

PAULINUS OF NOLA AND VIRGIL

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by

P.G. Walsh

During the past twenty years there has developed a remarkable concentration of interest amongst British scholars on the political, religious and literary history of the later fourth century, and the importance of Paulinus of Nola in this period is increasingly recognised. He cannot of course claim the degree of attention merited by the intellectual giants Jerome and Augustine, both well served by biographers writing in English within the past few years.¹ Paulinus' importance resides not in theological originality or scholarly learning put at the service of the Church. Rather he is a central figure in a remarkable phenomenon of the social history of the period, the abandonment of state service by natural leaders of society in favour of a vocation to the Christian Church. The truth stated negatively by Edward Gibbon, that the fall of the western Empire was attributable to 'the triumph of barbarism and religion', has been expressed more positively in recent years by Momigliano;² in the late fourth century the western Church emerges as the rival of the state in attracting into its service the highly educated and socially prominent men which the state could ill afford to lose. Nor was this the whole story. Once they became apologists for Christianity many of these men proclaimed that commitment to Christ could not be reconciled with a career in the world, and they urged their acquaintances to abandon the secular concerns which they claimed impeded the path to salvation.

It is in this sense that Paulinus is a key figure of the age — a leading exemplar of the talented and literate men who decided to espouse monastic Christianity and to war on the secular world of Rome. Born about 355 into a senatorial family of millionaire landowners near Bordeaux, he benefited by the patronage of his friend Ausonius at the court of the western emperor Gratian, and became successively suffect consul and governor of Campania while still in his middle twenties. When he settled back as an Aquitanian landowner with a Spanish wife Therasia about 383, he appeared to be conforming to the conventional career-pattern and life-style of the Gallic magnate. But what we must assume was a combination of family crises and external influences (notably the example set by Martin of Tours and Victricius of Rouen) led him to contemplate more deeply the demands of the Christianity into which he had been born. With his wife Therasia he retired to Spain to seek a life of seclusion during the years 389-394. The celebrated correspondence with Ausonius documents Paulinus' deepening commitment during these five years. After a long-awaited child, Celsus, was born but died within a few days of birth, the parents decided to retire together into monastic life at Nola near Naples; Paulinus' family had property in the neighbourhood, and during his governorship of Campania he had refurbished the shrine of the saint to whom he showed lifelong devotion, St Felix. There they established a community in which Paulinus remained until his death in 431, living through the depredations of the barbarians, by one group of whom he was for a time imprisoned.³ The site of his monastic foundation at Cimitile, a mile outside Nola, has been excavated.⁴

Fifty-one letters and thirty poems have survived Paulinus, virtually all written during his years in Italy and earlier in Spain between 389 and 409.⁵ These writings illustrate the extraordinary simplicity and singlemindedness of Paulinus' hostility to the secular world of Rome. Hardly anywhere does he acknowledge the desirability of a stable, properly administered political order. Only when he expresses relief at the repulse of a barbarian invasion does any enthusiasm for the survival of Rome manifest itself.⁶ He is totally intent on rescuing those with ears to hear from the corrupting influences of Roman society, and he urges his acquaintances to withdraw themselves from positions of political and military responsibility. Three facets of life in the secular world are singled out for his censure — ambition for office, fondness for wealth, and attachment to the traditional literary culture. It is this last which is of particular concern in this paper. In the ideological battle between Christians and pagans which reached its height in the 380s, the defiant challenge of Roman senators led by Symmachus rested on the traditionalism of Roman religious and patriotic sentiment embodied in the Classical writers. Paulinus seeks to have such writers wholly excluded from the purview of the committed Christian because in his eyes they represent a challenge for men's hearts and minds.

Such rigid condemnation of Classical letters had enjoyed a vogue among some western Christians since Tertullian had demanded: 'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?'⁸ From our vantage-point much innocent pleasure can be derived from observing the ambivalent attitudes of educated Christians towards the poets and prose-writers who had shaped their patterns of thought and modes of expression. It is not merely that different Christians took different attitudes, so that a Lactantius is more receptive than a Tertullian, or a Prudentius more favourable than a Paulinus. Sometimes the same individual shows himself schizoid on the question. We would listen to St Ambrose more respectfully when he tells us that the sacred scriptures can supply fully all our needs⁹ if we were not happily aware that his treatise on the duties of priests, the *De Officiis Ministrorum*, is unashamedly structured after the *De Officiis* of Cicero. We would be more impressed with St Jerome's declared resolve to have no truck with Classical literature, on the occasion of the famous dream in which at the Judgment Seat he was denounced with the words 'Ciceronianus es, non Christianus', if he had not explained in a subsequent letter how Classical literature can be pressed into the Lord's service. In a striking image Jerome compares profane learning to the captive maiden in the Book of Deuteronomy whose blemishes must be removed before she becomes worthy to be a bride; in the same way, once all that is idolatrous, lustful, false and pleasurable is purged from Classical literature, it can beget servants for Christ.¹⁰ This justification for secular studies, that they aid Christians to understand the true nature of the world as revealed by the divine scriptures and that they may serve as an ancillary in education, remains standard for western Christians until the Carolingian age and after.

No such ambiguities or self-contradictions on the value of Classical literature can be adduced from the writings of Paulinus. Nowhere do we find him conceding the value which Jerome attaches to it, even though he had enjoyed in earlier life a high reputation as a poet of traditional cast. Once he has retired from Aquitania after 389 his attitude becomes totally uncompromising. When his aged friend Ausonius begs him to return to Bordeaux so that they may resume together their literary pursuits, Paulinus explains that he now considers his earlier days to have been wasted on 'the emptiness of leisure and business' and on 'the fictions of literature'. The light of Christ's truth 'is blinded by the clever faculties of philosophers, the skill of rhetoricians, the inventions of poets'. These are 'empty enthusiasms' which belief in a future life must expunge. A true Christian believer will not address poems to non-existent deities like the Castalian Muses.¹¹ Similar sentiments are expressed to correspondents by Paulinus from Nola. He addresses a prose-letter and a poem to his kinsman Jovius, an enthusiast for Classical learning, in which he tries to divert his relative toward study of and composition on sacred themes.¹² Jovius is being urged to follow Paulinus' own example and to abandon the study of secular philosophy and literature.

In Paulinus' eyes, then, the Roman cultural tradition is an integral part of the corrupt secular world which he rejects, and Classical literature is alien to the Christian's concerns. Shortly after arrival at Nola, he writes a letter of self-introduction to Augustine at Hippo, in which he begs for instruction in the Christian life and rejects his previous studies: 'Up to now in my wretchedness I have admired the world's wisdom, and in God's eyes I have been foolish and dumb through my useless writing and depraved knowledge.'¹³ In another letter to Romanianus, an African friend of Augustine, he illustrates a point with a passing reference to the *Adelphi* of Terence, and at once feels constrained to apologise: 'Why should I speak in the language of foreigners, when our own store is adequate for everything, and to speak the language of strangers is not the act of a sane mind?'¹⁴ In yet another letter addressed to his closest friend, the Sulpicius Severus famed as the author of the *Vita S. Martini*, he makes another literary allusion to the Fury Allecto and her activities as described in *Aeneid* 7, and once again feels obliged to apologise: 'Please do not blame me for quoting a poet whom I do not now read, and for appearing to break my resolution in this respect.'¹⁵ Finally, in a letter to another Aquitanian friend Aper, who followed Paulinus' example in renouncing secular distinction for the monastic life, he writes: 'Let the litterateurs keep their literature, the philosophers their philosophy, the rich their wealth, the princes their kingdoms. Our glory, property and kingdom is Christ.'¹⁶ The revealing feature of this statement is that the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome are joined with the wealth and trappings of power of the contemporary world for summary rejection. Paulinus does not vacillate on this matter of the rejection of Classical literature as so many of his contemporaries do.

This uncompromising rejection of Classical poetry raises interesting problems for the student of Paulinus' poetry, because here he seems to be parading his intimate knowledge of Classical letters, especially Virgil. Hartel in his edition of the *Carmina* of Paulinus catalogues no fewer than 350 echoes of Virgil, and it has been easy for later scholars to add to the list.¹⁷ Why, if Paulinus would have Virgil proscribed from the reading of Christians, are the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* brought so frequently to the reader's consciousness?

A part of the answer has been signalled by Christine Mohrmann,¹⁸ Paulinus writes in the Virgilian manner because he is the victim of his traditional Roman education; the writings of Ausonius are the clearest index to the nature of that education at Bordeaux. Paulinus must have memorised most of Virgil in his formative years. So a great number of the Virgilian echoes occurring in his religious poetry have no subtle function of evocation or reminiscence. The phrases well up as required from his well-stocked mind.

But this does not seem to me to be the whole story, and in this paper I wish to develop the thesis that Paulinus deliberately evokes Virgil for a variety of purposes. The key question is the nature of the audience to which his poetry is addressed. Four poems are sent to Classical enthusiasts. Two are epistles to Ausonius, most Virgilian of Aquitanians; one is a poem of exhortation urging his kinsman Jovius to abandon his enthusiasm for Classical philosophy and to turn to Christian studies; and one is sent to Licentius, the young African friend of Augustine, in an attempt to divert him from a secular career at Rome. In these four compositions the Virgilian echoes are a *captatio benevolentiae*. Paulinus explains his own commitment, and his aspirations for the future commitment of his friends, in evocations which have significance for them. So in the poem to Jovius, when he urges his kinsman to renounce Classical studies in favour of Christian Learning, he deploys the phrase by which Virgil signals the greater importance of *his* new theme in the second half of the *Aeneid* – ‘maior rerum tibi nascitur ordo’.¹⁹ He bids Jovius study the biblical account of creation and to reject the falsehoods of Classical mythology which demean him as representative of humankind:

nec te ceu lapides Pyrrhae argillamque Promethei
contemnas . . .

This is an echo of a phrase in *Eclogue* 6, ‘hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos furtumque Promethei’.²⁰ Paulinus goes on to claim that if Jovius agrees to follow this advice to espouse Christian themes, he will be a truly inspired poet, divine in a sense to which Mopsus the *divinus poeta* of *Eclogue* 5 cannot aspire:-

tunc te divinum vere memorabo poetam
et quasi dulcis aquae potum tua carmina dicam . . .

Virgil, it will be remembered, has

tale tuum nobis carmen, divine poeta,
. . . quale per aestum
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.²¹

The verse-letter to Licentius was sent as an enclosure with a prose-epistle to the young man’s father Romanianus, and in the works of Paulinus it therefore appears not amongst the poems but with the prose-letters. Paulinus deliberately addresses Licentius in verses because the young man fancied himself as a budding poet and respected Paulinus’ reputation as a literary eminence. The poem begins with an evocation of an incident in *Aeneid* 4 in which Aeneas is commanded by Mercury to abandon Carthage and to seek his true destiny: ‘heia age, rumpe moras . . .’ The words are strikingly adapted by Paulinus to press upon Licentius the need to pursue *his* true destiny:

quare age, rumpe moras et vincla tenacia saeculi.²²

Paulinus exploits a second Virgilian line in exhorting Licentius to avoid the slippery course of military service:

et repetens iterum iterumque monebo
ut fugias durae lubrica militiae.²³

Paulinus reassures Licentius, using the metaphor of the evangelist Matthew, that Christ’s yoke is sweet and His burden light; then he extends the biblical image of the horse with a reminiscence of *Georgics* 3, where Virgil instructs on training a young pony to the bridle (‘inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris’). The young Licentius should allow himself to become Christ’s willing horse:

‘quid retrahis fera colla iugo? mea sarcina lenis
suave iugum.’ Christi est vox pia: cred deo,
et caput adde iugis, da mollibus ora capistris.²⁴

The verses sent to Ausonius likewise embody a host of Virgilian echoes. In the first of the two poems Paulinus tries to explain the depth of his new commitment in one such evocation. Previously he had been content to live the nominal Christianity to which Ausonius too professed allegiance, and which had allowed them to live untroubled Roman lives in the secular world. But now a more profound spirit is at work in his mind:

nunc alia mentem vis agit, maior deus,
aliosque mores postulat.

The expression *maior deus* might strike us as bizarre in a Christian poet were we not aware that Paulinus is thinking of the lines in *Aeneid* 12 where the healer Iapyx exclaims that Aeneas' wound has been cured by divine agency:

non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proveniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextera servat;
maior agit deus, atque opera ad maiora remittit.²⁵

An Ausonius would mentally complete the phrase of Paulinus, would realise that Paulinus' God *opera ad maiora remittit*.

The second of these verse-letters to Ausonius is devoted to the theme of friendship, with Paulinus attempting to demonstrate to his friend that Christian affection (*caritas Christiana*) runs deeper than the secular notion of *amicitia* on which ancient philosophers lay such emphasis. As so often in his poems of Christian witness, he handles a theme to which pre-Christian writers attach particular importance and attempts to impart to it a deeper Christian vision. For Christian friendship, physical presence is not necessary; as limbs of the same body Christians are always one in heart and mind, transcending not only geographical isolation but even death itself. So after comparing himself to the wayfaring tree and Ausonius to the cypress so far as poetic talent is concerned ('aequas viburna cupressis' he says in imitation of Virgil's 'inter viburna cupressi'),²⁶ he expresses his undying friendship with an echo also of *Eclogue* 1:

Prius ipsa recedet
corpore vita meo quam vester pectore vultus

in imitation of Virgil's

... quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.²⁷

II

So far I have been suggesting that when Paulinus writes for enthusiasts of Classical poetry he deploys Virgilian evocation to lend his arguments persuasion through the voice which they recognise and love. But Classical poetry is evoked in other poems also, a fact which forces us to examine more generally the question of the audience for whom he writes. My own conviction is that all his poems written after his conversion are in their various ways weapons in the ideological battle, that their purpose is to reinforce the commitment of Christian friends and to proselytise amongst those who had not declared themselves. Even the *Natalicia*, the thirteen birthday poems which he wrote for the feast of St Felix each year on January 14, have this ultimate purpose. It is true that there is good evidence that these poems were declaimed to pilgrims who visited Nola on the feastday, but many of this local audience, whom in one poem he describes whiling away the vigil in joking and heavy drinking, or trooping round the buildings open-mouthed on the day itself, were scarcely the ideal recipients of his elegant verses. So it does not surprise us to discover these poems being later despatched to literary friends in Gaul, where they were doubtless copied and circulated.²⁸

So the poems are directed at an educated audience, and it should not surprise us to observe frequent evocation of Virgil in the *Natalicia*. Perhaps the most sustained reminiscence is in Poem 14, the theme of which is the busy scene at the shrine on the annual feastday. Huge contingents gather from all parts of Campania and Latium:-

... quos moenibus altis
dives habet Capua et quos pulchra Neapolis aut quos
Gaurus alit, laeta exercent qui Massica, quique
Ufentem Sarnumque bibunt, qui sicca Tanagri

quique colunt rigui felicia culta Galaesi,
 quos Atina potens, quos mater Aricia mittit . . .
 quos Praeneste altum, quos fertile pascit Aquinum,
 quosque suburbanis vetus Ardea mittit ab oris
 quique urbem liquere Cales geminamque Teanum,
 quam gravis Auruncus vel quam colit Apulus asper . . .

In this catalogue which extends over many more lines, most of the names are taken over from the 'Gathering of the Clans' passage at the close of *Aeneid* 7, interspersed with towns mentioned in the *Georgics*. It is quite clear from various echoes that our attention is being drawn to the gathering of Turnus' forces in *Aeneid* 7, for Virgil likewise speaks of *Atina potens* and of *mater Aricia*. Moreover Virgil too juxtaposes Cales and the Aurunci ('quos de collibus altis/ Aurunci misere patres Sidicinaque iuxta/ aequora, quique Cales linquunt') and mentions several of the towns, rivers and mountains introduced by Paulinus.²⁹ If we ask ourselves what motive Paulinus had in evoking this assemblage of Turnus' forces, the answer surely is that he wishes to accentuate the contrast. The contingents under Turnus gather for bloodshed and war; the Christian communities in Paulinus' poem come together in harmony for prayer.

Poem 13, the second in the series of yearly *Natalicia* and the first to be composed on the soil of Nola, celebrates the arrival of Paulinus and his party at the shrine of St Felix. Paulinus models the theme of pilgrimage and arrival at his true *patria* after the trials and final arrival of Aeneas, a motif which has been harnessed through the centuries up to the autobiography of Ronald Knox, *A Spiritual Aeneid*. Like Aeneas, Paulinus has made his way to Italy by sea: he tells his patron St Felix

et maria intravi duce te . . .
 . . . liceat placati munere Christi
 in statione tua placido consistere portu.
 hoc bene subductum religavi litore classem.
 in te compositae mihi fixa sit anchora vitae.

These lines are a composite of Virgilian phrases describing Aeneas' progress to Italy. Early in *Aeneid* 6 Aeneas prays to Apollo and recounts his journeying: 'tot maria intravi duce te'; for Paulinus St Felix takes on the role of Apollo. Already in *Aeneid* 1 Aeneas in his dialogue with Venus has described his earlier trials on the deep — 'erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti'. Paulinus takes over the line, but combines the physical waves with the metaphorical billows of the secular world. Finally the language of arrival is an evocation of *Aeneid* 7, where Aeneas ties up on the bank of the Tiber ('gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem'). The development of this image of permanent arrival in Paulinus' poem should be noted; not only has he tied up but he prays that the anchor of his ordered life, the life of monasticism, may be implanted in Felix.³⁰

Poem 26 of Paulinus was composed for January 402, shortly after Alaric's invasion of Italy, and in his exordium Paulinus claims that whatever the hazards from the invading barbarians he will never cease to hymn the annual feast of St Felix:-

ecce dies nobis anno revoluta peracto
 inlustrem revehit Felicis nomine lucem . . .
 hunc ego si Geticis agerem male subditus armis
 inter et inmites celebrarem laetus Alanos,
 et si multiugae premerent mea colla catenae,
 captivis animum membris non iungeret hostis,
 pectore non vincto calcaret triste superba
 servitium pietas.

Here Paulinus identifies his devotion to his spiritual father Felix with Aeneas' determination to celebrate his father Anchises' anniversary whatever the privations and hazards. At the beginning of *Aeneid* 5, on the day following the Trojans' arrival in Sicily, Aeneas addresses his followers and reminds them of the anniversary of Anchises' death:-

Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis . . .
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest quem semper acerbum
semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo.
hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
exsequer . . .³¹

Poem 19 of Paulinus is notable for Virgilian evocation of a rather different kind, reminiscences which fortify Paulinus' condemnation of the excesses of pagan religious cults. A prominent theme of this poem is Felix as *patronus* of Nola, and this patronage and protection enjoyed by the inhabitants is set in a world-wide frame. Every country now has its Christian saint to watch over its welfare, and in each district pagan cults are being supplanted by the Christian faith. The devil struggles to retain his hold by preserving such pagan worship, but he is everywhere frustrated. Satan in the poem is invested with the *persona* of Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, with her 'nomina mille/ mille nocendi artes'. Paulinus provides a Euhemerist explanation for Satan's thousand names:

qui genus humanum per nomina mille deorum,
quae tamen ex obitis mortalibus et sibi sumpsit
ipse, suisque dedit coluber, quatit arte nocendi.³²

In the same book of Virgil Allecto visits Amata and infects her with *furor*; she initiates a Bacchic orgy in company with the Laurentian matrons, *euhoie Bacche fremens*. So too in Paulinus' poem this phrase appears in a context in which pagan ritual is contrasted with Christian worship in its din and violence and drunkenness:-

in quibus insanos dabat ebria turba tumultus,
'euhoie Bacche' sonum fractis imitantur anhelii
vocibus . . .³³

Paulinus is, so to say, enlisting the support of Virgil in condemning the violence of some of the cults with which Christianity still grapples in his day. But the general tone of the poem is optimistic in its stress on the changed situation introduced by Christianity. In his review of the regions in which pagan rites are being expelled, Paulinus claims that in Phrygia Cybele is no longer consoled by castrated Galli, and Mount Ida's chaste hill now brings forth on her serene summit virgin pines:-

(ut) . . . et tandem castis fronderet montibus Ida
intactas referens securo vertice pinus.

The phrase 'intactas pinus' is puzzling till we recall that in the Fathers the pine and the fir are symbols of holy men. 'The pine' writes Paulinus in another poem 'is a type of the eternal body – beautiful, living, fruitful, tall, fragrant and flowering.'³⁴ The virgin pines are the consecrated virgins which Mount Ida now produces for Christ. But Paulinus remembered that Virgil too told of pines which became maidens. In *Aeneid* 10 the ships of Aeneas, fashioned from the pines of Ida, and now transformed into nymphs, greeted Aeneas on his return from Etruria to Laurentum, and warned him of the impending danger from Turnus:-

nos sumus Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus,
nunc pelagi nymphae, classis tua . . .³⁵

So Paulinus here by this evocation suggests that Mount Ida now produces not Virgilian nymphs but Christian virgins. Like many Western Christians of his time, Paulinus accords a high importance to consecrated virginity, so that this is a characteristic piece of fourth-century elaboration.

III

In these birthday-poems, then, Paulinus depicts himself on occasion as an *Aeneas Christianus* who after physical and moral hazards attains his true Italian home, who piously observes the anniversary of his adopted father, and who condemns the *furor* of religious fanaticism. But there is another type of poem essayed by him in which Virgilian evocation has a different function. One of Paulinus' poems can be categorised as scriptural epic; Poem 6, entitled *Laus Sancti Ioannis*, is an encomium of John the Baptist, and in essence versification of the first chapter of Luke's gospel. In this genre of scriptural epic, Paulinus had an influential predecessor in Juvencus, who conflated the content of the four gospels in his life of Christ entitled *Libri Evangeliorum Quattuor*. In this poem Juvencus pioneered the exploitation of Virgilian diction and metre in the interests of Christian apologetics.³⁶ Paulinus continues in the tradition. It is important to visualise this Virgilian treatment of sacred themes within the general strategy of his poetic purposes. As is well known, an important stumbling-block to acceptance of Christian claims by educated non-Christians was the rude style of the Christian documents, as literary men like Tertullian and Augustine attest. Romans trained in the traditional Classical literature could be most effectively attracted to the biblical claims if these were presented in Classical garments.

A detailed consideration of the totally Virgilian flavour of the *Laus Sancti Ioannis* – the artistic division into and interlinking of episodes, the formal speeches, the use of Virgilian language and metrical variation – would demand a separate paper. I content myself with the illustration of one striking reminiscence. In his poem Paulinus describes the two visits of the Archangel Gabriel recorded by Luke, the first to Zachary, father of John the Baptist, and the second to the Virgin Mary. After he has delivered his message to Zachary, he returns to heaven, and the formula of departure is:-

haec ait, et tenues elabitur ales in auras.

After the visit to Mary, the departure is signalled in a similar line:-

dixerat, et visus pariter terrasque reliquit.

It will be remembered that when in *Aeneid* 4 Mercury is bidden by Jupiter to descend to Carthage and to urge Aeneas on his way, the formula of departure is:-

mortales visus medio sermone reliquit,
et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.³⁷

It is not Paulinus' intention to present Gabriel as merely a Mercury, but rather to depict him as a divine messenger in the different framework of Christian belief. As in the evocations of Virgil noted in the poems to Classical enthusiasts earlier in this paper, such parallels are a *captatio benevolentiae*, an attempt to sugar a pill which pagan contemporaries found unpalatable.

I should like to conclude this paper by returning to the problem with which it was introduced – namely the intransigent attitude Paulinus adopts towards Classical literature in the prose letters vis-à-vis the many striking evocations of Virgil and other poets in his poetry. If Paulinus is embarrassed to be found quoting Virgil or Terence because he considers these writers to be alien to committed Christianity, why does he parade and exploit Virgil so blatantly?

At the heart of the explanation lies the Classical doctrine of creative imitation. When the Virgilian thoughts and words are exploited in a different frame for a different message they cease to belong to the alien culture exclusively. It is not the form and language of Virgil to which Paulinus takes exception but the political and social fabric which it supports, the oppressed sense that Virgil represents a rival ideology. The words, the techniques can be baptised, and pressed into service for a Christian purpose. In Augustine's phrase, Christians must carry away the gold and silver vessels of her enemies and employ them for their own uses.³⁸

NOTES

1. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967); J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome, his Life, Writings and Controversies* (London 1975).
2. A. Momigliano (ed.), *Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963), ch.1.
3. The fundamental modern work on Paulinus' career is P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris 1949). There is a useful account in English by W.H.C. Frend, 'The Two Worlds of Paulinus of Nola' in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J.W. Binns (London 1974), ch.4.
4. For an attempt to reconcile the results of the excavations by G. Chierici with the descriptions of the buildings in Paulinus' writings, see R.C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola* (Amsterdam 1940).
5. Text edited by W. von Hartel in CSEL 29 and 30 (Vienna 1894); translations by P.G. Walsh in ACW 35-6 (prose-letters) and 40 (poems) (Paramus, N.J. 1966/7 and 1975).
6. See *Carm.* 21.1ff., composed shortly after Stilicho's victory over the Ostrogoths at Faesulae in August 406.
7. It was in 384 that the overwhelmingly non-Roman Senate sought to have the Altar of Victory restored. Paulinus' decision to abandon political life and ultimately the secular world must be seen against this backcloth.
8. *Praescr.* 7; cf. *Apol.* 46.
9. Cf. *Off.Min.* 2.2; *De excessu fratris Satyri* 2.30.
10. Jerome, *Epp.* 22 and 70.
11. *Carm.* 10.19ff. (393 AD).
12. *Ep.* 16 and *Carm.* 22 (both c. 400 AD).
13. *Ep.* 4 (395 AD).
14. *Ep.* 7 (396-7 AD).
15. *Ep.* 22 (?399 AD).
16. *Ep.* 38 (c. 400 AD).
17. See G.B.A. Fletcher, *Mnem.* 3 (1934), 208ff.; R.P.H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola* (Brussels 1971), 103; R.B. Healy, *The Carmina Natalicia of Paulinus of Nola* (unpublished diss. Univ. of W.Australia, 1975), 299f.
18. *Etudes sur le latin des Chrétiens I* (Rome 1961), 151ff.
19. *Aen.* 7.44 (cf. *Ecl.* 4.5); *Carm.* 22.11.
20. *Ecl.* 6.41 and *Carm.* 22.45.
21. *Carm.* 22. 157f. and *Ecl.* 5.45ff.
22. *Ep.* 8.1 (396-7 AD) and *Aen.* 4.569.
23. *Ep.* 8.11f., the first line appearing *vertatim* at *Aen.* 3.435.
24. *Ep.* 8.27ff. and *Georg.* 3.188.
25. *Carm.* 10.29f.(393 AD) and *Aen.* 12.426ff.
26. *Carm.* 11.37 (394 AD) and *Ecl.* 1.25.

27. *Carm.* 11.47 and *Ecl.* 1.63.
28. For indications that the poems were recited at Nola, see *Carm.* 18.62ff. and 19.385ff.; Fabre (n.3), 342. For the unlettered visitors see *Carm.* 27.542ff. The evidence for such poems being sent to Gaul is at *Ep.* 28.6.
29. *Carm.* 14.55ff. and *Aen.* 7.647ff. See the comments of Fabre (n.3), 361f., and Green (n.17), 42.
30. *Carm.* 13.14 and 33ff.; *Aen.* 6.59, 1.333, 7.106.
31. *Carm.* 26.1f., 22ff.; *Aen.* 5.45ff. This correspondence was first noted by Healy (n.17).
32. *Carm.* 19.159ff. and *Aen.* 7.337.
33. *Carm.* 19.280ff. and *Aen.* 7.389.
34. *Carm.* 21.306ff.
35. *Carm.* 19.89f. and *Aen.* 10.230f.
36. See P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris 1947), 470ff.; C. Witke, *Numen Litterarum* (Leiden 1971), 199ff.
37. *Carm.* 6.84 and 132; *Aen.* 4.276f.
38. *De doct. Christ.* 2.40.