

Some Glimpses of Virgil in Late Antiquity

A paper given to the Virgil Society on 27 November 2004

I count myself greatly honoured to be invited to address our Society, to whose existence the late William Francis Jackson Knight drew my attention some forty years ago. ‘J. K.’, as he was invariably known, suggested to students, I recall, that if they could afford to subscribe to just one learned institution, they might consider joining the Virgil Society, the annual subscription to which, I think, then stood at seven shillings and sixpence. I have never regretted taking his advice upon this matter (or indeed upon many other matters). I confess, however, that I appear before you as something of a goose amongst swans, for in this forum we are accustomed to hearing of new insights and of original thought about the life, works and influence of ‘Our Poet’, *Vergilius noster*. What I offer today is more elementary and historical, and so I need to take my stand upon what I may call, in current parlance, the Virgil Society’s mission statement, as declared upon our programme card:

The purpose of the Virgil Society is to unite all those who cherish the central educational tradition of Western Europe. Of that tradition Virgil is the symbol.

I also need to emphasize that the operative word in my title is ‘glimpses’, for my chosen period is one of great internal diversity. I take it to extend from 205 CE, the approximate year of the birth of Plotinus, whose formulation of Neo-Platonism was to prove deeply influential throughout our period and beyond, to 636 CE, when Isidore of Seville, encyclopaedist, educationalist, and last of the Latin Fathers of the Church, died. I do not intend to speak further this afternoon about either of these gentlemen, but this is the period – ‘time within which’, if you like, in the ablative case – during which we shall be taking our ‘glimpses’ of Virgil’s presence in the tradition we cherish.

ROMAN EDUCATION

First, however, in order to set the scene, I should like to attempt a rapid retrospect of Roman educational history.¹ In the early days (roughly from the beginning of the Republic), Roman education was carried out ‘in-house’, or, more precisely, ‘in-home’, for it was chiefly the responsibility of parents to teach children what we might today call ‘life skills’, to prepare them for practical life in agriculture, business, law or government; to produce a certain hardiness of mind and body; and perhaps above all to imbue them with a value system derived from ‘traditional ways’ – the *mos maiorum*. In this overall process, ‘book-learning’ played only a modest, although not insignificant, part.

Matters might have continued thus, perhaps with some gradual evolution, had not, from the mid-third century BCE onwards, the extension of Roman political and military control in various Mediterranean lands exposed the homeland to external, most notably Hellenic, influences. Rapid change curtailed the development of a genuinely autonomous central Italian and Roman civilization and culture. Defenders of the *ancien régime* – for example, Cato – tried to check and even to halt foreign infiltration of literature and manners.² Viewed in retrospect, however, these attempts at isolationism could not possibly succeed. The acquisition of advanced rhetorical skills had become essential for those seeking to gain and to retain positions of influence and power. Such skills could be obtained only by recourse to Greek teachers and models. At first tentatively, schools began to open in the late third century BCE, and took over at least some of the teaching previously given at home. The *grammatistes*, or *litterator*, taught literacy; the *grammaticus* built upon this foundation and taught composition and literary studies; and these in turn prepared pupils for transfer to the *rhetor*, who taught rhetoric – the art of speaking so as to persuade. This is the pattern of education with which Virgil, who was born in 70 BCE, would probably have been familiar. We know also that he underwent at least some of the stages of a rhetorical education, but found it uncongenial.

In the main, ancient education relied heavily upon precept, example, and imitation as the principal means of instruction. The qualities most esteemed in pupils were a good memory and powers of imitation. There was therefore a permanent need for suitable illustrative material, and the classical writers were treated as the *instrumenta studiorum*.³ Initially, only Greek authors were available for this purpose in the schools, but they gradually came to be supplemented or supplanted by early Latin writers: Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius and, most notably, Terence. These then were the kind of authors to be studied and emulated by students of the generation of Varro and Cicero, and later by that of Horace and Virgil.

In about the year 26 BCE, a turning point was reached when Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Cicero’s friend Atticus, decided to relegate earlier authors and to utilize instead contemporary writers – which in practice meant the Augustan poets – to provide the mass of illustrations which the educational system insatiably demanded. By this time, Virgil’s *Eclogues* and *Georgics* had been published (42-40 and 30 BCE respectively) and well received, and work on the *Aeneid* was in full swing. In Propertius’s famous prediction, ‘something greater than the *Iliad* is coming to birth’.⁴ From now on, Virgil’s work would become authoritative for correct morphology (spelling and inflections), vowel quantities (lengths), syntax, usage, and style; and his poetry was destined to become an irremovable gold standard both in his own lifetime and beyond.

THE ΕΙΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

I move now to say a little about the seven liberal arts, the term used to designate the cycle of studies which stems from the Hellenistic programme of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. Although it is etymologically the source of our word ‘encyclopaedia’, the expression ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία certainly did not denote anything encyclopaedic in the sense familiar nowadays, that is, as being concerned with a comprehensive survey of all branches of human knowledge. It was much narrower in its scope, although it was internally diverse and intricate, being intended both to provide a good grounding for freeborn people (hence the Latin name *artes liberales*)⁵ and also to serve as a *gradus ad Parnassum* for those proceeding to more advanced studies⁶. (I suppose we could in today’s parlance translate *artes* as ‘competencies’.) After the usual hesitancy and time-lag which preceded her adoption of Greek institutions, Rome began to embrace the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. The first three subjects to be studied were grammar, which comprised literacy, reading, composition and elementary literary studies, as well as grammar and syntax; rhetoric, the manifold art of speaking so as to persuade; and dialectic, or logic. This third area (which was closely related to rhetoric and was indeed sometimes studied first) included ideas of sameness and difference, classification, and the validity of arguments and of syllogisms. Except perhaps for specialists, ancient works on dialectic may now have a rather desiccated character, but with an effort of the imagination we can recover a sense of the excitement which attended new discoveries. I particularly like the saying of the nineteenth century historian Lecky: ‘Doctrines which the noblest intellects of antiquity could barely grasp have become the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley.’⁷

Virgil’s poems provided a rich source of illustrations for all three of these subjects, which in the early Middle Ages became collectively known as the *Trivium*. The counterpart of the *Trivium* was the *Quadrivium*, a term which, in the form *Quadrivium*, is first found in Boethius.⁸ This group was made up of the mathematical sciences: arithmetic – the study of number and of its properties (rather than of calculation); music – the study of pitch, ratios, intervals and rhythm (rather than of playing an instrument!); geometry; and astronomy. This mathematical quartet was studied at a largely abstract level, and accordingly needed fewer literary illustrations than did the subjects of the *Trivium*. Many Latin writers referred to the seven liberal arts,⁹ and some wrote treatises upon one or more of the individual subjects. Apuleius, for example, produced an ‘Arithmetic’, which was essentially a Latin adaptation of a work of the Neo-Pythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa.¹⁰ Few writers, however, attempted coverage of the whole programme, to expound which in its entirety was an arduous process, requiring exceptional stamina as well as detailed knowledge. It is therefore all the more regrettable that we do not possess Marcus Terentius Varro’s pioneering work *De disciplinis libri novem* – nine because Varro added treatments of architecture and of medicine. Augustine planned a complete survey of the liberal arts, but in the event was able to complete only six books on music and one on grammar (*Retractationes* 1.6).

MARTIANUS CAPELLA

The first complete Latin treatment of the seven liberal arts which we have is that of Martianus Capella, whose work, entitled *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, appeared at sometime between 410 and 440 CE. This work, which Professor Henry Chadwick describes as ‘bizarre and curiously fascinating’,¹¹ is written in alternating prose and verse and consists of nine books, of which the first two in particular have a markedly Neo-Platonic character, possibly reflecting the influence of Porphyry (the pupil,

biographer, and friend of Plotinus) and of Iamblichus the Syrian. They present a framework of pagan myth and allegory in which the study of the seven liberal arts can become a pathway leading to heaven. I have examined the forty-eight references to Virgil's works which have been identified in the edition of Martianus by Adolfus Dick (1925), as revised by Jean Préaux (1969 and 1978). Many of these references are made in order to illustrate the length of vowels, which, in classical and much post-classical poetry, determine the length of syllables and hence the metre and rhythm of the verses; and in order to guarantee the legitimacy of particular grammatical forms. Individually and collectively, these allusions to Virgil's *ipsissima verba* indicate that Martianus Capella treats Virgilian usage as being authoritative and indeed as speaking with finality.

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate how Virgil is regarded as *the* authority, what I have called the irremovable gold standard. Not that Martianus is uncritical. Whilst not averse to alliteration in general, he twice comments adversely upon Virgil's use of the same consonant in consecutive words: *casus Cassandra canebat* (*Aeneid* 3.183; Dick 253.18); and *tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant* (*Aeneid* 5.866; Dick 253.17). I think that in the case of the second example, J. K. might have thought the repeated sibilant to be entirely apposite for expressing the withdrawing tide – compare 'soft sounds the surf upon the sandy shore'.

CASSIODORUS

Cassiodorus compiled another full compendium of the seven liberal arts. Born in the decade 480-490 CE, Cassiodorus presumably underwent the rhetorical education which was by now largely reserved for the élite, and he entered public life, traversing the *cursus honorum* to become the Ostrogothic King Theodoric's *magister officiorum* (Chancellor) from 523 to 527, and later *praefectus praetorii* under Theodoric's daughter Amalasantha from 533 to 537. Justinian was at this time gradually but inexorably regaining control over Italy (his general, Belisarius, would enter Ravenna in 540), and Cassiodorus retired from public life. He founded, on his ancestral estate at Squillace in Calabria, the monastery of Vivarium.¹² Cassiodorus composed for his monks a two-part manual, called the *Institutiones*.¹³ The first part is a guide – essentially an annotated index – to the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers. It contains a (part) verse from the *Eclogues*:

Et (OCT sed) argutos inter strepere anser olores
(*Eclogues* 9.36: *Inst.* 20.23)

and two verses from the *Georgics*:

Sin...
Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis
Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes
(*Georgics* 2.483-5: *Inst* 71.17 and 21)

These two verses are quoted when Cassiodorus discusses the possibility of horticultural occupation for the less academically inclined monks. The second part of the *Institutiones* is a compendium of the seven liberal arts. Cassiodorus considered that the Bible and the works of the Fathers would lose in intelligibility if they were allowed to drift away from what he perceived to be their literary and scientific moorings. So he allows a place for secular studies as a preparation for the *lectio divina*, although he tempers his earlier enthusiasm for them and is careful to legitimate their pursuit

by frequent reference to the Fathers themselves. In his treatment of the seven liberal arts, he draws his *excerpta*, as far as one can see without exception, from Latin authorities.¹⁴

Given the essentially Latin provenance of his manual, one might expect Cassiodorus to avail himself of Virgil to provide illustrative material, particularly in the chapters upon grammar and rhetoric. But here we have a case of the dog which did not bark in the night. Apart from a fleeting reference, in his Introduction, to Virgil as ‘The Poet’ (*Inst.* 92.10), Cassiodorus makes no reference to, and takes no quotations from, Virgil in the course of the chapters upon grammar and rhetoric, the main sources of which are Donatus, Cicero, Quintilian, Fortunatianus, the Auctor ad Herennium, and Marius Victorinus. It is not until we delve deeply into Cassiodorus’s long chapter upon dialectic that we at last encounter a cluster of Virgilian quotations. These arise in the course of a discussion of the classification of Topics (*Divisio Topicorum: Inst.* 125.1-127.9). ‘Topics’ here do not mean (as we usually understand the word) subjects or themes for consideration and discussion: the word means ‘places’ or ‘regions’ (even ‘pigeon-holes’) in which are stocked different types of argument appropriate for various situations. It seems likely that Cassiodorus’s treatment is an adaptation from Book IV of the commentary of the fourth century writer Marius Victorinus on the *Topica* of Cicero. Unfortunately Marius Victorinus’s work is lost, but, thanks to Boethius, who wrote his own book, *De topicis differentiis*, on the same subject, we can have a reasonably clear idea of its contents. Cassiodorus’s examples are all taken from the *Aeneid*.¹⁵

THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURY LATIN LITERATURE

It is now time to emerge from the thickets of philology and to consider some more expressly literary material. The third and, especially, the fourth centuries CE proved to be a long Indian summer for Latin literature. During these centuries, political and military power was transferred, gradually but irrevocably, from a conservative circle of senatorial aristocrats to professional soldiers, many of whom rose from the ranks in distant parts of the Empire. From their commanders came a series of soldier-emperors whose effective resistance against the attempted incursions by barbarian peoples into the Empire’s vast borderlands had the perhaps unintended effect of immunizing from change the senatorial aristocracy and its cherished – and to its upholders most natural – educational system, which, in a serene and almost surreal way, continued largely untouched by contemporary events.

Many cities and large towns retained their schools of grammar and of rhetoric. Notable examples of these centres were those situated at Bordeaux and at Trier. The blithe, generally backward looking, educational programme, in which Virgil was a key exemplar, tended unselfconsciously to provide a stabilizing influence. Offspring of army officers and of court officials recruited from remote reaches of the Danube or from the fogbound Rhineland would find themselves in school, contemplating the properties of subsuperparticular numbers or savouring aberrant uses of the gerund. They would move on to rhetorical figures and tropes, copiously illustrated by Virgilian examples gathered and presented by the tireless grammarians and rhetoricians who abounded in third and fourth century Western Europe. Away from the bustle of army and court, the old aristocracy continued to run their estates. Some landowners became Christian; others did not. But they all shared a common formation provided by classical Latin literature, and above all by the works of Cicero and of Virgil. They quite literally spoke the same language.

This leads me to mention the effects of the decision taken by Constantine and Licinius in 313 CE to declare Christianity a *religio licita*. Nowadays there is a vogue in certain church circles to deplore this intervention, on the grounds that it irreversibly altered the direction and character of the Church. But at the material time the Church did not at all share this view. Indeed, freed at last from liability to persecution, and now entitled to hold property, churchmen lost no time in extending their sphere of influence within a newly favourable political and educational climate. Although some individual Christians were uneasy about the traditional Graeco-Roman educational programme – we may recall Jerome’s unpleasant dream in which he was accused of being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian (*Epistulae* 22.30), from which it took him several years to recover – the Church at large saw no need to propose an alternative scheme of study.

AUSONIUS

A representative figure of this period is Decimus Magnus Ausonius (c. 310 – c.395 CE). For many years he taught grammar and rhetoric at his home city of Bordeaux. Amongst his pupils was the future Emperor Gratian, who in due course appreciatively rewarded his former teacher with a succession of state offices. Ausonius was also a prolific writer: he produced academic works, many letters (which included a correspondence with Paulinus of Nola), and various poems in a variety of metres. Of the latter, perhaps the best known is his poem about the Moselle, the *Mosella*, written in Virgilian hexameters, describing his journey from Vincum (the modern Bingen) on the Rhine to Trier on the Moselle. Charles-Marie Ternes has identified in the *Mosella* numerous reminiscences of, and borrowings from, Virgil.¹⁶ Frequently these allusions are not so much straightforward quotations as adaptations of Virgilian expressions. For example, in *Aeneid* 2.236 f, the Trojans stretch ropes of tow (flax) to the neck of the horse:

stuppea vincula collo / intendunt.

A similar collocation occurs in the *Mosella* (v. 42), where Ausonius writes of the boatmen straining to pull a vessel against the current:

Intendunt collo malorum vincula nautae.

Some more direct borrowings include (v. 381):

Salve magna parens frugumque virumque, Mosella!

recalling *Georgics* 2.173 f:

*Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
magna virum:*

A direct borrowing is found at v. 460:

stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem

recalling *Aeneid* 8.63 (of the Tiber). Thus Ausonius sometimes rearranges a Virgilian collocation of words, and at others borrows directly. After the poem *Mosella* had been completed, Ausonius’s friend Symmachus wrote to him in a letter (*Epistulae* 1.14): *Ego hoc tuum carmen libris Maronis adiungo.*

THE FIFTH CENTURY

With the dawn of the fifth century CE came intensified barbarian incursions. These had the effect *inter alia* of leading members of the educated class, regardless of religious affiliation, to close ranks against alien powers. Tentacular connexions bound together the landed gentry. Maintenance of linguistic rectitude was regarded as being tantamount to moral excellence. We should, however, also recognize that the invaders were not always intent upon conquest for its own sake or upon the usurping of political power: rather, they wished to acquire for themselves what they shrewdly perceived to be the superior economic and cultural benefits enjoyed by Roman citizens. In Peter Brown's felicitous phrase, their incursions were more in the nature of a 'gold rush' from the underdeveloped countries of the north into the rich lands of the Mediterranean.¹⁷ By the year 400 CE, and thanks to, amongst others, the Emperor Gratian, Christianity had in effect become established in, and hence close to, the centres of power in Western Europe. It became natural for aristocrats to gravitate to bishoprics. These residual landed gentry had little difficulty in absorbing episcopacy into their system. It was found that high ecclesiastical office could be assumed without undue disturbance to the way of life of a country gentleman. Indeed, there was a considerable read-across: whether as landed proprietor, *patronus*, or as bishop, *episcopus*, the same person was liable to be called upon to act as local magistrate or arbitrator. So a local landowner might nonchalantly acquire and enter upon a bishopric very much in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. He would not find this an impediment to his continued cultivation of classical learning and enjoyment of Virgil.

As for the more specifically religious side – well, often the duties were not unbearably arduous. For example, the *longueurs* of an all-night vigil could be eased by the prospect of a really good *al fresco* breakfast – a *fête champêtre* – accompanied by readings from Virgil and from other classical poets.¹⁸ Even that most serious of bishops, Augustine of Hippo, would well into middle life read daily half a book of the *Aeneid*, no doubt as a relief from the tiresomeness of determining civil disputes between the relentlessly argumentative citizens of his see and of contesting the teachings of unorthodox theologians.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS

A perhaps not altogether representative example – his life was too eventful – of this type of aristocrat/scholar/bishop is Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 431 – c. 489 CE). Sidonius was one of the beneficiaries of a comprehensive literary education: he reveals detailed acquaintance with Plautus, Terence, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Ausonius, and Claudian. He did not, however, enjoy the tranquil life of a fifth century savant. A bright future seemed assured when he married Papianilla, the daughter of the newly (455) proclaimed Emperor Avitus, and so received the delightful estate of Avitacum (near the present day Clermont-Ferrand in the Auvergne). But after only a year in office, Avitus was deposed. Sidonius supported a soon quelled Gallo-Roman rising, and was fortunate to be pardoned by the incoming Emperor Majorian (Maiorinus), with whom he sought a full rapprochement by addressing to him a panegyric prefaced by a short poem¹⁹ making adroit use of Virgil's First *Eclogue*, which celebrated Octavian's return to Tityrus of land confiscated after the defeat of Brutus in 42 BCE. Turbulent times continued, and in 475, some six years after he had become Bishop of Clermont, Sidonius was sent into exile after a Visigothic incursion under King Euric. He was imprisoned at Lucia (near Carcassonne), from where he wrote a letter (*Epistulae* 8.9), ostensibly addressed to his friend Lampridius, who had had his own land restored to him, but really intended

for the eyes of Euric. Sidonius again resorted to the First *Eclogue* of Virgil, and expressed the fear that this time he might be in the position of the unhappy Meliboeus, who did not regain his requisitioned property. After an anxious wait, Sidonius was allowed to return to Clermont, and to resume possession and enjoyment of his lands.²⁰

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the fifth and sixth centuries CE proceeded, what we might now call the knowledge-base narrowed, and educational standards declined. But this very tendency of downward drift had the effect of inclining the remaining high-level practitioners to display a defiant flamboyance in their accomplishments. Peter Brown again:²¹

When the bishops met on solemn occasions or wrote to one another, the ‘grand style’ rose in them: their smooth flood of phrases, ‘polished as onyx’, would have been as impenetrable to the contemporary outsider as they are now to the modern reader. The letters and *jeux d’esprit* of bishops such as Avitus of Vienne (c. 490-518) and Ennodius of Pavia (513-521), and the rhetoric of the edicts framed by Cassiodorus are typical products of this movement: shorn of their privileges, their wealth curtailed by confiscations, ruled by outsiders, the Senators of the West showed, in a rococo zest for Latin rhetoric, their determination to survive and to be seen to survive.

I have already referred to the small number of Virgilian references in Cassiodorus’s *Institutiones*. One is left with the uneasy feeling that, at least in mid and later life, Cassiodorus may not actually have possessed a copy of Virgil’s works. It is notable that in his *Index Auctorum* to his very careful edition of the *Institutiones*, Sir Roger Mynors obelizes works ‘whose presence [at Vivarium] is certain or virtually so’. No such sign appears by Virgil’s name. It is difficult to resist Pierre Courcelle’s observation:²²

This absence of direct contact with the classical masterpieces, this lack of perspective, this want of a historical sense, is one of the gravest signs of decadence. The best minds could not resist. They meditated, not on the texts, but on the commentaries, on which they in turn produced commentaries. From commentary to commentary, thought thinned out and degenerated.

It is clear that by now we are in a world of imitations, commentaries, summaries, illustrations, examples. But, notwithstanding the generally low level of new or creative thought in the late fifth and sixth centuries, the very accumulation of vast amounts of literary material ensured that at some time in the future there would be firm foundations upon which to build. I have not spoken of Martin, Bishop of Bracara (Braga), or of Isidore, Bishop of Seville, but I read a paragraph from Étienne Gilson:²³

These modest writings particularly fostered the sentiment, so lively in the Middle Ages, of a community of culture which bound the Christians, over and above their own origins, to the best that classical antiquity had ever produced. Cassiodorus is seldom if ever read now, though that charming spirit still gives pleasure; Isidore is consulted only out of curiosity, and for the verification of references; Martin of Bracara is no more than a name familiar to a few specialists; but those who know what rôle those supporters of a civilization in ruins played in their time still preserve a grateful memory of them.

To the authors named in Gilson's graceful tribute could be conjoined Ausonius, Martianus Capella, Salvian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudianus Mamertus, Boethius, and many others. Variable as their writings were in originality and erudition, their deep regard for classical writings, including the poetry of Virgil, helped to keep aglow the study of secular letters in seventh and eighth century Europe, and then to rekindle it at the Carolingian Renaissance.

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NOTES

- 1 Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford, 1926) includes a valuable survey of the early period.
- 2 A. Gwynn, *op. cit.*, chapter III.
- 3 I recall the delightful story of the classics teacher who beamed at his class, saying, 'Pupils, this term we have the inestimable privilege of studying Sophocles's masterpiece, the *Oedipus at Colonus*, which you will find to be a veritable treasure-house of grammatical peculiarities.'
- 4 Propertius, *Elegies* 2.34.65 ff. Propertius enthused similarly over the forthcoming *Thebaid* of Ponticus (*Elegies* 1.7.1-3).
- 5 Seneca *Epistles* 88.2.
- 6 For a useful survey, see H. I. Marrou, *St Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938) 187-275 and especially 211-235.
- 7 W. H. E. Lecky, *History of European Morals* (1869) ii. 3. I owe this reference to Dr James Shiel.
- 8 Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica*, ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867) 7, 25 and 9, 28.
- 9 H. I. Marrou, *loc. cit.*
- 10 Apuleius is credited with producing a Latin version of the *Introductio arithmetica* of Nicomachus of Gerasa (ed. R. Hoche, Leipzig, 1866).
- 11 H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981) 21.
- 12 A pleasing pen picture of Vivarium may be found in George Gissing's atmospheric memoir *By the Ionian Sea* (1901, republished London, 1956).
- 13 *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, edited from the manuscripts by R.A.B. Mynors (revised edition, Oxford, 1963). References are to the page and line numbers of this edition.
- 14 J.R.S. Mair, 'A Manual for Monks: Cassiodorus and the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία' in *Journal of Theological Studies* New Series xxxi Part 2 (1980) 547-551.
- 15 The correspondences are noted by Mynors, *Inst.* 125.1-127.9.
- 16 C.-M. Ternes, *Mosella; La Moselle* (Paris, 1972).
- 17 Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London, 1971) 122.
- 18 *ibid.* 130
- 19 *Poem IV* (Preface to the Panegyric to Majorian, *Poem V*).
- 20 Robert E. Colton has made an careful and interesting study of correspondences between Bishop Sidonius and the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (*Some Literary influences upon Sidonius Apollinaris*, Amsterdam 2000). I do not know whether he intends to take his investigation any further but, if he does not, a study of Sidonius's borrowings from the *Aeneid* might form a good project for an M. Phil. thesis!
- 21 P. Brown *op. cit.* 130 f.
- 22 P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources* (Cambridge, Mass. 1969, E. T. by H. E. Wedeck of *Les Lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (2nd edition Paris, 1948) 414.
- 23 É. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955) 108.