore beati Hieronymi Latina lingua, sicut et alia multa, cautissime translatus expositum que promeruit; cuius explanationibus actum est ut, sicut Dominus de ipso testari dignatus est, *Inst.* 1.6.1.

²⁶¹ quorum omnium propria discutiens sanctus Hieronymus diligenti cura disseruit; quae in uno volumine comprehendi, ne legentis intentio divisio codicibus tardaretur. *Inst.* 1.7.1.

²⁶² Mattheum beatus Hieronymus iterum bis binis libris exposuit, *Inst.* 1.7.1.

²⁶³ Tertium vero codicem repperi epistularum sancti Pauli, qui a nonnullis beati Hieronymi annotationes brevissimas dicitur continere; quem vobis pariter Christo largiente dereliqui. *Inst.* 1. 8.8. These glosses of Jerome are not extant today.

²⁶⁴ Ad Galatas autem idem sanctus Augustinus latius explanavit, de qua et sanctus Hieronymus tribus libris expositionem tetendit. Idem pater Hieronymus aliis tribus libris epistulam ad Ephesios diligenter aperuit. Ad Titum quoque expositionem uno volumine comprehendit. Ad Philemonem etiam uno libro patefecit. *Inst.* 1.8.13.

²⁶⁵ Apocalypsis vero, quae studiose legentium animos ad supernam contemplationem deducit, et facit mente cernere quod angeli videndo beati sunt, sancti Hieronymi expositione conspicua est. *Inst.* 1.9.2. This is actually not work of Jerome but pseudo-Jerome. See Halporn, 131, 134f.

²⁶⁶ sed cum te de memoratis rebus, diligens lector, expleveris, ingenium que tuum divina fuerit luce radiatum, lege librum de Viris illustribus sancti Hieronymi, ubi diversos Patres atque opuscula eorum breviter et honoravit et tetigit: deinde alterum Gennadii Massiliensis, qui idem de scriptoribus legis divinae, quos studiose perquisiverat, certissimus indicavit. hos in uno corpore sociatos dereliqui, ne per diversos codices cognoscendae rei tarditas afferatur. *Inst.* 1.17.2.

²⁶⁷ legite constanter, quas inter alia in epistula sancti Hieronymi ad Chromatium et Heliodorum destinata procul dubio reperitis. *Inst.* 1.32.4.

Basilus (Basil the Great)

Homiliae in Hexaemeron²⁶⁹

Augustinus

De civitate Dei²⁷⁰

De genesi contra Manicheos²⁷¹

De genesi ad litteram²⁷²

Contra Faustum Manicheum²⁷³

Confessiones²⁷⁴

Quaestiones in heptateuchum²⁷⁵

De modis locutionum (Locutionum in heptateuchum libri septem)²⁷⁶

Contra Inimicum Legis et Prophetarum (Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum)²⁷⁷

De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum²⁷⁸

Sermo de Abessalon²⁷⁹

De David et Golia

De Elia et vidua Sareptena

De Eliseo²⁸⁰

Sermo de iudicio Salomonis²⁸¹

(?)Enarrationes in Psalmos²⁸²

Sermones in sapientiam²⁸³

²⁶⁸ Chronica vero, quae sunt imagines historiarum brevissimae que commemorationes temporum, scripsit Graece Eusebius; quae transtulit Hieronymus in Latinum, et usque ad tempora sua deduxit eximie. *Inst.* 1.17.2.

²⁶⁹ Primus Scripturarum divinarum codex est Octateuchus, qui initium illuminationis nostrae historica relatione fecit a Genesi. huius principia sanctus Basilus Attico sermone lucidavit, quem Eustathius, vir disertissimus, ita transtulit in Latinum ut ingenium doctissimi viri facundiae suae viribus aequiperasse videatur. *Inst.* 1.1.1.

²⁷⁰ Nam et sanctus Augustinus in libro civitatis Dei septimo decimo, titulo IIII, dum inter alia de Regum temporibus facundissimus disputator eloquitur, canticum Annae dilucidavit ex ordine. *Inst.* 1.2.10.

²⁷¹ Nam et pater Augustinus, contra Manicheos duobus libris disputans, ita textum Genesis diligenter exposuit; *Inst.* 1.1.2.

²⁷² De isdem principiis sanctus quoque Augustinus, disertus atque cautissimus disputator, duodecim volumina conscripsit, quae doctrinarum paene omnium decore vestivit. haec itaque vocavit de Genesi ad litteram; *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷³ scripsit etiam contra Manicheum Faustum triginta tres libros. *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷⁴ in libris quoque Confessionum posterioribus tribus voluminibus de Genesis explanatione disseruit, confessus altitudinem rei quam totiens repetita expositione tractavit. *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷⁵ quaestiones etiam quae in voluminibus sacris ardua difficultate poterant operiri, libris septem necessaria nimis et syllogistica probatione declaravit, *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷⁶ scripsit etiam de modis locutionum septem alios mirabiles libros. *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷⁷ pari quoque modo duos libros vir praedictus effecit, quibus titulum posuit Contra inimicum legis et prophetarum, *Inst.* 1.1.4.

²⁷⁸ De quo libro etiam beatus Augustinus, ad Simplicianum episcopum Mediolanensem scribens, sex solvit propositas quaestiones, quarum prima est de loco ubi ait Et insilivit spiritus Domini malus in Saul; *Inst.* 1.2.3.; qui etiam scribens ad Simplicianum, episcopum Mediolanensem, sublimes et exquisitas de eadem epistula tractavit aliquas quaestiones; quas nos praedicto codici iudicavimus inserendas ne, dum expositio divisa quaeritur, legentis intentio noxie differatur. *Inst.* 1.8.12.

²⁷⁹ Invenimus etiam in secundo libro eiusdem sancti Augustini sermonem unum de Abessalon, qui patrem suum David ob regni cupiditatem decrevit extinguere. *Inst.* 1.2.4. This book is not extant today.

²⁸⁰ Repperi etiam de eodem codice beati Augustini tres opinatissimas quaestiones, quarum ante omnes est de primo libro Regum, ubi David pugnavit cum Golia; secunda est tertii libri Regum de Helia et vidua Sareptena; tertia est de quarto libro Regum, ubi Heliseus fontem mortiferum benedixit. *Inst.* 1.2.5.

²⁸¹ unde etiam et sanctum Augustinum disertissimum comperimus edidisse sermonem, ut miraculum tale relatum dignis constaret auctoribus. *Inst.* 1.2.8.

²⁸² in omnibus tamen beatus Augustinus studiose nimis latius que tractavit; ex quibus iam duas decadas Domino praestante collegi. *Inst.* 1. 4.1. This obscure place confused many scholars. Until now the opinions stayed disparate on whether these Commentaries on Psalms were written by Augustine, or Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome. See Halporn, 120, 68f.

Adnotationes in Job²⁸⁴
 Tractatus in Euangelium Joannis²⁸⁵
 De consensu evangelistarum²⁸⁶
 Tractatus in epistulam Iacobi²⁸⁷
 In Ioannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus X²⁸⁸
 Epistulae ad Romanos Incohata Expositio²⁸⁹
 Epistulae ad Galatas Expositio²⁹⁰
 De doctrina Christiana²⁹¹
 De grammatica²⁹²
Ambrosius
 Exameron²⁹³
 De patriarchis²⁹⁴
 Sermo de iudicio Salomonis²⁹⁵
 (?)Explanatio super Psalmos²⁹⁶
 Homiliae in librum sapientiae²⁹⁷
 Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam²⁹⁸
Prosper Aquitanus
 Liber de promissionibus et praedictis Dei²⁹⁹
 Epitome Chronicorum³⁰⁰
Origenes

²⁸³ de quo et pater Augustinus et sanctus Ambrosius omeliarum nomine nonnulla dixerunt: dictio nimis suavissima et re vera nominis sui dignitate resplendens. *Inst.* 1.5.5.

²⁸⁴ Sanctus quoque Augustinus, in eodem libro annotationes faciens, eum solita curiositate tractavit. *Inst.* 1.6.3.

²⁸⁵ Iohannem beatus Augustinus copiosa et insigni expositione lucidavit. *Inst.* 1.7.1.

²⁸⁶ Iohannem beatus Augustinus copiosa et insigni expositione lucidavit, qui etiam de concordia Evangelistarum quattuor libros subtilissima nimis et necessaria disputatione complexus est. *Inst.* 1.7.1.

²⁸⁷ Sanctus quoque Augustinus epistulam Iacobi apostoli solita diligentiae suae curiositate tractavit; quam vobis in membranacio codice scriptam reliqui. *Inst.* 1.8.5. This work is not extant today.

²⁸⁸ In epistula vero prima beati Iohannis sanctus Augustinus decem sermonibus multa et mirabiliter de caritate disseruit. *Inst.* 1.8.7.

²⁸⁹ sanctus vero Augustinus ipsam epistulam inchoaverat exponendam; *Inst.* 1.8.12.

²⁹⁰ Ad Galatas autem idem sanctus Augustinus latius explanavit, de qua et sanctus Hieronymus tribus libris expositionem tetendit. *Inst.* 1.8.13.

²⁹¹ Primum est post huius operis instituta ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea repperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, sanctum Augustinum de Doctrina Christiana, Adrianum, Eucherium et Iunilium; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur; qui modos elocutionum explanationis causa formantes per exemplorum diversas similitudines intellegi faciunt, quae prius clausa manserunt. *Inst.* 1.10.1.

²⁹² sed et sanctum Augustinum propter simplicitatem fratrum breviter instruendam aliqua de eodem titulo scripsisse repperimus; quae vobis lectitanda reliquimus, *Inst.* 2.1.1.

²⁹³ Deinde sanctus Ambrosius, ut est planus atque suavissimus doctor, exinde sex libros eloquentiae suae more confecit, quos appellavit Exameron. *Inst.* 1.1.3.

²⁹⁴ Item sanctus Ambrosius de Patriarchis septem libros edidit, qui multa loca veteris Testamenti factis quaestionibus suaviter enodavit. *Inst.* 1.1.5.

²⁹⁵ In tertio igitur libro antefati codicis sanctus Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus sermonem fecit de iudicio Salomonis; *Inst.* 1.2.8.

²⁹⁶ hunc in quibusdam psalmis et beatus Hilarius et beatus Ambrosius et beatus Hieronymus, in omnibus tamen beatus Augustinus studiose nimis latius que tractavit; ex quibus iam duas decadas Domino praestante collegi. *Inst.* 1.4.1. See the footnote 282..

²⁹⁷ de quo et pater Augustinus et sanctus Ambrosius omeliarum nomine nonnulla dixerunt: dictio nimis suavissima et re vera nominis sui dignitate resplendens. *Inst.* 1.5.5. This work is not extant today.

²⁹⁸ Lucam sanctus Ambrosius mirabiliter explanavit. *Inst.* 1.7.1.

²⁹⁹ Sanctus quoque Prosper sedula cura legendus est, qui tres libros totius auctoritatis divinae in centum quinquaginta tribus titulis comprehendit, ad instar piscium quos evangelica retia de huius saeculi tempestuosa profunditate traxerunt. *Inst.* 1.1.7.

³⁰⁰ sanctus quoque Prosper chronica ab Adam ad Gensirici tempora et urbis depredationem usque perduxit. *Inst.* 1.17.2.

Homiliae³⁰¹
 Commentarii in epistulam ad Romanos³⁰²
 Libri X in Canticum Canticorum³⁰³
Athanasius Alexandrinus
 Commentarius in Psalmos (Epistula ad Marcellinum)³⁰⁴
Dydimus
 Fragmenta in Proverbia³⁰⁵
 In epistulas catholicas brevis enarratio³⁰⁶
Victorinus Petaviensis
 De libro Ecclesiastes³⁰⁷
 Commentarii in Apocalypsin Ioannis³⁰⁸
Epiphanius Cyprius (=Philo of Carpasia)
 Ennarratio in Canticum Canticorum³⁰⁹
Bellator
 In Ruth libri II³¹⁰
 Commentarius in libro sapientiae³¹¹

³⁰¹ Item in Octateucho eloquentissimae nimis omeliae sunt Origenis in codicibus tribus. *Inst.* 1.1.8. ; Reliqui etiam vobis praestante Domino, si legere volueritis, omelias praedicti Origenis, id est, in Genesi XVI, in Exodo XII, in Levitico XVI, in Numerorum XXVIII, in Deuteronomio sermones IIII in quibus est minuta nimis et subtilis expositio, in Hiesu Nave XXVI, in Iudicum VIII. In Ruth vero priscas explanationes nequaquam potui reperire, novellas autem virum religiosissimum presbyterum Bellatorem condere persuasi, qui multa de praeconiis huius feminae aliarum que subsequentium duobus libris copiosa laude celebravit; quos libros expositionibus Origenis forsitan competenter adiunxi, ut explanatio totius codicis Octateuchi consummato termino clauderetur. *Inst.* 1.1.9.; Primi siquidem voluminis quattuor omelias Origenis inveni. *Inst.* 1.2.2.; In secundo quoque volumine codicis eiusdem Origenis unam repperi nihilominus omeliam. *Inst.* 1.2.7.; In Paralipomenon autem libro secundo unam tantum omeliam prolixam Origenis inveni. *Inst.* 1.2.11. Hieremiam vero, qui 'civitatis suae ruinas quadruplici flevit alfabeto', quadraginta quinque omeliis Attico sermone Origenes exposuit; ex quibus XIII translatae inveni vobis que dereliqui. *Inst.* 1.3.3. In Cantico Canticorum duabus omeliis expositionem Origenis idem sanctus Hieronymus, Latinae linguae multiplicator egregius, sua nobis consuevit probabili translatione prospexit. *Inst.* 1.5.4.; In Hesdrae vero libris duobus Graeco sermone singulas omelias expositas Origenis inveni, quae eiusdem religiosi viri Bellatoris labore translatae sunt. *Inst.* 1.6.6.

³⁰² Sancti Pauli prima omnium et ammirabilior destinata cognoscitur ad Romanos, quam Origenes viginti libris Graeco sermone declaravit; quos tamen supradictus Rufinus in decem libris redigens adhuc copiose transtulit in Latinum. *Inst.* 1.8.12.

³⁰³ In Cantico Canticorum duabus omeliis expositionem Origenis idem sanctus Hieronymus, Latinae linguae multiplicator egregius, sua nobis consuevit probabili translatione prospexit. *Inst.* 1.5.4.

³⁰⁴ Legendus est etiam libellus Athanasii, Alexandrinae civitatis episcopi, quem Marcellino post aegritudinem in locum refectionis dulcissimae destinavit, qui inscribitur de libro Psalmorum; *Inst.* 1.4.3.

³⁰⁵ In quo libro Didymus expositorem in Graeca lingua repperimus, qui ab amico nostro viro disertissimo Epiphanio in Latinum sermonem diligentissime Domino iuvante translatus est. *Inst.* 1.5.2.

³⁰⁶ Sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistulis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Graeco stilo conscriptus in expositionem septem canonicarum epistularum Domino largiente concessus est; qui ab Epiphanio, viro disertissimo, Divinitate iuvante translatus est. *Inst.* 1. 8.6.

³⁰⁷ de quo libro et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. *Inst.* 1.5.3. This work is not extant today. Cassiodorus also confuses this author with Marius Victorinus.

³⁰⁸ de quo libro et Victorinus saepe dictus episcopus difficilia breviter quaedam loca tractavit. *Inst.* 1.9.2.

³⁰⁹ post quos Epiphanius antistes Cyprius totum librum Graeco sermone uno volumine sub brevitate complexus est. hunc nos ut alios in Latinam linguam per amicum nostrum virum disertissimum Epiphanium facimus Domino iuvante transferri. *Inst.* 1. 5.4.

³¹⁰ in Ruth vero priscas explanationes nequaquam potui reperire, novellas autem virum religiosissimum presbyterum Bellatorem condere persuasi, qui multa de praeconiis huius feminae aliarum que subsequentium duobus libris copiosa laude celebravit; quos libros expositionibus Origenis forsitan competenter adiunxi, ut explanatio totius codicis Octateuchi consummato termino clauderetur. *Inst.* 1.1.9. This work is not extant today.

Commentarius in Tobiae³¹²
 Commentarii in libro Machabees³¹³
 Commentarii in Judith
 Commentarius in Esther³¹⁴
Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers
 Tractatus in Job³¹⁵
 (?)Tractatus super Psalmos³¹⁶
 Commentarius in Euangelium Matthaei³¹⁷
Pope Gelasius³¹⁸
 Annotationes epistolarum tredecim sancti Pauli³¹⁹
Anonymus³²⁰
 Commentarius in XIII epistulas Paulinas³²¹
Joannes Chrysostomus
 In epistulam ad Hebraeos argumentum et homiliae 34³²²
 Homiliae in epistolas ad Corinthios, Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Collosenses³²³
 In Acta Apostolorum homiliae 55³²⁴
Clemens Alexandrinus
 Adumbrationes in epistolas canonicas³²⁵

³¹¹ cuius voluminis expositionem presbyter Bellator octo libris se assumpsisse testatus est; quem cum aliis opusculis eius pariter sustinemus. *Inst.* 1.5.5. This work is not extant today.

³¹² Tobi autem in libris V, Hester in libris VI, Iudith in libris VII et Machabaeorum in libris X expositio in Latinum sermonem praedicti Bellatoris presbyteri, ut praevallet, labore collecta est. *Inst.* 1. 6.4. These books are no longer extant.

³¹³ libri vero Machabaeorum a supradicto amico nostro Bellatore sedula expositione Domino iuvante confecti sunt, ne tam magna lectio inexplanata forsitan linqueretur, quae nobis tot virtutum exempla declaravit. *Inst.* 1.6.6.

³¹⁴ Of these books, Cassiodorus collected only the chapter summaries: Quorum tamen librorum titulos sub brevitate collegi, quando instructionis non minimum creditur esse compendium, res fusas latissime paucis sermonibus indicare; his enim remediis lectoris animus introductus saluberrimam Scripturarum seriem provocatus excurrit. *Inst.* 1.6.5.

³¹⁵ quidam etiam est anonymus, ex cuius stilo beatum esse suspicamur Hilarium, qui commenta libri ipsius conscripsit in ordinem; quae si legatis attonite, poterunt vos diligenter instruere. *Inst.* 1.6.3.

³¹⁶ hunc in quibusdam psalmis et beatus Hilarius et beatus Ambrosius et beatus Hieronymus, in omnibus tamen beatus Augustinus studiose nimis latius quae tractavit; ex quibus iam duas decadas Domino praestante collegi. *Inst.* 1.4.1.

³¹⁷ Mattheum beatus Hieronymus iterum bis binis libris exposuit, quem etiam sanctus Hilarius uno volumine declaravit, de quo et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. *Inst.* 1.7.1.

³¹⁸ Cassiodorus himself admits here that he is suspicious of the author of these Epistles. Alexander Souter discovered their author: they were of Pelagius.

³¹⁹ sed in epistulis tredecim sancti Pauli annotationes conscriptas in ipso initio meae lectionis inveni, quae in cunctorum manibus ita celebres habebantur, ut eas a sancto Gelasio, papa urbis Romae, doctissimi viri studio dicerent fuisse conscriptas: quod solent facere qui res vitiosas cupiunt gloriosi nominis auctoritate defendere. *Inst.* 1.8.1.

³²⁰ Although Cassiodorus writes of this author as Anonymus, Halporn in his translation says that this author is Ambrosiaster. *Inst.* 1.8.2. Halporn, 128,112f.

³²¹ Sed inter has sollicitudines graviter aestuatus, quendam anonymum codicem subnotatum divina repperi provisione collatum, qui tredecim epistulas sancti Pauli non ignobili annotatione tractavit. *Inst.* 1.8.2.

³²² Ad Hebraeos vero epistulam quam sanctus Iohannes Constantinopolitanus episcopus triginta quattuor omeliis Attico sermone tractavit, Mutianum virum disertissimum transferre fecimus in Latinum, ne epistularum ordo continuus indecoro termino subito rumperetur. *Inst.* 1.8.3.

³²³ Commemoratas tamen epistulas a Iohanne Chrysostomo expositas Attico sermone in suprascripto octavo armario dereliqui, *Inst.* 1.8.15.

³²⁴ sed in Actibus Apostolorum sancti Iohannis, episcopi Constantinopolitani, in Graeco sermone commenta repperimus; quae amici nostri in duobus codicibus LV omeliis iuvante Domino transtulerunt. *Inst.* 1.9.1. Latin translation that Cassiodorus mentions is not extant today.

³²⁵ In epistulis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui et Stromatheus vocatur, - id est, in epistula sancti Petri prima, sancti Iohannis prima et secunda, et Iacobi, - quaedam Attico sermone declaravit; ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est. quae nos ita transferri fecimus in

Vigilius AfricanusDe intelligentia mille annorum³²⁶**Tyconius the Donatist**Commentarius in Apocalypsin³²⁷Liber regularum³²⁸**Primasius of Hadrumentum**Commentarius in Apocalypsin³²⁹Quid haereticum facit³³⁰**Adrianus**Isagoge in Scripturas³³¹**Eucherius**Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae³³²**Junilius**De partibus divinae legis ad Primasium³³³**Cassiodorus**De orthographia³³⁴Liber memorialis³³⁵**Josephus Flavius**Antiquitates Iudaicae³³⁶

Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offenculis purificata doctrina eius securior potuisset auriri. *Inst.* 1.8.4. This work is not extant in Greek today.

³²⁶ Vigilius quoque, Afer antistes, de mille annorum intellegentia quae in praedicta Apocalypsin continetur, unde magna quaestio nonnullis oboritur, plenissima et diligenti naratione disseruit. *Inst.* 1.9.2.

³²⁷ Ticonius etiam Donatista in eodem volumine quaedam non respuenda subiunxit, quaedam vero venenosi dogmatis sui fecilenta permiscuit; cui tantum in bonis dictis chresimon, in malis achriston quantum transiens valui reperire, ut arbitror, competenter affixi. quod et vobis similiter in suspectis expositoribus facere suademus, ne lectoris animus fortasse turbetur nefandi dogmatis permixtione confusus. *Inst.* 1.9.3.

³²⁸ Primum est post huius operis instituta ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea repperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, sanctum Augustinum de Doctrina Christiana, Adrianum, Eucherium et Iunilium; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur; qui modos elocutionum explanationis causa formantes per exemplorum diversas similitudines intellegi faciunt, quae prius clausa manserunt. *Inst.* 1.10.1.

³²⁹ nostris quoque temporibus Apocalypsis praedicta beati episcopi Primasii, antistitis Africani, studio minute ac diligenter quinque libris exposita est. *Inst.* 1.9.4.

³³⁰ quibus etiam liber unus Quid faciat hereticum cautissima disputatione subiunctus est: quae in templo Domini sacrata donaria sanctis altaribus offerantur. *Inst.* 1.9.4.

³³¹ Primum est post huius operis instituta ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea repperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, sanctum Augustinum de Doctrina Christiana, Adrianum, Eucherium et Iunilium; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur; qui modos elocutionum explanationis causa formantes per exemplorum diversas similitudines intellegi faciunt, quae prius clausa manserunt. *Inst.* 1.10.1.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Orthographos priscos frequenter relege, quos ego inferius titulo trigesimo, ubi de antiquariis legitur, propter notitiam librariorum utiliter instruendam deflorandos esse iudicavi, et extrinsecus huic libro de Orthographia titulum dedi. *Inst.* 1.15.10.

³³⁵ In memoratis autem Paralipomenon libris duobus, quorum a Patribus magna praedicatur utilitas, qui rerum gestarum notitiam breviter quidem sed plenissime continere noscuntur, quoniam titulos antiquos non repperi, ad praecedentium similitudinem locis singulis, ut aestimo, consequenter impressi, ut qualicumque obsequio sermonis devotionis nostrae qualitas potuisset agnosci. *Inst.* 1.2.13.

³³⁶ ut est Ioseppus, paene secundus Livius, in libris Antiquitatum Iudaicorum late diffusus, quem pater Hieronymus, scribens ad Lucinum Betticum, propter magnitudinem prolixi operis a se perhibet non potuisse transferri. hunc tamen ab amicis nostris, quoniam est subtilis nimis et multiplex, magno labore in libris viginti duobus converti fecimus in Latinum. *Inst.* 1.17.1. Halporn thinks that along with this book, *Contra Apionem*, written also by Josephus Flavius, was bound. See halporn, 149, 188f.

Eusebius CaesariensisHistoria Ecclesiastica³³⁷Canones evangelici³³⁸Chronicon³³⁹**Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret**Historia Tripartita³⁴⁰**Orosius**Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII³⁴¹**Marcellinus Comes**De temporum qualitatibus et positionibus locorum³⁴²Chronicon³⁴³**Gennadius of Marceilles**De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis³⁴⁴Codex from Synod in Chalcedon³⁴⁵Codex from Synod in Ephesus³⁴⁶Encyclia³⁴⁷Septuagint³⁴⁸**Secular writers****Donatus**Ars grammatica³⁴⁹

³³⁷ post haec autem legenda est historia quae ab Eusebio quidem decem voluminibus Graeco sermone conscripta, a Rufino autem cum adiectione temporum quae secuta sunt undecim libris monstratur explicita. *Inst.* 1.17.1.

³³⁸ Eusebius quoque Caesariensis Canones evangelicos compendiosa brevitate collegit, ut in quibus locis communia dicunt, in quibus propria tangunt, verissima distinctione monstraret; ubi quanta est plenitudo fidei, tanto floret et diversorum tractantium doctrina mirabilis. *Inst.* 1.7.2.

³³⁹ Chronica vero, quae sunt imagines historiarum brevissimae que commemorationes temporum, scripsit Graece Eusebius; quae transtulit Hieronymus in Latinum, et usque ad tempora sua deduxit eximie. *Inst.* 1.17.2. Only fragments of this work are extant.

³⁴⁰ post haec autem legenda est historia quae ab Eusebio quidem decem voluminibus Graeco sermone conscripta, a Rufino autem cum adiectione temporum quae secuta sunt undecim libris monstratur explicita. *Inst.* 1.17.1.

³⁴¹ Orosius quoque, Christianorum temporum paganorum que collator, praesto vobis est, si eum legere volueritis. *Inst.* 1.17.1.

³⁴² Marcellinus etiam, quattuor libros de temporum qualitatibus et positionibus locorum pulcherrima proprietate conficiens, itineris sui tramitem laudabiliter percurrit; quem vobis pariter dereliqui. *Inst.* 1.17.1. This work is not extant today.

³⁴³ hunc subsecutus est suprascriptus Marcellinus Illyricianus, qui adhuc patricii Iustiniani fertur egisse cancellos, *Inst.* 1.17.2.

³⁴⁴ sed cum te de memoratis rebus, diligens lector, expleveris, ingenium que tuum divina fuerit luce radiatum, lege librum de Viris illustribus sancti Hieronymi, ubi diversos Patres atque opuscula eorum breviter et honoravit et tetigit: deinde alterum Gennadii Massiliensis, qui idem de scriptoribus legis divinae, quos studiose perquisiverat, certissimus indicavit. hos in uno corpore sociatos dereliqui, ne per diversos codices cognoscendae rei tarditas afferatur. *Inst.* 1.17.2.

³⁴⁵ Calchedonensis autem synodi testis est codex Encyclius, qui eius reverentiam tanta laude concelebrat, ut sanctae auctoritati merito iudicet comparandam. quem codicem, id est totius orbis epistularum, a viro disertissimo Epiphanio fecimus in Latinum de Graeco sermone converti. *Inst.* 1.11.2.

³⁴⁶ et ut vobis in regulis fidei nulla possit nocere subreptio, legite quas habetis in promptu synodum Ephesenam et Calchedonensem necnon et Encyclia. *Inst.* 1.23.4.

³⁴⁷ et ut vobis in regulis fidei nulla possit nocere subreptio, legite quas habetis in promptu synodum Ephesenam et Calchedonensem necnon et Encyclia. *Inst.* 1.23.4.

³⁴⁸ ideo que vobis et Graecum pandectem reliqui comprehensum in libris septuaginta quinque, qui continet quaterniones ---, in armario supradicto octavo, ubi et alios Graecos diversis opusculis necessario congregavi, ne quid sanctissimae instructioni vestrae necessarium deesse videretur. *Inst.* 1.14.4.

Julius Orator (Julius Honorius)

Cosmographia³⁵⁰

Dionysius Periegetes

Pinax mundi³⁵¹

Claudius Ptolemy

Geographia³⁵²

Gargilius Martialis

De hortis³⁵³

Columella

De re rustica³⁵⁴

Aemilianus

Opus agriculturae³⁵⁵

Velius Longus

De orthographia³⁵⁶

Curtius Valerianus

Orthographia³⁵⁷

Papirianus

Orthographia³⁵⁸

Adamantius Martyrius

Grammatica Latina³⁵⁹

Eutyches

Ars de verbo (De aspiratione)³⁶⁰

Phocas

Ars de nomine et verbo³⁶¹

Dioscorides

Herbarium³⁶²

Hippocrates

De herbis et curis³⁶³

³⁴⁹ nobis tamen placet in medium Donatum deducere, qui et pueris specialiter aptus et tyronibus probatur accommodus; cuius gemina commenta reliquimus, ut, supra quod ipse planus est, fiat clarior dupliciter explanatus. *Inst.* 2.1.1.

³⁵⁰ quod vobis proveniet absolute, si libellum Iulii Oratoris, quem vobis reliqui, studiose legere festinetis; qui maria, insulas, montes famosos, provincias, civitates, flumina, gentes ita quadrifaria distinctione complexus est, ut paene nihil libro ipsi desit, quod ad cosmographiae notitiam cognoscitur pertinere. *Inst.* 1.25.1.

³⁵¹ Deinde Penacem Dionisii discite breviter comprehensum, ut quod auribus in supradicto libro percipitis, paene oculis intuentibus videre possitis. *Inst.* 1.25.2.

³⁵² tum si vos notitiae nobilis cura flammaverit, habetis Ptolomei codicem. *Inst.* 1.25.2.

³⁵³ Quod si huius studii requirantur auctores, de hortis scripsit pulcherrime Gargilius Martialis, qui et nutrimenta holerum et virtutes eorum diligenter exposuit, ut ex illius commentarii lectione praestante Domino unusquisque et saturari valeat et sanari; quem vobis inter alios codices reliqui. *Inst.* 1.28.6.

³⁵⁴ sed Columella sedecim libris per diversas agriculturae species eloquens ac facundus illabitur, disertis potius quam imperitis accommodus, ut operis eius studiosi non solum communi fructu sed etiam gratissimis epulis expleantur. *Inst.* 1.28.6.

³⁵⁵ Emilianus autem facundissimus explanator duodecim libris de hortis vel pecoribus aliis que rebus planissima lucidatione disseruit, quem vobis inter alios lectitandum Domino praestante dereliqui. *Inst.* 1.28.6.

³⁵⁶ Sed ne tanto bono mutatis litteris scriptores verba vitiosa permisceant aut ineruditus emendator nesciat errata corrigere, orthographos antiquos legant, id est, Velium Longum, Curtium Valerianum, Papirianum, Adamantium Martyrium de V et B, eiusdem de primis mediis atque ultimis syllabis, eiusdem de B littera trifariam in nomine posita, et Eutychem de aspiratione, sed et Focam de differentia generis; quos ego quantos potui studiosa curiositate collegi. *Inst.* 1.30.2.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Quod si vobis non fuerit Graecarum litterarum nota facundia, in primis habetis Herbarium Dioscoridis, qui herbas agrorum mirabili proprietate disseruit atque depinxit. *Inst.* 1.31.2.

GalenusTherapeutica³⁶⁴**Caelius Aurelius**De medicina³⁶⁵**Marius Victorinus**Commentarius on Euangelium Matthaeum³⁶⁶Explanationum in rhetoricam M. Tullii Ciceronis Libri duo³⁶⁷Introductio in Aristotelis Cathegorias³⁶⁸De syllogismis hypotheticis³⁶⁹Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica³⁷⁰**Cicero**De inventione³⁷¹**Quintilianus**Institutionis Oratoriae Libri XII³⁷²**Fortunatianus**Artis Rhetoricae Libri III³⁷³**Boetius**Commentarii in Librum Aristoteles Peri hermeneias³⁷⁴In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta³⁷⁵(?)De hypothetico syllogismo³⁷⁶(?)Commentaria in Ciceronis Topica³⁷⁷

³⁶³ post haec legite Hippocratem. *Inst.* 1.31.2.

³⁶⁴ post haec legite Hippocratem atque Galienum Latina lingua conversos, id est Tharapeutica Galieni ad philosophum Glauconem destinata, et anonymum quendam, qui ex diversis auctoribus probatur esse collectus. *Inst.* 1.31.2.

³⁶⁵ deinde Caeli Aureli de Medicina et Hippocratis de Herbis et Curis diversos que alios medendi arte compositos, quos vobis in bibliothecae nostrae sinibus reconditos Deo auxiliante dereliqui. *Inst.* 1.31.2.

³⁶⁶ Mattheum beatus Hieronymus iterum bis binis libris exposuit, quem etiam sanctus Hilarius uno volumine declaravit, de quo et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. *Inst.* 1.7.1. This work is not extant today.

³⁶⁷ Haec licet Cicero, Latinae eloquentiae lumen eximium, per varia volumina copiose nimis et diligenter effuderit, et in Arte Rethorica duobus libris videatur amplexus, quorum commenta a Mario Victorino composita <in> bibliotheca mea vobis reliquisse cognoscor: *Inst.* 2.2.10.

³⁶⁸ Categorias idem transtulit Victorinus; cuius commentum octo libris ipse quoque formavit. auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁶⁹ Victorinus de> syllogismis hypotheticis dixit; quindecim quoque species esse definitionum idem Marius Victorinus diligenter edocuit. *Inst.* 2.3.18. This work is not extant.

³⁷⁰ Topica Aristotelis Cicero transtulit in Latinum; cuius commenta prospector atque amator Latinorum Victorinus quattuor libris exposuit. auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18. This work is not extant today.

³⁷¹ libros autem duos Ciceronis de Arte Rethorica et Quintiliani duodecim Institutionum iudicavimus esse iungendos, ut nec codicis excresceret magnitudo et utrique, dum necessarii fuerint, parati semper occurrant. *Inst.* 2.2.10.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Fortunatianum vero, doctorem novellum, qui tribus voluminibus de hac re subtiliter minute que tractavit, in pugillari codice apte forsitan congruenter que redegimus, *Inst.* 2.2.10.

³⁷⁴ quarum rerum definitiones nos breviter intimasse sufficiat, quando in ipso competens explanatio reperitur; maxime cum eum sex libris a Boethio, viro magnifico, constat expositum, qui vobis inter alios codices est relictus. *Inst.* 2.3.11.

³⁷⁵ Isagogen transtulit Victorinus orator; commentum eius quinque libris vir magnificus Boethius edidit. auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁷⁶ Isagogen transtulit Victorinus orator; commentum eius quinque libris vir magnificus Boethius edidit. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁷⁷ *Inst.* 2.3.18. This part is obscure due to different readings, so it is not quite clear whether this work was mentioned by Cassiodorus or not.

Apuleius of Madaura
 Liber Peri Hermeneias³⁷⁸
 (?)De hypotheticis syllogismis³⁷⁹
Tullius Marcellus
 De categoricis et hypotheticis syllogismis³⁸⁰
Porphyrius
 Isagoge³⁸¹
Aristoteles
 Categories³⁸²
 Peri hermeneias³⁸³
 Topica³⁸⁴
Censorinus
 De die natali ad Quintum Caerellium³⁸⁵
 De accentibus³⁸⁶
Gaudentius
 Harmonica Introductio³⁸⁷
Euclides
 (?)Elementa³⁸⁸
Seneca
 De forma mundi³⁸⁹

The books Cassiodorus mentions, has knowledge about, quotes from and looks for

Vergilius

³⁷⁸ Apuleius vero Madaurensis < syllogismos categoricos breviter enodavit; auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁷⁹ *Inst.* 2.3.18. There is a problem here in understanding who was the author of the work *De hypotheticis syllogismis*: Apuleius of Madaura or Boethius.

³⁸⁰ sciendum quoque quoniam Tullius Marcellus Carthaginiensis de categoricis et hypotheticis syllogismis, quod a diversis philosophis latissime dictum est, septem libris caute subtiliter que tractavit,quem codicem vobis legendum reliqui. *Inst.* 2.3.14.

³⁸¹ Isagogen transtulit Victorinus orator; auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁸² Categorias idem transtulit Victorinus; auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁸³ Perihermenias supramemoratus Victorinus transtulit in Latinum; auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁸⁴ Topica Aristotelis Cicero transtulit in Latinum; auctoritatem vero eorum librorum in unum codicem non incompetenter fortasse collegi, ut quicquid ad dialecticam pertinet, in una congestione codicis clauderetur. *Inst.* 2.3.18.

³⁸⁵ invenimus etiam Censorinum, qui ad Quintum Cerellium scripsit de Natalis eius die, ubi de musica disciplina vel de alia parte mathesis non neglegenda disseruit; quoniam utiliter legitur, ut res ipsae penetralibus animae frequenti meditatione condantur. *Inst.* 2.5.1.

³⁸⁶ Censorinus quoque de accentibus qui voci nostrae valde necessarii sunt, subtiliter disputavit, quos pertinere dicit ad musicam disciplinam; quem vobis inter ceteros transscriptum reliqui. *Inst.* 2.5.10. This work is not extant today.

³⁸⁷ qui si forte gentili incursione sublati sunt, habetis Gaudentium, quem si sollicita intentione relegatis, huius scientiae vobis atria patefaciet. *Inst.* 2.5.10.

³⁸⁸ ex quibus Euclidem translatus Romanae linguae idem vir magnificus Boethius edidit. qui si diligenti cura relegatur, hoc quod praedictis divisionibus apertum est manifestae intellegentiae claritate cognoscitur. *Inst.* 2.6.3.

³⁸⁹ unde librum Seneca consentanea philosophis disputatione formavit, cui titulus est de forma Mundi; quem vobis idem reliquimus perlegendum. *Inst.* 2.6.4. This work is not extant today. Courcelle thinks that it was a missing part of the *Naturales Quaestiones*.

Georgicae³⁹⁰

Aeneis³⁹¹

Cassiodorus

Expositio Psalmorum³⁹²

Augustinus

Sermones de vetere testamento³⁹³

Quaestiones V de novo testamento ad Honoratum³⁹⁴

De diversis quaestionibus³⁹⁵

De musica³⁹⁶

Hieronymus

Epistula ad Tranquillino³⁹⁷

Epistula ad Paulino³⁹⁸

Commentarii ad Corinthians, Thessalonians, Colossians, Timothy³⁹⁹

Ambrosius

Expositio Esaiae Prophetae⁴⁰⁰

Annotationes in epistulas Pauli⁴⁰¹

Petrus Abbas Tripolitanus

Commentarius in epistulis St. Pauli ex scriptis S. Augustini concinnatus⁴⁰²

Arusianus Messius

Exempla elocutionum ex Virgilio Sallustio Terentio Cicerone digesta per litteras⁴⁰³

Possidius

Operum S. Augustini elenchus⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁰ quod si alicui fratrum, ut meminit Vergilius, 'Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis', ut nec humanis nec divinis litteris perfecte possit erudiri, *Inst.* 1.28.5.

³⁹¹ genere argumentum est, cum de eodem genere sententia ducitur, ut Vergilius: 'Varium et mutabile semper femina. *Inst.* 2.3.15.

³⁹² constat enim quasi in origine spiritalis sapientiae rerum istarum indicia fuisse seminata, quae postea doctores saecularium litterarum ad suas regulas prudentissime transtulerunt; quod apto loco in expositione Psalterii fortasse probavimus. *Inst.* 1, praef. 6.

³⁹³ dicitur etiam et de septem diebus Genesis septem fecisse sermones, quos sedula cura perquirimus et invenire desideranter optamus. *Inst.* 1.1.4.

³⁹⁴ scripsit etiam quinque quaestiones de novo Testamento ad Honoratum presbyterum, et octoginta tres alias mirifica deliberatione formatas. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

³⁹⁵ scripsit etiam quinque quaestiones de novo Testamento ad Honoratum presbyterum, et octoginta tres alias mirifica deliberatione formatas. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

³⁹⁶ scripsit etiam et pater Augustinus de Musica sex libros, in quibus humanam vocem rithmicos sonos et armoniam modulabilem in longis syllabis atque brevibus naturaliter habere posse monstravit. *Inst.* 2.5.10.

³⁹⁷ in epistula quam scripsit ad Tranquillinum sanctus Hieronymus probabiliter indicavit, ut nec studiosos ab eius necessaria lectione removeat, nec iterum incautos praecipitet ad ruinam. *Inst.* 1.1.8.

³⁹⁸ sicut beatus Hieronymus dicit in epistula quam dirigit ad Paulinum: 'Prosa incipit, versu labitur, pedestri sermone finitur, omnia que legis dialecticae propositione, assumptione, confirmatione, conclusione determinat. *Inst.* 1.6.2.

³⁹⁹ Residuas vero epistulas sancti Pauli - id est, ad Corinthios duas, ad Thessalonicenses duas, ad Colosenses unam, ad Timotheum duas - sanctus Hieronymus dicitur explanasse; unde multa pars scientiae tribuitur, cum proveniret ignorantibus nosse quod quaerant. *Inst.* 1.8.14.

⁴⁰⁰ Dicitur etiam et sanctum Ambrosium Prophetarum commenta eloquii soliti dulcedine confecisse; quae tamen adhuc nullatenus potui reperire. *Inst.* 1.3.6.

⁴⁰¹ dicitur enim et beatum Ambrosium subnotatum codicem epistularum omnium sancti Pauli reliquisse suavissima expositione completum; quem tamen adhuc invenire non potui, sed diligenti cura perquiro. *Inst.* 1.8.10. This work is not extant anymore.

⁴⁰² Post haec vero tria paria quae diximus commentorum, Petrus abbas Tripolitanae provinciae sancti Pauli epistulas exemplis opusculorum beati Augustini subnotasse narratur, ut per os alienum sui cordis declararet arcanum; quae ita locis singulis competenter aptavit, ut hoc magis studio beati Augustini credas esse perfectum. *Inst.* 1.8.9.

⁴⁰³ Regulas igitur elocutionum Latinorum, id est quadrigam Messii, omnimodis non sequaris, ubi tamen priscorum codicum auctoritate convinceris; expedit enim interdum praetermittere humanarum formulas dictionum, et divini magis eloquii custodire mensuram. *Inst.* 1.15.7.

Josephus Flavius
 Bellum Iudaicum⁴⁰⁵
Cyprianus
 De dominica oratione⁴⁰⁶
Paulinus of Nola
 On Theodosius⁴⁰⁷
Prosper
 Epistula ad Rufinum de gratia et libero arbitrio⁴⁰⁸
Victor Martyritanus Afer
 Cassiani collationes partum a mendis Pelagianis purgatae⁴⁰⁹
Diomedes
 Ars grammatica⁴¹⁰
Theoctistus
 Institutio artis grammaticae⁴¹¹
Varro
 Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta⁴¹²
 Novem disciplinae⁴¹³
 De geometria⁴¹⁴
Helenus
 Grammatica⁴¹⁵
Priscianus
 Grammatica⁴¹⁶
Palaemon
 Grammatica⁴¹⁷
Probus
 Grammatica⁴¹⁸
Marcus Plotius Sacerdos

⁴⁰⁴ longum est illius viri singula quaeque memorare, dum de eius opusculis indicatis codex non parvus existat, qui quamlibet dicta ipsius breviter commemoret, tamen in numerosas progressus est paginas lectionum. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁰⁵ qui etiam et alios septem libros Captivitatis Iudaicae mirabili nitore conscripsit, quam translationem alii Hieronymo, alii Ambrosio, alii deputant Rufino; quae dum talibus viris ascribitur, omnino dictionis eximia merita declarantur. *Inst.* 1.17.1.

⁴⁰⁶ nam inter alia quae nobis facundiae suae clara monumenta dereliquit, in expositione orationis dominicae, quae contra subripienda vitia velut invictus clypeus semper opponitur, libellum declamatoria venustate conscripsit. *Inst.* 1.19.

⁴⁰⁷ ille enim scripsit ad divinae legis novum lectorem, qui tamen erat litteris saecularibus eruditus, ut etiam librum de Theodosio principe prudenter ornate que confecerit; *Inst.* 1.21.2.

⁴⁰⁸ qui tamen de libero arbitrio a beato Prospero iure culpatus est, unde monemus ut in rebus talibus excedentem sub cautela legere debeatis. *Inst.* 1.29.2.

⁴⁰⁹ cuius dicta Victor Mattaritanus, episcopus Afer, ita Domino iuvante purgavit, et quae minus erant addidit, ut ei rerum istarum palma merito conferatur; quem inter alios de Africae partibus cito nobis credimus esse dirigendum. *Inst.* 1.29.2.

⁴¹⁰ Diomedem quoque et Theoctistum aliqua de tali arte scripsisse comperimus; qui si inventi fuerint, vos quoque eorum deflorata colligite. *Inst.* 1.30.2.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² scire autem debemus, sicut Varro dicit, utilitatis alicuius causa omnium artium extitisse principia. *Inst.* 2, praef., 4.

⁴¹³ nam et pater Augustinus, hac credo ratione commonitus, grammaticam atque rethoricam disciplinae nomine vocitavit, Varronem secutus; *Inst.* 2.2.17. This work of Varro is lost.

⁴¹⁴ mundi quoque figuram curiosissimus Varro sublongae rotunditati in Geometriae volumine comparavit, formam ipsius ad ovi similitudinem trahens, quod in latitudine quidem rotundum sed in longitudine probatur oblongum. *Inst.* 2.7.4. This work is not extant today.

⁴¹⁵ de quarum positionibus atque virtutibus Graece Helenus, Latine Priscianus suptiliter tractaverunt. *Inst.* 2.1.1.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ sed quamvis auctores temporum superiorum de arte grammatica ordine diverso tractaverint, suis que saeculis honoris decus habuerint, ut Palemon, Phocas, Probus et Censorinus, *Inst.* 2.1.1.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

De Schematibus et Tropis (Artes grammaticae)⁴¹⁹

Cicero

Rhetorica ad Herennium⁴²⁰

Pro Milone⁴²¹

In Catilinam⁴²²

Phillipicae⁴²³

Topica⁴²⁴

Pro Cluentio⁴²⁵

In Pisonem⁴²⁶

Pro Marcello⁴²⁷

In Verrem⁴²⁸

Terentius

Andria⁴²⁹

Martianus Capella

De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii⁴³⁰

Nicomachus of Gerasa

Introductio Arithmetica⁴³¹

Boetius

De arithmetica⁴³²

Clemens Alexandrinus

Protrepticus⁴³³

Alypius

Isagoge⁴³⁴

Euclides

Sectio canonis⁴³⁵

Albinus

Harmonia (De musica)⁴³⁶

⁴¹⁹ schemata sunt transformationes sermonum vel sententiarum, ornatus causa posita, quae ab artigrapho nomine Sacerdote collecta fiunt numero nonaginta et octo; *Inst.* 2.1.2.

⁴²⁰ sed, quemammodum ipse se Cicero emendans in libris de Oratore dicit, translatio inter legales accipi debet status, nam et Fortunatianus ait: Nos 'translationem tantummodo legalem accipimus. *Inst.* 2.2.4.

⁴²¹ Convincibile est quod evidenti ratione convincit, sicut fecit Cicero pro Milone: 'Eius igitur mortis sedetis ultores, cuius vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis. *Inst.* 2.2.13.

⁴²² ostentabile est quod certa rei demonstratione constringit, sicut Cicero in Catilinam: 'Hic tamen vivit. *Inst.* 2.2.13.

⁴²³ exemplabile est quod alicuius exempli comparatione eventum simile comminatur, sicut Cicero in Philippicis. *Inst.* 2.2.13.

⁴²⁴ septima est species definitionis, quam Graeci cata metaphoran, Latini per translationem dicunt, ut Cicero in Topicis: 'Litus est qua fluctus eludit. *Inst.* 2.3.14.

⁴²⁵ duodecima species est definitionis, quam Graeci cata epenon, Latini per laudem dicunt, ut Tullius pro Cluentio: 'Lex est mens et animus et consilium et sententia civitatis' et aliter 'Pax est tranquilla libertas. *Inst.* 2.3.14.

⁴²⁶ Halporn recognised (203, 154f) that Cassiodorus used the quotation from this oration (*Inst.* 2.3.15), although Cassiodorus does not mention the title of it.

⁴²⁷ Halporn recognised (203, 152f) that Cassiodorus used the quotation from this oration (*Inst.* 2.3.15), although Cassiodorus does not mention the title of it.

⁴²⁸ a coniugatis argumentum est, cum declinatur a nomine et fit verbum, ut Cicero Verrem dicit 'ever<r>isse' provinciam. *Inst.* 2.3.15.

⁴²⁹ sententiale est quod sententia generalis adicit, ut apud Terentium: 'Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit. *Inst.* 2.2.13.

⁴³⁰ Felix etiam Capella operi suo de Septem Disciplinis titulum dedit. *Inst.* 2.2.17.

⁴³¹ quam apud Graecos Nicomachus diligenter exposuit. *Inst.* 2.4.7.

⁴³² Halporn thinks (209, 189f) that quotation from 2. 3. 22. is from this Boetius' work.

⁴³³ Clemens vero Alexandrinus presbyter, in libro quem contra Paganos edidit, musicam ex Musis dicit sumpsisse principium, Musas que ipsas qua de causa inventae fuerint, diligenter exponit. *Inst.* 2.5.1.

⁴³⁴ quam apud Graecos Alypius, Euclides, Ptolomeus et ceteri probabili institutione docuerunt; apud Latinos autem vir magnificus Albinus librum de hac re compendiosa brevitate conscripsit, quem in bibliotheca Romae nos habuisse atque studiose legisse retinemus. *Inst.* 2.5.10.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

Apuleius of Madaura
On the elements of harmony⁴³⁷
Claudius Ptolemy
Astronomia⁴³⁸

The books Cassiodorus recommends (without saying he had them)

Ioannes Cassianus
De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principiis vitiorum remediis⁴³⁹
Hilarius
De trinitate⁴⁴⁰
Ambrosius
De fide⁴⁴¹
De officiis ministrorum⁴⁴²
Augustinus
De trinitate⁴⁴³
De vera religione⁴⁴⁴
De agone christiano⁴⁴⁵
Speculum⁴⁴⁶
Retractationes⁴⁴⁷
De haeresibus⁴⁴⁸
Nicetas
Competentibus ad baptismum instructionis libelli VI⁴⁴⁹
Eugippius
Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini⁴⁵⁰

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ fertur etiam Latino sermone et Apuleium Madaurem instituta huius operis effecisse. *Inst.* 2.5.10.

⁴³⁸ De astronomia vero disciplina in utraque lingua diversorum quidem sunt scripta volumina; inter quos tamen Ptolomeus apud Graecos praecipuus habetur, qui de hac re duos codices edidit, quorum unum minorem, alterum maiorem vocavit Astronomum. *Inst.* 2.7.3.

⁴³⁹ Cassianum presbyterum, qui conscripsit de institutione fidelium monachorum, sedule legite et libenter audite, qui inter ipsa initia sancti propositi octo principalia vitia dicit esse fugienda. *Inst.* 1.29.2.

⁴⁴⁰ ad confirmationem igitur fidei nostrae et hereticorum praecavendas insidias legendi sunt tredecim libri beati Hilarii, quos de sancta Trinitate profunda et disertissima nimis oratione conscripsit. *Inst.* 1.16.3.

⁴⁴¹ sancti quoque Ambrosii quos de eadem re ad Gratianum principem multo claros et venuste compositos designavit. *Inst.* 1.16.3.

⁴⁴² Utiles etiam sunt ad instructionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae memorati sancti Ambrosii de Officiis melliflui libri tres, *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁴³ deinde sancti Augustini quindecim libri, quos idem de Trinitate mirabili profunditate conscripsit, curiosa vobis intentione meditandi sunt. *Inst.* 1.16.3.

⁴⁴⁴ Utiles etiam sunt ad instructionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae memorati sancti Ambrosii de Officiis melliflui libri tres, necnon et beati Augustini de Vera Religione liber unus. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁴⁵ item eiusdem liber unus quem de Agone Christiano composuit. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁴⁶ Speculum que nominavit, magna intentione legendus est. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁴⁷ si quis autem dicta sua diligenti cupit examinatione purgare nec incauta temeritate delinquere, duos libros Retractationum sancti Augustini studiosa lectione percurrat. *Inst.* 1.16.4.

⁴⁴⁸ legendus est etiam liber eiusdem, ubi diversas hereses post Epiphanium pontificem compendiosa brevitate complexus est, quando nullius sanae mentis acquiescit ingenium in illas cautes incedere in quas alterum cognoverint pertulisse naufragium. *Inst.* 1.22.

⁴⁴⁹ si quis vero de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto aliquid summatim praeoptat attingere, nec se mavult longa lectione fatigare, legat Nicetae episcopi librum quem de Fide conscripsit, et doctrinae caelestis claritate completus in contemplationem divinam compendiosa brevitate perducitur; *Inst.* 1.16.3.

⁴⁵⁰ Convenit etiam ut presbyteri Eugippii opera necessaria legere debeatis, quem nos quoque vidimus, virum quidem non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum, sed Scripturarum divinarum lectione plenissimum. *Inst.* 1.23.1.

Dionisyus Exiguus
Collectio canonum ecclesiasticorum⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Hos etiam oportet vos assidue legere, ne videamini tam salutare ecclesiasticas regulas culpabiliter ignorare. *Inst.* 1.23.2.

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