

Cassiodorus on the Role of Language and Culture in Divine and Secular Learning

Thorsten Fögen

A. The character of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*

1. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 1:

Nisus sum cum beatissimo Agapito papa urbis Romae ut, sicut apud Alexandriam multo tempore fuisse traditur institutum, nunc etiam in Nisibi civitate Syrorum Hebreis sedulo fertur exponi, collatis expensis in urbe Romana professos doctores scholae potius acciperent Christianae, unde et anima susciperet aeternam salutem et casto atque purissimo eloquio fidelium lingua comeretur.

The critical edition of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* used here is that of Mynors (1963); English translations quoted here follow Halporn & Vessey (2004), with some minor modifications.

2. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 1:

per quos (sc. libros), sicut aestimo, et Scripturarum divinarum series et saecularium litterarum compendiosa notitia Domini munere panderetur – minus fortasse disertos, quoniam in eis non affectata eloquentia sed relatio necessaria reperitur. Utilitas vero inesse magna cognoscitur, quando per eos discitur unde et salus animae et saecularis eruditio provenire monstratur.

See also the preface to his *De orthographia* (Gramm. Lat. 7.144 Keil):

deinde post institutiones, quem ad modum divinae et humanae debeant intellegi lectiones, duobus libris, ut opinor, sufficienter impletas, ubi plus utilitatis invenies quam decoris.

On the conventions of ancient prefaces see in particular Janson (1964) and Fögen (2009: esp. 26–34); Santini, Scivoletto & Zurli (1990–1998) offer a useful collection of proems to Latin technical writings, accompanied by detailed analyses. On *utilitas* see Fögen (2009: index rerum, s.v. “Nützlichkeit”) and Fögen (2015: 275). Pronay (2014: 13–18) makes some good observations on the style and literary level of the *Institutiones*.

3. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 2:

Quapropter, dilectissimi fratres, indubitanter ascendamus ad divinam Scripturam per expositiones probabiles Patrum velut per quandam scalam visionis Iacob, ut eorum sensibus provecti ad contemplationem Domini efficaciter pervenire mereamur. Ista est enim fortasse scala Iacob, per quam angeli ascendunt atque descendunt, cui Dominus innititur, lassus porrigens manum et fessos ascendentium gressus sui contemplatione sustentans.

“Therefore, beloved brothers, let us ascend without hesitation to Holy Scripture through the excellent commentaries of the Fathers, as if on the ladder of Jacob’s vision so that, lifted by their thoughts, we are worthy to arrive at full contemplation of the Lord. For commentary on Scripture is, as it were, Jacob’s ladder, by which the angels ascend and descend; on which the Lord leans, stretching out his hand to those who are weary, and support the tired steps of those ascending by granting them contemplation of Him.”

See Fögen (2011: 450):

“As can be observed in many prefaces to ancient technical treatises, several authors strive to demonstrate their rhetorical skills and transcend the narrow boundaries of a simple style. Vitruvius, for example, adds a carefully composed proem to each of the ten books of his *de Architectura* and uses these texts to display his intimate knowledge of the principles of good style. More importantly, he intersperses his prefaces with anecdotes which are employed to support his self-presentation as a true expert on technical matters, but also as a morally responsible writer (...). Elevated style is thus used to support a series of programmatic statements; it is by no means *l’art pour l’art* or introduced for the mere sake of the edification and entertainment of the reader. (...)”

4. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.4.3:

Psalterium est enim quaedam caelestis sphaera stellis densa micantibus, et, ut ita dixerim, quidam pavo pulcherrimus qui velut oculorum orbibus et colorum multiplici et decora varietate depingitur; paradisus quin etiam animarum, poma continens innumera quibus suaviter mens humana saginata pinguescat.

“For the Psalter appears like a heavenly sphere thick with twinkling stars and, so to speak, like a beautiful peacock that is adorned with round eyes and a rich and lovely variety of colours. The psalter is indeed a paradise for souls, containing numberless fruits on which the human soul is sweetly fed and fattened.”

5. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 1:

Cum studia saecularium litterarium magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem, ita ut multa pars hominum per ipsa se mundi prudentiam crederet adipisci, gravissimo sum, fateor, dolore permotus ut Scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent, cum mundani auctores celeberrima procul dubio traditione pollerent.

See also further down in the same paragraph:

(...) ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsus, ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos Domino praestante conficerem.

6. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 1:

In quibus non propriam doctrinam sed priscorum dicta commendo, quae posteris laudare fas est et praedicare gloriosum, quoniam quicquid de priscis sub laude Domini dicitur, odiosa iactantia non putatur.

7. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 2:

Quocirca, si placet, hunc debemus lectionis ordinem custodire, ut primum tyrones Christi, postquam psalmos didicerint, auctoritatem divinam in codicibus emendatis iugi exercitatione meditentur, donec illis fiat Domino praestante notissima, ne vitia librorum impolitis mentibus inolescant, quia difficile potest erui, quod memoriae sinibus radicum constat infigi.

8. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 3:

Quapropter, carissimi fratres, postquam se milites Christi divina lectione compleverint, et frequenti meditatione firmati cognoscere coeperint loca librorum oportune nominata, tunc huius operis instituta quispiam fortasse non inaniter transit, ubi legenda sunt his duobus libris aptissime suis locis et breviter indicantur.

9. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 4:

Ferunt itaque Scripturas divinas veteris novique Testamenti ab ipso principio usque ad finem Graeco sermone declarasse Clementem Alexandrinum cognomento Stromateum et Cyrillum eiusdem civitatis episcopum et Iohannem Chrysostomum, Gregorium et Basilium, necnon et alios studiosissimos viros quos Graecia facunda concelebrat. Sed nos potius Latinos scriptores Domino iuvante sectamur, ut quoniam Italis scribimus, Romanos quoque expositores commodissime indicasse videamur. Dulcius enim ab unoquoque suscipitur quod patrio sermone narratur (...).

10. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 3:

Eoque provenit ut studiosi cognoscant, a quibus Latinis expositoribus singula quaeque declarata sunt. Quod si aliquid in eisdem neglegenter dictum reperit, tunc quibus lingua nota est a Graecis explanatoribus quae sunt salubriter tractata perquirant, quatenus in schola Christi neglegentiae tepore sublato vitalis agnitio flammatis mentibus inquiratur.

11. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 5:

Moderamini ergo, studiosi fratres, sapienter desideria vestra, per ordinem quae sunt legenda discentes, imitantes scilicet eos qui corpoream habere desiderant sospitatem. Nam qui sanari volunt, a medicis quaerunt quas escas primum, quas secunda refectio percipiant, ne tenuissimas vires debili membrorum oneret potius quam reficiat confusa voracitas.

“Therefore, brothers eager for learning, wisely moderate your desires, and in imitation of those who desire to gain health of the body, let us learn what is to be read in proper order. For those who want to be cured ask the doctors what foods they should take first, what refreshment they should take next, so that an indiscriminate appetite does not tax rather than restore the failing strength of their weakened limbs.”

12. Arrangement of Book 2 of the *Institutiones*:

Seven chapters on the secular *artes* (65 pages in Mynors’ critical edition, excluding preface and conclusion): grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy

Arrangement of the *artes* in **Martianus Capella**:

grammar (Book 3), dialectic (Book 4), rhetoric (Book 5), geometry (Book 6), arithmetic (Book 7), astronomy (Book 8), harmony (Book 9)

Cassiodorus himself did not have direct access to Martianus’ work and knew it only from hearsay (*Inst.* 2.3.20).

Arrangement of the *artes* in **Isidore of Seville**:

grammar (Book 1), rhetoric and dialectic (Book 2), arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy (Book 3)

13. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 6:

Constat enim quasi in origine spiritalis sapientiae rerum istarum indicia fuisse seminata, quae postea doctores saecularium litterarum ad suas regulas prudentissime transtulerunt (...).

14. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1 praef. 9:

Illud quoque credidimus commonendum, sanctum Hieronymum simplicium fratrum consideratione pellectum in Prophetarum praefatione dixisse, propter eos qui distinctiones non didicerant apud magistros saecularium litterarum colis et commatibus translationem suam, sicut hodie legitur, distinxisse. Quod nos quoque tanti viri auctoritate commoniti sequendum esse iudicavimus, ut cetera distinctionibus ornentur. (...).

On Jerome as Cassiodorus’ model: *Inst.* 1.12.4.

On *cola* and *commata*: Bürsgens (2003 [vol. 1]: 56–58, 108–109 n. 31), with further references.

15. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2 praef. 2:

*Sciendum est plane quoniam frequenter, quicquid **continuum atque perpetuum** Scriptura sancta vult intellegi, sub isto numero comprehendit (...). Merito ergo ibi semper commemoratur, ubi perpetuum tempus ostenditur.*

“It must be clearly understood that often Sacred Scripture uses the number seven to mean **continuous and perpetual**. (...) Rightly therefore it is always used there where perpetual time is to be understood.”

See also Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.28.3–4:

Verumtamen nec illud Patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur, quia non exinde minimum ad sacras Scripturas intellegendas sensus noster instruitur. Si tamen, divina gratia suffragante, notitia ipsarum rerum sobrie ac rationabiliter inquiratur, non ut in ipsis habeamus spem proventus nostri, sed per ipsa transeuntes desideremus nobis ‘a Patre luminum’ proficuum salutaremque sapientiam debere concedi. (...). Multi iterum Patres nostri talibus litteris eruditi et in lege Domini permanentes ad veram sapientiam pervenerunt (...).

16. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2 praef. 3:

Sic arithmetica disciplina magna laude dotata est, quando et rerum opifex Deus dispositiones suas sub numeri, ponderis et mensurae quantitate constituit, sicut ait Salomon: ‘Omnia in numero, mensura et pondere fecisti.’ (...).

See also *Inst.* 1.6.2 on dialectic having its origin in the holy scriptures:

Quanta enim liber ille (i.e. the Book of Job) continet suavia sacramenta verborum, sicut beatus Hieronymus dicit in epistula quam dirigit ad Paulinum: ‘Prosa incipit, versu labitur, pedestri sermone finitur, omniaque legis dialecticae propositione, assumptione, confirmatione, conclusione determinat.’ Quod si ita est – nec aliter esse potest quam quod tanti viri celebrat auctoritas –, ubi sunt qui dicunt artem dialecticam ab Scripturis sanctissimis non coepisse?

17. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2 praef. 3:

Quapropter operae Dei singulares atque magnificae necessaria definitione conclusae sunt, ut, sicut eum omnia condidisse credimus, ita et quemammodum facta sunt aliquatenus disceremus. Unde datur intellegi malas operas diaboli nec pondere nec mensura nec numero contineri, quoniam quicquid agit iniquitas, iustitiae semper adversum est (...).

“Therefore each wonderful work of God is bounded by an indispensable limit. Since we believe that God created everything, we may to a certain extent learn how things are made. We are given to understand that the evil works of the devil are not defined by weight, measure and number, since the result of injustice is always the opposite of justice (...).”

B. Language and culture in Book 1 of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*

18. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.1.1 on Eustathius’ Latin translation of Basilios’ Greek exegesis of the Book Genesis:

Qui usque ad hominis conditionem novem libros tetendit, ubi et caeli et terrae naturam, aeris et aquarum vel creaturarum paene omnium qualitates aperuit, ut quod in auctoritate brevitatis studio praetermissum est, tractatum latius minutissime atque clarissime disceretur.

See also the following paragraph (*Inst.* 1.1.2) on Augustine:

Nam et pater Augustinus, contra Manicheos duobus libris disputans, ita textum Genesis diligenter exposuit, ut paene nihil ibi relinquere probaretur ambiguum (...).

19. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.1.3:

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

“St. Ambrose, a lucid and pleasant teacher, wrote six books on this subject in his usual eloquent style and called the work *On the Six Days of Creation*.”

20. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.1.4 on Augustine’s treatise *De modis locutionum*:

Scriptis etiam de modis locutionum septem alios mirabiles libros, ubi et schemata saecularium litterarum et multas alias locutiones Scripturae divinae proprias, id est, quas communis usus non haberet, expressit, considerans ne compositionum novitate reperta legentis animus nonnullis offensionibus angeretur (...).

21. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.12.2 on Jerome:

Sciendum est plane sanctum Hieronymum ideo diversorum translationes legisse atque correxisse, eo quod auctoritati Hebraicae nequaquam eas perspiceret consonare. Unde factum est ut omnes libros veteris Testamenti diligenti cura in Latinum sermonem de Hebreo fonte transfunderet, et ad viginti duarum litterarum modum qui apud Hebreos manet competenter adduceret (...).

22. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.23.2 on Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470–c. 550):

qui tanta Latinitatis et Graecitatis peritia fungebatur, ut quoscumque libros Graecos in manibus acciperet, Latine sine offensione transcurreret, iterumque Latinos Attico sermone relegeret, ut crederes hoc esse conscriptum, quod os eius inoffensa velocitate fundebat.

23. Production of exegetical works through the favour and help of God:

See e.g. *Inst.* 1.1.4 on Augustine (*Domino largiente*), 1.3.1 on Jerome (*Christo Domino largiente*), 1.3.5 on Jerome (*Domino largiente*), 1.5.2 on Epiphanius (*Domino iuvante*), 1.6.6 on Bellator (*Domino iuvante*), 1.9.1 on his friends (*iuvante Domino*), 1.16.4 on Augustine (*indulgentia divina*), 1.17.2 on Marcellinus Illyricus (*Domino iuvante*), 1.17.3 on *doctissimi viri* (*divina inspiratione ... praestante Domino*), 1.18 on Hilarius of Poitiers (*praestante Deo*), 1.19 on Cyprian (*Domino praestante*), 1.20 on Ambrosius (*gratia divinitatis*), and 1.21.1 on Jerome (*Domino praestante*).

Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.4.2:

*A quo, ut fieri solet, mutuans lumen de lumine, aliqua de ipso Domino largiente conscripsi (...). Ubi nullam causam digressiva relatione miscuimus, sed in vicem annotationum breviter de singulis locis diximus, quod textus ipsius qualitas expetebat. Quem si aliquis dignatus fuerit post tales viros fortasse relegere, cognoscet, sicut et alii Patres sententia indubitata dixerunt, de Scripturis divinis emanasse quod doctores saecularium litterarum ad sua studia postea transtulerunt. Quae nos, ut se locus attulit, **Domino iuvante** quantum valuimus (ni fallor) ostendimus.*

“And, as one draws light from light, so with the Lord’s bounty, I have written drawing on him (sc. Augustine) (...). In this work I have not disturbed the Psalm text under discussion by straying from the subject, but in place of glosses I have stated briefly on each passage as the nature of the text itself demands. If anyone perchance deigns to read this work after reading such great commentators he will understand (as the other Fathers also unassailably claimed) that Sacred Scripture is the source of what the teachers of secular letters afterwards transferred to their field. I have (if I am not mistaken) demonstrated this as occasion arose to the best of my ability **with the Lord’s aid.**”

In Book 1, further references to Cassiodorus enjoying God’s support can also be found in *Inst.* 1.1.9 (*praestante Domino*), 1.3.1 (*Domino praestante*), 1.3.3 (*Domino iuvante*), 1.4.1 (*Domino praestante*), 1.5.4 (*Domino iuvante*), 1.5.7 (*iuvante Domino*), 1.8.2 (*quendam anonymum codicem subnotatum divina repperi provisione collatum*), 1.8.6 (*Domino largiente*), 1.8.8 (*Christo largiente*), 1.8.14 (*Domini miseratione*), 1.10.3 (*Domino iuvante*), 1.21.2 (*Domino largiente*), 1.26.1 (*praestante Domino*), 1.31.2 (*Deo auxiliante*), and 1.33.4 (*adiutorio dominicae gratiae*). See also Bürsgens (2003 [vol. 1]: 50 with n. 172).

24. Translators referred to in *Inst.* 1:

- **Epiphanius** translated Didymus’ Greek exegesis of the Book of Proverbs as well as other texts into Latin (*Inst.* 1.5.2, 1.5.4, 1.8.6, 1.11.2, 1.17.1).
- **Mutianus** rendered John Chrysostom’s Greek treatment of the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Inst.* 1.8.3).
- **Bellator**, who also produced commentaries on several works (*Inst.* 1.1.9, 1.5.5, 1.6.6), translated Origenes’ homilies of the Books of Ezra (*Inst.* 1.6.6).

Cassiodorus on the Latin translation of the commentaries on the canonical letters of the Apostles by Clement of Alexandria (*Inst.* 1.8.4):

*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 Latinum, ut **exclusis quibusdam offendiculis purificata doctrina eius securior potuisset audiri.***

25. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.15:

a) Specific phrases or *idiomata* (*Inst.* 1.15.2):

In primis igitur idiomata Scripturae divinae nulla praeseumptione temeretis, ne cum ad intellectum communem quae dicta sunt trahere cupitis (quod absit) caelestium verborum puritas dissipetur. Idiomata enim legis divinae dicuntur propriae locutiones, quas communis usus non habere cognoscitur, ut est illud: ‘Secundum innocentiam manuum mearum’, vel ‘De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat’ – ‘Auribus percipe lacrimas meas’ (...). Haec et his similia, quae nimis probantur esse numerosa, licet communis usus refugiat, tamen ne dissimulari liceat, auctoritas illa procul dubio sancta commendat.

On the ancient debate on linguistic norms: Siebenborn (1976) and Fögen (1998)

b) Hebrew proper names and toponyms (*Inst.* 1.15.3):

Hebrea vero quaedam nomina hominum vel locorum nulla declinatione frangatis; servetur in eis linguae suae decora sinceritas. Illas tantum litteras commutemus, quae vocabuli ipsius possunt exprimere qualitatem, quoniam interpretatione nominis sui unum quodque eorum magno sacramento rei alicuius constat appositum, ut est Seth, Enoch, Lamech, Noe, Sem Cham et Iafeth, Aaron, David et his similia. Locorum autem nomina, ut est Sion, Choreb, Geon, Hermon vel his similia, pari devotione linquamus.

c) Ambiguous words (*Inst.* 1.15.4):

Tertio res quae in bono et in malo ponuntur non sunt ullatenus temerandae, ut 'mons', 'leo', 'cedrus', 'catulus leonis', 'clamor', 'homo', 'fructus', 'calix', 'vitulus', 'pastor', 'thesaurus', 'vermis', 'canis' et his similia. Nec illa nomina mutanda sunt, quae pro aliis nominibus apponuntur, ut: 'Satanas' qui a recto calle discedit – 'manus lavare' significat non esse participem (...). Ista enim ab expositoribus nobis aperienda desideremus; non aliquid eorum sacrilega voluntate truncemus.

d) Linguistic patterns contradicting usage (esp. *Inst.* 1.15.5–7):

Inst. 1.15.5: *Nec illa verba tangenda sunt, quae interdum contra artem quidem humanam posita reperiuntur, sed auctoritate multorum codicum vindicantur. Corrumpi siquidem nequeunt, quae inspirante Domino dicta noscuntur, ut est: 'Obliti non sumus te', et illud 'Viri sanguinum et dolosi' – 'Fabricatus est templum' et 'Radetur caput suum' (...).*

Inst. 1.15.6: *Et quoniam interdum casus generaque nominum vel temporum humanis regulis nequeunt convenire, sed tamen eorum usum ecclesiasticus consensus amplectitur, duorum vel trium priscorum emendatorumque codicum auctoritas inquiratur (...).*

Inst. 1.15.7: *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 eloqui custodire mensuram. (...) Istud enim inter humanas dictiones convenit praecaveri; in divinis autem eloquiis tales compositiones nullatenus accusantur. Maneat ubique incorrupta locutio quae Deo placuisse cognoscitur, ita ut fulgore suo niteat, non humano desiderio carpienda subiaceat. Haec enim et simplices suaviter instruit, et doctos pro sua reverentia decenter oblectat.*

e) The high degree of responsibility of anyone correcting sacred or other texts (*Inst.* 1.15.15):

Considerate igitur qualis vobis causa commissa sit, utilitas Christianorum, thesaurus ecclesiae, lumen animarum. Studete ergo ne qua remaneat in veritate mendositas, in puritate falsitas, in integritate perversitas litterarum.

“Consider, therefore, the sort of case entrusted to you, the benefit of Christians, the treasury of the Church, the enlightenment of souls. See carefully to it, therefore, that no error is left in the truth, no falseness in the purity, and no scribal mistake in the corrected text.”

26. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.16.1:

Intuemini, sodales egregii, quam mirabilis, quam dulcis in Scripturis divinis decurrit ordo dictorum, desiderium semper excrescens, satietas sine fine, esuries gloriosa beatorum, ubi nimietas non arguitur sed magis importunitas crebra laudatur – merito, quando et notitia rerum salutarium inde discitur, et credentibus atque eadem operantibus aeterna vita praestatur. Praeterita sine falsitate describunt, praesentia plus quam quod videntur ostendunt, futura quasi iam perfecta narrantur: ubique in eis veritas regnat, ubique divina virtus irradiat, ubique panduntur humano generi profutura.

See also Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.16.2:

Istas siquidem litteras non ratio humana repperit, sed hominibus sanctis virtus caelestis infudit; quas tunc bene datur intellegi, quando eas vera et utilia praedicare mens devota crediderit. Quid enim in illis litteris utilitatis et suavitatis non invenies, si purissimo lumine mentis intendas? Lectio cuncta virtutum est, verbum non inaniter cadens, nec tardat effectus quod promittit affatus, oboedientibus conferens aeternam salutem, superbis restituens perenne supplicium.

27. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.31.2:

Quod si vobis non fuerit Graecarum litterarum nota facundia, in primis habetis Herbarium Dioscoridis, qui herbas agrorum mirabili proprietate disseruit atque depinxit. Post haec legite Hippocratem atque Galienum Latina lingua conversos, id est, Therapeutica Galieni ad philosophum Glauconem destinatas, et anonymum quendam, qui ex diversis auctoribus probatur esse collectus. Deinde Caeli Aureli de Medicina et Hippocratis de Herbis et Curis diversosque alios medendi arte compositos, quos vobis in bibliothecae nostrae sinibus reconditos Deo auxiliante dereliqui.

C. Language and culture in Book 2 of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*

28. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2 praef. 5:

*Nec illud tacebimus, quibus auctoribus tam Graecis quam Latinis quae dicimus exposita claruerunt, ut qui studiose legere voluerint, quibusdam **compendiis** introducti lucidius maiorum dicta percipiant.*

See Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (vol. 1), Hannover 1913 (repr. Darmstadt 1995), 1343 (s.v. 'compendium'):

'Ersparnis als Gewinn, Vorteil, Profit' ('saving' leading to an advantage or profit), 'Ersparnis als Abkürzung der Zeit, Arbeit', and 'der abgekürzte Weg, kürzere Weg' ('shorter way or route')

See also *Inst.* 2.1.3 with regard to grammar:

*Haec **breviter** de definitionibus tantummodo dicta sufficiant. Ceterum qui ea voluerit **latius pleniusque** cognoscere, cum praefatione sua codicem legat, quem de grammatica feci arte conscribi, quatenus diligens lector invenire possit, quod illi proposito deputatum esse cognoscit.*

29. Cassiodorus on the focus and objectives of grammar (*Inst.* 2.1.1):

Grammatica vero est peritia pulchre loquendi ex poetis illustribus auctoribusque collecta; officium eius est sine vitio dictionem prosalem metricamque componere; finis vero elimatae locutionis vel Scripturae inculpabili placere peritia.

"Grammar is the skill of speaking stylishly gathered from famous poets and writers; its function is to compose prose and verse without fault; its purpose is to please by the impeccable skill of polished speech or writing."

30. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2.1.1:

Sed quamvis auctores temporum superiorum de arte grammatica ordine diverso tractaverint, suisque saeculis honoris decus habuerint, ut Palaemon, Phocas, Probus et Censorinus, 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.

31. Cassiodorus on rhetoric (*Inst.* 2.2):

a) Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2.2.1:

Orator igitur est vir bonus dicendi peritus, ut dictum est, in civilibus quaestionibus. Oratoris autem officium est apposite dicere ad persuadendum.

Quintilian is explicitly connected to the ideal of the *vir bonus* in *Inst.* 2.2.10. On Cicero's and Quintilian's postulate of the ethical integrity of the orator, see Fögen (2000: 151–152), with further references.

b) Sources – all available in the library at Vivarium (*Inst.* 2.2.10):

Cicero's *De inventione*, Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, the later commentaries by Marius Victorinus, and Gaius Chirius Fortunatianus' *Ars rhetorica*

c) Recommendation of Marius Victorinus' treatise (*Inst.* 2.2.10):

Fortunatianum vero, doctorem novellum, qui tribus voluminibus de hac re subtiliter minuteque tractavit, in pugillari codice apte forsitan congruenterque redegimus, ut et fastidium lectori tollat et quae sunt necessaria competenter insinuet. Hunc legat qui brevitatis amator est. Nam cum opus suum in multos libros non tetenderit, plurima tamen acutissima ratiocinatione disseruit.

d) Topics discussed (among others) in *Inst.* 2.2:

- the five parts of rhetoric (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria* and *pronuntiatio*)
- its three main genres (*genus demonstrativum, deliberativum* and *iudiciale*)
- the status theory
- the six parts of a speech (*exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio* and *conclusio*)
- the principles of argumentation

e) Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2.2.16:

Memoratus autem Fortunatianus in tertio libro meminit de oratoris memoria, de pronuntiatione et voce, unde tamen monachus cum aliqua utilitate discedit, quando ad suas partes non improbe videtur attrahere, quod illi ad exercendas controversias utiliter aptaverunt.

“Fortunatianus, who was previously mentioned, in his third book discusses the orator’s memory, delivery, and vocal quality. A monk derives from this book, however, a certain profit, when he is seen to appropriate for his task, without reproach, the techniques that they developed to suit their debates.”

32. Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2.3.11 on Aristotle’s *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (*De interpretatione*):

Nomen est significativa secundum placitum sine tempore, cuius nulla pars est significativa separata, ut Socrates. Verbum est quod consignificat tempus, cuius pars nihil extra significat, et est semper eorum quae de altero dicuntur nota, ut cogitat, disputat. Oratio est vox significativa, cuius partium aliquid separatum significativum est, ut Socrates disputat. Enuntiatio oratio est vox significativa de eo quod est aliquid vel non est, ut Socrates est, Socrates non est. Affirmatio est enuntiatio alicuius de aliquo, ut Socrates est, negatio est alicuius ab aliquo, ut Socrates non est. Contradictio est affirmationis et negationis oppositio, ut Socrates disputat, Socrates non disputat.

D. Conclusion

33. *Nachleben* of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*:

Fuhrmann (1994: 333):

“Cassiodor (...) kann als der Gelehrte, der Polyhistor, der Enzyklopädist der Epoche gelten; er war zugleich Büchersammler und Bibliothekar und hat wie wenige andere der im Mittelalter herrschenden Form der Wissensvermittlung, der Klosterschule, den Weg bereitet.”

For a more detailed overview of the *Nachleben* of the *Institutiones*, see e.g. Jenal (2005: 236–244) and Halporn & Vessey (2004: 79–97). On the manuscript tradition see Mynors (1963: ix–xlix).

34. Curtius (⁸1973: 446):

“Cassiodors Werk verbreitete sich bald weit über die Grenzen des engen Benutzerkreises hinaus, für den es geschrieben war. Es wurde ein Grundbuch der mittelalterlichen Bildung.”

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions, translations and commentaries:

Bürsgens, Wolfgang (2003): *Cassiodor: Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum – Einführung in die geistlichen und weltlichen Wissenschaften*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet (2 vols.), Freiburg.

Halporn, James W. & Mark Vessey (2004): *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*. Translated with notes and introduction, Liverpool.

Mynors, Roger A. B. (1963): *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*. Edited from the manuscripts, Oxford (first publ. in 1937).

Pronay, Andreas (2014): *Cassiodorus Senator: Einführung in die geistlichen und weltlichen Wissenschaften (Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum)*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert, Hildesheim, Zürich & New York.

Secondary literature:

Aricò, Giuseppe (1986): Cassiodoro e la cultura latina. In: Sandro Leanza (ed.), *Atti della Settimana di Studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro (Cosenza – Squillace, 19-24 settembre 1983)*, Soveria Mannelli, 154–178.

Barnish, Samuel J. B. (1989): The work of Cassiodorus after his conversion. In: *Latomus* 48, 157–187.

Bjornlie, Michael Shane (2013): *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. A Study of Cassiodorus and the ‘Variae’, 527–554*, Cambridge.

- Caruso, Antonio (1998): *Cassiodoro. Nella vertigine dei tempi di ieri e di oggi*, Soveria Mannelli.
- Chin, Catherine M. (2008): *Grammar and Christianity in the Late Roman World*, Philadelphia.
- Courcelle, Pierre (1948): *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert (1973): *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern & München.
- Fögen, Thorsten (1998): Bezüge zwischen antiker und moderner Sprachnormentheorie. In: *Listy filologické* 121, 199–219.
- Fögen, Thorsten (2000): “*Patrii sermonis egestas*”: Einstellungen lateinischer Autoren zu ihrer Muttersprache. Ein Beitrag zum Sprachbewußtsein in der römischen Antike, München & Leipzig.
- Fögen, Thorsten (2009): *Wissen, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung. Zur Struktur und Charakteristik römischer Fachtexte der frühen Kaiserzeit*, München.
- Fögen, Thorsten (2011): Latin as a technical and scientific language. In: James Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, Malden, Mass. & Oxford, 445–463.
- Fögen, Thorsten (2015): Technical literature. In: Martin Hose & David Schenker (eds.), *Blackwell Companion to Greek Literature*, Malden, Mass. & Oxford, 266–279.
- Fuhrmann, Manfred (1994): *Rom in der Spätantike. Porträt einer Epoche*, Zürich.
- Garzya, Antonio (1986): Cassiodoro e la grecità. In: Sandro Leanza (ed.), *Atti della Settimana di Studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro (Cosenza – Squillace, 19-24 settembre 1983)*, Soveria Mannelli, 118–134.
- Gemeinhardt, Peter (2007): *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung*, Tübingen.
- Gerth, Matthias (2013): *Bildungsvorstellungen im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Macrobius, Martianus Capella und Sidonius Apollinaris*, Berlin.
- Gnilka, Christian (1984–1993): *Chresis. Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur* (2 vols.), Basel.
- Hafner, German (2002): *Cassiodor. Ein Leben für kommende Zeiten*, Stuttgart.
- Hagendahl, Harald (1983): *Von Tertullian zu Cassiodor. Die profane literarische Tradition in dem lateinischen christlichen Schrifttum*, Göteborg.
- Janson, Tore (1964): *Latin Prose Prefaces. Studies in Literary Conventions*, Stockholm.
- Jenal Georg (2005): (Flavius) Magnus Cassiodorus Senator (ca. 485 – ca. 580 n. Chr.). In: Wolfram Ax (ed.), *Lateinische Lehrer Europas. Fünfzehn Portraits von Varro bis Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Köln, Weimar & Wien, 217–246.
- Leanza, Sandro (ed.) (1986): *Atti della Settimana di Studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro (Cosenza – Squillace, 19–24 settembre 1983)*, Soveria Mannelli.
- Leanza, Sandro (ed.) (1993): *Cassiodoro: Dalla corte di Ravenna al Vivarium di Squillace. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Squillace, 25–27 ottobre 1990*, Soveria Mannelli.
- Löwe, Heinz (1948): Cassiodor. In: *Romanische Forschungen* 60, 420–446.
- Ludwig, Günter (1967): *Cassiodor. Über den Ursprung der abendländischen Schule*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Marrou, Henri-Iréné (1955): *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris.
- Marrou, Henri-Iréné (1958): *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris.
- Marti, Heinrich (1974): *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*, München.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo (1955): Cassiodorus and Italian culture of his time. In: *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41, 207–236.
- O'Donnell, James J. (1979): *Cassiodorus*, Berkeley & Los Angeles.
- Prinz, Friedrich (1992): Cassiodor und das Problem christlicher Aufgeklärtheit in der Spätantike. In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 254, 561–580.
- Riché, Pierre (1962): *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare. VI^e–VIII^e siècles*, Paris.
- Santini, Carlo, Nino Scivoletto & Lorian Zurli (eds.) (1990–1998): *Prefazioni, prologhi, proemi di opere tecnico-scientifiche latine* (3 vols.), Roma.
- Siebenborn, Elmar (1976): *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihren Kriterien. Studien zur antiken normativen Grammatik*, Amsterdam.
- van de Vyver, André (1931): Cassiodore et son œuvre. In: *Speculum* 6, 244–292.
- van de Vyver, André (1941): Les *Institutiones* de Cassiodore et sa fondation à Vivarium. In: *Revue Bénédictine* 53, 59–88.
- Weißengruber, Franz (1967): Cassiodors Stellung innerhalb der monastischen Profanbildung des Abendlandes. In: *Wiener Studien* 80, 202–250.
- Weißengruber, Franz (1969): Zu Cassiodors Wertung der Grammatik. In: *Wiener Studien* 82, 198–210.

Thorsten Fögen

Durham University
Department of Classics & Ancient History
38 North Bailey
Durham DH1 3EU
Great Britain

e-mail: thorsten.foegen@durham.ac.uk

From 1 September 2015 until 30 June 2016:
Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS)
Meijboomlaan 1
NL – 2242 PR Wassenaar
Nederland

e-mail: thorsten.foegen@nias.knaw.nl